

Embrace our differences

Investigation into the social vulnerability of migrant women in
Rosengård Malmö

&

Explore the roles of empowering approaches to address social
vulnerabilities

Anoosh Soltani

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Submitted: 13 February 2013

Supervisor: Johanna Alkan Olsson, Sociology of Law, Lund University

For You and myself

I wish eyes

those eyes that recognize lights and signals

in our darkneses

Ears

those that hear calls and familiar voices

in our "Collective unconsciousness"

For you and myself

I wish a soul that is able to undertake all those, perceive and accept differences.

**And a language that with its honesty leads us to get out of our muteness and give us
the ability to talk about what imprisoned us.**

(Margot Bickel)

Abstract

Immigrants, particularly unskilled ones from less developed countries, are identified as one of the most vulnerable groups worldwide. They face various difficulties in order to integrate into their new countries in virtue of cultural differences and inadequate competence and knowledge. An increasing group of them are excluded from the labour market and society which in turn exacerbate their vulnerability. Malmö is Sweden's third biggest city, and one of its main political goals is to achieve sustainability including a multicultural and integrated city. However, the level of socio-economic segregation of "non-Scandinavian" in Malmö is reported to be high compared to the most of European cities.

Applying the concept of vulnerability based on Misztal (2011) and Adger (2006) conceptualization, this project aims to examine what elements of vulnerability exist within Muslims migrant women in Rosengård, the most immigrant dense district in Malmö; also aimed to explore the role of non-governmental and governmental organizations in terms of addressing vulnerability and social exclusion of these women through improving their capabilities.

Evidence from interviews, focus groups, and observations suggests that cultural differences and background have a very significant role in social exclusion and vulnerability of immigrants in general. These migrant women are imposed to cultural and religious limitations in terms of working in the labour market and social activities. Even though they may have strong relations and bonds with other immigrants/ similar people, they lack social ties outside of their community. The evidence shows there is a need to recognize the specific problems that increase the vulnerability of this group. The results also illustrate that the development of social networks between immigrants and the Swedish community is associated with dual benefits and contribute to reduce prejudice and tensions in the host society. The evidence indicates that migrant women involved in such networks show increasing capability, trust and mutual recognition what can contribute to decrease vulnerability and facilitate social integration. Moreover, the findings of this project support the conclusion that vulnerability and social exclusion seem to be sensitive regarding age, gender and ethnicity.

Key Words: social exclusion, social vulnerability, non-governmental organizations, migrant women, labour market, culture, dependency, Sweden.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|------------|--|
| EIM | Engaged i Malmö Project |
| EQLS | European Quality of Life Survey |
| Eurofound | European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions |
| MKB | Malmö Kommunala Bostadsbolag |
| NGO | Non-governmental organization |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| UN-HABITAT | The United Nations Human Settlements Programme |
| POPIN | United Nations Population Information Network |

1. Introduction

At the present, 400 million inhabitants of Europe- almost 80% of Europe's population-live in cities (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2009). During the two last decades, European cities are getting bigger and more diverse by arrival of new immigrants (Davies et al, 2011). , These international migrations change demographic, economic, and cultural structures of receiving countries (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 123). This phenomenon confronts people; both immigrants and hosts, with new situations and unprecedented challenges. One of these consequences is the emergence of segregated ethnically diverse neighborhoods in the receiving societies (Castles & Miller, 2009, pp. xi, 14, Davies et al, 2011). Davies et al. (2011) argue that the immigrants with distinct ethnicity and race are usually inclined to settle close together in order to support each other in new conditions. These kinds of attitudes may also stem from their impoverished economic condition that leads them to reside in certain districts where the housing price is not high (Davies et al., 2011, p. 4, Vidra, 2010).

In 2007, the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighborhoods was analyzed in 15 EU countries and the result communicates that there is a rather high level of social exclusion within these neighborhoods (Davies et al., 2011). Foremost, across the EU, cases of discrimination in the labour market are increasingly reported in the case of immigrants and ethnic minorities (EUKN, 2012). Additionally, evidence shows the residents of these segregated areas experience a lower quality of life and higher level of social and racial tensions. Simultaneously, they suffer from “lack of knowledge about welfare services” and “lack of access to welfare services” (Davies et al, 2011, p. 2). In several European countries, especially the old EU states, there are many challenges for these immigrants in order to integrate socially and politically in society as well as integration into the labour market, especially for those from less developed countries. These situations result in higher “welfare dependency”, “lower education”, and consequently “lower chance of employment” for immigrants (Mannila, 2010, pp. 16-17). All these lead to increase the vulnerability of immigrants towards poverty and reduce the public safety (Ibid.). Many social problems are also inherited from one immigrant generation to another (Mannila, 2010, p. 16). This social, economic and environmental status of a specific group of people has in several studies been described through the vulnerability concept.

This study will use the vulnerability developed by Misztal (2011) and Adger (2006) to examine and investigate the vulnerability of a specific section of the migrant population in Malmö, Sweden.

1.1. Aim

The aim of this study is twofold;

- To examine and investigate the character of the vulnerability and its respective driver forces within Muslim migrant women between 40 and 58 in Rosengård, Malmö.
- To explore and examine the role of local non-governmental and governmental organizations that aim to support these migrant women in terms of addressing the vulnerability of these women through improving their capabilities.

1.1.1. Specific research questions

To achieve the aims of this study the following research question will be addressed focusing on Migrant Muslim women in Rosengård, Malmö:

1. Are these women vulnerable to social exclusion, unemployment and inequality within four areas of housing, neighborhood, labour market and social capital?
2. If yes, does their culture and backgrounds play any role in shaping their vulnerability?
3. How are the identified problems of these women by this research addressed by local organizations aiming to support these women?

1.2. Focus areas

Under this section, I will highlight and justify why I select Sweden and why Muslim migrant women. But before that, I will define the concept of immigrant in this study because it is one of the central themes within this study, insofar as my aims; to explore if Muslim migrant women in Rosengård are vulnerable to social exclusion, inequality and unemployment or not.

Immigrant in this study, based on definition of immigrant in Cambridge dictionary, refers to people who move out of their country of birth to another country in order to live there for a considerable period or permanently. In Sweden, the majority of the immigrants stayed in this country for more than 10 years, but “In general, foreign citizens can apply for Swedish citizenship after living in Sweden for five years” (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009). And by using the second generation of immigrant, I refer to children of this group of immigrant.

1.2.1. Immigration to Sweden

In 2009, Sweden had 12% of total immigrants to the EU countries (Mannila, 2010, p. 11). According to Statistiska centralbyrån in 2007, the population in Sweden was almost 9.2 million (Mannila, 2010, p. 19). 14% of this population were born outside the Sweden (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009).

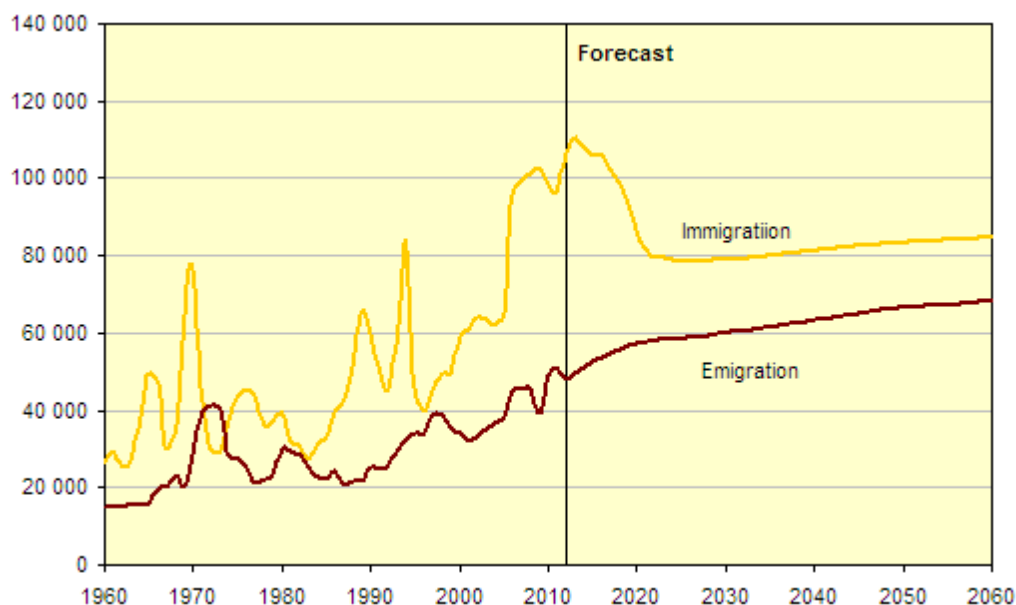


Figure 1-Immigration and emigration 1960–2011 and forecast 2012–2060 in Sweden

Source: SCB (2012)

From 1984 to 1992, by emerging prosperity, Sweden began to accept refugees and asylum seekers rather labour immigrants based on humanitarian response and not based on the needs of society (Rosenberg, 1995). However, by emerging of economic recession refugees are increasingly considered as “economic burden” for society (Rosenberg, 1995) which triggers more exclusion of this group from society.

In Sweden, the initiatives and policies regarding integration aim to provide equal rights and opportunities for all regardless of their backgrounds and ethnic (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009). To address social exclusion of immigrants, most measures and “the complementing supports” are designed in ways that facilitate immigrants’ introduction into the new society during the first years of their arrival (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009, p. 1). In line with the latter aim, the public welfare apparatus should also provide immigrants with free Swedish classes with the aim to accelerate their integration both into the labour market and society (Rosenberg, 1995, p. 213). The public employment service provides new arrivals with the help of a counselor. As economic intensive immigrants who are active during the process will be paid (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009, p. 1).

In 2007, OECD data showed that “the vulnerability of immigrant toward unemployment” is twice as high as natives in Norway, Sweden and Finland (Mannila, 2010, p. 25). The 80% of people who were born in Sweden are in the labour market. This number is more than 10% lower for those of Nordic

origin e.g. Finnish. African and Asian born immigrants has the lowest rate; almost 40% (Ministry of integration and gender equality, 2009; Mannila , 2010, p.23). Mannila (2010, p.26) points out that; “45% of youth were born in Sweden with Swedish parent started college till 2005. This share was 35% for foreign-born population and for people who were born in Sweden to foreign born parents was 37%”. This data confirm that not only “the education outcomes” is better among native in Sweden but also the labour market opportunities after education are somewhat higher for native compared to immigrant population (Statistikrapport, 2007 cited in Mannila, 2010, p. 26). Additionally, State engagement in the housing market has been reduced to the minimum level since the introduction of neo-liberalization ideas, in 2010. This decision causes that lower income population such as refugees are kept away from “certain districts” of Swedish cities which in turn leads to creation of inequality and segregated areas (Hedin et al., 2011).

Further, in Sweden, data and information regarding the origin countries of immigrants are not deemed important or collected precisely. This can be explained through “folkhem” which means where all citizens have equal rights disregarding their background (Mannila, 2010, p. 29). However, there could be possibilities that designed measures and initiatives to address the social exclusion of immigrants would not fulfill their actual needs and issues. Therefore, providing precise information about the real needs, lifestyle and culture (Background) of different group of population in cities is so vital in order to allocate equal opportunities and design proper policies which aim to reduce vulnerability (Flood, 1997; Cutter & al, 2003, p. 245).

1.2.2. Target group: Why women?

In many cultures “gender specific responsibilities, constrains and lack of access to resources” endanger the women social and health conditions and increase the vulnerability of women towards discrimination and exploitation (Morrow, 1999, p. 9; Gosh, 2009). Women, mostly from less developed countries, bear loads of care responsibilities in order to provide the daily needs of family members, as a result of their patriarchy regulations (Morrow, 1999, Gosh, 2009, Aolain, 2011). These vulnerabilities would be increased when community or family are affected by disaster, war (Aolain, 2011) or even migration as a big change in family life. Therefore, vulnerability appears to be gender sensitive (Morrow, 1999, p. 6).

Even though Sweden is one of the best countries regarding gender equality in the world (The Swedish Institute (SI), 2011), the representation of women and men is not the same in the labour market, a trend can also be seen in the case of immigrants. The share of immigrant women in the workforce is 18% less than native women, this portion for immigrant men is 12% less compared to native men. Additionally, women who come from South America, Africa and Asia face more

difficulties to turn their educational knowledge into the practical world (Mannila, 2010, p . 23). It also should consider that the migrant women selected as the target group of this study are Muslim. Evidence show in the case of Muslims from Middle Eastern countries, their religion seems to play very crucial role in shaping not only their lifestyles and rituals (Otterbeck, 2010, p. 7) but also public opinion and behaviors towards them. The media discourse stereotypes usually present Muslims with the assumption that individuals of Middle Eastern ancestry are not receptive to Western values (Razak, 2011, p. 16), therefore, these Muslim immigrants prefer not to interact with local society especially in western countries. Moreover the stereotypes and public opinions mostly picture Muslim communities with oppressed women or terrorist attracts (Naber, 2008, p. 278). This, in turn, may influence the integration of Muslims from Middle East in society and in the labour market. It is worth to mention that most of policy makers and human right activist regarding violence within Muslim communities focus mostly on the outcomes of violence towards women such as forced marriages. They neglect the roots of such issues, for example lack of economic autonomy or inadequate means regarding implementation of women's rights in these sorts of families. To come up with a better solution for such problems, the deeper factors such inequality in the labour market should be considered (Razack, 2011, p. 144).

Therefore, by focusing on Muslim migrant women in Rosengård, this study tends to increase the sensitivity towards Muslim women migrations' problems by providing more evidences and information about these women's lifestyles, and culture both in origin and destination countries (Gosh, 2009).

1.3. Outline of the thesis

This thesis will proceed by explaining the theoretical and analytical frameworks used in this study. Then, the relation between the four focus areas of this study; segregated neighborhood, housing, employment and social network with vulnerability and social exclusion of immigrants will be introduced. After that, the applied methods for answering the proposed questions will be outlined. Later on, the findings will be presented which are plotted to two categories; Micro- and Meso-levels based on participants in the interviews of this study. After all, the discussion, conclusion and recommendation will be stated.

2. Theoretical and analytical framework

In this section, I will first highlight why I use the concept of vulnerability. In the sub-section, I provide an overview of the meaning of social vulnerability and the main elements contribute to it. Further, the relation between increasing capabilities and reducing social vulnerability are discussed

in this section based on Sen's perspective. Foremost, I define my theoretical interpretation and how I have used different aspects of the concept of social vulnerability to analyze my empirical materials, hence explaining my analytical framework.

Adger (2006, p. 268) refers to vulnerability as "the state of susceptibility to harm from exposure to stresses associated with environmental and social change and from the absence of capacity to adapt" which implies the lack of ability to cope with adverse consequences of changes and hazards. But this definition is quite abstract not directing us to what kind of harm that may be referred to.

However, before elaborating this concept more, it is important to portray the relationship between vulnerability and social exclusion because one main focus area of my study is the social exclusion of immigrants and its respective issues. The EU defines social exclusion as; "A process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. These make it difficult for them to get jobs, income and education opportunities as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feeling powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives" (Eurostat, 2010, p. 7). Even if not totally clear in the literature, the social exclusion concept is a term that more frequently related to the political or policy level. For example the, United Nation tries to include "combating with social exclusion's schemes" into development programs in both developed and developing countries (Li, 2005). The EU has taken up the concept and has increasingly larger extent devoted special focus on combating "social exclusion" and developed policies and strategies in order to enhance "social cohesion" (Eurostat, 2010, p. 7). From a poverty perspective, social exclusion, as a process, is an outcome of "social isolation" and "economic instability". On the other hand, Chambers (referenced by Misztal, 2011, p. 26) describes the vulnerability as "as characterized by both current economic deprivation and a sense of insecurity and exposure to risk and shock". This may also relate to the fact that the social exclusion concept is a more aggregate concept while the vulnerability concept can more concretely be related to the individual. Nevertheless, vulnerability is increased when "capacity of welfare state" is reduced in terms of addressing "inequality", "unemployment" and "poverty" (Misztal, 2011, p. 26). Therefore, Misztal (2011, p. 26) highlighted that social exclusion is a multidimensional and dynamic process which can be covered pretty well by high capacity of vulnerability concept.

The concept of vulnerability is increasingly applied as a practical analytical framework in various disciplines; a wide range from the medical discipline to the social sciences, (Misztal, 2011, p. 5). In the literature vulnerability is often seen as a "multidisciplinary concept" and joined in different ways

with other concepts such as poverty, discrimination, marginalization, social exclusion, social capital and stigmatization (Miształ, 2011, p. 2). In these contexts, the vulnerability concept is used usually as a tool for examining poverty, its causes and effects on impoverished populations.

I have two reasons to use vulnerability as the main analytical concept for the framework of this study:

The multidimensional vulnerability concept has a capacity to handle all aspects of sustainability (social, environmental and economic). Taking into account that there is “functional relationships between cultural-socioeconomic factors and environmental risks” (Frumkin, 2010), the UNDP report (1996) highlighted that economic growth cannot be sustained if is not accompanied by investment in social capital (human development). Consequently, vulnerability within citizens or a group of them can be considered as an obstacle in the way of achieving sustainability. In the same line of reasoning, Turner argues that exploring “who, which systems are vulnerable and how” can assist scientists and decision makers to develop more effective ways toward sustainability goals in a more precise manner (Turner et al., 2003, p. 8075), and this argument also supported by Miształ (2011, p. 5). Therefore, it can be said that studying social vulnerability equips us with knowledge to understand how and to what extent people are vulnerable to contemporary economic and social changes (Cutter and Emrich, 2006) which may open a new perspective on policy and decision-making processes in mitigating these shocks and hazards (Miształ, 2011, p. 6).

2.1. Social aspects of vulnerability and my analytical framework

In the following section, I attempt to explain the social aspects of vulnerability where my study has its focus.

Very similar to Adger conceptualization of vulnerability, Cutter & Emrich (2006) defined vulnerability as “the susceptibility or fragility of social groups to the impacts of hazards, as well as their sensitivity, or ability to adequately recover from them and absorb shocks. This susceptibility is shaped both by “individual characteristics” and by other more complicated factors such as the provision of health care, social capital and access to other welfare facilities (Cutter & Emrich, 2006).

I borrowed the definitions of vulnerability by Cutter & Emrich and Adger as my theoretical framework. Therefore, in this study, social vulnerability of migrant women refers to the fragility and state of susceptibility of this group to current and future social and environmental changes, and their sensitivity and capabilities of these women to respond to these changes and social hazards.

The difficulty with the vulnerability concept is that its specific content is different depending on the

different social groups, time and geographical scales you are studying (Cutter et al, 2003).

It is pointed out by Miasztal (2011) that to some extent vulnerability is “social” since the degree to which individuals are vulnerable is influenced “by and through” other people’s actions (Ibid., p. 46).

Foremost, Cutter et al. (2003) argues that social vulnerability is a manifest of inequality. Inequalities not only trigger social factors that shape and increase “susceptibility” of people to hazards but also influence people’s abilities to cope with harm (Ibid.). Social vulnerability mostly comprises community’s experience and perception of hazards and their ability and knowledge regarding how to deal with harm and reduce it. The components of social vulnerability are shaped and influenced by cultural, socioeconomic, demographic, political, as well as the physical environment of a community (Cutter et al., 2003, pp. 243-244). Therefore, to examine the presence of social vulnerability, individual characteristics e.g. culture and education level must be in the focus. Further, some more complex factors such as accessibility to labour market and social networks have to be examined. Therefore, it seems that the concept of social vulnerability is able to provide decision-makers with information to identify the underlying factors that undermine wellness of people, in turn, this information enable them to adopt more appropriate “social protection systems” (Cain 2009, p. 129).

Social vulnerability has consequently much to do with institutions and governance which are determining factors in shaping, reducing or increasing vulnerability (Cutter et al., 2003; Engle, 2011). In this regard, Engle (2011, p. 648) argues governance, policies, and institutions as well as local organizations play very critical roles in shaping the ability of a society or people in order to deal with rapid changes or social shocks e.g. economic crises. Sen (2000) indicates improvement in ability to respond to shocks can happen through increasing the capability and flexibility of the society. Increased capability is usually referred to an increased availability of information and increased competence of the individual or community. “Capabilities” as Sen defined it, are all possible and “attainable” lifestyles and “real opportunities” that a person has freedom to achieve in a “given society” (Pressman, 2000; Des Gasper, 2007). “Functionings” is another important element within the “capabilities” context. “Functionings” refer to the “individual’s activities” and “statuses” that people value and try to be or to do (Kuklys & Robeyns, 2004, p. 10). Sen (2000) argues that a form of freedom enables people to achieve doing or being the things that they value. Consequently, through an Aristotelian perspective, a disadvantaged life is one in which a person does not have freedom to function and choose those actions or statuses that he values based on various reasons (Sen, 2000, p. 4). Being able to “take part fully in the life of society” and enjoy the available welfare facilities require the “expansion of capability” simultaneously with “equity in capabilities” (Pressman, 2002, p.

430). And whether people want to use the available capabilities or not should be people's conscious choice which is possible through increasing public information and educate them regarding community benefits rather individual benefits.

All these social definitions of vulnerability introduced or contained the factors that contribute to shaping the susceptibility of humans to social, environmental and economic changes and crises. I used these factors introduced by Adger, Msztal, Cutter and Emrich as the analytical framework of this study to explore if Muslim migrant women in Rosengård are vulnerable to exclusion from mainstream society, labour market, inequality and changes or crises in their society and families. In the next section, these elements and how they are used and selected in this study will be explained in detail and in a more organized way.

2.2. Analytical framework

For my purpose an "aggregate conception of vulnerability" fits my purpose quite well (Msztal, 2011). The aggregate conceptualization of vulnerability enables researchers to understand and grasp the concept more fully through "studying" the current relations and vulnerability situation of people with others, simultaneously with "examining" their "past forces" and underlying factors that shape their "personhood" as well as by "exploring" risks and harms people may face in future (Ibid: 46). This cumulative definition also provides more possibilities in order to understand the complexity of contemporary society (Ibid.).

Within her conceptualization of social vulnerability, Msztal identifies three distinct categories of variables; "dependence on others, the unpredictability of the future and the irreversibility of the past" (Msztal, 2011, p. 49- 50). Based on the latter variables, Msztal (2011) argues, from a time perspective, vulnerability is also connected to "both collective past and future" (Miasztal, 2011, p. 46). Therefore, vulnerability has its roots in the past, the present and as well as in the future (Msztal, 2011). Msztal (2011) identifies five factors within the aforementioned categories which influence and shape vulnerability within society. These include irreversibility of the past (undesirable experiences and sufferings), mutual dependency, lack of self-esteem, lack of respect and, uncertainty and fear about the future. These factors serve as analytical tool for this study.

This broad conceptualization of vulnerability pretty well covers many aspects of social vulnerability which be explained in the last section e.g. the role of background and experiences of community in shaping their vulnerability. As it can be seen through these elements, this conceptualization of vulnerability has the ability to shed light on different aspects of social vulnerability, a wide range from relationships between "self" and "state" of society to people's experiences in terms of "risks"

and “sufferings” (Misztal, 2011, p. 49).

However, after categorizing the results of focus groups and interviews based on the aforementioned five elements, I ended up with some results that did not really fit under any element of vulnerability conceptualized by Misztal. Two themes were uncovered from these sorts of results. The first one is the absence of entitlements in order to deal with social exclusion issues e.g. lack of information regarding how to find a job. And the second theme implied to injustice towards these migrant women both within families and society e.g. women are not allowed to go out without company. Therefore I use two additional elements of social vulnerability as a part of my analytical tool. These elements are “absence of entitlements” and inequality. The former is introduced by Adger (2006) as a trigger to increase vulnerability and the latter is indicated as a main factor of social vulnerability by some of the distinguished researchers in the concept of vulnerability such as Adger (2000 & 2006), Cutter and Emrich (2003) and also Misztal (2011).

Based on the Misztal’s conceptualization of vulnerability and the other two factors introduced by Adger (2006) and Cutter and Emrich (2003) etc., I investigated the presence of social vulnerability elements and stressors within migrant women in Rosengård as a group who experience exclusion from mainstream social network and labour market. Moreover, I try to show the relationships between each of these elements with a timeline; the past, the present and the future.

However, Engle (2011) argues that risks and stresses do not stem only from the physical situation of the system but economic, social, cultural and political processes, also play critical roles in the creation of stress for communities. Engle (2011, p. 649) suggests that in order to reduce the vulnerability more profoundly, bio-physical and social aspects, which “make a system vulnerable”, must be examined together. Therefore, it is also so crucial to take into account biophysical and geographical issues when assessing social vulnerability. In the same line of reasoning, Palvarini and Pavolini (2010) point out that built environment deprivation and housing inadequacy are critical factors in social vulnerability, since these issues associated with the economic condition of household (Cutter and Emrich, 2006). In line with these arguments, this study examines housing and neighborhood deprivations as “specific forms of social vulnerability” (Palvarini and Pavolini, 2010, p. 126). Even if I mainly will focus on the social aspects in my thesis, the housing condition of the women in Rosengård and Malmö is a focal point and by using the vulnerability concept I open up for the possibilities to analyze the interaction between social aspects and their living conditions.

I acknowledge I did not include all factors influence the vulnerability concept since that is beyond the scope of this master thesis and social conceptualization of vulnerability used in this study. Below

each of these factors and how they used in analysis process are explained;

2.2.1. Irreversibility of past (undesirable experiences, lack experience in labour market/formal education and culture)

The past plays a critical role in relation to the vulnerability of people, since the “consequences” of previous actions, injuries, wounds etc. which took place in the past are something that people “cannot free themselves from” (Misztal, 2011, p.49). These undesirable past experiences influence and shape present relations of a person in society and may act as a barrier in developing satisfying relations with others and lead to social exclusion (Ibid). Therefore, to address vulnerability fully the “past relations” and events must be considered (Misztal, 2011, p. 133-134). In the focus groups and interviews, culture, lifelong learning and experiences of migrant women were investigated in order to examine how the past impacts the current status of these migrant women.

2.2.2. Mutual dependency

While we intend to respond to vulnerability issues, we must devote especial attempts to examine current people relations in society since one form of vulnerability stems from “mutual dependency” of humans. By linking the concept of citizenship with the rights of care giving/receiving, Misztal (2011, p. 70) argues that in the modern society every person has the right to be cared, at the same time each citizen also is obligated to take responsibility in order to take care of others. This claim gets even more sense when one considers that we all are vulnerable (Ibid, p. 70). Humans, as social creatures, in certain stages and periods are highly dependent on others people for instance in childhood era (Misztal, 2011). In these stages, vulnerability can be defined as “ the high dependency on each other” since it seems without receiving the supportive care and help these dependent people’s lives may be jeopardized (Ibid., p. 49). In short, as dependency is an indivisible attribute of humans, therefore it can be asserted that all of us are vulnerable as a result of this common intrinsic (Misztal, 2011, p. 63). Contrarily, in society one person’s interests may be in common with other citizens, therefore our freedom and choices are affected and limited by other members’ “choices” and “actions” (Ibid., p. 51).

While conducting focus groups and interviews, the dependency of migrant women in Rosengård is examined at two dimensions; the dependency of women on the others e.g. husbands and even on the social assistances, and also the dependency of their families on these women. It is also investigated that if these kinds of dependency restrict their opportunities to find jobs and to be in social networks. These forms of dependency were used as factors to assess mutual dependency of migrant women.

2.2.3. Lack of respect

Respect is crucial in shaping social relations of humans since people also have this essential need to be valued and respected, they also need to be in social networks and be treated equally (Miształ, 2011, p. 147). It can be seen that self-respect are experienced and shaped by others and how they treated us, so disrespecting may lead to feel “harm and injustice” and triggers conflicts with society and weaken social cohesion (Ibid.). Excluding people from “possession of certain rights” within society damages their self-respect and results in “cultural exclusion, reducing social support and reducing of self-esteem of people” (Ibid., p. 147).

When conducting my interviews the feelings respective to lose role and position in family and not being accepted by society, because of being uneducated, unskilled etc., were important factors to assess as lack of respect towards regarding these migrant women.

2.2.4. Lack of Self-Esteem

Self-esteem, which consists of “dignity” and “universal respect”, for all members of society is another vital element in order to achieve a “just society”. One way to provide the opportunity for all people to esteem themselves as “autonomous person” and give all members of society “the possibility” to have a life with dignity can be achieved through constructing regulations and law. These regulations must lead to construct a system in which “mutual recognition” and “universal respect” are ensured for all members of society (Miształ, 2011, pp. 62-63).

When conducting my focus groups and interviews, the responses regarding missing identity, prejudice and inability in doing social activities e.g. integration to labour market were identified as important elements to assess as lack of self-esteem in this group.

2.2.5. Absence of entitlements

In addition, vulnerability can also be examined in “absence of Entitlements”. Entitlements as Adger (2006, p. 270) explained “are the actual or potential resources available to individuals based on their own production, assets or reciprocal arrangements”. In other words, entitlements are gates to welfare or a way through which one can access income, health, information etc. The entitlements can be “realized” or “latent” (Adger, 2006). Vulnerability in this context is “susceptibility to circumstances of not being able to sustain a livelihood” (Ibid.). Therefore it can be implied that lack of entitlement can stimulate the situations which lead to endanger livelihood and increase vulnerability to poverty. Moreover, trough examining entitlements, it is possible to understand how/why different groups and people experience different level of risks (Turner et al., 2003, p. 8075). Foremost, entitlements have integral role in terms of shaping adaptive capacity and

sensitivity of humans (Ibid.).

In this study, lack of access to available information and other services or opportunities e.g. health care or education are deemed as factors in order to examine the accessibility and availability of entitlements for this group of migrant women.

2.2.6. Inequality

The psychological studies point out injustice conditions influence adaptive capacity and deteriorate it. The evidences show people perceive themselves more vulnerable to any kinds of hazards -both environmental and social- if they feel that they are victims of injustice (Adger, 2006). These kinds of feelings regarding being vulnerable in effect reduce the abilities to cope with difficult conditions and hazards even though they have the capability and resources to do so (Frumkin, 2010). In regard to this, one downside of rapid urbanization is the lack or poor provision of services or facilities for all or some parts of a city (Flood, 1997). Inadequate provision of facilities raises inequality in urban areas that in turn lead to uneven distribution of vulnerability within society (Cutter and Emrich, 2006). However, the degree of vulnerability to high extent contributes to the characteristics of the people (Ibid.).

In the focus groups and interview processes, lower quality or inadequate public services e.g. health care system in accordance with the needs of this group and injustice in housing and labour market are factors used in order to assess inequality towards these migrant women in society and their families.

2.2.7. Uncertainty

According to Misztal (2011, p. 29) vulnerability can be explained as exposure to uncertain situations in which people are hopeless about the future, fear of to be rejected by society or feel that they do not belong to the place and society they live within. Consequently, they are not sure about “reliability” of their surrounded people and environment (Ibid.). The outcomes of these sorts of status are “fear” and “uncertainty” about the future. This “fear” associated with risks/vulnerability and results in increasing “anxiety”, undermines ability to establish social relations and increases feeling “insecure” about future (Ibid.). Accordingly, Ranci & Migliavacca (2010, p. 219) argue that weak integration with mainstream society and inadequate access to resources place people in uncertain situations, that associate with risk of poverty and social exclusion. These “uncertainty” and “fear” feelings about the future vulnerability are very critical in modern societies in which the feeling of fear and uncertainty are enhanced by the increasing number of terrorisms and crises (Misztal, 2011, pp. 48-49).

In interviews and focus groups, the presence of any fear regarding the future e.g. future of the children, job security are factors used to assess the uncertainty of migrant women in Rosengård.

3. Literature review: How housing, neighborhood, employment and social network relate to vulnerability and social exclusion?

3.1. Built environment and neighborhood

It is found that improper policies and discriminatory “structural mechanisms” may lead the emergence of residential segregation (Morello-Frosch and Lopez, 2006, p. 183). Unequal distribution of welfares and amenities lead to various issues for the residents of this segregated area e.g. inadequate household heating system which can reduce or amplify the outcomes of hazards such as air pollution or psycho-social stress on people (Ibid.). In other words, community level factors influence “vulnerability” of residents in segregated areas. Foremost, at the individual level, each person's behavior and social/ physical condition such as household crowding, income, and diet can exacerbate vulnerability in relation to the build environment (Morello-Frosch and Lopez, 2006, p. 183). By far crime is reported as the first problem at local community level in some countries such as Sweden, Ireland and United Kingdom (Eurostat, 2010, p. 85).

3.2. Housing

Housing is crucial for immigrants with the deprived economic condition, given that they spend a big portion of their income on housing (Capps et al. 2005).

“Poor housing condition”, “lack of basic facilities”, “expose to noise, pollution and violence” trigger not only health and security problems but also undermine educational attainment and employment opportunities (Eurostat, 2010, p. 64). The evidence indicates that most of delinquent people come from housing with poor conditions. For instance it is confirmed that the characteristics of houses such as poor ventilation, inadequate light, overcrowding highly influence the behavior of young people (Monthly Labour Review, 1936).

Analyzing indicators, which contribute to the relationship between housing conditions and its respective policies, reveal that poor housing condition can often be more contributed to inappropriate policies rather than to low income (Flood, 1997).

3.3. Unemployment

The term of vulnerability are often applied to refer to people who are insecure in terms of their employment conditions since they are “low-skilled, low-paid, and exploited” and usually they have short-term jobs (Misztal, 2011, p. 34).

Recently, in Europe the high rate of unemployment is considered as the main “contributor” to “persistence of social exclusion” (Sen, 2000, p. 18 and Lin, 2000, pp. 54-55). Unemployment is seen as a factor that takes away rights that are available to other citizens through employment (Sen, 2000) such as “job-related insurance” and “medical entitlements” (Sen, 2000, pp. 19-20). In this case, the social contacts and participation in social activities also are reduced due to “lack of money for going out socially”, “stigma of unemployment” or “lack of confidence” which reinforces social isolation (Sen, 2000, pp. 19-20).

Unemployment weakens the relationship of jobless people with their family and community members (Sen, 2000, p. 21). People with experience of “continued unemployment” may become skeptical if the “social arrangements” are designed in the equal ways. It also enhances this feeling that as an unemployed person, he/she highly depends on others (Sen, 2000, p. 22).

In addition, because this group’s self-confidence and esteem are reduced, they do not have any more real perception about their abilities, what exacerbates their exclusion from the labour market (Sen, 2000, p. 19). The longer a person remains unemployed, the more his/her abilities are undermined in term of provision of goods, services and housing (Eurostat, 2010, p. 63, Sen, 2000).

3.4. Social Networking

Social capital in development studies is identified as a very proper response to vulnerability of “individuals, households, region, and even a whole nation” (Misztal, 2011p. 27). According to UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) rankings, quality of life is improved significantly by investing in social capital, health care, and education rather than just increasing incomes (Flood, 1997).

Social networking, as a mean to enhance social capital, discusses about the fair “interrelations” that exist among people and their opportunities within society (Sen, 2000, p. 24). If there were not any interrelations among different people opportunities within society, this condition would lead to emerge of social exclusion (Ibid.). Evidence shows that the lack of social network undermines the health status of people. For instance it is reported that “inactive people” and “retired persons” who are excluded from society are in poorer health status (Eurostat, 2010, p. 78).

Further, social participation is defined as the interactions with other members of society and active involvement in social activities as a way to establish social networking (Eurostats, 2010, p. 90). Adam Smith (referenced by Sen, 2000, p. 4) argues that lack of capabilities to take part in mainstream society without shame leads to “capability deprivation” and induces some types of social exclusion” and may lead to other forms of deprivation (Ibid.). This “capability deprivation” also can impact freedom of people within communities in terms of interaction with other members of society or reduce the chance for establishing economic linkages which come from social relations (Sen 2000, pp, 4,13). In similar line, Misztal (2011, p. 133-134) points out that weak social capital and lack of adequate social support worsen vulnerability.

Social protection is identified as a proper way to address the vulnerability stemmed from lack of social relations and networks. Social protection is defined as all interventions either from public or private organizations that intend to reduce the vulnerability and addresses the needs of both households and individuals (Eurostat, 2010, p. 95). Social protections can be offered in forms of cash, goods or services and its benefits cover people with disabilities, health problems, survivors, unemployment etc. (Ibid.).

The next chapter presents the methods for collecting data and analyzing approaches in relations to the aims of this study.

4. Methodology

In this study, I devoted most of my focus on “how” questions rather than on “how many” questions, therefore qualitative methods is considered to provide more accurate data in order to answer the questions of this study. In line with my qualitative ambitions, Bryman (2008) points out qualitative methods can provide researchers with deeper perception regarding different people perspectives and opinions about a certain topic which in this study is social vulnerability of migrant women in Rosengård, Malmö, Sweden.

In the following sections I will first briefly explain the study design. In the second section I will describe my methods for collecting the empirical material to reach my objectives.

4.1. Study design

Bryman (2008) remarks that case-studies are used with qualitative research methods. Bailey (2010) argues that case study is a measure that is utilized in order to investigate a unit (case) which interrelates to broader issues in certain ways. Yin (2009) discusses case study has the potentials to identify and investigate intensively a contemporary phenomenon in the real life. This study uses a

single case study design in order to explore factors influencing and forming the social vulnerabilities of migrant women in Rosengård.

4.2. Data collection methods

I used different methods to collect data for this thesis. The following methods were applied in this research to create an analytical framework as well as collect data: literature and document review, semi-structured interviews, Focus group, and observations.

4.2.1. Literature review

Bloomberg & Volpe (2008, p. 46) pointed out; “A key objective of the literature review is to provide a clear and balanced picture of current leading concepts, theories, and data relevant to your topic or subject of study”.

In my thesis I have conducted two types of literature review. The first one have focused on identifying areas, in relation to social exclusion that draw the main attention of the public and decision makers across the EU, e.g. the employment situation of immigrants. Moreover, the literature review also is considered helpful to shed light on the areas that are neglected (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). The second literature review aimed to provide theoretical approaches to develop the analytical framework for my study. For this purpose, I dedicated my focus on literature associated with vulnerability, social exclusion as well as capability, reviewing existing literature and scientific journals.

4.2.2. Non-participant observation

I utilized non-participant observation as a method recommended by Bryman (2008) to track and understand better the everyday and real lives of migrants in Rosengård; additionally I aimed to have a closer contact with the environment in which they reside. Non-participant observation helped me to seize general composition of population in Rosengård in public areas such as Rosengård Centrum. The results of observation are included in analysis section and case study description (appendix 8).

4.2.3. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are recognized as one form of flexible interviews but with the certain questions that cover a specific topic (Bryman, 2008, p. 438). The semi structured interviews gave the actors the opportunity to openly talk about their experiences and difficulties on their way to achieve their goals in terms of policies, culture, social and economic problems.

All interviews were in person interviews. The interviews were carried out in the offices of the respondents and were recorded and fully transcribed. The consents of respondents in terms of

participation in this study were asked via phone or emails. All of them were informed about the aims and nature of the study, in advance, via emails.

Questions within interviews with administrators and staffs included both open ended and close ended questions. However, how many open or close questions are asked and the compositions of questions to some extent were determined by two factors: the interviewee responsibility and her/his time. In the each interview, the questions were about the identified issues and respective responses to problems of these migrant women. The last part of the interview consisted of open-ended questions about the role of politics in the matter of social exclusion, and the achieved goals of project/ organizations as well as projection of future regarding social exclusion of this target group (Appendix 2).

Table 1- Name and respective organization of participants in semi-structured interviews

| Interview number | Participant/s | Organization | Duration (Min) |
|------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Eva & Per | Lund University/ Yalla Trappan | 60 |
| 2 | Dorotha | Yalla Trappan | 32 |
| 3 | Margareta | Malmö högskola | 45 |
| 4 | Jila | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening | 64 |
| 5 | Faten | Malmö Stad | 55 |
| 6 | Julia | Malmö Stad | 54 |

4.2.4. Focus group interviews

By using the concept of social vulnerability, this thesis is mostly focused on social phenomena which are a result of collective actions and thoughts of people not each individual behavior per se. The focus group technique is considered as an appropriate method to investigate factors contributes to social changes (Bryman, 2008) such as social exclusion and vulnerability of immigrants.

As Bryman (2008) explained, focus group is a method of interview in which questions are asked and discussed within a group. Biases enforced by the interviewer are also reduced since it is to a high extent the respondents who take over the direction of the session. Bryman (2008) points out that another strong privilege of the focus group is to explore a specific topic in depth with saving time and money.

Four focus group interviews were used to collect information about Muslim migrant women regarding their level of social vulnerability and social exclusion. As a complementary tool for the focus groups' data, one questionnaire was used regarding composition of households. These questionnaires were available in three languages; English, Swedish and Farsi. The questionnaires

were filled with the help of moderators (appendix 3). The selection of respondents was occurred based on personal research through the Malmö stads webpage and PERIPHERIA project website. I used two non- governmental organizations *Yalla Trappan* and *Herrgårdens kvinnoörening*¹ as platforms that linked me to migrant women. Appendix 5 entails information regarding these organizations. The participants were immigrant women who were members or worked within these organizations, and live or used to live in Rosengård.

These focus groups covered four areas; housing, neighborhood, employment and social network. To avoid asking lots of questions and also to initiate discussions, some pictures were utilized. These pictures, based on literature, highlighted the controversial areas within each topic e.g. trash collection in the neighborhood, this technique was very helpful in terms of saving time. For each subject, participants were asked to talk about positive and negative aspects and the answers were written on the given cardboard for that subject (appendix 6).

The small size of the groups is because of the controversial and complex nature of the issues which implies participants may have much to say about that since they are involved in the issue both physically and emotionally. Therefore, to avoid being bombarded and confused with loads of information and end up with precise data, the small groups are preferred in the context of complex issues (Bryman, 2008).

Table 2- Name and respective organizations of focus groups’ participants

| Focus group Number | Organization | Number of Participants | Use of Translator | Used Language | Duration (min) | Name of Participants |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Yalla Trappan</i> | 2 | Yes | Swedish | 40 | Nahid & Zeinab |
| 2 | <i>Yalla Trappan</i> | 2 | Yes | Swedish | 45 | Samaneh & Sara |
| 3 | <i>Herrgårdens kvinnoörening</i> | 3 | No | Farsi | 120 | Azimeh, Behnoosh & Jila |
| 4 | <i>Herrgårdens kvinnoörening</i> | 4 | No | Farsi | 80 | Azimeh, Jila, Nezhat & Ghamartaj |

¹ *Yalla Trappan* is a professional organization which first focuses is on increasing the employment rate within migrant women in Rosengård and provides them with income. On the other hand, *Herrgårdens kvinnoörening* is an informative organization which aims to raise information of women, recognize their challenges and increase their social activities and enhance the social networks of these groups with other community rather immigrants. The latter organization does not provide women with job and income.

I used a translator in two focus groups conducted in Swedish, the sessions were recorded fully and then the texts were also transcribed and translated from Swedish to English fully by a translator. Since my native language is Farsi so I, myself, translated the transcripts of two last focus groups.

I planned to have one hour discussion with women in *Herrgårds kvinnoförening*, however, by introducing subjects they got very interested in the topic and explained every detail about their feelings and issues in their everyday lives as an immigrant woman therefore the both focus groups in this organization lasted for more than 1 hour. So I can say these meetings were a mix of focus group and semi-structure interview. Each session was served with traditional Middle- Eastern cookies and tea. All the discussions were recorded and fully transcribed

Both in semi-structured interviews and focus groups, I did not interfere with responses of participants. I also tried not to reveal my opinion or emotions regarding the subject during the session in order to gain unbiased and natural data.

Anonymity guaranteed to all participants of focus groups to encourage them to talk more freely and confidentially. Therefore, all the names are Pseudonyms for participants of the focus group except Jila.

4.2.5. Qualitative analysis

According to Ryan and Bernard (2003, p. 85), “themes identification is one of the most fundamental tasks in qualitative research” which provides researchers with information and data to describe, explain and compare phenomena. In line with this, thematic analysis was applied in this study to uncover themes and subthemes.

In this study, priori themes stemmed from literature reviews, theoretical orientations of research as well as personal experiences of the researcher during field work (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). The first step to analyze my empirical data was initiated by categorizing all transcripts of focus groups and semi-structured interviews in to six codes based on the elements of vulnerability conceptualized by Misztal (2011) and Adger (2006). These elements will be presented in the next chapter under the section of an analytical framework. To categorize and coding data NVivo 8 software was used, which is “one of the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS)” (Li Ping, 2008, p. 15). One of the many advantages of Nvivo is reducing the need of laborious tasks (Ibid.). In addition, this program enabled me to have all information about my interviewees and related attributes such as their ages or employment status in the form of a table (appendix 7).

The second step was narrowing down the wide range of themes as many as possible. To do so, the transcripts were reviewed again and again to identify most important elements based on frequency of them (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). This process was done via going through the transcripts and cut all the quotes that pertained to each of elements of vulnerability of Misztal. In this stage, themes were identified by the methods of repetition, investigating for similarity and differences as well as sorting the quotations with similar meanings (Ibid.)

4.3. Introduction to the study area; Rosengård a distinct neighborhood in Malmö

4.3.1. Immigration in Malmö

Malmö is the third biggest Sweden's city and one the main focus of the city is to achieve sustainability goals and to have a multicultural, integrated city. Malmö has unique cultural diversity regarding nationality; 174 different nationalities live in Malmö and in this city 130 different languages are spoken (Eurofound, 2012, p. 5). As mentioned in Eurofound (2012, p. 8), Malmö faces "ethnically and socio-economically segregation" issues. The level of socio-economic segregation of "non-Scandinavian" in Malmö is reported to be high compared to most of the European cities (Ibid.).

The economic crisis of 1990s (Eurofound, 2012, p. 7) plus the arrival of a high number of refugees and immigrants, mostly from the Middle East and Balkans countries, increased the rate of unemployment, segregation, social exclusion and poverty in this city (Ibid, p. 5). These issues make Malmö a proper case to investigate regarding immigrants' vulnerability and their respective problems.

4.3.2. Study area: Rosengård

Among Malmö districts, I selected Rosengård to conduct my study. Below, by the description of this district, I also try to justify my choice.

4.3.2.1.1. Geography

The birth of Rosengård was during 1960-1970 century as part of Million Program when Malmö faced "shortage of cheap housing" for labors in shipping industry (Eurofound, 2012, p. 9). The area of this district is about 3.3 km² (Malmö Stad) and it is located in the western part of Malmö (Barroca et al., 2011, p. 24). Though, many people assume Rosengård is a suburb, actually, it is located next to "centrum" of Malmö, an integral part of the city (Eurofound, 2012, p. 8). Rosengård comprises eight quarters and a neighborhood center where most of the shops, public services are located (Cars and Hagetoft, 2000).

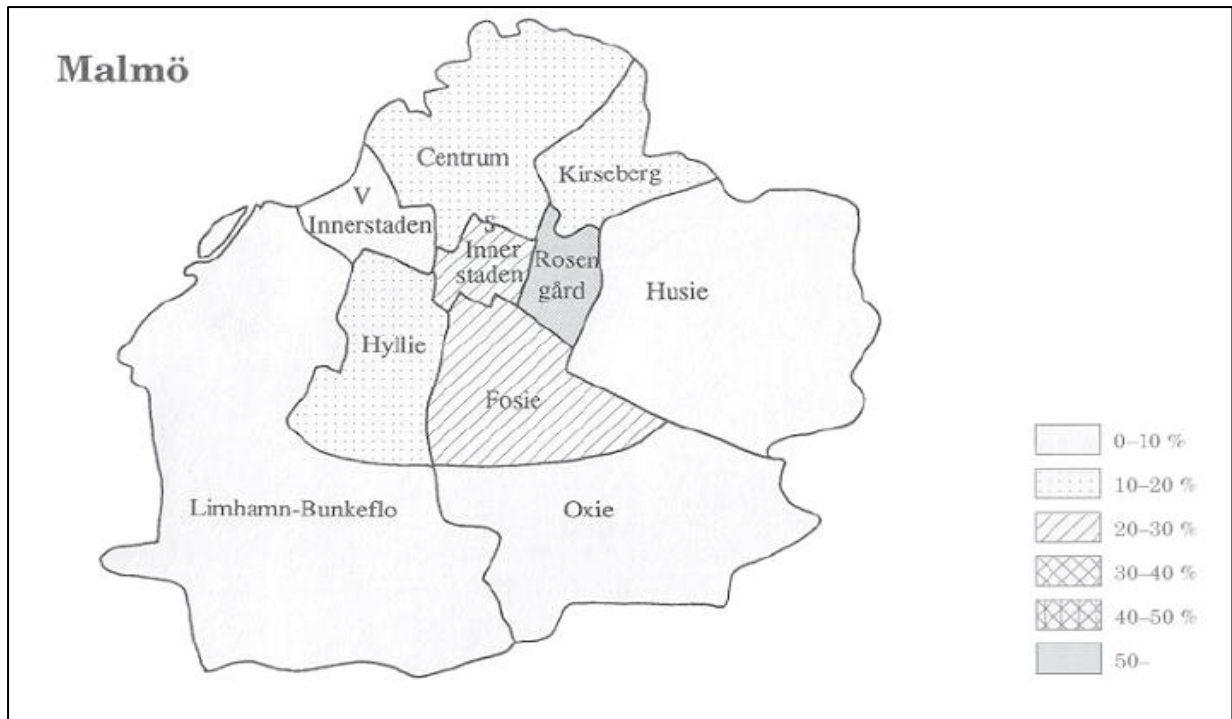


Figure 2-District of Rosengård in Malmö city and concentration of immigrant
Source: Bevelander, 2005

4.3.2.2. Residents

Rosengård has the highest concentration of immigrants in Malmö (Eurofound, 2012, p. 5). 60% of the Rosengård’s inhabitants were born outside Sweden, while 26% of them were born in Sweden but with both parents born outside of Sweden (Barroca et al., 2011, p. 24). Today, the residents of Rosengård are representatives of 111 different countries and speak in 50 different languages (Malmö Stad; Barroca et al., 2011, p. 24). A big portion of the residents are young people; 33% of them are under 20 (Ibid.). This mixture of young people who were born in Sweden with both their parents that were born in foreign countries leads to the emergence of a new culture which is “neither Swedish nor foreign” (Barroca et al., 2011, p. 24).

4.3.2.3. Building

Most of the buildings located in the district are “high-rise building” constructed during 60-70. There are almost 8000 apartments in the neighborhood (Cars and Hageftoft , 2000, p. 1). Malmö municipal housing company (MKB) owns almost the 50% of the buildings and the rest belong to private owners (Ibid.).

4.3.2.4. Issues

The picture of Rosengård as a vulnerable and unsafe area has been depicted as a result of negative coverage of the media both local and national presses (Eurofound, 2012). But, this negative image cannot be confined just in this era and is based on current dwellers. It goes even before or since the

construction “The Million Programm” houses that people considered Rosengård as an area with poor housing condition and high crime rates (Shala and Quainoo, 2007:, p. 21 and Malmö Stad). However, during 1980s and 1990s, Sweden opened its borders to more refugees and allotted “The Million Programs houses” to them mostly by MKB. Therefore, migration issues have been added to other problems of this area such as social problems, crimes and addiction (Shala and Quainoo, 2007, p. 22).

Table 3- Main issues of Rosengård based on categorization in PERIPHÈRIA project

- “- Social problems around fragmented groups of different origin, age and gender;**
- Economic problems with low average incomes leading to a sort of isolation of the district;**
- Bad reputation in local and national media with the results of feelings of being peripheral, marginalized and not wanting to stay in the area;**
- Many people do not want to go there and prefer other parts of the city, as well as many people wanting to move from the district to other parts of the city;**
- Low participation in public spheres and in communication with city municipality;**
- fragmented interaction between groups of different origin, age and gender with the result of difficulties in joint efforts toward sustainable lifestyles” (Barroca et al., 2011:25).**

However, all comments about Rosengård are not only negative, Barroca et al. (2011) argue that this part of the city has specific problems but on the other hand, there is “a high potential” there, the composition of different groups of people with diverse “national origins” in “compact area” provides a fertile ground for new innovation (Barroca et al., 2011, p. 23).

In the next chapter, I will present the results of my study in the same order as the analytical framework structure of this study.

5. Results and analysis

I organized the empirical data into two categories; Micro-level and Meso-level. The Micro-level consists of migrant women and the Meso-level refers to the staffs of organizations, which activities aim to combat social exclusion of migrant women. I try to present my empirical data in relation to time scale; past, present and future.

I included the municipality in Meso-level since the two people I interviewed with in this organization asserted that their activities regarding social inclusion do not contribute to politics and policies.

5.1. Micro level

The micro level comprises of Muslim migrant women who had been living in Sweden for more than 10 years on average. The table below shows more information about the participants of focus group in both organizations: Herrgårds Kvinnoförening

Table 4- information on migrant women participated in focus groups

| Name | Age | Language ability | Marital status | Nationality | Number of people in households | Number of workers in household | Occupation | Type of Tenure | Organization |
|-----------|-------|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Azimeh | 50-60 | Farsi Dari, Swedish (poor) | Married | Afghanistan | 6-8 | 0 | Unemployed | Rent | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening |
| Behnoosh | 50-60 | Pashto, Swedish (poor) | Married | Afghanistan | 8-10+ | 0 | Unemployed | Rent | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening |
| Jila | 40-50 | Farsi, Swedish | Married | Iran | 2-4 | 3 | Manager | Owner | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening |
| Nahid | 50-60 | Arabic, Swedish | Married | Libnan | 2-4 | 1 | Employed/catering section | Rent | Yalla Trappan |
| Samaneh | 40-50 | Swedish, Turkish | Married | Macedonia | 4-6 | 1 | Intern | Rent | Yalla Trappan |
| Sara | 50-60 | Swedish, Turkish | Married | Macedonia | 4-6 | 2 | Intern | Insztstlignhet (loan) | Yalla Trappan |
| Zeinab | 40-50 | Arabic, Swedish | Married | Libnan | 6-8 | 1 | Employed/catering section | Rent | Yalla Trappan |
| Ghamartaj | 40-50 | Farsi Dari, Pashto, Swedish (poor) | Married | Afghanistan | 4-6 | 3 | Unemployed | Rent | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening |
| Nezhat | 50-60 | Pashto, Swedish (poor) | Married | Afghanistan | 4-6 | 0 | Unemployed | Rent | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening |

5.1.1. Experiences of the past (undesirable experiences, lack experience in labour market/formal education and culture)

This part presents the luggage of these women; what they carry with them to Sweden. Information in this section is divided into three subsections; culture, lack of experience in labour market/formal education and undesirable experiences.

5.1.1.1. Culture

Culture is a very influential factor in shaping the current lifestyles and opportunities of these women. First, their patriarchal culture seems to be the dominating culture in their community and have an influential role. For instance most of these women need their husbands' approval in order

to go out or work. Therefore, they do not have as much freedom and power as Swedish women in functioning.

Due to strong community relation, these women prefer to be in social networks with their families and friends from their own countries, and talk in their own language. So, rather all of them have weak social networks outside of *Rosengård* the exception *Sara* who had work experience in a Swedish company for years. The weak social network with mainstream society decreases their chances to improve their knowledge about the culture of society in which they live. The respondents in this level considered this issue as an obstacle to the acquisition of Swedish culture and language.

5.1.1.2. Irreversibility of past; Lack of experience and formal education

These migrant women explained that their gender limited their opportunities to study and work in their home countries. Additionally, they indicated that they did not have any experience in collective social activities. *Azimeh* explained the migrant women's condition back home;

“They were uneducated women who were not aware about their rights as a woman in Sweden. They lost themselves here...since in Afghanistan woman did not go anywhere outside of their house. Men work and bring money and women sit in the house, washing, cleaning, cooking and bringing up children”.

Contrary, *Sara*, with the same age, supposed to find a job for her was not difficult and if she will not be employed in *Yalla Trappan* she can still find a job somewhere else, since she had work experience in Sweden and she spoke Swedish rather fluently. *Sara* explained her husband and she migrated to Denmark twenty years ago and then from Denmark to Sweden. She pointed out her first action in Sweden was to find a job since she learnt being in the labour market is so vital in order to be in mainstream networking of the society, especially if you live in a country where is not the man's home country.

5.1.1.3. Undesirable experiences

Many of these women complained about having pains in their body and depression feelings. Having undesirable events such as loss of a close family member at war seems to contribute to these mental and physical diseases. It also seems that depression reduces their motivation for looking for an employment or participating in social activities. These may increase their sensitivity towards changes as well as their dependency. To illustrate, *Azimeh* said she lost three brothers and one of her daughters in Afghanistan. Now, she considered herself without any motivation to improve her condition and unable to have a happy and relaxing life.

At the micro level, all respondents agreed that their culture and background influenced their current condition to a high extent, especially in term of increasing their current dependency.

5.1.2. Physical factors

In general all women in both organizations were satisfied with living in Rosengård and their housing. They remarked themselves and their children as lucky people due to living in Rosengård and Malmö, where they have opportunities to learn several languages because of the international nature of the city and district. The unsatisfied person was *Azimeh* who lives in *Lindängen* but used to live in Rosengård some years ago.

All of the women were satisfied by facilities e.g. green areas in neighborhood. They indicated that the shops and supermarkets are close by and they have access to most of their necessary stuff. They added they do not need to travel to other parts of the city in order to acquire their basic needs. I also noticed the food types and varieties are in accordance with the taste and culture of the residents of Rosengård. For instance there are lots of *Halal* foods in the stores and supermarkets in Rosengård (Appendix 8). They agreed that there are playgrounds and facilities like gyms and pools both for adults and children. However, two women in *Herrgården* asserted that they do not go to the gym because they cannot afford its cost. All of the women were rather satisfied with public transportation. Nevertheless, they complained that buses sometimes do not come on time. However, they said the bus stops are located a bit far and the accessibility is not very convenient for them.

It was pointed out by five women that the quality of some facilities and services such as litter collection and building cleaning are not the same across the neighborhoods. For instance *Sara* claimed she lives in the “good section of Rosengård”, and there they do not have safety or trash problems, but *Samaneh* who lives in another section faces a number of difficulties in terms of trash collection and laundry conditions. *“...The basements are not cleaned at our part, they (MKB) don’t care about our section...Our section is not good, I say it directly. The apartments are cold and not very good, the heating system and ventilation present problems concerned to MKB. But the laundry and trash problems are related to residents. People do not clean the laundry after finishing their laundry”.* (*Samaneh*)

These women explained that garbage issues are a combination of cultural factors relate to residents and also lack of recognition of those factors by the housing company/ies and the municipality of Malmö. To make it clear, *Sara’s* described the condition;

“...Many families send their 5-8 year old children to take out the garbage in these certain waste rooms. But they usually don’t place litter inside the boxes or they cannot reach the hole of the bins in order to put the trash inside. Therefore, they leave litter next to bins and after remaining for a while the trash starts to smell”.

In terms of security and safety, women in *Yalla Trappan* described Rosengård as quite safe area even at night. But, women in *Herrgård* had some complaints regarding the safety of the neighborhood and pointed out that the numbers of thefts have increased recently. They also complained about the increasing occurrence of arsons in their garages. These women also indicated that the light outside the building is not adequate which in turn increases the potential for crime and thefts.

Except Azimeh and *Samaneh*, the rest of these women were rather satisfied with facilities in their homes. However, many of them had complaints about the heating system of their apartment. They said that in the beginning of the cold seasons, the heating system is not adequate.

There are two cases of overcrowding in which eight or more people live in two room apartments. However, because they were afraid that this information would somehow reach to Social Welfare Office, they did not want to reveal it or give true information in this regards. Some of migrant families sometimes violate the rules because of cultural obligations and lack of knowledge about the Sweden system. For instance, I noticed all of them have the problem or quiet often violate this rule that children over 18 either must leave the house provided by social assistance otherwise, they have to pay a percentage of the rent. This seems to be a rule in Sweden. They, culturally, consider these 18 year-old youth to be a child and they cannot let a child live alone by his/her own. Therefore, on paper and document they change their children -over 18- addresses while in reality these children live with them under the radar in a same place. This mostly leads to overcrowding in a house but because of lack of information and cultural obligations this group of people may not care or are unaware about the consequences of living in a populated house. As *Zeinab* pointed it out; *“We are Arab and Arabs like to sleep close to their children.”*

Most of them could not reply the questions regarding how you can solve these problems respective to your homes or neighborhood. Lack of information and knowledge, in terms of how to cope with their current problems, plays crucial role in creating or increasing vulnerability of this group.

5.1.3. Inequality

Based on the results at this level, these women experience inequality at two levels; within their families and within their society.

5.1.3.1. Family

Within their families, inequality mostly stems from their general patriarchal structure of their cultures and traditions. Most responsibility of children and household work are on women's shoulders as a matter of their culture and religion. Some of these Muslim women stressed that they cannot work in every situation; their husband does not let them work or participate in activities where strange men are involved, these in turn reduced their chance in the labour market. It sounds that culture, norms and beliefs impose more restrictions on girls compared to the boys in the second generation of this migrant group. For example is the *Behnoosh and her family*, who do not let girls study in other cities, even Lund. This sort of belief may reduce the opportunities for girls in education and employment opportunities, as well.

5.1.3.2. Society

In my results, five women out of nine pointed out the existence of inequality between foreigners and Swedes. It was pointed out that lack of investigation and research about these migrant women in Sweden increase the chance of discrimination and inequality towards them in society. Lack of information of the State about these women's problems makes them victims of their patriarchal culture in Sweden as well; *"some Muslim men here can marry more than one wife easily in Sweden. They divorced the first wife officially (legally) but not religiously, then they marry a new wife while they still have the previous one/ones. These divorced women are not allowed to leave their husbands or marry again"* (Jila). This may lead to increase the stress of these women in terms of stability of their position even in their homes.

Respondents claimed there is also inter-generational inequality within immigrant communities. The Swedish society invests a lot on the second generation of migrants while most of the issues related to their parents have not been recognized yet.

"When immigrants came and their children grew up here and enter into this society and help the development of the society. But parents suffer a lot, they got sick and these parents cannot go back to their country so (Sweden) should help them as well and don't forget them while investing in their children". (Azimeh)

Four of the respondents also indicated their names influenced their employment opportunities, since some companies do not have interest to employ foreigners.

"It can be a bit difficult especially when they hear the surname of people, I mean when they notice you are a foreigner they have unfortunately a look from up to down but all people are not like this. This issue however exists in getting a job". (Samaneh)

The lack of recognition of laws and rules also contributes to misconceptions about the equality and respect toward immigrants in the receiving country. It can represent in the case of *Azimeh*.

"..I wanted to give one of my hand-knitted carpets to the museum which I hoped to be included in the museum carpet collection and show that Afghanistan also has something to share. But they did not accept, what kind of equal right is this!"

As it can be seen, she concluded there is inequality in society and society does not respect the immigrants' culture. This may not necessarily be true and could stem from inadequate knowledge about the laws and rules of society. She may not know that museums have certain criteria or rules based on what they collect and present items in the museum. Therefore, lack of knowledge may lead to lack of trust on equality of the system or in the arrangement of the society which triggers feelings of being discriminated and victims of inequality. There were several cases in which I came across some challenges and issues that root in inadequate knowing of each other.

Therefore, similar to other factors of vulnerability in this study, this element also has several links with the culture of these women. However, it seems inadequate mutual recognition between society and migrant community plays a more crucial role in shaping inequality.

5.1.4. Absence of entitlements

Based on the focus groups' discussions, language is one ironic obstacle between migrant and Swedish community. Inadequate language proficiency of this group also cause that they remain unaware in terms of many available resources and entitlements in society. Regarding their poor Swedish language skills, all of these women claimed there is not any public places in Rosengård in order to create social networks with outside of migrant communities and improve their knowledge about Swedish culture and language. Sometimes this lack can make problems in critical subject for instance health services;

"...about medical condition, I had pain in my index finger; they sent me to x-ray my finger after 2 years. But they x-rayed my middle finger instead. That was because my Swedish is not good; there is no help in these areas". (Azimeh)

Further, the migrant women in *Herrgårds Kvinnoförening* explained they really like to be in collective activities used to offer by this association and be in contact with other groups in Malmö. But they are not able to do so anymore since the association is faced with budget shortage and even they cannot afford to rent a place for the association.

Through the finding, it seems sometimes this migrant group does not access to appropriate sources in accordance with their real issues, or they do not have the proper means to access available entitlements.

5.1.5. Mutual Dependency

The results of this section are categorized into two subcategories; strong dependency on organizations and state as well as strong dependency on their husbands.

5.1.5.1. Strong dependency on their husbands and in family members

In both non-governmental organizations, the women often referred to their husbands as the one who knows better how to solve problems. This strong trust on their husbands can increase the dependency of these women.

In their family structures, the money source is under the control of the men. Therefore, being unemployment and lack of economic power in the family lead to strong dependency of these women on their husbands in order to go out, or even to be in social networks.

Some of the triggering factors for strong dependency of these women contribute to their new condition and inadequate knowledge about it e.g. poor knowledge in Swedish language.

5.1.5.2. Dependency on organization and social assistances

The results show the lack of experience in the labour market and being uneducated increase the possibility of being unemployment in this group. It is evident that being unemployed and in an impoverished economy condition in turn increase their demands and dependency on the state and social assistances.

The establishment of associations such as *Herrgård*s has also negative outcomes in terms of these women's dependency, and in some cases causes these women's strong trust and demands. It can be illustrated in this example; *"...Another problem is transportation cost, now the association cannot provide us with bus cards since they don't receive funds, so I cannot come here. After two times I come to the association and my husband asks what are you doing? You finish all of our money just to go there; my salary is 2400 Sek while a bus card is 460 Sek so I cannot afford that. If the association has money they can get bus cards or bicycles for us then I can come here every day and get social contacts"* (Azimeh).

As it can be seen, some of these migrant women considered these associations/ organization as a panacea for all of their issues from unemployment to depression. The statements such as "we do not want to work at other places" and "everything is possible through this association" may show

the strong trust of these women on these organizations. It was because of different reasons; they assumed they did not have any appropriate abilities for the Swedish labour market but through these organizations their abilities can be transformed into useful services for society.

The high number of health problems both physical and mental increases the dependency of these women by undermining their abilities. These migrant women explained that the Swedish governments pay a lot annually for their health problems but it is not really what they want and need. They claimed to really improve their health condition, they need to be provided with a place where they can work and socialize with others. They argued that their health problems are associated with their unemployment and isolated condition so their remedy is not medicine or money.

5.1.6. Lack of Respect

According to these women, the stigma associated with living in Rosengård deteriorates their respect within society even though they like Rosengård very much. This may also contribute to increase their social stresses regarding not being treated equally in society because the place they live in. Four of the women in the focus groups remarked sometimes people asked them if they lived in Rosengård in a shocked and frightened tone.

These women explained illiterate migrant women like them in the same age (40-50) as they do not have any chance to enter to labour market. Being unemployed seems to influence strongly the positions of these women in the Swedish society. Based on the findings of this study, this migrant group has a weak social network with the host society, this in turn increase the possibility of lack of mutual recognition between hosts and immigrants in the society. Lack of mutual recognition along with knowing each other through stereotypes and Mass Media pictures seems to increase prejudice in society and impact negatively the positions of these women outside the migrant community in Rosengård.

Cultural differences between these women and their children who grew up in Sweden create a gap between parents and children in these migrant families. In addition, these women pointed out that sometimes their poor health conditions can exacerbate their relationships with their children. For instance Azimeh indicated "... *Young people do not like this kind of atmosphere at home, and then they do not spend much time with me and go out with their friends*". Some of these migrant women considered these attitudes of their children as decline their positions in their families.

5.1.7. Lack of Self-Esteem

My results show that lack of self-esteem in these women can associate with various factors from age

and illiteracy to lack of work experiences. These women saw these lacks as two critical obstacles in their way to labour market and society in Sweden.

During the meetings, these women referred to themselves; “women without (economic and social) power”, “being women”, “lost their role” and “missing their identity”. In both organizations, women really could not answer my question about how they can address their issues or change the situation. This may imply that they do not consider themselves as citizens with ability to be influential in the society and their families and are able to address their problems by themselves.

It was mentioned by migrant women in *Yalla Trappan* that it is difficult to find a job or get contact with Swedes because their Swedish is not good enough. However, all the sessions were carried out in Swedish and the translator of the session expressed that these women can talk in Swedish rather well, which means the perception of these women about themselves is not necessary in accordance with reality.

5.1.8. Uncertainty

The results also give a glimpse about the concerns of these women about their future. It was pointed out by most of these women that they are satisfied to a high extent in terms of facilities and opportunities provided to their children in Sweden. However, cultural differences with their children who grew up in Sweden make them worried about the current and future relationships with their children. They were afraid if their cultural heritage will not pass on to their children, and in the future their children would not know anything about their home country culture and they turn into strangers to each other. The employed women within this group were in constant fear of losing their jobs or their social contacts, because they were not sure if the society needs their skills for the future.

5.2. Meso level

This level contains interviews with staffs and managers of *Yalla Trappan*, *Herrgårds kvinnoförening* and Malmö municipality who work with the issues of social exclusion regarding women. The following table presents each interviewees information;

Table 5- information on interviewees in semi-structured interviews

| Name | Nationality | Occupation | Organization |
|------------------|---------------|--|--|
| Dorothea | Sweden | Manager | Yalla Trappan |
| Eva & Per | Sweden | Project analysts of Yalla Trappan | Lund University |
| Margaret Popoola | ----- | Universitetslektor/lecturer | Malmö högskola/ Malmö University |
| Faten | Libnan/Sweden | Information assistant | MalmöStads(stadsdelsförvaltning)Rosengård) |
| Jila | Iran/Sweden | Manager | Herrgårds Kvinnoförening |
| Julia | Sweden | Project manager assistant of EIM-unga kvinnor som vill påverka | Malmö Stads |

5.2.1. Experiences of the past (undesirable experiences, lack of experience in labour market/formal education and culture)

At this level, the following sub-themes are identified as factors associated to the past of these women; culture, lack of experience in labour market/formal education and undesirable experiences.

5.2.1.1. Culture

All of the respondents confirmed these women usually have a big family and many children (usually 4-8), they are rather shy and they have no particular social hobby or interests that stimulates them to go into the society. And “of course” if one sits in her house, she cannot be in a social network (Dorothea, personal communication, 18 September, 2012). Additionally, Respondents in this level deemed that having many children as a contributor to these women’s health issues.

It was also mentioned that “being capable and knowledgeable” for women is not acceptable in some of these families, so these women should not show their abilities and knowledge even though they have. *Jila explained “For instance there was a very capable young woman in one of the kvinonkurs, she learnt computer and Swedish so fast even though she was illiterate. This young woman came with her sister-in-law. In the presence of her sister-in-law she never wrote and pretended she was not able to write because she was afraid. When she came alone she was another person; she talked, expressed her opinion and participated in discussions. When she progressed a lot and increased her capabilities, her family forced her to get pregnant in order to stop her”.*

5.2.1.2. Lack of experience in labour market/formal education

Low educational level and lack of experience in the labour market were identified as important obstacles for integration of this group into the society and labour market at this level, as well. *Jila exemplified the condition of education for women in Afghanistan: “... Some of these women like Halimeh used to live in a community where being educated for a woman is not acceptable. Halimeh worked in Afghanistan as a teacher and people of her village scorned her and threw rotten vegetables at her, to stop her from educating girls ...”*

5.2.1.3. Undesirable experiences

Most of these migrant women suffer from depression and physical health issues such as constant pain in their legs and arms and high rate of diabetes reported among them. In Meso- level the root of these issues is connected to their high pressure background and difficult experience e.g. war. Per pointed out that most of these migrants are refugees and asylum seekers who endured lots of

difficulties before arriving in Sweden. However, there are several examples of these women who got better after participating in these organizations' social activities.

5.2.2. Physical factors

At this level, the identified problem related to the neighborhood was the safety issues contributes to the riots and fights in Rosengård streets. *Dorothea* argued that these disordered actions by youths are not confirmed by their mothers/parents. However, respondents stressed that these issues contribute to the negative picture of Rosengård.

5.2.3. Inequality

Respondents at this level agreed that these women experience inequality but mostly within their family due to their patriarchal culture. They pointed out these women sometimes must choose one; either job or family. *Jila* emphasized that for women it is important not to resist, in front of their traditions if they wish to have a calm life without troubles. On the other hand, under this situation, their dependencies are even increased more because of lack of economic autonomy.

It seems inadequate knowledge about these women induce numbers of injustice issues based on their culture which sometimes cost a lot for these women, costs such as their lives or their health.

"...a woman from Pakistan was threatened by her husband here, she traveled back to Pakistan to visit her family, there, her husband with the help of others shot her. She survived but became handicapped and police in Pakistan arrested the man. However this woman was brought back to Sweden with the help of women association. After 3 months, her husband also came back to Sweden, and threatened her again, but she is not provided with a safe home. She was resided in Rosengård; close to her husband. Even though she handed in all documents proved that her husband was recognized as criminal by the Pakistan police report, but police claims these documents are not sufficient. Now she is waiting for her death...".(Jila)

Another inequality issue was pointed out by respondents at this level was Lower education quality in Rosengård School. *Julia* explained; *"... The available opportunities for the second generation of native and migrants are not similar, from the very beginning, which may be exacerbated by various factors, for instance foreigner surname"*. Low educational level of parents, poor knowledge of Swedish and many people at home are among the factors that undermine the educational attainment of these children. These conditions may influence their future and they may end up with fewer opportunities in the labour market. However, *Per* explained analysis are not that easy in order to understand how much school is influential since some of these children came to Sweden when they are 13-14 with their families and when they become 16 (when children finish high school in Sweden) it is just 2 up

to 4 years in Swedish school while for Swedes it is 7-8 years in school so they do not receive the same level of education and knowledge to compete in order to go to university or work.

5.2.4. Absence of entitlements

According to *Faten* there are many opportunities and information sources available by *Malmö municipality* and also non-governmental organizations like *Herrgård* and *Yalla Trappan* for migrant women in order to overcome their challenges. Now it is these women who turn to go and take these advantages. However, the results show there are various hindrances to access to resources in society.

First this migrant group cannot really work or participate in society in the first one or two years before learning the language. Inadequate policies may contribute to emerging of this issue.

Further, **prejudicial boundaries** impede these women to access the available opportunities. Lack of trust of their family on society is another obstacle for these women. Some migrant families tend to keep their women and girls in house since these families are afraid to let their wives or daughters integrate into society and are absorbed by “foreigner culture” and the families would lose them. Another reason contributes to this that some these migrant men have some secrets and lies e.g. having two wives, so these men scare if their wives or daughters interact with society, their secrets would be revealed and they would lose some benefits!

According to *Julia*, a few numbers of the second generation of migrants also face difficulties in order to access to entitlements. She elaborated that: “... *municipality has access to youths who are in high school and society. However, there are some youths who are not going to high school, have nine years in school and then stop with education because they could not go to high school, and eventually, they would not get a job, I think they are the most excluded groups, because they have to find other ways but it is hard when you don’t get any money for it and feel that you don’t have the insurance (support/opportunity) of the network*”.

In sum, these migrant women may not access fully to informative sources or other entitlements not because they are not available in Sweden but because different obstacles stand in their way to reach these opportunities and rights e.g. cultural obligations. However, most of these issues are recognized by decision makers, and municipality of Malmö is conducting various projects to address these issues. For instance they employ more tutors in the Rosengård School in order to help students, who left behind, during and after school regarding their homework and their studies (*Julia*).

5.2.5. Mutual dependency

In case of dependency, two sub-categories were uncovered in this level, high dependency of migrant women on system such as social assistance, dependency within their family.

5.2.5.1. Dependency on social assistance

Dependency of these women is increased as a result of facing with new conditions. The evidence shows there are some educated immigrants cannot find jobs in Sweden because their knowledge and education are not adequate for a modern society like Sweden. *Dorotha* exemplified *Zeinab* who studied electronic engineering in Iraq and used to work as a manager in EO (a big electrical company in Iraq) but she could not work in similar career in Sweden. This could be a consequence of global inequality regarding the differences in the quality of educational systems in different parts of the world. This may increase the chance of dependency of this group on social assistances after migration to a developed country like Sweden. All respondents at this level recognized **language skill** as a critical factor that contributes to strong dependency of this group on the social assistance. *Faten* explained that *“there are many immigrants in Rosengård with high education but there is no chance for them to express themselves in society or society cannot recognize them because of the language barrier, even though some of these immigrants have lived in Sweden for more than 20 years”*.

Respondents at this level discussed that some of the migrants may have extended trust on the social assistances and Swedish high welfare system. *Dorotha* explained; *...since in other countries if people live on social assistances, it would be very difficult to survive; immigrants have really limited control and choices for food while migrants have more freedom and advantages in Sweden”*. This sort of social assistance may increase immigrants’ certain that even if they do not work or try they may be provided with shelter and food in Sweden. This condition may reduce their motivation to find jobs and live on their own. *Dorotha* explained that:

“...they avoid challenges or trying more. For example if I tell them we have catering for Saturday and who will help me; nobody is there. Even though, they know in the Swedish system they will get an off day for this extra work, and it just takes 2 hours for them I think it is because if you get social help because your husband is not working and you have eight children, social Welfare Office (will not) take money from them (if they work less) so they do not have any motivation to work extra even they receive extra money because social take responsibility of everything”.

Lack of recognition of society

The dependency of these women can contribute to the different culture and lack of access to right information source about how to address their problems. *Margareta* exemplified some homeless

people who discuss about their house problem with just other homeless people or unemployment immigrants, then they just go to labour organization though there are other more effective ways to find jobs, which these immigrants do now know because of weak social networks with the host community. An illustrative example is the *Herrgården association*; this association offered their catering service to various organizations for free based on this belief in their culture that it is not appropriate to ask for money for food; this led some to believe this organization was not a professional one, and after a while they faced financial issues. But they were taught by Malmö University that in modern society an organization is considered as professional one when it generates revenue.

5.2.5.2. *Dependency on their husbands and family members*

Some respondents at this level argued that the high dependency on husbands for these women may stem from the fact that these women were persuaded by their culture that men have the knowledge and ability to solve any problems. Moreover, their husbands are a big inseparable part of their identities in their mind. *Jila* exemplified a young woman from Afghanistan that her husband abandoned her with three children, this young woman believed that she as a woman could not manage the life of herself and her children without her husband. This extended trust on husbands can reduce these women's motivations and will to learn the language or search for jobs.

Dependency of their children on these women

Dorotha and Eva explained, these women usually have 5-8 children who are dependent on them. Even though some of them speak very good Swedish, they are not able to go out and be active and work.

5.2.6. *Lack of respect*

After migration, the respect of these women is undermined within their family especially within their children.

One big challenge for these migrant women is that they lose their role in the family as a mother or as a wife after coming to Sweden. Moreover, unfamiliar with Sweden's rules and their rights, they are not able to function as a citizen as well. Therefore, they cannot play their role properly which in turn may reduce their respect in their family and society.

Other crucial factors associated with lack of respect within society could contribute to inadequate information about this group. Lack of adequate information about each other was recognized as an important factor at this level that increases prejudice and fear within society. This situation is exacerbated when the major channel to get know each other is through the pictures and

stereotypes that are released by mass media e.g. negative picture of Rosengård. These kinds of pictures reduce social cohesion in societies, and plant the seeds of prejudice. Mutual prejudicial attitudes can decelerate the integration process.

Moreover, Informants argued there are some experiences of immigrants that may imply society still does not accept/trust on them. *Jila* indicated several migrant women told her that they felt disrespected when they went to shops and immediately the guards came close to them and watched them carefully. On the other hand, *Dorotha* stressed immigrants also hold prejudice towards Swedes and criticize the culture of the receiving society, without accepting that Swedes have different culture and norms.

Moreover, the negative effects of these pictures do not only influence the first generation of migrants but also it deteriorates the self-esteem of second generations. *Julia* explained that, some people in society, influenced by media, scorn the place where these children live or contempt the immigrants who are their family. These kinds of attitudes can be considered as insults by these youths and in turn leads to some conflicts and tensions in society.

5.2.7. Lack of Self-Esteem

Respondents identified various factors which interplay to shape the degree of self-esteem in these women; a range from being uneducated to missing their identity and position as a result of migration.

It was pointed out that they are afraid to go to society as a result of low self-confidence because of low knowledge of Swedish society and poor language skills. It was also stressed by respondents at this level that living in Rosengård may contribute to their low self-confidence because of the respective stigma.

Jila argued that: *“These kinds of organizations improve their confidence. To do so, they organize various meetings in which women not only learn but also express themselves and abilities. These help them to show their family and society they exist and can play a role in society even if they are uneducated”*. In the same line *Eva* and *Per* also discussed that in *Yalla Trappan* also women learn how to be an active citizen. The women in *Yalla Trappan* are involved in every decision making process. They vote and select the manager themselves. So they get familiar with the meaning of being an active citizen which they can apply in a bigger context in society.

5.2.8. Uncertainty

Overall, respondents, at this level, identified three areas of future concerns for these women. First is that it seems the employed migrant women are in constant fear of losing job which is similar to first level results. Another fear is they are forced to stop their social activities because of cultural obligations. For instance *Jila* discussed the main concern of her and the women in her association is that they are not sure how long they can continue their social activities regarding their association, since they experienced three arsons and police never figure out the criminal/s.

6. Discussion

The results and analysis section portrays the presence of several different vulnerability elements within these migrant women- based on the conceptualization of social vulnerability in my thesis. In this study, the most prominent components that contribute to social vulnerability of migrant women were 1) Cultural and background differences 2) lack of adequate means to access available resources in society in order to adapt to new conditions and 3) inequality within their families because of their gender and in society mostly as a result of inadequate knowledge and existing immigrants' stigma about this group. For instance, as mentioned, the foreign name of these migrant women influences their opportunities in the labour market. In this section, my discussions are categorized based on these three components and in my research questions;

1. Are these women vulnerable to social exclusion, unemployment and inequality within four areas of housing, neighborhood, labour market and social capital?
2. If yes, does their culture and backgrounds play any role in shaping their vulnerability?
3. How are the identified problems of these women by this research addressed by local organizations aiming to support these women?

Moreover, my empirical data show the other elements of vulnerability introduced in the analytical framework such as lack of respect or high dependency have been shaped by or stemmed from these three prominent components. Therefore in this part, the other introduced elements of vulnerability in analytical framework are discussed under the respective or related prominent component/s. Moreover, the role of the three organizations⁴ and their approaches in increasing capability of these women in order to address their problems will be discussed.

6.1. Cultural and background differences

One of the Sweden's strategies to include immigrants in society aims to increase the cultural diversity as a heritage for the next generation (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2009). However, at both

⁴ *Yalla Trappan, Herrgårds kvinnoförening and Malmö municipality*

levels, respondents acknowledged that even though Malmö is a multicultural city, there is poor interactions and collaborations between the host society and the immigrant communities in particular those who live in Rosengård. It seems many problems regarding this poor social network with mainstream society associated with distinct cultural and background differences of this certain group of immigrant, for example the women in my focus groups were culturally rather shy or preferred to speak with the people with the same language and culture. In addition, these women did not have or had very little experience in the labour market back home which, in turn, is one of the main reasons of their poor representation in the Swedish labour market as well. On the other hand, these migrant women claimed there are very few opportunities, if any, in society in order to bridge them to other communities rather than just immigrant communities in Rosengård. Therefore it can be concluded that this target group is vulnerable to exclusion from mainstream society and labour market.

In this regard, one identified lack by this study is that most of the organizations' activities are dedicated to get familiar immigrant community to imbibe with the Swedish culture, but very few attempts and projects are carried out from another side; increase receiving society information and capacity to accept immigrants with a distinct culture. Moreover, these one-sided approaches may lead to create "white supremacy" within society in terms of culture (Parshad, 2001, p. Xi). These kinds of views that arise from a judgment of cultures eventually would divide society into good or bad groups (Parshad, 2001, p. 5) which increases the possibility of conflict and tension. Moreover, these judgmental attitudes may impact respect towards different culture or even impede certain groups to enjoy equal rights or entitlements within society. There is a high risk that in such society the group who regard themselves as better group, not only give themselves the right to criticize people with different cultures, but they also consider themselves as responsible to alter those cultures to the superior culture (Ibid.). Sometimes, this improvement is achieved, even by force and use of policies (Razack, 2011, p. 121). These forced changes may have some benefits but in the long term, these fast and one sided changes may end up into inequality; an obstacle to reach a sustainable society. One -dominant culture is not in accordance with the Swedish integration policies, which aim to achieve equal right for all (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009).

Therefore, in order to address underlying driver forces of vulnerability of these women towards exclusion from mainstream society and labour market, introduction of **Mutual** integration policies and projects in Malmö should devote especial attention to cultural problems. These initiatives should aim to redefine the meaning of cultural differences within society. The important role of social cohesion ought to be stressed and "the mental and social boundaries of us (as Swedes) and

them (as immigrants)” should be played down (Focus Migration, 2009, p. 5). In this way, social networks between immigrants and host society may be increased, which in turn increase trust and respect toward each other in society. Promoting “trust” and “mutual recognition” within society is so important remedial approach to enhance relationships in society and reduce fear of each other (Misztal, 2011, p. 127). Reducing such a fear in society can contribute to reduce the vulnerability of these women towards social exclusion by eliminating one of the main obstacles in the way of strengthening the poor social network of this migrant group with mainstream society. This also may lead to increase cultural, behavioral and built-environment diversities within Malmö which are so crucial in order to enhance the sustainability of a society because these diverse societies are more “flexible and adaptive” in facing with fast and ever changing modern world (Alberti, 1996, p. 389; Parshad, 2001, p. xi).

6.2. Inequality

At both levels, discrimination and inequality towards these women also were recognized both in their families and within the society. Within my results, there are many examples that indicated these women are victims of patriarchal culture even in Sweden. The man-dominated structure of their families imposes many unfair and unequal situation for these women and limits the opportunities of these women and impede them to improve their capabilities due to deal with social and economic changes underway. For instance they are not allowed to work or leave their homes if their husbands do not give them such a permission. In this regard, Malmö Municipality by carrying out informative sessions and meetings for the migrant women in Rosengård takes a very positive step toward reducing the inequality imposed to these women by their traditions or norms.

Promoting knowledge of these women regarding available supportive measures and rights in the society helps these women to improve their situations and address their problems with more courage and confidence. My results show when these women get familiar their rights, they will not accept every cruelty and inequality towards themselves, easily. Both my target group and my interviewees indicated that these migrant women started to change the patriarchal structure of their families and insisted on their rights to work or to be in society based on their own choice not their husbands’ permission after gaining knowledge about women’s rights in Sweden. According to two analysts of *Yalla Trappan*, after joining to this organization, these migrant women started to try to change their unfair situation in their family by educating and transferring the information they gained to their husbands. Accordingly, Sen (2000; 42) indicates that promoting education and employment of women not only reduce gender inequality but also decline the number of children. Moreover, it seems this information assists these women to free themselves from the traditions and

norms which impact negatively their wellness. Increasing information and pave the way in order to implement this information also facilitates the transition towards sustainability as Alberti (1996, p. 385) argues in order to have sustainable cities, there is a crucial need to have “conscious citizens” who can “modify” themselves. Therefore, in this way, the initiatives and activities of these three organizations can assist the whole society in order to achieve sustainability goals.

On the other hand, inclusion these women in society or labour market through these local organizations give these women this opportunity to see other trends of lifestyles and perspectives and play a very important role to increase their knowledge and expand their horizons. My results show some of these oppressed women realized that unequal laws and practices within their religion or culture are not holy spaces or unchangeable system, that no one has a right to criticize or modify them. In this regard, in particular, I can exemplify the case of *Azimeh* and her help to her daughter to get a divorce. Her daughter’s husband was addicted to drugs and he oppressed his wife. *Azimeh*, after joining to *Herrgårdskvinnoförening* helped her daughter to acquire divorce even though it was completely against her religion and tradition.

As findings communicated there is a lack of opportunities or measures, in particular within Rosengård, in order to bridge these migrant women to mainstream society and vice versa. This lack not only impacts negatively on the progress of these women in learning Swedish and getting familiar with Swedish system and culture, but also causes the host society does not have the opportunities to increase its information in terms of this group of immigrants. This lack of mutual recognition in addition to some negative picture about immigrants lived in Rosengård sometimes may lead to reduce the mutual trust within society. Lack of mutual recognition may, in turn, lead to the occurrence of some inequalities for instance some of these migrant women explained they have different abilities such as cooking and sewing which can be organized and turned to an income source for them. But there is not enough investigations and studies about these migrant women’ needs and abilities. Moreover, their lack of knowledge about Swedish labour market and poor language proficiency impede these migrant women to express their abilities and knowledge themselves. So , they technically are unable to take advantage of their capabilities and reduce their vulnerability towards social exclusion and strong financial dependencies on their husbands and social assistances. It seems that these two non-governmental organizations; *Yalla Trappan* and *Herrgårdskvinnoförening* show successful results in order to address social isolation and health issues of these migrant women and give them practical means to reach available sources in society for instance offering free classes to teach them how to bike. This corresponds with Polèse & Stren (2000) argument that local organizations are comparable to the former religious center can play very

effective roles to help minorities in the cities. They advocate on behalf of the poor and excluded people by creating opportunities such as providing conditions in which their voice are heard by others and especially the State.

My findings also confirm this argument of Sen (2000, p. 42) that the employment of women functions as a ground for them to not only have independent income, but higher “social status” and give them “louder and stronger” voice and higher “decisional power” within the family. To illustrate *Jila* indicated that in *Herrgårds kvinnoförening*, these women were educated how to do catering in a professional way, then they organized some caterings themselves. My target group claimed involvement in such social activities and working improve their self-esteem and confidence in their families and increase their respect for their children and their husbands. In addition, the results of this study show increasing information and being in society may strengthen these women self-esteem and help them to recognize themselves as an independent person. However, some negative implications can be seen with these organizations. High dependency of women on *Yalla Trappan* or *Herrgårds kvinnoförening* as the only source of social contacts or employment is one example of adverse outcomes.

Discrimination and inequality towards women are identified as the main constraints to their empowerment and economic autonomy (POPIN, 1994). It is indicated that the economic autonomy of women promotes their health, social, economic and political statuses which are recognized so vital and essential for the achievement of sustainable development (POPIN, 1994).

Foremost, it must be highlighted that native communities also can experience inequality in terms of immigrants. For instance as *Dorotha* pointed out unconditional social assistance reduce the motivations of immigrants to work and try harder to find a job. In this context, it must be considered that portion of this help comes from tax which people who work are paying. So in terms of equality, it would not be fair that people put in more effort and pay more for an inactive group that have the ability and energy to work.

6.3. Lack of adequate means to access available resources

The results of this study show that these women suffer from lack of adequate means access to entitlements not suffer from the absence of entitlements.

6.3.1. Cultural and religious obstacles

The responsibilities and restrictions imposed by patriarchal culture as well as lack of formal education cause these women have fewer opportunities to find appropriate jobs by limiting their options, time and energy for work outside their homes. This in turn may increase their economic

dependency either their husbands or social assistance and raise their susceptibility towards economic vulnerability.

The migrant women in Rosengård receive lots of information in terms of equal rights between men and women in modern society like Sweden. However, many of them are not able to apply these rights or information in their lives, since they face several obstacles such as their patriarchal culture or their religion. Or for instance free Swedish language classes are offered by local organizations but some of these women are not allowed to go there. These huge changes in their traditional families would not happen, if it is just women who get these kinds of education or information. In this regard, the vital role of organizations such as *Herrgården* should be illustrated. In this organization, one aim is to promote information and educate the whole family. *Jila* tried to become trustworthy to the whole family and she succeeded to go inside migrant families. *Herrgården* takes advantages of these relationships, and educates women and men in tandem. However, it seems one main reason that *Jila* succeeded to enter in migrant families was the fact that she also has the same background.

Foremost, it was observed that most of the municipality activities or projects regarding middle aged migrant women are in the form of meetings and discussions. They do not provide women with practical or training programs which are vital in terms of their attachment to the labour market. Therefore, although these projects may influence to increase knowledge about the Swedish culture and reduce the gap between children and parents in migrant communities, these activities do not contribute or address unemployment issues especially for the women. It seems governmental organizations' activities solely cannot address all of social exclusion dimensions. Results depict that the organizations like *Yalla Trappan* and *Herrgården* can play a complementary role and show very promising results in terms of helping with the implementation of this information. However, it was stated by the managers of both *Yalla Trappan* and *Herrgården*, throughout the interviews many times, that if they would not receive financial assistances from the EU or State, they are not able to continue with their proposed actions offer trainee programs or employ women. Further, both organizations face with money shortage.

Lack of social networks with mainstream society

Prejudice, is identified as one strong obstacle in the way of successful inclusion and adapt to a multicultural society. Prejudice is a dual process, the identified prejudicial attitudes within this study seem to reduce mutual respect and increase the fear and uncertainty toward each other which undermine social cohesion. Moreover, prejudice increases the vulnerability of these women towards social isolation. *Margareta* indicated that in order to rain on all these stigmas and prejudicial issues, migrant and native communities need to interact and simply just talk to each other which is lacking

in society. Prejudice is reduced when the social network in society is increased (Mannila, 2010, p.29). Strong social networks also improve knowledge of immigrants about receiving society's culture and regulations.

Jila and Margareta argued that money cannot solve everything and human beings still have other non-material basic needs. The results support this and show, even though most of these migrant women are satisfied with their housing, food and neighborhood conditions, they still complain about being isolated and unemployed as well as health issues. These migrant women indicate that there is a lack regarding public places or programs in terms of connecting immigrants in Rosengård to mainstream society or vice versa. Moreover, migrant women recognize their unemployment and sitting at home as sources of their depressions and diseases. Nevertheless, as observed within the study, there is still a lack of knowledge about this target group and their respective issues. Therefore, in my perspective, the policies and initiatives which are designed by receiving society may not have enough capacity to fulfill the needs of these groups of society as long as their needs and wants are not considered while designing approaches to address their problems.

My findings communicate that these local organizations can assist the policy makers in terms of better understanding of the real needs and necessities of districts through inclusion of Rosengård residents' views and values in the process of local development. It also can promote the social networks both within communities and between the community and the municipality or private organization in the districts.

6.4. Increasing capabilities

It is discussed in Focus Migration (2009, p. 5) report about Sweden that "the best form of integration" to Swedish society is through participating in the labour market. Increasing capabilities and education of people provide them with possibility "to express themselves in society" and "being seen in city"(Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. viii). These opportunities contribute to development of solidarity, belonging and responsibilities' senses towards the city where they live in which they function as "citizen" (Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. viii). In a same line of reasoning, outcomes of these two non-governmental organization shows these women have higher self-esteem and confidence after joining these organizations and participating in respective social activities of these organizations. In addition, increasing the capabilities and employment of these women can build respect for this group of immigrants through changing the negative picture of them as unemployed people with a strong dependency on social assistances. Therefore these sorts of organizations may contribute to reduce tensions and conflicts in society, and promote security in the city.

Misztal (2011, p. 180) states in her book; *The Challenges of Vulnerability* being long-term unemployed may exacerbate “poverty and social exclusion”, which in turn erode the abilities of people to cope with the changes and undermines health of them (Eurostat, 2010, p. 64). In this regard, my results show that these social activities and employment of migrant women may help to improve their health condition. Therefore, these sorts of organizations may cut to some extent extra expenses of medical care due to depression within this group because of unemployment. Moreover, these local organizations can also reduce susceptibility to poverty in families by introducing another earner (Misztal 2011, p. 180).

It should be taken into account as very critical factor that most of these migrant women are uneducated or less educated who came to Sweden after or during the third decade of their life. This may imply that it would be difficult for them to learn a new language and adapt to a new system. Therefore, they not only face their own problems respectively to their age and condition but also they need particular integration measures and approaches to address their problems. These local NGOs can be considered as an adequate and convenient platform for working and integrate these women in the society, because these organizations do not ask for any abilities and knowledge that these women do not have. Cooking and sewing are their everyday practice/ routines culturally. Moreover, my results show these local organizations improve the life condition of these women by facilitating their access to available entitlements. Schou (2006) points out that, immigrants can also contribute to the economic prosperity of Western Europe within the welfare state. He argues that investing on immigrants; even the “low-skilled ones” can reduce some of the problems such as the European population ageing that in turn contributes to loss of economic sustainability. (Schou, 2006, p. 671). Therefore, the investment on these sorts of organizations and respective activities may contribute to economic sustainability of society through raising their opportunities in order to enter to labour market.

Foremost, the involvement of local residents’ perspectives plays very crucial role in the development of socio-economic conditions (Hagetoft & Cars, 2000) and increase their self-esteem In this regard, Municipality of Malmö conducted several interesting projects in particular in Rosengård for example *Aktivitetstytan: EIM (Engagerad i Malmö)(Malmö stad)*. In that project one of the main aims was to involve citizens especially youths to design and planning of the city. As *Julia*- coordinators of EIM- articulated:

“...I think we have to have this all the time with us that we are working for people why not get them involved and work with them”.

In the same vein, one of the UNESCO goals regarding sustainable cities is; policy and decision makers should put their citizens “at the center of every policy in order to reach peace and equity, and freedom in cities” (Polese, 2000, p. vii).

Finally, it is so crucial to bear in mind that social integration of immigrants is a long-term and mutual process, and to overcome social exclusion, mutual attempts and education of migrant community and host society are required. Though it is so important that immigrants learn the language, norms and rules of the receiving country, the natives’ uptake of immigrants’ culture and accepting the differences have the similar weigh of importance. In this regard, Sweden should devote more attention to prepare native society to accept immigrants, since according to Rosenberg (1995, pp. 211-212) the multicultural policies were introduced to Sweden society by the elites of the country. Therefore, it may seem that the “public opinion” regarding migration and its respective issues have been neglected in Sweden where having a different accent is still a stigma (Rosenberg, 1995, pp. 211-212,213). This communicates “the gap” between “elites” who establish the rules and people who “obey the rules” (Rosenbery, 1995, p. 213).

7. Conclusion

This study aimed to capture some underlying factors that increasing social exclusion and trigger social vulnerability among migrant women in Rosengård, the first immigrant dense district in Malmö. A conceptualization of vulnerability which confined within social networks, labour market, housing and neighborhood was utilized to meet the research aims of this study: explore if elements of vulnerability exist within one of the migrant groups in Malmö; uneducated middle-aged migrant Muslim women.

In this study elements contribute to form social vulnerability of these migrant women towards exclusion from the labour market and mainstream society as well as inequality were identified as; undesirable experiences, man-dominated culture and the patriarchal structure of their families, experiencing inequality, lack of access to entitlements, lack of respect in society and their families, and lack of self-esteem.

As anticipated in the beginning of the research, the results from this study communicate cultural differences and backgrounds play very significant roles in increasing the vulnerability of these migrant women towards social exclusion. In particular these migrant women are imposed limitations in terms of employment and social networking by their religion and cultures. Being unemployed increases the financial dependency of these women on social assistance and their husbands. Having rather many children (4-8) seems to be a crucial factor which contributes to rather high

unemployment rate among these migrant women. Because of this strong financial dependency on their husband, these women and their children will be at high risk if they lose their partners' support through death, abandonment, illness etc. These mentioned conditions may lead to increasing responsibility and burden of these women, the tasks that they are not prepared for, or they do not have the knowledge or information in order to handle these conditions. In general, for this target group, lack of experiences in the labour market, poor language proficiency, cultural barriers, strong dependency on husbands and social assistance and low self-esteem not only make them more sensitive towards internal and external shocks within society or any changes in their families but also impede them to develop their abilities in order to adopt to changes or to respond to social or economic crises.

The results are communicated that this target group had strong relationships and internal bonds with other immigrants/ similar people but they have weak social ties with outside of their community. Language barrier and lack of experience in the labour market, and low self-esteem are known to be important obstacles regarding being in the labour market and their weak social networks with mainstream society. Evidence of this study suggests that social networks of immigrants with Swedes community associate with dual benefits and contribute to reduce prejudice and tension in society.

The research also shows discrimination attitudes towards immigrants can be seen in labour markets. In addition, the high rate of unemployment in Rosengård may contribute to rise of stigmatization about this neighborhood and its residents. This condition may stimulate more segregation of this district. However, this migrant group showed high level of satisfactory towards Rosengård.

The non-governmental organizations, such as *Yalla Trappan* and *Herrgårds kvinnoförening*, seem to be very functional platforms to expand social networks of these sorts of women with other groups in society. Moreover, these organizations can bridge the different cultures coexisting in Malmö to each other, and in that way they can contribute to reduce the vulnerability of these women towards social exclusion and also reduce the existed prejudice in society between the residents of Rosengård and the host society.

The target group of this study indicated that the second generation of this target group has a higher educational level compared to these migrant women and their husbands; accordingly, the second generation of this target group has higher participation in the labour market. In addition, these migrant women pointed out that the girls have higher education and employment rate compared to boys in the second generation of this target group.

Finally, the Sustainability sciences stress to achieve sustainability three areas of society, environment and economy must be considered as interconnecting networks within which there are many sub-systems whose interplays determine the behavior and performance of the whole system (Turner et al., 2003). Therefore, the sustainability of society, environment or economy have much to do with wellness and well-functioning of each of these sub-system. Further, because of interconnectivity among these sub-systems, in any system high vulnerability in one section can impact negatively the whole system. In the similar line of reasonings, in society, the high vulnerability and impoverished condition within one community eventually undermines the well-beings of all or hinders the transition toward sustainability. Therefore, trying to identify and address the vulnerability of Muslim migrant women in Rosengård, Malmö as a group within society can contribute to reduce the vulnerability of the whole society as an integrated system and facilitate the transitions towards sustainability goals.

Recommendations

- Many persons among these migrant women were not satisfied with the heating system and face problems in terms of laundry rooms and garbage, therefore it is suggested to both governmental and private housing companies to take these issues more seriously and try to respond to these problems in a collective project with the residents.
- This research communicates this message that vulnerability and social exclusion seem to be sensitive regarding age, gender and ethnic. Thus, it is recommended that data for policy should be disaggregate data according to the aforementioned factors. Foremost, in order to deal with social exclusion and vulnerability in a sustainable way, every policy and project in this regard should be considered as a long-term process. These measures should be monitored all the time and be amended in accordance with changes in society and its respective needs.
- This result communicates that integrating approaches should focus more on mutual integration and education in society, and decision makers should organize initiatives that not only help immigrants to learn the language and the rules of the host society but also increase the host society information about immigrants and their culture simultaneously.
- There is a crucial need for simultaneous education of both women and men in the immigrant families otherwise educated only women cannot address the woman's problem fundamentally.
- Urban designer and urban planners should conduct further research regarding how to increase the interactions and connections of immigrants and hosts in multi-cultural cities like Malmö. Finally, to increase equality within society and balance the relationship between

immigrants and the host society, it would be also of interest to conduct more researches and investigations regarding this question that arises within my study:

What kinds of inequalities and in which dimensions do host societies experience in terms of immigrants? Further, it is suggested that government devote particular considerations toward supporting these non-governmental organizations as very appropriate levers to facilitating social integration of people with no voice in society.

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9. Appendices

9.1. Limitation

Similar to other studies my thesis is subject to numbers of limitations and biases regarding its quality, process and findings. In order to increase transparency of this study, I explain the main challenges that I confronted in my study.

First, not speaking Swedish and coming from very different country; Iran, made it difficult for me to access to immigrants and their respective information. Therefore, I ended up with a rather small number of migrant women respondents which may not involve representatives from all kinds of migrant women in Sweden. Therefore the challenges and problems of migrant women in this study confined to target group of this thesis and cannot be generalized to all populations of migrants. To generalize the results for larger migrant population, there is an essential need to include more representatives from different kinds of immigrants. Moreover, language barrier still existed with some of the interviewees which might lead to misunderstanding or misinterpreting during focus groups and interviews. Different methods were utilized to mitigate the possible biases involved in aforementioned problems. Additionally to reach more unbiased results, the issues respective to migrant women were collected from two different levels; migrant women as micro level and Meso level included governmental and non-governmental organizations working with addressing social exclusion of migrant women.

Second, being women and coming from same situation, area and background with my target group, I unavoidably had pre-assumption and affiliation with this target group. This information and pre-assumption also sometimes assisted me to understand them better. However, I tried to minimize this pre-understanding by asking different people with different backgrounds to review my paper and results. Third, because of access problems to migrant community I must have approached them through two organizations of *Yalla Trappan* and *Herrgård kvinnoförening*. Therefore, I was constrained to openly select interviewees from different groups. I was also asked to alter my focus group and questioner questions because according to managers of these two organizations these migrant women are both very sensitive and tired to have been asked many times regarding their personal lives. Therefore, I was not able to fully implement the plans and practices that I had in my mind before field work. For instance in-depth interview with migrant women might be deemed as more appropriate methods for collecting data regarding the vulnerability of these women, but I did not get such opportunities within these organizations as a result of their time limitation. However I tried to mitigate this problem by expanding the duration time of the focus groups as long as possible.

9.2. Organizational perspectives on social exclusion of migrant women interview guide

- Responsibilities and job description
 1. Would you please yourself explain a little more about your responsibilities and experience with working with immigrants and if you are working with any project right now?
 2. What kinds of issues do you work with in terms of migrant women?
 3. Who (from immigrant women) usually gets involved in the project? How do you construct trust-building with them in order to absorb them? How do you help migrant women in order to integrate into the mainstream of society?
- Social exclusion and migrant women
 4. These women come from very different background with different culture who talks in different languages and maybe difficult experiences... How do you think these differences impact them in term of exclusion from labour market and social network?
 5. How do you explain the following factors in relation with social exclusion of these women?
 - Housing
 - Neighbourhood
 - Employment
 - Social network
 - Vulnerability
 6. Do you think they are more vulnerable to social and environmental problems or political or economic fluctuations compared to native and why?
 7. How these women are equipped in order to address their issues?
 8. What do you think can be the role policy makers in accelerating the social integration of immigrants? Do you consider Swedish policies regarding migration as gender-sensitive policies?
- Future
 9. How current situation influence the future of these women?
 10. Can you explain a little bit about the achievements regarding promoting the life condition of migrant women?

9.3. Survey questionnaire

- Name(optional):
 - Age of respondent:
 - Marital status of respondents:
1. Where do you come from?
 2. What is your mother tongue language? Can you speak other languages?
 3. Years respondent completed education which neighborhoods do you live?
 4. Employment status of household
 - 1 worker
 - 2 workers
 - 3 workers
 - No workers – retired
 - No workers - sick/disabled
 - No workers – unemployed
 - No workers – other
 5. Household composition:
 - Number of adults in the household
 - Number of children in the household
 - Who else live with you? Temporary or permanent?
 6. Tenure

Farsi

پرسشنامه

نام و نام خانوادگی (اختیاری):

- سن:

- وضعیت تاهل:

- ملیت:

- محل سکونت:

- جمع تعداد سال های تحصیلی پاسخ دهنده:

۱- زبان مادری شما چیست؟ به چه زبان های دیگری می توانید صحبت کنید؟

۲- وضعیت اشتغال در خانواده:

• ۱ شاغل

• ۲ شاغل یا بیشتر

• عدم اشتغال (بیماری/ازکار افتادگی)

• عدم اشتغال (بازنشسته)

• عدم اشتغال (بیکاری)

• عدم

دیگر)

(موارد

اشتغال

۳ - مشخصات خانوار:

- تعداد افراد بزرگسال در خانوار
- تعداد افراد خردسال در خانوار
- آیا افراد دیگری هم با شما زندگی می کنند؟ موقت/دائم
- ۴- نحوه تصرف محل زندگی خانوار:

Swedish:

- namn (frivilligt):
 - Din ålder:
 - Civilstånd:
 - År av skolgång/ utbildning
 - Vilket område bor du i?
 - Nationalitet
1. Vad är ditt modersmål? Kan du prata andra språk?
 2. anställningar i hushållet
 - 1 arbetande
 - 2 arbetande
 - 3 arbetande
 - Ingen arbetstagare- pensionerade
 - Ingen arbetstagare- sjuk/handikappad
 - Ingen arbetstagare- arbetslös
 - Ingen arbetstagare- Annan anledning
 3. Hushållets sammansättning
 - antal vuxna i hushållet
 - antal barn i hushållet
 - Vem bor hos dig? Temporärt eller permanent?
 4. Äger eller hyr du ditt hus eller din lägenhet?

9.4. Focus group sample questions

➤ Housing:

1. Do you think that your houses and your neighborhood are in accordance with your needs? Are you satisfied with your home? Why? Why not? Lighting? Ventilation? Size of your home, kitchen? Heating?
2. Is there enough space according to size of your family?
3. Does your home suffer from insects, mold and moisture? If yes what?
4. Do you feel that you can do anything to improve the situation? What? If not why?
5. Do you think your home situation is appropriate for well-functioning of your children and yourself? Do you feel that you can do anything to improve the situation? What? If not why?

➤ Neighborhood

1. How satisfied are you with this area as a place to live? Do you feel safe here?
2. Did you choose to live in Rosengård if yes why?
3. Do you plan to move out of your current district or house? Why? Why not?
4. How do you think your children grew up in your neighborhood in terms of safety, education and job opportunity in the future?
5. What do you think must be provided in your neighborhood in order to improve outcome you children in school and society?

➤ Social capital/network, women's issues based on community:

1. Do you consider yourself as representative for other women in your neighbourhood why? Why not?
2. How do you describe your connection with Swedes? Do you have Swedish friends? Why, in your opinion, you have little connection with Swede society?
3. Do you feel safe when you are in other parts of the city
4. Over the coming/last years, do you think social exclusion will increase/increased? How do you perceive or predict the situation for your children?

➤ Employment and income:

1. Does migration influence your family economy? How do you judge it today?
2. What do you consider as hinders or what issues impede you to be absorbed in labour market in Sweden?
3. How far do you think you are above or below the level of income that is necessary to keep a household with a standard condition according the criteria of society?
4. How do you find this organization effective in your condition? Did you find Yalla Trappan/ Herrgård as a proper gate to Swedish society?

9.5. Short description about two non-governmental organizations

Yalla Trappan

Yalla Trappan is a not-for-profit organization formed in April 2009 with inspiration from the staircase projects (2006–2010) in Rosengård in Malmö. The organization aims to create a space that strengthens people's ability to work and access education, to raise their self-esteem and self-confidence and their ability to influence society. The association works on cooperative principles, based on cooperation between members, the association's partners and the surrounding community. *Yalla Trappan* ran the Female Entrepreneurship Programme in 2007. This led to a two-year project, from April 2008 to March 2010 and funded by the ESF and the City of Malmö, entitled 'Stairwell – education, empowerment, and sustainable entrepreneurship'. The project aims to increase employability through skills development interventions and by creating commitment and participation in cooperative activities. *Yalla Trappan* also runs an open cafe, serving international cuisine, which is a major source of its income. The cafe provides a catering service for functions. *Yalla Trappan* has a design and craftsmanship studio that runs various activities, like sewing classes, for its members. It also provides training in cleaning and conference services. The organization receives ESF match funding from the City of Malmö.

Herrgårds kvinnoförening

Herrgårdskvinnoförening (HKF) was established in 2002 by five women who lived in Malmö. Their initiating aim was to break isolation of Rosengård as most vulnerable district in Malmö (arvsfondsprojekten, 2012).

"*Herrgårds* Women association is an NGO populated by approximately 200 women (and 200 children from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Bosnian women (majority Afghan). Their activities include working with health issues (e.g. sexual health) and social issues (e.g. honor-related violence), food catering, small-scale clothing, and textile design as well as carpet design/production. Malmö University has well-established relations with them through previous research" (BARROCA et al., 2011, p.26). Moreover, this association also works with the second generation of immigrant, mostly help them to learn Swedish language correctly and increase their knowledge about Swedish culture to combat their social exclusion as well (arvsfondsprojekten, 2012).

9.6. Posters used in focus groups to stimulate discussion



Figure 3: what are negative and positive aspects in your neighborhood?



Figure 4: what kinds of challenges and advantages exist to find a job as a migrant woman?

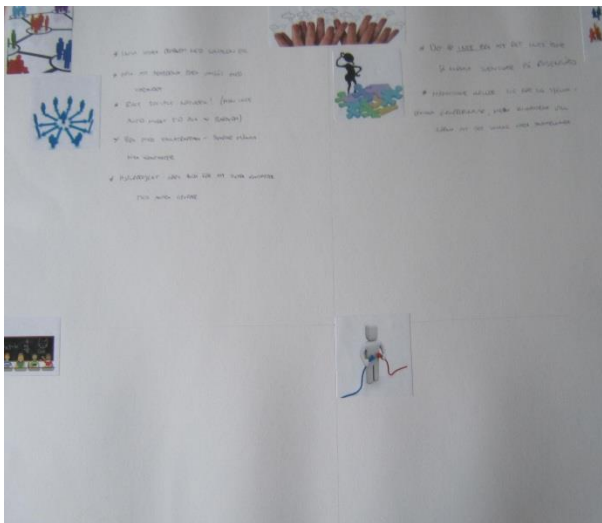


Figure 5: what are the challenges and advantages in establishing social connections in Malmö?



Figure 6: what are positive and negative attributes of your apartments?

9.7. Figures and photographs demonstrating the highlighting, cutting and sorting data into themes and sub-themes

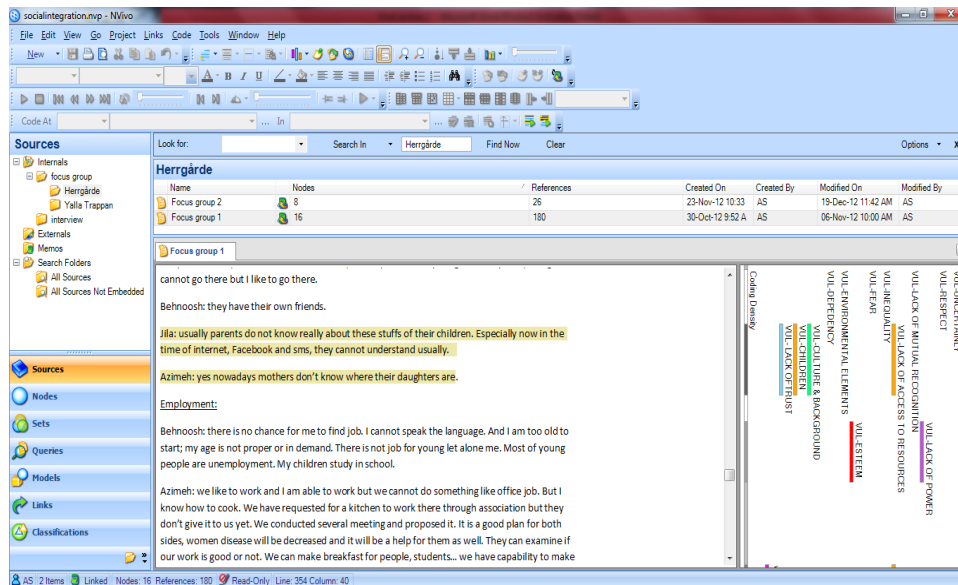


Figure 7: Each focus group or interview was transcribed, highlighted according to elements of vulnerability (Misztal 2011 and Adger 2006), and moved to a given category. The right box shows the elements and their density in the text.

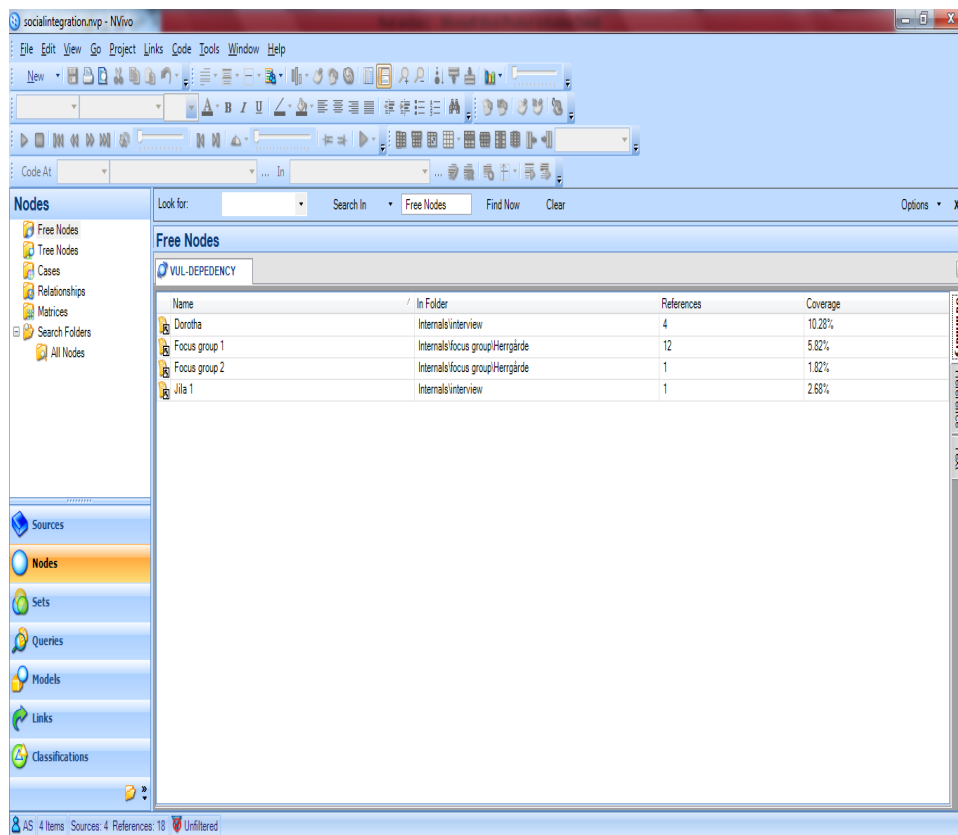


Figure 8: This figure shows the dependency theme, the sources that are either focus groups or semi-structured interviews. The reference outlines the frequency of each code in total, from all sources

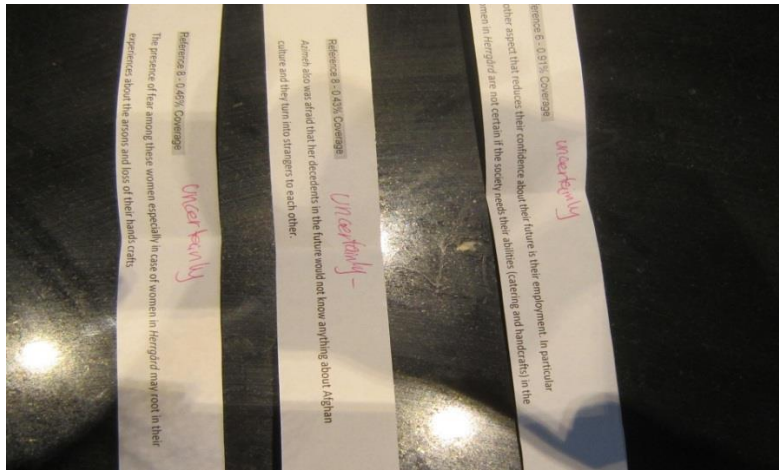


Figure 9: Transcript has been read again and organized according to themes and subthemes.



Figure 10: Cut and sorted data are sorted with paper bags. This sorting makes it easier to revise written sections and omit extra and repeating sentences.

9.8. Supplementary photos from field work

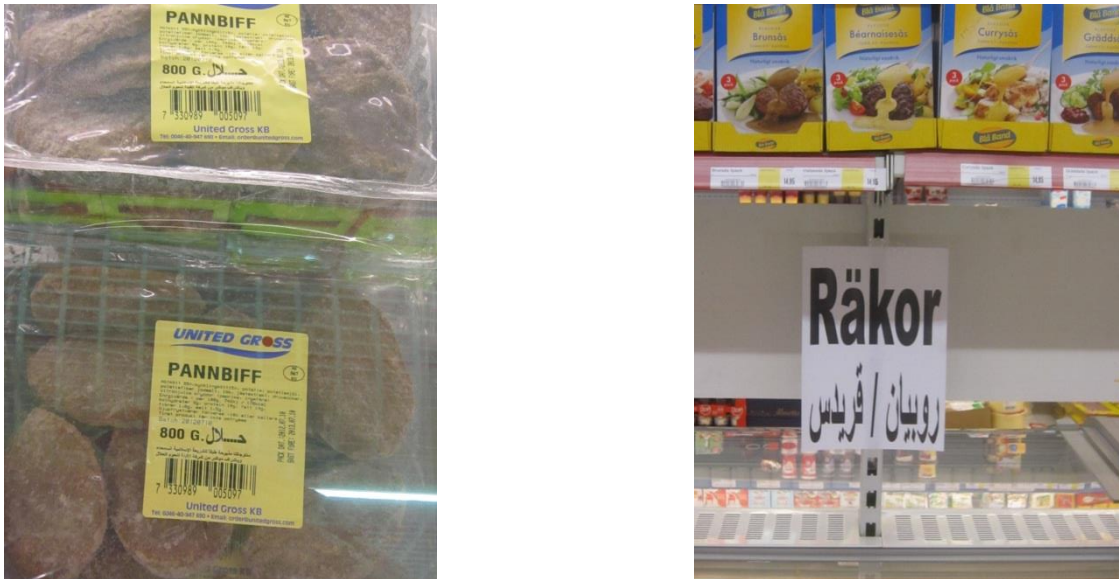


Figure 11: supermarkets in rosengård. The food in supermarket and stores are in accordance to the beliefs and culture of rosengård residents



Figure 12: Rosengård centrum. One of the most popular public place for Rosengård residents.



Figure 13: Main coffee shop in Rosengård centrum. Just occupied by men, no women in the coffee shop



Figure 14: Rosengård library. A place to hang out for girls as well



Figure 15: recycle room: An informative poster at entrance of the recycling room in Rosengård



Figure 16: A building façade in Rosengård. Every apartment has its own satellite dish; may imply they watch program in their own language and culture that can impede increasing their knowledge about their host society.