

Intercultural policies and intergroup relations

Case study: Malmö, Sweden



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About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) established a 'European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants', henceforth known as CLIP.¹ The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops, the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres, as well as between policymakers at local and European level.

The CLIP network currently brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe: Amsterdam (NL), Antwerp (BE), Arnsberg (DE), Athens (EL), Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Liège (BE), Lisbon (PT), Luxembourg (LU), L'Hospitalet (ES), Malmö (SE), Mataró (ES), Newport (UK), Prague (CZ), Strasbourg (FR), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Turin (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zeytinburnu (TR) and Zürich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

- Bamberg, Germany (European forum for migration studies, efms);
- Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research, ISR);
- Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, IMES);
- Turin (International and European Forum on Migration Research, FIERI);
- Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);
- Swansea, Wales (Centre for Migration Policy Research, CMPR).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants' integration into their host society. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009–2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on intercultural policies were carried out in 2009.

¹ See also <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm>.

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The authors wish to thank everyone who cooperated in providing information for this report. Particular thanks are due to the Deputy Mayor of Malmö, Kent Andersson, and his political secretary, Torbjorn Karlsson, as well as to the Head of the Department of Integration and Employment and Mayor of the city district of Rosengård, Andreas Konstantinides, for their assistance in coordinating the search for data and for ensuring a thorough and varied field visit to Malmö.

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Introduction

This module of the CLIP project focuses on intercultural policies and intergroup relations. These include minority cultures, ethnic heritage and intercultural dialogue at local level, faith-based communities with a specific focus on Muslim communities and related local policies, as well as intergroup relationships, radicalisation and local policy responses.

Generally, the aim of the study is to provide a shared learning process between the participating cities. This shared learning process is also extended between the cities and the researchers, and between the representatives at local and European levels. This module aims to improve intergroup relations by providing a systematic overview of areas of local policy intervention on intergroup relations and intercultural dialogue, and by presenting findings on relationships with Muslim communities at local level, as well as related policy initiatives.

Initially, this process is carried out by the city's completion of a Common Report Scheme (CRS) document, which is returned to the research team. On receipt of the CRS document, the research team organises a four-day field visit, involving meetings, interviews, focus groups and presentations with city officials, academics, media representatives, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), other community and faith-based organisations, as well as welfare associations. The purpose of the field visit is to attempt to corroborate and elaborate on the responses provided by the city in the CRS document.

Finally, using the research evidence provided through the CRS document and the field visit, the research team completes a report on the city in question. From these case studies, the CLIP research team – in cooperation with the cities – produces an overview report which advises future policy development at local, national and European levels.

Background

Brief history of migration to Sweden

Sweden is one of the largest Nordic countries according to size and population (nine million people), but one of the smaller members of the European Union since its membership in 1995. Industrialisation occurred towards the end of the 19th century and by the mid 20th century Sweden became known for its combination of a liberal market economy and state-run welfare policies (Westin, 2006).

Immigration to Sweden started when the Vikings arrived in the ninth century and continued during the Middle Ages, with European monks arriving alongside significant numbers of Danes, Finns and Germans (Allwood et al, 2007). However, Borkert et al (2007) suggests that modern Swedish immigration can be divided into three phases. Although this is a useful framework for understanding the history of migration to Sweden, it should be noted that – even prior to the first phase in the 1950s – refugees from Germany, from Sweden’s Nordic neighbours and from the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania initially transformed Sweden from an emigrant country into an immigrant country during the Second World War. Many of these refugees returned to their native countries after the war, but a large number remained, among them the majority of immigrants from the Baltic states (Swedish Migration Board, 2009).

The first phase of modern immigration took place during the 1950s and 1960s and represents a virtually free entry of labour immigrants from Finland and southern Europe at a time when many western European countries were also seeking migrant labour. Immigrant labour was essential for generating the tax base required for the expansion of the public sector and for meeting the demand for Swedish production required across Europe following the Second World War.

Initially, migrants came from Italy and Yugoslavia in the 1950s. This was followed in the 1960s by the arrival of migrants from Portugal and Spain as a result of a labour recruitment agreement between the Swedish government and other European countries. This was concurrent with the introduction of the ‘guest worker’ system of labour migration that took place across much of western Europe. Unlike other European countries, Sweden established a policy of permanent immigration that treated labour migrants as future citizens (Westin, 2006). Of these workers, the Yugoslavian and Turkish populations remain large communities (Table 1).

However, the most significant number of immigrants arriving during this period was from Sweden’s neighbouring countries, Denmark, Finland and Norway. This movement was heightened by the 1954 agreement of free movement between Nordic countries. The Finns are currently the largest immigrant group, with 180,906 people. The Danish and Norwegian groups are smaller and relatively equal in number, with 44,444 and 44,727 people respectively.

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

Country	Number	Rank
Afghanistan	9,872	
Chile	27,967	
China, excluding Hong Kong	14,453	
Colombia	9,375	
Denmark	44,444	7
Eritrea and Ethiopia	6,066+11,427=17,493	
Finland	180,906	1
Germany	43,044	
Greece	10,760	
Hungary	13,711	
India	13,979	
Iran, Islamic Republic of	55,747	4
Iraq	82,827	3
Korea, Republic of	9,862	
Lebanon	22,697	
Norway	44,727	6
Poland	51,743	5
Romania	12,910	
Somalia	18,342	
Soviet Union, former plus Russian Federation and Estonia	6,667+12,121+9,820=22,608	
Syrian Arab Republic	17,768	
Thailand	20,524	
Turkey	37,107	
United Kingdom (UK)	17,788	
United States (US)	15,225	
Vietnam	12,814	
Yugoslavia, former Federal Republic of plus Serbia and Montenegro plus Macedonia plus Croatia	73,671+6,805+3,669+6,063=90,208	2

Source: *City of Malmö, 2008b*

The second phase in Sweden's recent immigration history began in the mid 1960s, when the management of immigration was significantly modified. The introduction of work permits limited immigration for most people, with the exception of refugees and Nordic citizens. Attention turned increasingly towards policies for the integration of those who had already arrived. Policy discourse was framed in terms of 'equality, freedom of choice and cooperation', and the right to vote for non-nationals in local and regional elections was introduced. In addition, policies were introduced to enable funding for migrant associations, the importation of journals and magazines, and the ability to study in people's mother tongue at school. This resulted in a further diversification within immigrant groups during this period (Borkert et al, 2007).

What might be described as a third phase of recent Swedish immigration started in the early to mid 1990s as a result of the growing number of refugees (Borkert et al, 2007). Due to the Balkan war in southeastern Europe, the former Yugoslavian community increased significantly in size in Sweden and is now the second largest immigrant group. Iraqi and Iranian refugee groups are currently the two largest non-European refugee groups, amounting to 82,827 and 55,747 people respectively. Significant communities of refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Afghanistan also established themselves in Sweden during this period.

The enlargement of the EU in 2004 has had limited impact on the scale and composition of migration to Sweden (Borkert et al, 2007). The notable exception to this is the Polish community. While a Polish community has been established in Sweden since 1973, with 6,138 Polish nationals being resident at that time, the number has increased steadily from 40,123 people in 2000 to 51,743 people in 2006. In 2006, more than 50% of those who were Polish and living in Sweden held Swedish passports (Borkert et al, 2007).

Allwood et al (2007, p. 27) provide a breakdown of the categorisation of resident permits given in Sweden in 2005. The largest category (35%) comprised resident permit holders based on family reunification, followed by EU or European Economic Area (EEA) immigrants (29%), students (11%), labour migrants (10%) and asylum seekers and refugees (8%). Smaller categories consisted of immigrants based on a temporary law (4%), quota refugees (2%) and adopted children (1%). In 2006, about 12% of Sweden's population was foreign born (Westin, 2006).

The Swedish government has been concerned about unemployment levels among foreign-born nationals as compared to the native population for some time. There is evidence that immigrant groups have higher levels of unemployment and, therefore, higher levels of social welfare dependency (Westin, 2006). According to the Swedish Migration Board (*Migrationsverket*), employment in Sweden since 1987 has decreased for the whole population from 82% to 75%, but the decrease has been greater among immigrants, from 75% to 59%. It seems that deindustrialisation, rationalisation and cutbacks have affected immigrant groups the most, with the majority of temporary employment being offered to those who are foreign born. Furthermore, with legislation concerning job security favouring employees with the longest employment records, it is probably true to say that immigrants are more vulnerable when it comes to market fluctuations. There has also been a large structural change concerning the relative distribution of types of employment for immigrants. Towards the end of the 1980s, about 40% of all foreign-born men and about 20% of all foreign-born women worked in industry. These shares had decreased to 25% and 10% respectively by 2004 (Statistics Sweden, 2006).

It is important to note that neither ethnicity nor religion is recorded in Sweden. As a result, there is limited information about the religious background of immigrants, at either national or local level. It should also be noted that, prior to the abolishment of official state ties to the Lutheran Church of Sweden in 2000, those born in Sweden automatically became members of the State Church, only having the option to leave when they turned 18 years of age. Since 2000, all citizens – Church of Sweden members or not – remain liable to pay taxes to the Church for life events, such as marriages or funerals. For those who opt for Church of Sweden membership, a higher rate of annual tax is imposed. Despite the separation of church and state, the Church of Sweden has a current estimated membership of 75% of the overall population.

National policy context

Sweden is a highly centralised and democratic state, and has established a balance of power between strong central government and independent local authorities. In comparison with other European cities, this balance of power is far greater for local authorities, especially regarding finances and decision making (Borkert et al, 2007).

In 2006, the Swedish Social Democratic Party (*Socialdemokraterna*) narrowly lost the general election after almost 70 years in power; they also lost power in 1976–1982 and 1991–1994. It was replaced by a coalition government between the Moderate Party (*Moderaterna*) and three other parties, thus creating a centre-right government. This government has been in power since 2006 and the next general election is scheduled to take place in September 2010.

Since 1975, when the Swedish parliament endorsed an integration policy based on the needs of labour migrants from southern Europe, multiculturalism has been defined in terms of equal rights and therefore ‘equality, freedom of choice and cooperation’. This provides immigrants residing permanently in Sweden with the same rights as Swedish citizens, including in terms of their access to the welfare state (equality). It also allows immigrants the freedom to assimilate or maintain their distinct native culture, and therefore provides targeted language support for immigrant children (freedom). Whatever their preference in this regard, it should not conflict with essential Swedish values and norms, such as voting rights in the local and county elections (cooperation) (Westin, 2006). This is the fundamental basis of the national policy context and, although the terminology has changed, these principles still apply today. For example, in recognition of integration as a two-way process between the minority and majority populations, the concept of diversity has replaced the concept of integration, which was viewed more as a process of adjustment by the migrant into mainstream society rather than a mutual adjustment and adaptation by both the migrant and host society (Westin, 2006).

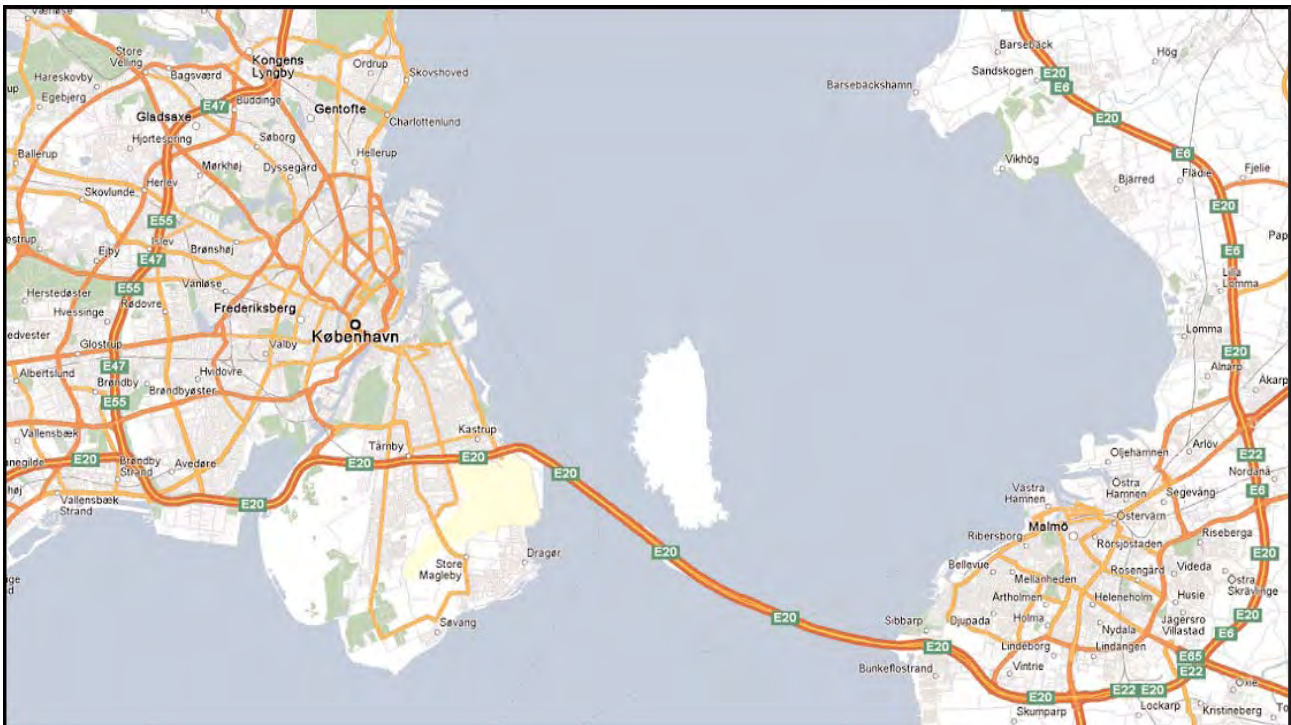
At the time of writing, the Swedish employment rate was 74% for men and 73% for women, but it was not equally divided between ethnic groups. Although anti-discrimination laws have been established at national level, concerns remain regarding high levels of unemployment, welfare dependency, segregation, rising crime rates and voter apathy among the foreign-born population compared with native Swedes. All foreign-born groups – including Danish immigrants – have a considerably lower rate of employment. In the majority of cases, the employment rate does not reach 50%. The two groups that have the lowest employment rates are Iraqis (22% of men are employed and just 11% of women) and Somalis (23% of men employed and 21% of women). In 2005, the Swedish government established a commission to investigate structural discrimination; however, a year later, the causes of such discrimination had yet to be identified (Westin, 2006).

Profile of Malmö

Brief description of the city

Malmö lies in the most southern part of Sweden and is in close proximity with Denmark. The Oresund Bridge was opened in 2000 and connects Malmö to Copenhagen (Figure 1). The city of Copenhagen currently provides employment for about 5% of Malmö's population.

Figure 1: *Oresund Bridge*



Source: *Microsoft Virtual Earth, 2009*

Malmö's economy was traditionally based on shipbuilding and construction-related industries such as concrete factories and it continued to expand through the first half of the 20th century. Kockums shipyard was one of the world's largest shipyards but it closed in the mid 1980s, depriving the city of its largest employer and its shipbuilding identity. By 1985, Malmö had lost 35,000 inhabitants, leaving a remaining population of 229,000 people. The old shipyard area is now used by Malmö University, which opened in 1998 and caters for about 15,000 students.

The decreasing population associated with the decline of the shipping industry was further compounded by an economic crisis during the early 1990s. Although this crisis had an adverse effect on Sweden generally, the impact on Malmö was greater than for any other Swedish city. Malmö's traditional industrial structure was virtually destroyed and between 1990 and 1995, around 27,000 jobs were lost. Malmö had Sweden's highest unemployment rate and its economy was under considerable stress.

The economic crisis coincided with a significant increase in the arrival of refugees and other new immigrants from war-torn areas in the Balkans and the Middle East, as described in the previous chapter. The proportion of the population with a foreign background increased by 10% during the 1990s. As a result, levels of long-term unemployment, exclusion, poverty and segregation were overwhelming and historically unique during this period.

More recently, the construction of the Oresund Bridge and the subsequent establishment of government-funded projects have provided Malmö with the opportunity to undertake a process of renewal. By the end of the 1990s, Malmö was beginning a period of recovery. The strongest sectors in Malmö are logistics, wholesale and retail trade, construction and real estate. There are also a number of well-known companies in the biotechnology and medical technology, environmental technology, information technology (IT) and digital media fields. Cooperation between colleges, science parks and companies has provided a sound basis for entrepreneurs and creative development. In addition, attractive seafront quarters constructed within the southwest harbour area, alongside new apartment buildings and villas with attractive waterfront vistas, have become the core of a new city district, aimed at the urban middle class.

Figure 2: *Districts of Malmö*



Source: *Microsoft Virtual Earth 2009*

A well-developed infrastructure now makes Malmö easier to reach. The city has an international harbour and the airports Kastrup and Sturup are only half an hour's journey from the city centre. The motorway reaches into the city centre and Malmö has excellent rail connections with the rest of Sweden and Europe.

Today, Malmö can be described as ethnically and socioeconomically segregated, with middle-class neighbourhoods in the west and working class neighbourhoods in the south and east (Figure 2). Unemployment rates, crime rates and the number of households in need of social benefits correlate closely with this pattern (Andersson et al, 2003).

City's migrant population

Malmö is Sweden's third largest city, with 286,440 inhabitants (City of Malmö, 2008b). It is an ethnically diverse city, with 174 different nationalities speaking 130 different languages. It has the highest proportion of individuals of non-Scandinavian extraction of any Swedish city and is highly segregated.

Since the 1960s, Malmö's population has changed from being relatively homogenous to one of significant diversity. In total, 30% of the population are first generation with a foreign background and 44% are second generation with a foreign background. Some 55% of children aged less than 19 years speak a second language with at least one of their parents. About 100,000 people of Malmö's 286,000 population are immigrants (City of Malmö, 2008b). As of January 2008, 29% of the city's population or 79,389 inhabitants were born outside Sweden; 61% of these have Swedish citizenship. In addition, 9% of the city's population or 25,244 inhabitants were born in Sweden but both parents were born outside Sweden. Overall, 37% of the city's population or 104,633 inhabitants have a foreign background – that is, they were born outside Sweden or in Sweden but with both parents outside Sweden. Some 61% of those born outside Sweden were born in Europe, and about 30% come from Asia. Following the Swedish legislation in 1974 which prevented the collection of data identifying ethnicity and religion, no demographic data are available on the size or nature of religious groups. Some 63% of the migrant population have acquired Swedish citizenship (Scuzzarello, 2008).

Unlike many other Swedish cities, Malmö has a young population: 47% of its inhabitants are aged less than 35 years. This is predominantly due to immigration; 50% of children living in Malmö have parents who are foreign born (City of Malmö, 2008b).

Danes are the largest immigrant group in Malmö (Table 2). The recent immigration of Danes increased following the completion of the Oresund Bridge in 2000. With a 30-minute train journey into Copenhagen from Malmö and a shortage of affordable housing in Copenhagen, many Danes have relocated to Malmö, where housing is cheaper. Moreover, the Danish civil service has the power to ban non-Danish spouses of public servants from living in Denmark if it considers that person's ties to Denmark not to be strong enough. This has resulted in many Danes who are married to or wish to marry immigrants relocating to Malmö.

Table 2: *Largest foreign nationalities in Malmö, 1 January 2008*

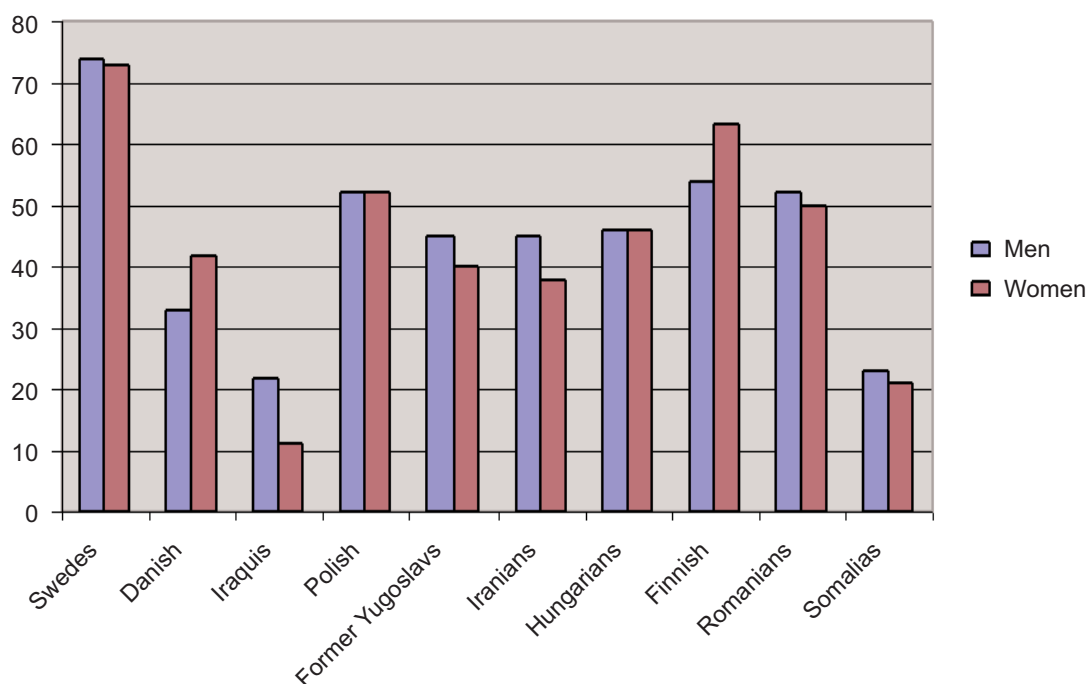
Country of origin	Number	Country of origin	Number
1. Denmark	8,857	11. Afghanistan	1,673
2. Yugoslavia	8,658	12. Romania	1,640
3. Iraq	7,975	13. Turkey	1,589
4. Poland	6,314	14. Chile	1,329
5. Bosnia and Herzegovina	5,725	15. Vietnam	1,167
6. Lebanon	3,392	16. Somalia	1,037
7. Iran	3,041	17. Macedonia	947
8. Hungary	1,856	18. Norway	847
9. Germany	1,822	19. Pakistan	806
10. Finland	1,694	20. Croatia	754
Total: 79,389			

Source: *City of Malmö, 2008b*

Within the city of Malmö, there is a high concentration of immigrants in a few city districts. The level of concentration is higher than in most other European cities. This segregation is based on an older structure of socioeconomic division previously established in Malmö. Refugees settle in the existing low income areas alongside their fellow ethnic group members while previous residents of Swedish origin have, over the past few years, gradually moved out of these districts. In Sweden, refugees can settle in any city that they choose: they are not obliged to stay in the few refugee camps that Sweden has, nor do the city authorities determine where they will be housed. When the rent of a flat exceeds the tenant's income, Malmö City Council pays a share, irrespective of the tenant's nationality, total rent price or other characteristic of the flat.

The eastern district of Rosengård has the highest proportion of immigrants. As of 1 January 2005, 59% of residents were first generation migrants, while 25% were second generation migrants with two foreign parents and a further 10% had one foreign parent (Figure 3). In total, 84% of the residents of this district can be described as having an immigrant background, while only 16% have two Swedish parents (City of Malmö, 2008c). Other city districts with high concentrations of immigrants are Fosie in the southeast of the city (38% first generation, 12% second generation), Hyllie to the southwest (26% first generation, 8% second generation) and Centrum (22% first generation, 6% second generation). In these last two districts, the majority of immigrants are Danish.

Figure 3: Citizens of Rosengård with foreign background (1st and 2nd generation), 1 January 2005



Source: City of Malmö, 2008c

Due to the lack of demographic data, it is difficult to identify the main minority and majority ethnic and religious groups in Malmö. However, many of the respondents to this study suggest that the main minority religious group is Muslim.

The main organisations and groups regarded by the city as important in the context of integration and intergroup relations in Malmö city are the:

- Islamic Centre, established in 1984. It is a religious organisation that manages the central mosque, as well as the Muslim school and library in Malmö. It also provides information on the Islamic way of life, and aims to promote peace, integration, understanding and diversity through various non-profit projects;
- Organisation for International Women in Malmö (*Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö*, IKF), established in Sweden in 1970 and in Malmö in 2001. It is a local resource centre for women, providing affirmation and encouragement and aiming to increase women's involvement in all areas of society;
- Iraqi Culture Association, which contributes to the safeguarding of the cultural and historical inheritance of Iraq;
- Afghans Cultural Association, which contributes to the safeguarding of the cultural and historical inheritance of Afghanistan;
- Somaliland Association, which is a unique organisation focused on promoting the Somali community through collective, proactive action;
- Iranian–Swedish Association, which was established in 2004 and promotes a cross-cultural perspective. It aims to advance attitudes, policies and actions that promote tolerance, justice and social inclusion for Iranian communities in Malmö and to encourage a greater Iranian–Swedish exchange;
- Rosengård Women's Organisation, which organises inclusive projects that demonstrate independence and social inclusion for all women across Malmö.

The city collaborates with these groups as part of its efforts to promote intercultural understanding between different ethnic groups and the majority population in Malmö.

City's Muslim population and its characteristics

As previously stated, Sweden does not gather data concerning its citizens' religious beliefs and, therefore, it is difficult to identify the demographic structure, ethnicity and socioeconomic status of the Muslim population. However, significant numbers of immigrants are living in the Rosengård, Fosie and Hyllie districts, many of whom are Muslim. All housing in the Herrgården area of Rosengård – and the majority of the housing in the Fosie and Rosengård districts – is for rent only. With lower levels of cooperative housing available in these areas, it may be concluded that persons at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, who are unable to access a mortgage, live in these areas.² It should also be noted that Rosengård has the highest level of unemployment in Sweden.

² A housing cooperative is an economic association whose purpose is to convey to its members occupancy rights in residential or commercial space with cooperative apartments in the building owned by the cooperative. People who live in cooperative apartments are members of a housing cooperative. Members own the cooperative's buildings and land in common. They have occupancy rights to their apartments for an unlimited time. Shares (memberships) can be sold and can be inherited or transferred in the same way as other assets.

According to the city, the most important Muslim religious organisation in Malmö is the Islamic Centre, an association that is located on the outskirts of Malmö near the eastern park Ögårdsparken at Skrävlinge Kyrkoväg. Adjacent to the Islamic Centre is the first mosque built in Scandinavia and currently the largest mosque in Malmö. It is the most prominent organisation in the Muslim community, not only in Malmö but also across Denmark and the Scania (*Skåne*) region. The mosque at the Islamic Centre was inaugurated in 1984 and over 5,000 Muslims from Malmö and Copenhagen use it regularly. The head of the Islamic Centre is responsible for the mosque and the only Muslim school in Malmö, which is also located on this site. The city funds each student equally whether they attend a Muslim school or a state school; thus, the Malmö Muslim school receives the same funding per student as any other school in Malmö.

According to the city, the Islamic Centre is the largest and most representative Muslim association in Malmö, the Scania region and Denmark, and provides support and activities for the welfare of local migrant communities – such as family counselling and after school activities for pupils. There is also a national association, the Islamic Federation, which is represented in Malmö with five different local associations. The city communicates with both of these organisations.

Local intercultural policies in general

General approach and responsibility for relations with ethnic and religious organisations

The administration of Malmö City Council is divided into 10 city districts: Centrum, Fosie, Husie, Hyllie, Kirseberg, Limhamn-Bunkeflo, Oxie, Rosengård, Södra Innerstaden and Västra Innerstaden. The purpose of these divisions is to develop and strengthen local democracy, thereby increasing citizens' opportunities to influence conditions within their own area.

The city began dealing with issues relating to migrants' integration in the late 1990s. In 1997, as a general strategy to address the major economic crisis that was affecting the municipality, the city adopted a General Plan for Employment. Although the plan did not explicitly address migrant integration policies, its focus on employment directly affected the lives of migrants, as a large proportion of those who were unemployed at the time were from migrant backgrounds.

In 1999, the city adopted the first Action Plan that explicitly aimed to promote migrants' integration in Malmö. This plan emphasised the importance of adopting a policy of integration that could allow migrants to participate in the future development of the city while retaining their cultures, viewing cultural diversity as a resource for the city. The plan echoes the rhetoric of the national approach to integration policies and was a watershed in the development of Swedish integration policies. It entailed a discursive shift, even in the title of the plan, from immigrant policies to integration policies. The earlier policies were blamed for reinforcing the polarisation between Swedes and migrants. As a reaction to this, the plan suggested:

- giving clear time limits to policies that target migrants;
- formulating the needs of migrant minorities as general welfare provisions;
- avoiding the use of the concept 'migrant' in policies that target migrants as a socioeconomically disadvantaged group (Borevi, 2002, p. 130).

Despite the reformulation of the city's identity – from a working-class city to a city of knowledge – the socioeconomic and urban segregation of migrants still exists (Scuzzarello, 2008). The Action Plan continues to be annually reviewed and reworked, and has also been adopted by each of its 10 city administration districts. More recently, an Anti-Discrimination Plan has been established for the city.

The Department of Integration and Employment, headed by the Deputy Mayor, Kent Andersson, and six employment and integration centres (*Arbets- och integrationscenter*, AIC) based in the city districts are responsible for all relations towards ethnic and religious organisations in Malmö. About 25% of the elected representatives in the city have an ethnic background, which is the highest proportion in Sweden; however, they are representative of the community at large, not of a specific ethnic or religious group. For districts that have a high population of immigrants, this percentage is much higher within the city district councils.

The city of Malmö considers that its general attitude towards ethnic and religious organisations is welcoming and supportive. The collaboration between the city – more specifically the Department of Integration and Employment and the Deputy Mayor – and ethnic organisations involves both consultation and more extensive common work such as the development of the Action Plan and newly established Anti-Discrimination Plan, in an attempt to promote integration in the city. Mr Andersson operates an open door policy and is available to meet with any organisation to listen to their concerns, issues or proposals.

Furthermore, the city districts have established their own local NGO networks. In some districts, such as Rosengård, ethnic and religious associations are engaged in various integration activities – for example, the Herrgårdens Women’s Association (*Herrgårdens Kvinnoforening*), which mainly comprises Swedish and Iranian women. While the city does not have ethnic representatives who play an active role in intercultural policies, 25% of the council members have ethnic backgrounds. The city appears to be dedicated to intercultural issues, as evidenced by the number and breadth of projects being funded and its receptive and open approach to new projects. Some representatives did however suggest that, while the city is prepared to provide funding, city representatives and officials are insufficiently interactive at grassroots level.

Issues, demands and interests

The city considers that one of the major demands from groups and associations is to have their own meeting places. These demands are considered legitimate and efforts are made to meet them through financial support and by actively attempting to locate and, in some instances, create meeting space on behalf of the organisation or group.

A good example of this can be seen at the Rosengård city district library, which has responded to the request for meeting space by providing a new layout of library services to its users. Previously, many of the local immigrant men would gather in the library’s central areas to play chess or cards and to chat. This would limit the space for delivering weekly lectures and deter the local women from coming into the library to meet with friends and chat. During the library’s reorganisation, a room dedicated to chess was established. The room has about nine tables, each with a chess set and four chairs. The men now congregate in this room and the women are free to meet or attend the weekly lectures in the central areas. Books are available in this library in 20 different languages and there are over 100 different national newspapers from around the world. All of the staff are multilingual, although currently no personnel are able to speak Arabic. The library not only provides a meeting place but also offers courses in IT and how to use the internet, and has an extensive language library offering language courses through compact discs (CDs) and tapes. In addition, it runs a weekly language café, where topics of visitors’ choice are discussed in Swedish over coffee with some of the librarians and other visitors. Since its reorganisation, the Rosengård library has seen a significant increase in the number of women visiting and using its facilities. Primarily, it sells itself as a meeting place and is ideally situated for this, being located in the district’s shopping mall.

Many of those who were interviewed during the field visit to Malmö considered that the Rosengård library was a good example of an inventive way to create space. Nonetheless, it is strongly felt that significantly more meeting space is required.

Meeting space for sporting activities was also discussed. The city has a specific policy with regard to sports groups, clubs, activities and facilities such as pitches and gymnasiums, and funds all sports facilities directly, managing the allocation of time within each facility for each activity. Members are expected to pay a nominal SEK 200 (€21) a year which enables them to use any sporting facility across Malmö city. For those unable to afford the membership fee, the city pays it on their behalf.

Other prominent issues, demands and interests were identified in relation to social needs, such as housing and employment, education and language learning.

Issues associated with housing generally relate to the shortage of adequate, affordable accommodation, as well as overcrowding and segregation. As noted above, new arrivals in Malmö are free to reside in whichever district they choose. This has created a high level of ethnic and religious segregation and overcrowding, which – particularly in Rosengård District – is also associated with substandard accommodation. The problems of segregation and overcrowding are twofold. On the one hand, new arrivals understandably prefer to be close to family and friends and,

due to the current shortage of accommodation in Malmö generally, opt to move in with relatives and friends, who are already in segregated areas. This accommodation then becomes overcrowded. On the other hand, as a result of discrimination, some immigrants find it difficult to acquire tenancies in the less segregated, more affluent areas – such as the southwestern district of Limhamn – and therefore have no option but to take accommodation in Rosengård. Some of the landlords in Rosengård exploit this situation and are less inclined to maintain their accommodation to the appropriate standard. City representatives are aware of the issues of overcrowding and substandard accommodation in this district and are currently pursuing landlords in an attempt to force them to maintain their properties.

Issues surrounding employment are related to the high level of unemployment among immigrant groups, as was noted previously. Many representatives believe that this is primarily due to discrimination and the lack of adequate Swedish language skills.

According to the city, it has no responsibility for the police or fire services. Ethnic representation within public sector employment is particularly low. Ethnic minorities are extremely underrepresented in the police force and fire service: only two fire service employees out of 500 across the entire Scania region come from an ethnic minority background. While the local police in Malmö have been addressing this issue for some time and are believed to be making some progress, albeit slowly, the fire service have only just begun to address the imbalance. Some of the respondents to this study suggested that current efforts to increase ethnic minority representation are a reflection of increasing attacks during emergency call-outs in the Rosengård District directed at fire service equipment and personnel – for example, petrol bombs and bricks being thrown – rather than a genuine commitment to anti-discriminatory policies. Nonetheless, a programme of change began in January 2009 which aims to improve relations and increase representation. Two workers have initially been employed to bridge the gap between the community and fire personnel and to encourage communication. The fire service believes that this is proving successful and open days have been held at the fire station in Rosengård District. Communities have been invited to the centre to meet with firefighters, who have also used this opportunity to provide visitors with information concerning fire safety.

At the same time, in an attempt to create positive role models for younger visitors and encourage intercultural dialogue between the fire service and the community, 186 applicants from the Scania region were selected to undertake a 10-month training course, mentored by 13 voluntary firefighters. The training course provides participants with the opportunity to work towards the entrance criteria for the fire service college and become either a firefighter or a link worker for the fire service in the future. Jobs and entrance to the fire service training college are not guaranteed, and some existing firefighters have shown resentment that those selected are receiving preferential treatment and bypassing the conventional route into fire service employment. Nonetheless, some respondents consider that this is a positive step forward and signifies an initial attempt to move away from the traditional identity that the fire service has maintained towards achieving a more intercultural, diverse approach.

The Swedish government is aware of the ways in which inadequate Swedish language skills can create a barrier to employment, education and integration more generally. In response, the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket) developed a Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) programme which now operates throughout Sweden and in two different areas in Malmö; one of the venues is the adult education institution Hyllie Park Folkhögskola. Education is targeted at people aged 16 years or more and consists of three different study paths: SFI 1, SFI 2 and SFI 3. These study paths are designed for people with different backgrounds, prerequisites and goals. Instruction is offered in several languages including Swedish, Arabic, Pashto, Dari, Albanian, Somali, Turkmen and all dialects of Kurdish. Currently, the institution has capacity for 160 participants with little or no formal educational background. SFI 1 comprises courses A and B, SFI 2 encompasses courses B and C and SFI 3 includes courses C and D. Each study path thus consists of two courses that illustrate the progression in the education. This provides students with the opportunity to plan their studies by means of goals that can be attained within a reasonable period.

Generally, the city considers itself to be receptive to all new events and activities proposed by ethnic and migrant groups in Malmö. All associations and organisations representing any interest group, regardless of their cultural or religious nature, have the right to apply to the city for funding. The only condition imposed on all those applying for funding is that the association or organisation must follow the democratic process. For example, there must be an elected board and annual meetings must take place.

Forms of relations and dialogue

The city has formal and informal regular and institutionalised contact with a number of ethnic and religious organisations. It has a continuing dialogue with various groups – for example, dialogue with the Islamic Centre operates on an ad hoc basis – but also has formal and institutionalised contact with all organisations through regular meetings held with the Department of Integration and Employment and individual city district meetings at a more local level. Additional contact also takes place when and if issues arise, such as funding requests for Muslim school activities. As issues for discussion arise frequently, there is often daily dialogue between city representatives and the Islamic Centre.

The city of Malmö, especially the representative in the local district offices, tries to have a continuing dialogue with various minority groups. This dialogue is organised through meetings and open forums to which representatives from a range of organisations are invited. Members of the general public are also able to attend these meetings.

Funding is provided by the city for various ethnic and religious organisations in line with all funding requests received from other groups and organisations. The funding allocation is based on the democratic rule and, within this context, the city exerts some influence concerning specific issues. For example, the city funds the Muslim school at the same rate per student as for any other school in Malmö; however, it requests that all students are able to apply for places, regardless of their background. Another example is where an organisation applies for funding to set up a children's football team. In this case, the city will request that the team is open to both boys and girls.

There is cooperation with associations in order to implement the city policies for integration and anti-discrimination and to prevent social exclusion. One example of this cooperation is the recent fire service project (see above). No specific representatives from ethnic groups are directly involved in these policies, although each of the city district councils which are directly involved in city policies and projects are representative of the district and city population as a whole. The anti-discrimination committee is the only formal consultation body in Malmö where ethnic organisations are invited to participate. The city of Malmö does not provide a platform or an institutionalised structure for relations with specific ethnic or religious organisations but provides a platform for relations with all organisations across the city.

Holistic approach

The city does not have a specific policy aiming to improve intercultural relations but rather takes a more holistic approach towards all of its policies and projects which include intercultural relations. The main objective of this holistic approach is to have an integrated, harmonious society. For example, an interreligious room has been established at Malmö University. The first of its kind in Sweden, the room is organised by a minister from the Church of Sweden and is available to all students from all faiths throughout the day. All religious symbols are placed in cupboards in the room, to be taken out and used as appropriate. The room can accommodate up to 25–30 people at any one time. The interreligious room has been operating since 2008 and no incidents of interreligious conflict have arisen. The Swedish government plans to implement dedicated interreligious rooms across all Swedish universities.

Members representing the Islamic Centre, the Church of Sweden and the city meet informally in an attempt to encourage a working partnership where current issues affecting all parties involved can be discussed. The meetings are held regularly and are attended by at least two representatives from each organisation. The Church of Sweden is situated less

than 500 metres from the Islamic Centre and therefore relations initially commenced in a neighbourly context. However, over the past 20 years, relationships have forged into good working relationships where all parties feel a joint responsibility to the community and Malmö city generally.

The collaborative committee was initiated by the Islamic Centre and the Church of Sweden together. They decided themselves who would represent them and no elections took place. The main topics discussed include various projects on how to promote intercultural relations to improve understanding among minority and majority groups, as well as the future funding of such projects.

Generally, the city considers itself to take an active role in interreligious dialogue. It provides the majority of funding and meeting venues for organisations, groups and activities through the Department of Integration and Employment. Through the relevant district boards, the city is well positioned to be aware of, and respond to, emerging issues and concerns. Different ethnic organisations and associations often organise meetings and events when they celebrate days of special ethnic or religious importance. They usually invite city representatives although no specific funding is provided by the city for these activities.

Projects and initiatives

The city does however have a policy directed towards the majority population for improving relations with ethnic minority groups. The Malmö Council of Sports Clubs (*Malmö Idrottsföreningars Samorganisation*, MISO) helps to integrate newcomers into different sports associations across Malmö city. As noted, there is also an Action Plan to promote integration in the city. In addition, various district events are open for everyone to participate in, such as the Rosengård Festival and Rosengård, Fosie and Hyllie district open days. The annual Malmö Festival held in August takes place alongside various annual district open days in central Malmö. The festival lasts for one week every year since 1985 and includes a celebration of food, music, culture and folk. The city is filled with music stages, market stalls, food vendors and crowds of people. The Malmö Festival is the highlight of the summer calendar for many of the local population but it is also a highlight for festival goers from further afield: the Malmö Festival is Sweden's largest city festival, and everything – apart from the food – is free.

The success of the festival is considered to be largely attributable to local support. The city's businesses contribute most of the funding for the festival, and each year's event proves to be popular thanks to this backing and the hard work of the 6,000 people who participate. The programme has grown every year, with more artists, events and innovative features.

Other successful projects and practices aiming to improve relations between the majority and minority populations include the integration of newcomers and refugees into various other associations that are not necessarily sports oriented. This project is organised through the Malmö non-profit organisation (*Malmö Ideella föreningars paraplyorganisation*, MIP), which is an umbrella organisation representing some 250 different non-profit organisations operating in Malmö. The project, entitled 'Integration through non-profit associations' started in 2007 and is funded solely by the city. Organisations have mentors who are allocated to each new arrival and provide information concerning projects that they consider most appropriate for the new arrival based on their interests and experiences. This project is produced in 11 different languages and is available in various public organisations, including schools.

Other projects include an initiative where city employees are entitled to use two hours of their working month to meet with newcomers who study Swedish for Immigrants. No statistics are available indicating how many employees actually participate in this initiative. Some of the persons interviewed commented that participation levels in the scheme are low.

The city considers that many of the ethnic and religious organisations and groups in Malmö provide relevant and necessary support for the welfare of local migrant communities in differing ways, such as the collaborative work that they undertake with schools to teach Swedish using the student's mother tongue. For example, at schools in Rosengård, Swedish language and mathematics classes are taught in mother tongue languages such as Arabic.

The 'People's House' has been established at five locations across the city. Various activities take place at these locations that attempt to promote integration and understanding between different ethnic groups as well as the majority population. For example, families are encouraged to play tennis and football together. This gives children and parents the opportunity to meet other children and parents. While the city does not fund or organise these houses, it is sometimes involved in and funds certain projects within them. These projects reflect the willingness of the city to provide opportunities for different people from different districts and communities to meet each other and communicate in a positive way.

The Rosengård 'House of Dreams' is a self-governing organisation that helps people to fulfil their lives through culture. Men, women, children and young people – of many different nationalities and with very different capabilities – are given opportunities to work together and undertake activities such as sculpting, cooking, music or acrobatics. The initiative has no formula and is regarded as a project-based organisation, which – because it is constantly changing – is a work in progress. The city, alongside other funding bodies, provides funding for this organisation. Projects run by the House of Dreams work on a number of different levels. For example, a project may appear to be simply about teaching children to play djembe drums. However, two school classes are scheduled to take the course at the same time. One will be from a suburban school, the other from an inner-city school with a high immigrant population. They meet, work together and perhaps make friends. The organisers draw on their heritage as a theatre company so the children might also use drama or role-playing, thereby bringing new inspiration to the classroom. When the project finishes, a concert is hosted at Rosengård and the children and their parents get to go to a neighbourhood that they might not have visited otherwise.

The Rosengård Stadelsforvaltning School, in collaboration with local community organisations, runs community projects in the evenings and at weekends for both immigrant children and their parents. These are predominantly coordinated through the imam (Muslim leader or teacher), who is employed by the city as a link worker across the five schools in Rosengård, catering for some 6,000 students. Currently, the imam is involved in a project organised with the Church of Sweden entitled 'Early time'. This is a four-year project that organises workshops through drama and play which develop key themes such as mutual respect and balanced faith across Rosengård, providing an arena for moral and ethical issues to be discussed and the promotion of interfaith dialogue in a secure environment.

Additionally, the international women's organisation IKF has over 1,000 members in Malmö from various ethnic and religious backgrounds, 40% of whom have a Swedish background. Its aim is to give all women the opportunity to enjoy good health and independence through a democratic, humanitarian and gender equality focus. It organises daily courses in different languages in computer science and music, holds weekly Open House activities and organises a monthly evening with food from different countries. The city of Malmö provides some funding for ongoing projects which include: a youth in action programme, information on sexual health, advice on abuse against women and their children, fostering integration and equality in the Nordic countries, providing positive role models, and mentorship for men and women.

City representatives confirm that some projects have been less successful as a result of the reallocation of funding to other more promising initiatives. According to the city, projects which occasionally do not provide the anticipated outcomes are rarely viewed as unsuccessful, merely as less informative. All projects, regardless of their outcome, are considered by the city as contributing to knowledge surrounding the integration process and to promoting dialogue and relations.

Relations between different ethnic groups

The city believes that the majority population has a relaxed perspective towards minority groups. The success of and levels of attendance and participation in the Malmö Festival and the district open days held in Rosengård, Fosie, Hyllie and Kirseberg are considered indicative of this.

Nonetheless, some organisations that participated in this research pointed out that, while the festival and open days are viewed very positively, these events are now well established and successful. These respondents commented that the attention of city representatives should now turn to what are considered more challenging issues. Examples of such issues include the lack of diversity in public services, high levels of segregation in particular districts, levels of intergroup conflict in some areas of the city and claims that radicalised groups from both the majority and minority populations are operating in Malmö.

There is some indication that traditional conflict lines exist between majority and minority groups living in the city. The Scania Party (*Skånepartiet*) was Sweden's far right political party during the 1980s, 1990s and beginning of the 2000s, but during the last two decades its support has dwindled and it only won 11 seats in the 2006 general election. Meanwhile, the Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*, SD) party was founded in 1988 and shares similar political ideologies as the Scania Party. In 2006, SD won five seats in Malmö's city council, which it still holds. With the population of the city growing considerably over the past decade, this would suggest an increase in the number of SD voters. Furthermore, some of the opinions expressed during the city visit suggest the presence of an increasing anti-immigrant minority group, particularly within the Scania region at large. There was also one claim from the city's Ethnic Relations Unit of a group of neo-Nazis operating in Malmö.

It is fair to say that there are both traditional and new conflict lines between organisations of different ethnic and religious groups that the city regards as problematic for social cohesion and integration in the city. Traditional conflict lines include the segregated nature of particular districts. While some respondents suggested that segregation is based on socioeconomic conditions and subsequent housing tenure, rather than ethnicity or religion, there is some evidence that even where this is the case, people from different ethnic backgrounds and religions are disproportionately represented at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder, thereby forcing them to reside in particular districts. This creates a level of ethnic and religious segregation which undermines the process of integration. For example, although numerous well-funded and interesting integration projects are operating in Rosengård District, there are very few native Swedes living in the district with whom integration can occur.

Some respondents suggested that new conflict lines have arisen in Malmö over the past two years. There have been several arson attacks on the city's main mosque situated at the Islamic Centre and on the Jewish Chapel in central Malmö. It was suggested that the outbreak of troubles in Gaza in the spring of 2009 compounded interreligious conflict on the street and also in the classroom.

Notwithstanding the events and issues raised above, organisations of different ethnic or religious groups in the city cooperate through umbrella organisations on certain issues. For example, MIP represents and protects the interests of Malmö's non-profit associations. It dates back to 1945 when the youth associations of Malmö united in order to support each other, to show their importance to the community and to speak with one voice. In 1975, Malmö's growing number of immigrant associations joined MIP; in 2002, MIP and the youth organisation joined forces, making it the oldest and largest 'trade union' for non-profit associations in Sweden. Any democratic non-profit association active in Malmö is welcome to become a member of MIP, which is religiously and politically independent. It gathers and disseminates news and information to its members, as well as to politicians, civil servants and the general public. The organisation is active in, and frequently initiates, working groups and networks. MIP encourages and contributes to research on the social and economic value of the non-profit sector and works to help the associations improve and show their standard of quality.

MISO was formed in 1974 and is entrusted with the task of representing sports and athletics associations in Malmö. It is a contact body for Malmö city's Leisure Board and other boards, promoting cooperation between sports and other non-profit associations. In addition to sports-related issues, MISO is engaged in a number of areas such as integration, public health, crime prevention, social medicine, the labour market, anti-racism and school-related issues.

The city is financially supportive towards both of these organisations and views them positively.

Public communication

The city does not have a strategy for public communication relating to ethnic and religious groups living in the city. This is predominantly because city representatives consider that implementing such a strategy would in itself be discriminatory.

Local media organisations in Malmö include local newspapers such as Sydsvenska Dagbladet, Skanska Dagbladet and the evening, more left-wing newspaper, Aftonbladet, all of which cover local news, sports, business, jobs and community events. In addition, there are several radio stations including Sveriges Radio (SR) Din Gata at 100.6FM and Gamla Godingar at 94.5FM. According to the city, there are no ethnic radio stations.

As far as the city is aware, no official relations exist between journalists or publishers and ethnic and religious groups, and few members of ethnic minorities are involved in the local media as journalists; the vast majority are of Swedish origin. The city is not aware of any local media organisations that provide training to staff in cultural competence. While several national multi-ethnic and ethnic-based newspapers and magazines circulate in Malmö, no local ethnic media are currently in operation. No contrary information was received in this regard.

The city believes that the local media have been relatively balanced, with limited articles relating specifically to ethnic and religious groups appearing locally. Those articles that have appeared have been predominantly neutral in tone. One organisation participating in the field visit stated that it had enjoyed positive contact with the local media, which had reported on its integration projects accurately, portraying them in a positive light. Nonetheless, city representatives stated that following riots in Rosengård in December 2008, and the publication of a report commissioned by the government investigating the presence of Muslim radicalisation in Malmö, there has been increased media coverage. Some of those who participated in this research expressed dissatisfaction with some aspects of the media coverage, particularly the media's perceived sensationalisation of these events. At the time of the field visit, city representatives were analysing and considering this situation.

In summary, the city of Malmö considers itself to have good relations with ethnic and religious groups in the city. The city believes that it contributes regularly to intergroup relations through open dialogue and/or the funding of various projects. In turn, there is evidence that ethnic and religious groups in the city provide their support to the city council when required. City representatives consider relationships with existing groups to be extremely productive for the integration of minority and majority groups. Such relations are also considered a more effective method for finding solutions to any issues or problems that arise and for implementing new policies and practices.

All of the organisations interviewed during the field visit complimented the city for its financial support. Some respondents did, however, express concern at the city's perceived inability to engage with some grassroots events and issues. These events and issues relate primarily to the problems associated with the high levels of segregation in the Rosengård District. This is particularly evident in relation to parts of the Muslim communities, an issue which is discussed further in the following chapter.

Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

Major issues, demands and interests

Generally the city considers its approach to the Muslim population as helpful and supportive, and believes that there is a broad unity and an unspoken consensus among the main political parties at local level to continue in this vein. Interviews with a range of respondents working in the city suggest that this seems to be largely the case, although a number of issues raised by the Muslim population appear unresolved.

The major issues in the city's life in relation to Muslim organisations or resulting from reactions of the local population include the need for a new mosque in Malmö, issues surrounding cemetery and burial rules, and the perceived clash between Swedish society and Muslim beliefs in relation to gender roles.

There is one main mosque in Malmö, which is currently being used by about 5,000 Muslims from the surrounding area, as well as various unofficial cellar mosques operating across the city. A cellar mosque is a basement or cellar that is used for Muslim prayer; the floor is carpeted with rugs and the walls are decorated with material wall hangings depicting Islamic scriptures. It is difficult to say how many cellar mosques operate across Malmö although estimates provided by interviewees range between 12 and 26. Some of the cellar mosques are gender segregated and therefore provide Muslims with alternative prayer venues to those used by the mainstream Muslim community.

Some Muslims also travel to Malmö from Copenhagen in order to worship at the mosque. There are regular demands from Muslims for an additional mosque to be built. While the city claims to be open to discussions concerning this request – alongside other funding requests for new religious buildings – it is unable to provide funding for a new mosque or the construction of any religious building.

The main issue surrounding cemetery and burial rules is connected to the lack of available space that can be used for this purpose.

The issues surrounding perceived gender roles are slightly more complex. On the one hand, new arrivals are unfamiliar with Swedish gender equality legislation, which conflicts with some traditional aspects of the Muslim faith. An academic at Malmö University suggested that a key issue for the Muslim communities in the city is their inability to compromise or be flexible over conflicting ideologies such as gender roles. It was further suggested that Swedish society has compromised a step too far and is afraid to debate conflicting issues for fear of being labelled racist. At the same time, the majority population is unfamiliar with traditional aspects of the Muslim faith and this also creates conflict. This evidence suggests that there is a lack of understanding on both sides.

No opinion surveys have been undertaken to explore relations between the majority population and the Muslim community to date. The Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM) and the Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER) based at the University of Malmö have carried out some general research concerning young people's attitude towards Muslims in Sweden. The findings suggest that younger people are more positive towards Muslims. Although at the time of writing there were plans to undertake societal attitudinal research of this kind in Malmö in the near future, no evidence currently exists in relation to this issue.

Issues from the majority population appear to be little explored but this may be due to the informal nature of their presence. To date, no organised groups have approached the city regarding gender issues or other issues relating to the Muslim population generally.

General approaches and policies improving relations with Muslim groups

Currently, the city does not have an explicit policy aiming to improve intercultural relations with Muslim communities. It is suggested that this is for two reasons: city representatives consider that to do so would appear discriminatory and also that integration policies should incorporate the necessary components to improve intercultural relations across all groups. In this sense, an explicit policy to improve relations with Muslim groups is regarded both inappropriate and unnecessary.

Although the city has no specific formal or institutionalised contact with Muslim groups, city representatives stated that they are available to meet any organisations – including Muslim organisations – which follow the democratic rules, at any time. At city level, the Department of Integration and Employment has contact with all organisations, including Muslim organisations, in order to foster good relationships, keep abreast of current issues and promote integration generally. At local level, the city district authorities, including both politicians and officials, also share this level of contact.

There are several Muslim organisations with which the city has no contact. These are considered to be organisations that do not want contact with society more generally, predominantly because they do not hold the same Swedish democratic values and prefer to adopt more traditional views based on fundamental Muslim beliefs. This is of concern to the city, which endeavours to engage with all organisations and communities across Malmö.

There are Muslim representatives and organisations in consulting bodies, such as the Anti-Discrimination Committee. However, these representatives are not in elected political organisations. There are also Muslim individuals who have been elected to Malmö City Council and city district councils but who are not engaged or elected as representatives from Muslim organisations and therefore do not necessarily represent these interests.

City representatives are unaware of any financial or political support for Muslim organisations from abroad. It was however suggested by one community organisation that representatives from Saudi Arabia are funding certain Muslim activities within Rosengård District. Unfortunately, they were not prepared to be more specific about the nature of this funding or any implications.

Good practice examples of improving relations with Muslim groups

While no specific policies are aimed at improving relations with Muslim groups, every city district has an intensive Action Plan to improve and respond to integration issues between all groups in its district and in cooperation with other districts. As previously discussed, numerous projects and initiatives aim to improve integration at both the local district and general city level.

Among these initiatives is the Trappan project in which women from different ethnic minority backgrounds are selected through the Labour Integration Office based in Rosengård to take part in running a café for two days a week in the Rosengård district. The women learn to prepare, cook and present various cultural dishes, and also learn how to run and promote a catering business. In addition, this project provides a workshop to teach participants how to sew, weave, knit and embroider goods, which are then sold in the Trappan shop. It should be noted that it is compulsory for unemployed people to attend a project offered by the relevant Labour Integration Office and Trappan is one such project offered.

The city has also given direct support to Muslim organisations in Malmö. For example, around 25 years ago, the city gave a piece of land to the Muslim community free of charge. The Muslim community used this land to build a mosque. As mentioned earlier, this is now the largest mosque in Scania. The city has also provided some land for use as a Muslim

cemetery. Moreover, funding is provided for any democratic organisation, including Muslim organisations, for any activities involving anyone under the age of 24 years. Additionally, according to city representatives, specific funds are allocated for activities or projects that promote integration.

Malmö Museum has focused on the importance of diversity for many years and continues to develop projects that promote cultural heritage, diversity, empowerment and human rights within a cosmopolitan perspective; these are key priorities for the museum's future development. Exhibitions have included '99 Gods', an exhibition on Nelson Mandela's life, the 'cultural bus', and the creation of multi-religious guides on prayer, festivals, food, dress and death.

Malmö Central Library has developed a 'Life Library', where members of the public borrow a person rather than a book for 45 minutes to find out more about their particular experiences. The 'person on loan' changes weekly, with the subjects coming from diverse backgrounds. For example, previous participants have included a transvestite, a lesbian, a homeless man, an ex convict, a Muslim and an imam. This is a popular project and attracts wide participation from both minority and majority groups.

The city's Ethnic Relations Unit intends to establish a project called 'Expedition Malmö'. The concept of this project is to make all areas in Malmö and residents of the city places and people of interest. A City Safari is also planned, where participants will be given a personal guided tour of the city and the opportunity to visit private homes and interesting workplaces. A similar project has been recently successfully implemented in Rotterdam.

The city organises seminars at which Muslim representatives present their culture and religion in various ways. The Islamic Centre is also proactive in inviting the public to various events and celebrations, which are sometimes co-organised with the Church of Sweden. In addition, it actively encourages school visits and other group visits to the centre, adjoining mosque and school. Representatives of the Islamic Centre generally consider these events to be successful and of value to the majority population in helping to dismantle barriers and provide a positive experience and encounter with the Muslim community. The fact that the Imam of the Islamic Centre is a positive and diplomatic individual can be seen to facilitate good communication not only with city representatives but also with the majority population more generally.

In addition to these examples of good practice in which the city is directly involved, there are a number of examples within Malmö of projects and initiatives developed by Muslim groups and organisations in association with others. The Islamic Centre has an alliance with the Islamic Federation, a national association, which has five different associations across Malmö. It is difficult to determine the extent to which these organisations can be said to be representative of the Muslim community in Malmö, particularly as additional cellar mosques are established and are being established in different locations throughout the city.

The Islamic Centre organises numerous collaborative projects to promote integration and intergroup relations, as well as providing relevant support for the welfare of local migrant communities. For example, in cooperation with the Church of Sweden, it initiated a project entitled 'Abraham's Children'. This is a common interest group across faiths that serves to educate children and adults alike of the benefits and necessity of interfaith dialogue and to adopt a balance of faiths. The Islamic Centre has also developed a programme entitled 'Girls Talk', which is open to all girls from all faiths to discuss any issues or concerns that they have relating to puberty. In addition, the centre has a victim support group and offers family counselling, accessible to all. Two years ago, it established the 'New Ways' project, appointing two community researchers to collect data concerning the main interfaith issues within the city and establishing an interreligious council to respond to these issues. At the time of writing, there were plans to organise a second project of this kind, called 'New Ways 2', which will also include representatives from the media and the local police. Furthermore, the Islamic Centre was planning to start monthly 'Free Debates' with all citizens being free to attend to discuss anything and everything. The media would be invited to these events.

In addition, there are other Muslim representatives that provide relevant support for the welfare of local migrant communities, such as after-school activities for pupils and mentoring programmes in areas with a high number of young people.

While the city has no responsibility for the local police, city representatives are aware of the potential tensions that arise between minority and majority groups and the police. The Islamic Centre is generally positive towards the police and confirms that they share positive and regular dialogue. It should be noted, however, that both the Islamic Centre and the city have encountered some inappropriate language and a lack of cultural awareness from individual police officers from time to time. According to some respondents, this was particularly apparent during the unrest in the Rosengård district in December 2008. While some city representatives were initially informed that this kind of behaviour was associated with drafted reinforcement officers from other cities, some community representatives consider that officers from Malmö City Police behaved inappropriately. Television coverage exposed the inappropriate police behaviour, which has heightened tensions further.

Public communication

The city of Malmö does not have a strategy for public communication regarding Muslims in the media. The Islamic Centre believes that, when the media require information concerning the Muslim population in Malmö, they generally approach the Islamic Centre in the first instance for further information and clarification. The Islamic Centre appears to be satisfied with this arrangement and considers that it gives the centre the opportunity to provide accurate information. No dissatisfaction was expressed with the way in which the local media report on issues relating to Muslim communities, although responses to most contentious issues were clearly diplomatic. The city believes that the local media report in a neutral way but it is not familiar with the relationships that journalists or publishers may have with the Muslim community. There are no local Muslim media in Malmö.

Summary and lessons learnt

In summary, the overall state of affairs in relations between the city of Malmö and mainstream Muslim organisations appears to be generally good. There is a willingness on each side to have an open dialogue, which often provides an opportunity to establish and develop collaborative projects in an attempt to improve relations further. However, a small section of the Muslim community does not wish to participate in mainstream Swedish society. As a result, groups representing or reflecting these interests have no dialogue or relationship with the city, which does not appear to have a strategy for opening a dialogue with this section of the Muslim community living in Malmö.

Issues surrounding the availability of land to use for burial ground and the construction of a further mosque sometimes create problematic relations between the Muslim community and the city and are not likely to be resolved in the foreseeable future. The city's inability to respond to these issues is sometimes perceived by Muslim groups and organisations as reflecting a disinterest or a lack of concern regarding their frustrations.

Continuing open intergroup dialogue and a commitment to providing adequate funding for all organisations that follow the democratic rules are considered essential by the city for ensuring the establishment and continuation of present and future successful integration projects. Additionally, ongoing good relations generally are considered particularly relevant for the social cohesion and integration of migrants living in the city of Malmö.

Intergroup relations and radicalisation

Radicalisation within the majority population

Several of those who participated in the research commented that there has been a significant growth in membership of Sweden's far right party – the Sweden Democrats (SD) – during the past five years. City representatives confirmed that SD currently holds five seats out of 61 on Malmö City Council. According to the city, the number of seats held by the SD and Scania Party has remained unchanged for the past 24 years. The city does not consider this group to be radicalised in that it is not perceived as violent or a serious threat to integration, nor is it considered to have a level of support which might generate high levels of concern.

The city is not aware of any relevant forms of radicalisation in the local population within Malmö city that resent religious and/or ethnic minorities. According to city representatives, there have been no reported violent incidents, and no reports of intimidation or harassment of this nature. Moreover, there have been no media reports concerning this issue, with the exception of the television coverage of police officers during the December 2008 riots.

Nonetheless, one city representative who was interviewed does consider that radicalised groups within the majority population are operating within Malmö city. Membership numbers or details of socioeconomic status, age, gender or other characteristics of individuals or groups of this kind are unknown. Other respondents suggested that radicalised groups within the majority population are more prevalent in the Scania region more generally than being specific to the city of Malmö. This opinion was shared by representatives at Malmö Museum, where a neo-Nazi exhibition was recently displayed. The exhibition was successful in that it attracted considerable interest from the population generally; however, based on information collected when the exhibition was created, those working at the museum were unaware of any radicalised groups of this nature operating in the city. Concern was however expressed about the possibility of increased membership of such groups operating across the Scania region more generally.

In terms of hostile behaviour towards Muslim and other minority religious groups, it should be noted that there have been several arson attacks on the Islamic Centre, as well as graffiti being written. For example, the Star of David was spray painted on the front of the mosque. On another occasion, a petrol bomb was thrown into the mosque, which caused significant damage. Other arson attacks have taken place on the Jewish Chapel, where the Star of David was set alight.

It is unclear which individual(s) or groups are responsible for such incidents. The Islamic Centre believes that these incidents are not linked to any religious individual or group but are related to the varying socioeconomic conditions within the city. Representatives at the employment and integration centre (AIC) in Fosie District similarly consider that the incidents are associated with bored youth rather than radicalisation. This view is shared by other organisations, although some of those who participated in the field visit claimed that the attacks were carried out by radicalised Muslim and Jewish groups. To date, no one has been arrested or convicted of any of the arson attacks and the identity of those responsible remains unknown.

The city states that spokespeople in the media have reported that these speculated Muslim and Jewish groups are against all forms of violence and, therefore, the city believes that the individuals involved in these speculated groups have a low threshold to violence and do not pose a violent threat. There has been unrest in the city in the past, most recently in December 2008. This obviously impacted on the local population and influenced some debate concerning the local integration of migrants and minorities. City representatives expressed concern that this unrest received a disproportionate level of media attention, and that other types of activists 'hijacked' events and made them look far worse than the religious groups could have expected. The Islamic Centre shares this view. The city believes that these speculated groups are being used by the media as scapegoats in general debates for various other agendas.

Although some potentially relevant research is being carried out by researchers at Malmö University's IMER, the focus is on right-wing populist politics across Sweden in general and is not particular to Malmö. Researchers at IMER are not aware of any studies concerning radicalisation tendencies among the majority population living in the city.

General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

As the city does not identify any relevant forms of radicalisation in the majority population, there is no policy in relation to these groups or activities. No identified individuals or city departments are responsible for this policy should it exist. Nor are there any methods and measures in place to address issues that these groups may raise.

Relations between groups

According to city representatives, no organisations or groups in the resident civil society are active against anti-immigrant and/or anti-minority groups.

Radicalisation within the migrant and/or minority population

The Swedish government published a commissioned report in February 2009 concerning radicalisation, which stated that radicalised groups were operating in Malmö (Ranstorp and Dos Santos, 2009). However, according to the city, the validity of the report is strongly questioned by academics. The political debate continues as to whether radicalised Muslim groups are operating in Malmö. As noted previously, religious affiliation is not recorded in Sweden and it is therefore difficult to obtain information concerning membership of formal or informal groups. However, as far as city representatives are aware, informal groups do not agitate openly but work within Koran schools and at Friday prayers in cellar mosques. Koran schools – otherwise known as Madrassahs – are privately organised sessions where individuals are specifically taught the teachings of the Koran.

City representatives consider that there are some minor Muslim groups, who – according to other Muslim organisations – follow a more fundamental (radical) form of Islam. They believe that it is mainly religious radicalisation, although there are signs that the radicalisation is becoming more political. For example, these groups would like to have elected representatives within the district councils. The city understands that there are radical individuals who have formed religious groups, but considers these organisations to be informal with loose networks. The city does not consider the radicalisation as attitudinal but believes that there is a conflict of interest between local authorities such as the city district and landlords, on the one hand, and informal groups, on the other. While it believes that the conflict does not lead to any direct action or actual incidents, the city accepts that it does affect the social climate of Malmö and the nature of local debate around integration and social cohesion.

By contrast, one of the community organisations that participated in this research insisted that a radical group is operating within the Rosengård district – more precisely, in Herrgården – which has over 200 members. Representatives of this community organisation do not believe that this radical group operates within its own laws rather than those of Swedish society. The group identified prefers not to use the Islamic Centre and associated mosque for prayer as the mosque is not considered to represent its religious beliefs. There is no communication or dialogue between this group, which prefers to pray at one of the cellar mosques, and the majority Muslim population. The Islamic Centre confirmed that it had no contact with any radicalised groups, but also stated that – to its knowledge – no radical groups existed in Malmö.

Representatives of the same community organisation also maintained that both city and national government representatives were aware of the radical group's existence but did not want to acknowledge it publicly because this would then compel them to address the issues raised. It was further claimed that this radical group is actively oppressing women living in Malmö, physically and psychologically. Moreover, it was claimed that this group uses forms of

intimidation and harassment against individuals and organisations offering local Muslim women support and encouraging them to have some independent thought away from their husbands and children. Representatives claimed that female genital mutilation was actively taking place in local homes among this group. There was also some discussion concerning the recent increase in so-called ‘honour killings’ in Malmö and the higher than average fatal female balcony deaths that had occurred over the previous two years.

While the city does not view so-called ‘honour killings’ as being specific to the Muslim community, the city has been supporting a project called ‘Honour and diversity’ (*Heders- och mångfaldsarbete*, HOMA) in response to some of these concerns. This project is funded by central government and was developed due to the large number of incidents of ‘honour violence’ reported across Sweden in recent years: since 2002, 1,500 to 2,000 women have been subject to such violence – that is, patriarchal violence linked to cultural and religious convictions about female chastity and marriage (US Department of State, 2010). The project attempts to address issues surrounding not only physical violence but also the psychological abuse of girls and women by their male family members. It focuses on drawing women away from the home and building their confidence and independence to resist and/or find coping strategies to deal with their oppression. City representatives maintain that this project is not only for Muslim women but for all women suffering from ‘honour’ abuse and killings. It should be noted that so-called ‘honour killings’ are not related to a particular faith but to the existence of a more ‘traditional’ culture and way of life, and have been apparent in other minority groups.

General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

There is no specific policy towards these groups. As previously stated, there is a general policy concerning integration which incorporates holistic measures to prevent radicalisation. This policy is the responsibility of the city council and the Department of Integration and Employment, and their approach is towards minority issues in general rather than religious issues specifically. Representatives of the city of Malmö, particularly the local district offices and boards, stated that they endeavour to have a continuing dialogue with minority groups. This dialogue is organised through various means such as meetings and open forums where representatives from organisations are invited to take part and which members of the public are also able to attend.

Relations between groups

Within the city, a range of organisations work with integration projects and issues, such as IKF. These organisations and their relevant projects are usually partly funded by the city. Often, cultural organisations are based around a specific ethnic group, such as the Swedish and Iranian Women’s Association in Herrgården, Rosengård. City representatives are actively involved in many activities within civil society that promote integration and they believe that within this broader context they are working against radicalisation. For example, the Swedish and Iranian Women’s Association actively promotes integration through various projects such as providing a workshop for women to learn new skills such as weaving and cooking. Furthermore, as this particular association operates in the area where a radical group is thought to be active (see above), the city considers itself to be directly involved in activities against radicalisation.

While the city provides some funding to groups that address issues raised by radicalisation among migrants or minorities, some respondents suggest the need for further cooperation. For example, some representatives commented that while the city provides funding and addresses issues that might be considered extreme – such as the issue of so-called ‘honour killings’ – less extreme issues are not being addressed. For example, Malmö – in line with Swedish society – promotes gender neutrality, but some Muslim communities do not. Some respondents from both majority and minority organisations criticised the city for failing to respond appropriately where there has been a clash of ideologies between Swedish society and Muslim culture. For example, the Swedish and Iranian Women’s Association claims that it is actively mobilising against radicalisation among migrants and minorities. It arranges workshops and a meeting place for all women, including Muslim women, to develop their own identity and obtain a level of independence. The leader of this group claims that she has received personal threats against her safety and an arson attack was carried out on the

association's workshop last year. City representatives were not aware of the context of this attack. Nor were they aware of claims that a radicalised group is operating in the Rosengård district. The city does not have any responsibility for the local police and this may have contributed to its lack of knowledge concerning any criminal activities.

Communication strategy concerning radicalisation

The city does not have a dedicated or joint public relations strategy with the media regarding reporting on xenophobic, Islamophobic or anti-Semitic groups. Nor is it aware of any joint or dedicated strategy followed by the media when they report on radical groups among migrants and/or minorities.

As city representatives have not previously perceived the presence of any anti-immigrant and/or anti-minority groups operating in the city, they have not established or developed good practices in this respect.

With regard to radicalised groups operating among migrants and minorities, city representatives are keen to establish evidence confirming the existence or otherwise of radical groups and are also keen to determine the possible extent of radicalisation within sections of the minority population. At the time of writing, this work was at an embryonic stage. The development of policies oriented towards promoting good relations, positive attitudinal formation and communication strategies remains at an early stage until further clarification and formal recognition is obtained confirming that such groups exist.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

Sweden's economic crisis during the 1990s affected Malmö more adversely than any other Swedish city. The significant increase in the arrival of refugees and other new immigrants from war-torn areas in the Balkans and the Middle East contributed to high levels of long-term unemployment, social exclusion, poverty and segregation, which were overwhelming and historically unique during this period. Following the establishment of Malmö University, inaugurated in 1999, and the subsequent opening of the Oresund Bridge in 2000 linking Copenhagen to Malmö, an economic revival has transformed Malmö from a city of traditional industry to one of knowledge. Today, Malmö is ethnically diverse, with some 174 different nationalities speaking 130 different languages. It has the highest proportion of individuals of non-Scandinavian extraction of any Swedish city but is also highly ethnically and socioeconomically segregated.

With a range of integration projects being implemented across the city and a commitment to the funding of such projects, processes of intercultural dialogue seem likely to improve in the future. However, with high levels of segregation in particular districts, ensuring that migrant and minority groups integrate not only with one another but also with the native Swedish population remains a significant challenge. Numerous initiatives and events, including the Malmö Festival and district open days, provide opportunities for all communities to come together. However, several organisations and groups working in the city consider that the time has come to develop new forms of intercultural dialogue. This dialogue needs to be encouraged and facilitated on a day-to-day basis as well as being part of one-off events.

Many of those who participated in the field visit complimented the city of Malmö on its robust response to extreme issues surrounding integration, such as the recent increase in so-called 'honour killings'. However, individuals and organisations were critical of a perceived lack of engagement in everyday conflicting ideologies and grassroots issues, such as dialogue relating to differing values and norms surrounding gender and the existence or otherwise of Muslim radicalisation. Furthermore, there was a widely held view that the informal communication that currently exists between all migrant and religious organisations, the police, fire services and media needs to be complemented by a more formal process of communication. This would enable more regular dialogue to begin and would lead to a deeper awareness and understanding of the issues faced by many communities and individuals living in the city. Certainly, the city and 10 city district boards are already well established and well placed to start these processes.

In addition, there is some evidence – as yet unconfirmed – of intergroup tensions between Jews and Muslims living in the city, as well as concerns surrounding the potential growth of a right-wing anti-immigrant movement, contradictory reports relating to the existence of Muslim radicals operating in Malmö and the social unrest in Rosengård District in December 2008. All of these factors highlight the need for a deeper engagement and subsequent dialogue to begin as soon as possible.

Despite these issues and concerns, much can be learnt from Malmö. While there has been criticism concerning access to the Swedish for Immigrants programme, the concept of teaching a new language in the mother tongue is unique and apparently very successful. The redevelopment of Rosengård library to reflect the needs of its community and become an area for meeting, socialising and learning is an insight into how receptive and innovative public service can be. Furthermore, attempts by the police service – and more recently the fire service – to adjust and respond to the neighbourhoods that it serves suggests a recognition that much more work needs to be done and thus provides a basis from which progress can be made.

Finally, amidst Malmö's hugely diverse and exciting population, the city's commitment to the democratic process shines through a sometimes complex and sensitive array of decisions and compromises to be made. This can be seen from issues relating to the funding of a Muslim school to attempts to deal with the chronic shortage of meeting space. While much work remains to be done in the continual development of intercultural dialogue in Malmö, the fundamental basis from which all of this work derives itself is solid, well funded, well positioned and operational. With this infrastructure running alongside communities that are ready to face the challenges ahead, successful outcomes for positive intercultural dialogue and intergroup relationships must surely be achievable.

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List of persons and organisations interviewed

Church of Sweden and an academic with a doctorate in Islamic studies

Deputy Mayor of Malmö City Council and District Mayor of Rosengård District

Employment and Integration Centre (*Arbets- och integrationscenter*, AIC), Fosie District

Ethnic Relations Unit, Malmö City Council

European Network Against Racism (ENAR)

Islamic Centre and adjoining school

Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM)

Malmö Museum

Malmö non-profit organisation (*Malmö Ideella foreningars Paraplyorganisation*, MIP)

Organisation for International Women in Malmö (*Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö*, IKF)

Rosengård Fire Service

Rosengård library

Rosengård School

Senior lecturer at Malmö University

Swedish and Iranian Women's Association, and 'Honour and Diversity' (*Heders och mangfaldsarbete*, HOMA)

Swedish for Immigrants (SIF)

Trappan Women's Group

University Chaplain of Malmö University Interfaith Prayer Room

Heaven Crawley and **Tina Crimes**, Centre for Migration Policy Research (CMPR), Swansea University, Wales (UK)