

Lund University
Department of Sociology
Bachelor of Science in Development Studies



Malmö: A Compromise or a Gateway to Denmark?

A qualitative study of Danish citizens and their experiences and motives behind moving to Malmö, Sweden.

Author: Johan Erik Andersen

Bachelor Thesis: UTVK03, 15 hp.

Term: Spring 2015

Supervisor: Reza Arjmand

Abstract

Malmö and Copenhagen have been linked together since the completion of the Oresund Bridge in 2000. As a consequence of this the amount of Danish people moving to Malmö has risen significantly. This paper will investigate whether Danish people assimilate into Swedish society, or if the proximity to Denmark and differences in language, culture and identity are such important factors that assimilation is difficult or impossible to achieve. The political debate in Denmark (and to some extent Sweden) regarding immigrants increasingly sets assimilation as the goal and deems that integration as a criteria is no longer enough. This served as an excellent opportunity to apply the same level of expectations towards Danish people residing in Malmö to see whether they assimilate into Swedish society. This paper will be offering a critical view on the expectation of effortless assimilation of Nordic citizens within the Nordic countries, and look into whether the motives behind settling in Malmö determines the level of commitment to assimilation. Through the use of qualitative data and various theoretical concepts this paper will investigate the role that social networks and the role that the state plays in promoting assimilation. Lastly, attention will be aimed at how the strict Danish immigration laws affects Danish citizens traveling to Malmö to undergo family reunification and whether they are likely to return to Denmark.

Keywords: Migration, Identity, Oresund, Assimilation, Integration, Denmark, Sweden.

TABLE OF CONTENT:

1.0 Introduction	4
1.1 Significance and Aim	5
1.2 Research Question	5
1.3 Background	6
1.4 Previous Research	12
2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	13
2.1 Modes of Incorporation	13
2.2 Strategies and Tactics	15
2.3 Identity	16
3.0 METHODOLOGY	18
3.1 Semi-structured Interviews	18
3.2 Sampling	19
3.3 The Role of the Researcher and Bias	19
3.4 Limitations	19
3.5 Method Analysis	20
4.0 ANALYSIS	20
5.0 CONCLUSION	27
6.0 REFERENCE LIST	28
7.0 Appendices	31
7.1 Interview Guide	31
7.2 List of Interview Participants	32

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Malmö, a city previously dependent on heavy industries, has now developed into a dynamic and modern big city. The completion of the Oresund Bridge meant that Malmö became an economic, as well as a transportation hub linking together Sweden with Europe. With an estimated 320.000 residents living in Malmö it has become the third largest city in Sweden. Of these 320.000 citizens approximately 31 percent are made up of citizens born outside of Sweden who have chosen to settle in Malmö¹. Danish citizens make up one of the largest groups of immigrants of the aforementioned 31 percent. The focus point of this study will be to investigate the Danish citizens, who have moved to Malmö and to see if a deeper understanding can be obtained about this increasing group of residents. This will be done by looking at the connection between identity and assimilation; whether this process can be encouraged and in that case what the underlying factors are. The notion of assimilation will be discussed as well as the different motives that lies behind the decision of moving to Malmö. Through the use of qualitative data which has been gathered from semi-structured interviews this study will shed light on this process and investigate if there are any patterns or similarities between the perceptions of the interview participants. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews over a span of 30 days in Malmö and Lund. 10 Danish citizens were interviewed about their experience and motives behind moving to Malmö, as well as their view on identity and living in Sweden. Theoretical concepts revolving around Modes of Incorporation, Strategies and Tactics, and Identity will be used in order to provide the reader with an increased understanding behind the social as well as personal factors of assimilation. Attention will be aimed towards how individuals navigate around the institutions of power and how the state has developed into an actor that can alter ones perception of identity positively or negatively. In the end this study will challenge the romanticized idea of Scandinavians as being one people; and as with the case of Malmö point out that the similarities in language, cultural identity and political traditions will not lead to seamless integration. It will be necessary to study the motives behind the decision of moving to Malmö in order to gain an understanding as to whether assimilation can be encouraged; and in that case what lies behind this.

¹ <http://malmo.se/Kommun--politik/Statistik/Befolkning/Utlandsk-bakgrund.html>

1.1 Significance and Aim

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the migration that has undergone in the Oresund region, since the completion of the Oresund Bridge in 2000. This paper will be focusing on the Danish citizens who have chosen to settle in the city of Malmö. While Scandinavia has witnessed migration among its countries for many years, the case with Danish people moving in large numbers to Malmö is very recent. The proximity of the home country presents opportunities in terms of work, family and being able to maintain a social life on a daily basis in Denmark. This in theory eliminates the need for establishing a social circle and integrating into Swedish society. Given that it is a new phenomenon, there has not been done a lot of research regarding the sociological consequences of this development. This paper will be offering a critical view on the expectations of an effortless assimilation of Nordic citizens within the Nordic countries, and look into whether the motives behind settling in Malmö determines the level of commitment to assimilation. It will be a controversial study to see whether the Danish people in Malmö are an active part of Swedish society, or merely living in Malmö due to the financial advantages of living in Sweden and are so-to-say “residing in Malmö but living in Copenhagen”.

1.2 Research Question

How are Danish citizens in Malmö assimilating into Swedish Society?

- What role does the individual’s social network play in encouraging an assimilation into Swedish society?
- In what way has the individual’s perception changed in regards to their identity since moving to Sweden?
- How is the difference between Swedish and Danish migration laws promoting an incentive for Danes to move to Malmö?

1.3 Background

Historical background for the development in the Oresund region:

Scania has always been a dynamic melting pot affected by migration waves and cultural diversity. Until the Treaty of Roskilde in 1658 Scania was known as “East-Denmark”, one of the wealthiest regions in the Kingdom of Denmark (Gustafsson, 2008:111-112). This region having been Danish since the Viking age had a strong Danish identity and as a consequence of this the Swedish king Charles the 10th began a process of “Swedification” in order to develop stronger ties to Sweden; Lund University stands as an example of this (Gustafsson, 2008:18-20, 81). The Scanian identity was developed as a result of this change of ownership and the population feeling as they have closer ties to Denmark rather than Sweden. (Gustafsson, 2008:114-116). Scania and Zealand, the island where the Danish capital of Copenhagen is seated, has always been closely linked. Often overlooked in history is the fact that of the estimated 203.800 Swedes that emigrated from Sweden in the 1850s, 40 percent or 82.840 Swedes migrated to Denmark in order to find work and thus began a process of assimilation into Danish society (Rich, 2008:83). Thus, migration within the Oresund region is not a new phenomenon but seems to have been dictated by trends.

The Oresund Bridge and symbiosis of the Oresund region:

The Oresund Bridge which was completed in 2000 took this interconnectedness to a new level. Linking together the dynamic Oresund region resulted in economic growth and Malmö becoming a part of the periphery of the greater Copenhagen area. As a consequence of this the amount of Danish people moving to Malmö has risen significantly. 31 percent of the residents in Malmö has another ethnic background than Swedish; of this number Danes are one of the largest immigrant groups². It also increased the importance of Malmö as a migration hub due to already established informal social networks, the proximity to Copenhagen and the Swedish migration laws being more lenient than their Danish counterpart.

² <http://malmo.se/Kommun--politik/Statistik/Befolkning/Utlandsk-bakgrund.html>

This has raised critique within the Danish political landscape of how immigrants are bypassing Danish migration laws:

“...If the Swedish government wants to transform Sweden into an ethnic melting pot then let them. If they want to turn Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö into Scandinavian Beirut with clan-wars, honour-killings and mass rapes then let them. We can always build a drawbridge unto the Oresund Bridge.” Quote by Pia Kjærsgaard, elected MP and at that time leader of Danish Peoples Party³

In order to understand the Danish scepticism of the Swedish migration system and view point behind this significant statement we will have to go back in time. After the cold war the EEC (European Economic Council) was developing towards an increased integration and a European framework in the form of the European Union. It came as a shock for the European countries when the Danish population voted down the Maastricht Treaty and effectively against joining the European Union the 2nd of June 1992 (Manners, 2008:27). In order to secure the participation of Denmark in the European Union, the Edinburgh Agreement was presented including four exceptions for the Danish participation in the European Union in the areas of; Citizenship, Economic and Monetary Union, Defence Policy and Justice and Home-affairs. On the 18th of May 1993 a second vote was held for the Maastricht Treaty and it was approved with a majority of the population voting “yes” (Manners, 2008:27-28).

For this paper the Danish exception in the area of Citizenship is of great interest, as it is what lays the foundation for the Danish immigration laws, which are sometimes referred to by some as the world’s strictest. The rationale behind this exception was that there was a worry that the EU citizenship which is awarded for citizens of the European Union would trump over the Danish citizenship; therefore the Edinburgh Agreement states the following:

“...On the other hand there is no question of whether a citizenship of the European Union will substitute a national citizenship... Denmark is not obliged by the Maastricht Treaty to acknowledge the rights of other countries citizens, rights which would normally adhere under the concept of a national citizenship.” (Manners, 2008:242)

³ http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/Pia_Kj%C3%A6rsgaard_S%C3%A6t_en_broklap_i_%C3%98resundsbroen

The 24-year rule is a change of the Danish immigration laws which was intended to reduce forced marriages, the 24-year rule has been accused of violating human rights by various organizations. The 24-year rule was proposed the 17th of January 2002, and later adapted with the votes of the back-then government consisting of the Liberals and Conservatives and with the supporting votes of the Social Democrats and the Danish Peoples Party (Schmidt, 2014:129-131).

The implementation of the 24-year rule meant that four criteria was set for granting family reunification in Denmark and securing the spouse a Danish citizenship; The first criteria is that both the Danish citizen and the spouse are 24 years of age. The second criteria is that they must document stronger ties to Denmark than the country of origin (this applies only to Danish citizens born outside of Denmark; if the person has been a Danish citizen for more than 26 years or has been awarded the citizenship at a young age then they are exempt from this criteria). The third criteria is that the Danish spouse must prove that he or she has the financial means to support their family. This means that the salary of the Danish citizen needs to be twice the amount of what one would receive in welfare benefits, that no welfare benefits has been received for the last three years, that no debt are owed to authorities and guarantee at least 62.231 Danish kroner in savings(est. 8350 euro). The final criteria is that the family will need to prove that they rent or own a residence in which there is at least 20 square meters of living space per person or that there is more than two persons living in each room.

The criteria and information has been gathered from the Danish Immigration Service (Operating under the Danish Ministry of Justice)⁴.

Danish citizens who wish to start a family and bring their spouse to Denmark has as an alternative used Malmö as a gateway in order to bypass these criteria. The lenient immigration laws in Sweden, coupled with the Nordic Passport Union; which guarantees Nordic citizens equal rights as native citizens, has meant that a loophole has been presented in which Danes can bring their spouse to Sweden. After having lived in Europe for two years the spouse will be awarded an EU-citizenship and are allowed to travel freely and settle within the Schengen countries; including Denmark (Manners, 2008:238).

⁴ <https://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/familiesammenfoering/aegtefaeller/aegtefaeller.htm>

“Malmö-finten”; literally translated as the Malmö feint. Feint is a term normally associated with football, however in Denmark it has become a slang term associated with people who bypass the strict immigration laws in Denmark. This group of people are an often stigmatized group in Danish politics and media. Following Danish media and politics, there seems to be an increasing trend to argue in favour of assimilation; rather than integration, and depending on whom you are asking often at the cost of the immigrants own culture. Søren Pind, an elected MP for the Liberal Party and at-the-time the Development and Integration Minister of Denmark, argued in favour of “assimilation” rather than “integration” of the minorities in Denmark⁵. Overall this sentiment has gained an increasing support since 2001 when the Liberal government won the election with the support of Danish Peoples’ Party; and in turn had to toughen the migration laws.

Since then there has been a stratification against especially Middle-Eastern immigrants in Denmark both politically and in newspapers supporting the top-down assimilation strategy. The Liberal Centre-Right government lost the election in the Danish parliament election and succeeded power to Helle Thorning-Schmidt, the leader of the Social Democrats, and her Centre-Left coalition the 3rd of October 2011. This government sought away from the use of stratification and negative rhetoric of immigrants and has had more of a humanistic profile than its predecessor, however they have refused to remove or lessen the criteria in the 24-year rule (Schmidt, 2014:130-131).

The argument of assimilation rather than integration are still influencing the political debate and enjoys staunch support from the Liberals, Conservatives and Danish Peoples Party (Schmidt, 2014:130-131). The top-down approach to assimilation is very evident in the Danish mind-set and this is mainly due to the fact that the Danish population are very homogenous. Applying the mind-set of top-down assimilation unto the Danish people, will be done in order to see whether the exact same expectations that are held towards immigrants in Denmark are met by the Danish people living in Malmö.

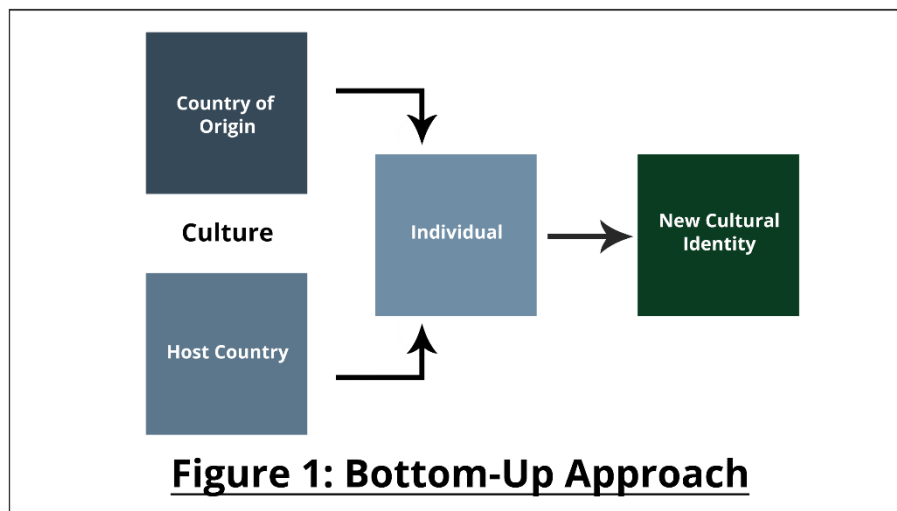
⁵ <http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/ECE1217082/ny-integrationsminister-er-imod-integration/>

“Assimilation” and how it has changed in recent years:

The reason that this study has been focused on assimilation rather than integration, is that the author believes that Danish people will find little difficulties in integrating into Swedish society as the institutions are very similar to that of Denmark. Park was one of the first scholars to provide a definition of the term assimilation (Alba and Nee, 1997:828). He describes it as “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.” (Park and Burgess, 1921:735). This process does not require the abandoning of one’s former culture and heritage in turn for the adoption of the culture and heritage of the host country. Park’s definition has been criticized for not being very concise and having a vague definition of the term assimilation, furthermore he held the belief that assimilation is an outcome which cannot be avoided in a multi-ethnic society (Alba and Nee, 1997:829). Confusion remained about the concept of assimilation until Milton Gordon presented his framework for the term in 1964. Gordon presents a different take on the term of assimilation, one in which acculturation; the groups’ adaption to cultural patterns of the host country, is the first step in the assimilation process and is an unavoidable process (Gordon, 1964:79-81). Acculturation goes beyond learning the language of the host country, appearance and the obtaining of new personal values. Gordon states that the eventual outcome of acculturation is the gradual development of the minority into a way of life similar to that of the Western middle class family and an adaption of values commonly associated with Western societies (Gordon, 1964:72). Acculturation is a one-way action that, except for the case of religion, suggests that minority groups will adapt into the main culture, and yet remain largely unchanged by this inclusion. This fits the viewpoint that is associated with the term “integration” and when this term is used in the Western world (Alba and Nee, 1997:829-830). This shows integration as a process in which integration and the compliance for the institutions and culture of the host country, comes without the loss of the individual’s cultural and historical background. We are also introduced to a term named “structural assimilation”, which is described as the inclusion and acceptance of the minority into social cliques, clubs and in which minorities are seen as equals within societal institutions. Another important factor he points out is that once this has taken place, then prejudice and discrimination will disappear, intermarriage between minorities and the majority will become frequent and the identity of the person from the minority will gradually start to weaken or disappear (Alba and Nee, 1997:830-831).

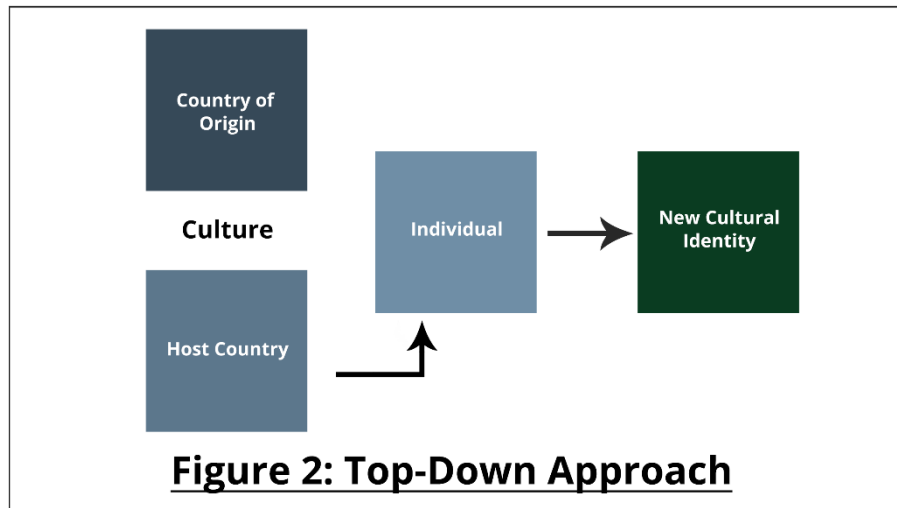
The difference between Europe and USA is that assimilation is a bottom-up approach in USA; it is the communities and individuals who actively seek assimilation. In Europe and Scandinavia it is a top-down approach by the state and thus it can be met with resistance as it is not a voluntary process. This is also linked with the system of rights and entitlement; immigrants will not have to integrate in order to receive welfare. They are entitled to welfare whether or not they chose to participate in society, this can be a factor that is also discouraging assimilation when compared to the approach in USA where assimilation is a matter of survival in many cases (Fer, S. 2015).

The author of this bachelor thesis has created two figures which shows the difference between the bottom-up and top-down approach to assimilation and how the intended outcome from these differ from each other. The models of assimilation consist of three parts; the culture (of the individual and host country), the individual, and the expected outcome of assimilation.



Data collected from (Fer, S. 2015)

This figure shows the bottom-up approach to assimilation. In this model the individual migrates from the country of origin to for example USA (host country). USA being a young nation and a melting pot of many cultures and ethnicities has meant that assimilation has become a process less difficult to achieve than that of the European counterpart. Upon arrival the individual will bring the cultural background from the home country and be met by the culture of the new host country. Assimilation leads to a process where these two fuse together and creates a new cultural identity for the individual.



Data collected from (Fer, S. 2015)

The top-down approach to assimilation differs greatly from the bottom-up approach in both the process and the outcome. In this model the individual migrates from the country of origin to for example a European country. Upon arrival the individual will bring the cultural background from the home country and be met by the culture of the new host country. The culture of European nations are a product of nationalism, synergy between European regions and a product of homogeneity, this in turn means that assimilating is much more difficult to achieve. The top-down approach to assimilation does not support the idea of the new cultural identity as the fusion of the culture from the individual's country of origin and that of the host country. Instead, the new cultural identity should derive from the culture of the host country and presumably at the cost of the culture of the country of origin. This mind-set contributes greatly to the difficulties that immigrants find when it comes to assimilating into a new society (Fer, S. 2015).

1.5 Previous Research

There is a lack of research focused on the Danish citizens living in Malmö. An obvious reason for this could be that this group has been successful in integrating and that Danish people do not fit the stereotypical perception that people have of the term "immigrant". Another factor could also be that this group are consisting of people with a middle or higher income level, this is mainly due to the Danish currency being stronger than the Swedish and the higher wage level. There has not been a tactic of stratification of the Danish migrants settling in Malmö from the perspective of Swedish officials. As in most cases the Swedish authorities have an attitude of open-mindedness towards

immigrants. Rather the stratification seems to be from the Danish side; from political parties addressing immigration negatively (as in the case with Pia Kjærsgaard and Søren Pind)⁶.

The development in the Oresund region is so recent that there is not a lot of data available regarding the more sociological effects of this development, neither has there been a need for these kind of studies in the public view. There are several reports and studies of the 24-year rule and its impact on migration to and from Denmark as well as the economic growth this region has witnessed, but little attention has been aimed towards the Danish people living in Malmö (Schmidt, 2014:133-135).

While I thought of this as a hindrance at first, it also provided me with an opportunity to gather my own data instead of relying on previously collected data.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 “Modes of Incorporation”

Modes of Incorporation is an approach used to analyse immigrants and explain the process of integration that they go through. Modes of Incorporation focuses on the economic integration, as well as the social integration of immigrants upon arrival in their new host country.

As the immigrants arrive in the host country, integration and eventually assimilation are one of their main concerns and a very demanding process. A lot of factors plays a role in making integration an easy or difficult process. The family and friends (a social network based on kinship) can provide the help and stability needed; commonly known as “social capital” and help establish an informal network which will nurture an integration of the individual. Being part of a kinship network does not necessarily lead to an increased chance of integration and assimilation.

The social capital provided is conditional; it is expected that in return the person will be committed and devoted to the continuing participation in the network. This in turn can result in a limited effect in which integration is based solely on the extent of survival (limited to learning the language of the host country) (Alexander, 2001:244). The joker here is that economic hardship can both force

⁶ <http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/ECE1217082/ny-integrationsminister-er-imod-integration/> ;
http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/Pia_Kj%C3%A6rsgaard_S%C3%A6t_en_broklap_i_%C3%98resundsbroen

assimilation unto a social network as a survival strategy or as an alternative end up pushing the social network towards confinement discouraging integration and assimilation. The same thing applies for the Scandinavian welfare states; the guaranteed entitlements can encourage an interest in integration and assimilation and provide a platform with a social security net; the same level of social and economic capital that a kinship network otherwise would provide. Entitlements can be a double edged sword; as benefits are a right and universal. This means that a kinship based networks can facilitate the arrangement of welfare payments but beyond that discourage integration and assimilation of its members. (Portes et al, 1989:620) Assimilation within the framework of the concept of “Modes of Incorporation” is defined by Alexander as the following:

“In assimilative incorporation, members of primordially denigrated groups are allowed, and encouraged to “pass” into public life. ...Assimilation takes place when out-group members are allowed to enter fully into civil life on the condition that they shed their polluted primordial identities.” (Alexander, 2001:243)

This bold statement, with its use of radical wording catches the essence of the mainstream approach to assimilation in Scandinavia. That the individual is expected to absorb the cultural identity of the host country, and reject ones former cultural ties.

“In assimilative incorporation, the qualities that define “foreign” and “different do not change; rather, the persons who are members of different and out-groups are, as it were, allowed to shed these qualities in public life.” (Alexander, 2001:244)

This quote supports the argument that assimilation is solely a decision held by the individual. It is not something that can be forced upon you, instead there has to be a willingness to assimilate in order for it to become a reality. The elasticity of the term “identity” and its constructed form enables assimilation to happen opposite of ones primordial qualities. Alexander argues that it is necessary to point out that the individual holds both a public and a private identity. The private identity is “left at home”, while the public identity is what constitutes the perception of the individual and whether they have undergone an assimilation. The public and private identities are necessary in order to become economically integrated into society, while protecting ones cultural heritage. The strategy of assimilation is not capable of targeting this split of identities. In the case of stigmatized groups within society holding contested values, this will lead to an even stronger confinement of ones identity within the private sphere where the differences between the two becomes more contrasting.

This will also result in a protectionist stance on the private identity with the goal of preserving it, while having a determination to cultivate the uniqueness of it (Alexander, 2001:244).

It is stated that only social networks can help promote a “civilization” process through the use of education, interaction and media. This in turn can lead the individual from their primordial identity towards the pursuit of assimilation and a new identity (Alexander, 2001:246).

2.2 “Strategies and Tactics”

In his work “The Practice of Everyday Life” De Certeau claims that society consists of two groups; those with power and those without. We are presented with the concepts of “strategies” and “tactics” (De Certeau, 1984:34). Strategies are explained as the control or manipulation which can take place within power relationships, when those of power are able to manage those without. Those with power have the legislative, judicial and executive control of society; they can form laws and regulations, interpret and implement them, and have the authority and responsibility to enforce these laws and regulations (De Certeau, 1984:35-36). The institutions of power mentioned are businesses, military, scientific institutions, but can also be the judicial and political institutions. The two aforementioned are very relevant in this study, as they are the two factors that are controlling the “others”; those who are not part of the establishment. The rationale used by those with power, is that it is necessary to increase their level of influence held within the present framework, in order to secure their own place in society. De Certeau explains that those with power needs to find a place which is their “own”; somewhere that can be the foundation from which targets or threats can be managed (De Certeau, 1984:36-37). Those without power, regular citizens, are actually not as powerless as first thought. They have a weapon to counter the strategies of those with power: Tactics. Tactics are explained as the ways by which the powerless attempts to bypass the strategies that the powerful impose on them. De Certeau use the example of New York City in order to explain this. The streets are built in coordinates, so the strategy would be to go from point A to point B following a standardized route. You can chose to follow this route or go by a shortcut; a tactic, in which you go by the supposedly shortest route. This does not always equal a clear pattern or logic and can prove difficult to predict and counter from the perspective of those with power (De Certeau, 1984:99-104).

2.3 “Identity”

Identity is a contested term and its use has been criticized for being unspecific and an “over-used cliché”. The term developed from its original form used in psychoanalytical context into a concept used in social sciences during the 1960’s. It was during this time that the term gained clout in USA due to the struggles of the Civil Rights movement and its militarization in form of the Black Panthers (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:3-4). From there on it spread to Europe and became an integrated part of social sciences. Identity in itself is a fleeting term which can hold several and different meanings depending on the context. Within Identitarian theorizing political and social actions are the outcome of the place that the individual or group holds in social space (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:7). Just like the term “Identity” then “Social location” can have different meanings depending on which context that it is used in. In Identitarian theorizing social location is consisting of categorical attributes those mentioned are ethnicity, race, gender and sexual orientation. In Instrumentalist theorizing social location is rather determined by a conceived social structure such as class (mode of production), occupational structure or position within the market (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:7-8).

The second way to explain this is to see Identity as a collective occurrence, which comes as a result of “sameness” within a group in society. This kind of “sameness” manifests itself through solidarity in a shared mind-set or through collective actions. This use of Identity is evident in literature covering gender, race, ethnicity, social movements. The downside of Identity in this form is that the term quickly becomes blurred and difficult to use in an analytical approach (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:8). Another, and to some extent similar, take on this is presented by James D. Fearon. He argues that the term identity is currently being used in order to explain two different, but linked perceptions; one that is social identity and the other being a personal identity (Fearon, 1999:1-2). Social identity can be used to explain social factors; these are known as social categories. Social categories refer to people who are categorized by labels, by supposedly characteristic features or through the discrimination in the form of exclusion of membership. The social identity can be manipulated or altered and is dynamic in the sense that it can change over time (Fearon, 1999:11-13).

The personal identity can be explained as being composed of unique characteristics that an individual holds and takes a sense of pride in. It is described as a number of attributes, desires, beliefs or principles of action which the individual are convinced makes him or her special. The personal identity is something that holds a large social impact; in establishing networks and social relationships, and is to a large extent unalterable and static as opposed to the social identity (Fearon, 1999:10-11).

Both Brubaker and Cooper, and Fearon highlights the role of the state as a promoter of identity. The state is being referred to as a “powerful identifier”; and while it does not have the capability of creating an identity for the individual, it holds the resources necessary to promote it. This is done through social categories and influencing the discourse of identifying what is what and who is who (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:13; Fearon, 1999:33). This extensive need of categorizing people; through use of passports, fingerprints, signatures, identification, ethnicity, religion, gender and so forth, renders the state able to control and assert its influence over the individual’s personal view of identity (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:15). The explanation of the individual fitting into social categories can be applied unto the state. This is coined as “state identity” and just like social categories this identity is made of labels, characteristics, features etc. The state identity is something that is dynamic; it can be negative and will alienate people, or it can be positive and promote a sense belonging and encourage a stronger sense of national identity (Fearon, 1999:34). The role of the state and the part that it plays in promoting identity is very relevant for this paper and will be included in the analysis, in order to see whether the individual’s perception of identity has changed after moving to Sweden. If this is the case then it might be likely that the concept of the state as a promoter of identity is true; with both the Danish and Swedish state influencing and altering the views held.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

First of all, I would like to point out that I am aware that data collected from 10 Danish citizens cannot represent all Danish citizens living in Malmö, instead this thesis is intended to serve as a case study. As part of my qualitative approach I managed to become part of an active Facebook community of Danish people living in Malmö with at-the-time more than 300 members. After reaching out to this community and having posted a statement that participants were needed for interviews; the interviews started three days later and were taking place in the timeframe between the 31st of March and the 30th of April in Malmö city. All interviewees except for one were found through Facebook; the last interviewee was found through the researcher's personal network.

3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The interviews used in this thesis were conducted in a semi-structured styled interview. All in all, 10 interviews were held with 10 participants in total. Each of these interviews were in the timespan of 35 to 45 minutes and were audio recorded and at a later point transcribed; this was a necessity in order to assure that there was a valuable dialogue and that the interview were held within the planned framework. All interviews except for one were held in person; the last one were conducted via Skype but this has not had any impact on the answers given or the data collected from the interview. The group of participants were composed of seven men and three women, all with Danish citizenship, and all whom have moved to Malmö recently (after the Oresund Bridge was built) and whom ranged from 23 to 51 years of age.

The interviewees were briefly made aware of what the questions in the interview would target prior to the actual interview, this was done because the topic of assimilation and integration can be very delicate and is contested in both Denmark and Sweden. A relaxed and informal atmosphere was created for the interviews. This was done in order to build trust between the participants and the interviewer; as well as making sure that the participants could share their experiences, and that they were not holding back their opinions and views. The participants had the opportunity to choose where the interview was to take place, as well as the option to not answer questions that they felt were sensitive. The semi-structured format of the interviews brought answers to the prepared

questions, and enabled for reflections and further discussion from the perspective of the interviewee and on a more personal level (Bryman, 2008:196).

3.2 Sampling

The sampling method used in this thesis has been convenience sampling. Interviewees were found through Facebook, thus a sampling had taken place because Facebook was used as the means of contact. A decision was made to start from the top of the list among people whom had shown interest in participating; the top being the first to reply, and continue till a sufficient amount of participants had been found. This also increased the likeliness of getting interviews with participants that differed from one and another and with diverse viewpoints; as opposed to actively selecting between participants or look for certain characteristics (Bryman, 2008:375).

3.3 The Role of the Researcher and Bias

A sampling bias will be present as the use of social media in order to find interview participants, means that there might be a chance that valuable informants have been bypassed. Although Facebook has developed into a social media platform; which are being used by people from all social layers, different age groups and by people with diverse backgrounds; not everyone are being active on social media.

3.4 Limitations and Delimitations

The limitations in my research are mostly in terms of the viewpoint of how the interviewee personally relates to the three focus areas that I have chosen to focus on within assimilation (language, participation and identity). This means that the results of the interviews can vary greatly and thus present a danger for not being useable or difficult to use in my research. In this case the more I can interview the less risk there is for unusable information, but realistically the interview process is time consuming and thus there is a limit to how many I can interview single handily.

3.5 Method Analysis

The sources used in this study consists of both primary and secondary sources. The reference material ranges from books, articles, webpages, newspapers and interviews conducted. This study started with a general research question; how are Danish citizens assimilating into Swedish society. Starting out with a general question meant that there was a level of flexibility in terms of what direction the study should take. The decision was made to use thematic analysis in order to avoid conducting the research with biased opinions. Semi-structured interviews was used as the means to produce data from primary sources (Bryman, 2008:542). The process of collecting the data and not trying to fit it into a prepared theoretical framework has also made this a more straightforward approach. The data collection was a demanding experience but once the data had undergone selective coding it proved to hold much valuable information. Given the length of the conducted interviews and the information provided during these, the point of theoretical saturation was achieved after the 7th interview. Nonetheless the interviews continued, this was decided in order to see if there was any concepts or categories to be found among the data (Bryman, 2008:543-545). All in all, the thematic analysis enabled for an approach in which different theories and theoretical concepts could be measured against the data collected and abandoned if they were found not to be relevant.

4.0 ANALYSIS

From the data collected it was possible to divide the Danish citizens moving to Malmö into two categories; voluntary immigrants and involuntary immigrants. Within these two categories are three groups; the first two are voluntary, whereas the last group are involuntary. The reason for this division is that the first two groups are not restricted by legal framework in their daily life; while the last group is forced to live in Malmö because of their family situation. The first group is consisting of people moving to Sweden due to financial gains. The second group is consisting of people moving to Sweden because they are in a relationship with a Swedish person and chose Malmö as a compromise because of its proximity to Copenhagen. The third and last group is an often stigmatized group in Danish politics and media; the ones moving to Malmö in order to bring their Spouse to Sweden and later Denmark and bypass the Danish immigration laws.

This table has been created by the author of this thesis in order to provide the reader with a clear overview:

Groups:	Motivational factors:	Migration:
Group 1	Financial Gains	Voluntary
Group 2	Swedish Spouse	Voluntary
Group 3	Family Reunification	Involuntary

Figure 3: Danish citizens divided into groups.

“I moved to Malmö because I could not find an apartment in Copenhagen and it is more affordable to live in Sweden as a student [...] I do not speak Swedish nor do I have an interest in learning it since my social circle is based in Copenhagen. Because of this I will be leaving Malmö this summer and move to Copenhagen in order to live closer to friends and family.”

Interview participant 2, Malmö. 31.03.2015

Let us start by looking into the Danish citizens that move to Malmö for financial benefits and personal gains, this group is referred to as “Group 1”. The people interviewed who was part of this group, openly stated that to them the only reason for moving to Malmö was the proximity to Copenhagen and the increase in disposable income; when taking into consideration the currency and lower commodity prices. While being able to reap the benefits of moving to Sweden this quickly became obvious that this group had little incentive to stay in the longer term, and would very likely end up returning to Denmark.

“Originally I moved to Sweden together with my Danish partner. The incentive back then was solely financial as we both worked and had a social circle in Denmark. I lived in Skurup for 7 years but interaction with the local community was minimal. I had all options to sign up for Swedish classes back then but lacked the interest.”

Interview participant 1, Malmö. 19.04.2015

The most common reason for this trend was that they would find difficulties in establishing a social circle and had a lack of interest in learning Swedish. This in turn meant that they never felt “at home” in Sweden, and rather wanted to move back to Denmark. Establishing a social circle is important in order to permeate an assimilation process, but there also needs to be a personal interest and drive for this to take place.

“Swedish people had a hard time understanding me when I attempted to speak Swedish, and at the same time they did not understand me when I spoke Danish. At times I had to resort to speaking English, but being Danish and speaking English to a Swede felt wrong and was often met with indifference. Since then I have attended Swedish classes in order to counter this.”

Interview participant 8, Malmö. 11.04.2015

Language seems to be an important factor in creating a sense of belonging, as well as encouraging a process of assimilation. Despite most people being able to speak English in Scandinavia, it is still something that is met with stigma. The scenario of Swedish people speaking English in Copenhagen, or Danes speaking English in Malmö is something of common occurrence and has been witnessed by this author several times.

In short; this study suggests that the financial gains of moving to Malmö are not enough to encourage a process in which one would settle in Malmö and begin the process of assimilation. There are other factors lying behind assimilation and circumstances that can influence this process.

“My commitment to become an active part of Swedish society changed for the better after moving to Malmö and meeting my Swedish partner [...] I identify myself as a Scandinavian but I still hold strong feelings for my Danish identity. I was born and raised in Viborg (Denmark) but I feel that Malmö is the place I would call home.”

Interview participant 1, Malmö. 19.04.2015

If we are to look into “Group 2” then this group consists of Danish people who wants to start a family with- or are in a relationship with a Swedish person. For this group Malmö has become the compromise; while being in Sweden it is still near to Copenhagen.

This means that they will both be capable of working and maintaining a social circle in Denmark and Sweden. It seems that the Danes in this group are highly likely to assimilate, as they have both the support necessary and a genuine interest in learning the Swedish language. There is also an advantage when it comes to creating a social circle consisting of both Swedish and Danish people given that the spouse is Swedish.

The data implies that it is also common within this group to view themselves as “Scandinavians” or at least openly saying that they have changed their views when it comes to their identity – this serves as a stark contrast to the people in Group 1 who almost staunchly profess that they are Danish.

“I identify myself as Scandinavian. I feel alienated from Denmark due to the political development in Denmark for the last 10 years. The biggest challenge as a Dane in Malmö is the statelessness that I feel since I pay taxes in Denmark but are not allowed to vote in the governmental elections in neither Denmark nor Sweden.”

Interview participant 7, Malmö. 09.04.2015

Among the interview participants there seemed to be an overall tendency of frustration with not being included in the democratic framework. Danish citizens living in Malmö are not allowed to vote in the governmental elections in Denmark or Sweden, and while they can vote for the municipal election in Sweden few have chosen to do so. This can be a factor that holds an impact on the individual’s perception of their own identity.

The third and last group is the joker in all of this. This group consists of families using “Malmö-finten” in order to bring the spouse to Sweden, with the intended goal of moving to Denmark once the spouse has been awarded an EU citizenship. This group consists of both people with a higher education and a middle to high paying job in Copenhagen, and the ones with no education, a low paying job or welfare receivers. Unfortunately, it proved difficult to get in contact with interview participants in this group who had no education, a low paying job or were welfare receivers. This means that the study will be focusing on the other segment in this group, the ones with an education and middle or high income.

“Moving to Sweden was easy. I was offered a job in Copenhagen and saw this as an opportunity to bring my wife with me to Malmö. We have been living in Malmö since then.”

Interview participant 6, Malmö. 30.04.2015

The collected data indicates that if it is a well-educated family with high likeliness of securing a job then they are more likely to stay in Malmö, whereas if they are interested in getting access to welfare benefits then they are more likely to go to Denmark as the benefits are substantially higher. The ones with a higher education and well-paying job have a steady income and thus faces no financial or social consequences of staying in Malmö.

“My wife is very determined to become integrated and assimilate into Swedish society. She is active in an Iranian-Swedish network, and her social network is larger than mine. [...] My wife is far better at becoming integrated than I am. I have friends in Denmark asking me why I do not move back to Denmark... The truth is I do not want to!”

Interview participant 3, Malmö. 09.04.2015

As mentioned earlier, the spouse will arrive in Sweden and attend language classes and will be adapting to the life in Malmö; this means that the spouse will quickly build a social network with like-minded people. What was common for all three cases was that the spouse in a short amount of time became better at Swedish and built a social network larger than that of the Danish partner. Coming to Sweden and learning a new language and building a new social circle is a very costly process (in terms of commitment and energy). This in turn might reduce the incentive to move to Copenhagen after the EU-citizenship has been awarded as both persons are enjoying the most practical and least costly compromise; the spouse staying close to the new network and the Danish partner working in Copenhagen. This was something that applied to all three interview participants who had taken use of “Malmö-finten”. The families have become accustomed to life in Malmö during the process of gaining citizenship and none of them could see themselves moving back to Denmark.

The argument put forward by Alexander, about how the individual has to leave behind their primordial identity in order to assimilate and adopt a new identity proved to be relevant for this research (Alexander, 2001:243). There seems to be a clear pattern within the group of participants that when asked about their identity; how they would define themselves (as Danish, Swedish or Scandinavian etc.) that people from the first group would profoundly emphasize that they were

Danish; some even claimed that they felt more Danish after moving to Malmö due to differences in attitudes and language. The answers within the second group were opposite of the first. They were either struggling to clearly define their identity, or would outright state that they felt more Swedish than Danish after moving to Malmö. The last group were surprisingly similar to the first; as they too firmly defined themselves as Danish. It is likely that because this group is consisting of involuntary immigrants, that this also affects their personal view. Since the choice of migration is only intended as a temporary solution (until the spouse receives their EU-citizenship) the level of commitment to assimilate into Swedish society from the Danish partner is very low.

Returning to Alexander's argument of Primordial Identity; this study suggests that those individuals who strongly emphasizes on their Danish identity and views their identity as something interchangeable will have a harder time adapting into Swedish society (Alexander, 2001:243).

In some of the cases derived from the interviews conducted some people felt alienated as they have been incapable of building a social network. These individuals were dependent on a social network in Copenhagen, rather than in Malmö and thus Malmö was reduced to merely a location of residence. It was mostly people from the first group who felt this way, and it is generally within this group that people were less likely to stay in Malmö. The financial gains of living in Malmö compared to Denmark simply could not outweigh the disadvantage of not having a social circle in the proximity; therefore it is likely that the ones moving for financial gain are the ones who are most likely to move back to Denmark within a short timeframe.

This presents us with the argument that social networks are the facilitators of assimilation, rather than financial gains.

The concept of strategies and tactics can be applied to the case of Danish people moving to Malmö. When using the city as a gateway for bringing the spouse to Sweden and later to Denmark, or moving to Malmö in order to increase their disposable income this concept seems very relevant. The strict immigration laws imposed by the powerful, in this case the government of Denmark, targets the powerless Danish citizens and their capability of living together with their partner. Within the imposed framework, the powerless finds a way to work around the system (De Certeau, 1984:34-36). In this case Malmö is used as a base which enables Danish citizens to live in the proximity of Denmark and together with their partner.

The powerful in Denmark are being bypassed by the legal framework of the European Union and are left incapable of controlling the powerless Danish citizens and spouses who now reside in Malmö. The intention behind the Danish strategies; to limit immigration and welfare entitlements, proves only to be possible in the two years that it takes to receive the EU-citizenship. There is a bit of irony to this, as the strategies imposed by the powerful in Denmark are being overruled by those of the European Union.

Those who move to Sweden involuntarily or with the purpose of financial gains appears to have a difficult time in assimilating into Swedish society. It seems that it is also members of these two groups that are most likely to preserve their Danish identity and thus less likely to define themselves as Swedish or Scandinavian. These two groups have little incentive to learn Swedish and generally has a small social network in Malmö. Instead they are relying on their social network in Denmark. The ones who move for financial gains are the most likely of going back, as the financial gains cannot outweigh the distance from the social network. Data suggests that the second group with a Swedish partner are most likely to assimilate into Swedish society and the general trend seems to be that they would define themselves as either Scandinavian, Swedish or feel alienated from their Danish identity. The social network is not the only factor promoting assimilation. The fact that there is a change in the individual's perception of their own identity after moving to Sweden indicates that the concept of "state identity" is relevant in this case. Both the Danish and Swedish state holds an identity which are having an impact on the lives of those living in Malmö. The process of moving from Denmark to Sweden means that one is leaving the sphere of influence from the home country and are receptive to values from host country. The state identity can change over time, and the same goes for the individual's opinion of the home and host country.

When the state identity change to that of a negative character then it will likely push away and alienate people, and when it change to a positive character then it will be inclusive and promote receptiveness. This supports the notion of the state as an actor which promotes and defines the identity of the individual (Fearon, 1999:33).

5.0 CONCLUSION

The Danish migration laws plays a huge role in promoting an emigration towards Malmö. Because of the strict 24-year rule, people find it necessary to leave in order to live together with their spouse. While this rule was intended to target forced-marriage, it seems to target all migrants. The group that was interviewed had different backgrounds, but had motives in common. In this thesis the migrants have been divided into three groups. The three common motives behind moving to Malmö was financial gains, family reunification and a Swedish spouse. The thesis provides further explanation behind the thoughts and the reasoning of the likeliness of achieving assimilation among these participants. Language seems to play an important role in promoting a sense of belonging and also helps to show the level of commitment towards assimilation. The financial benefits of moving to Malmö are presumably not enough to guarantee that the person will stay, this proved to be the opposite among this group of citizens. The theoretical framework provides additional clarity to the concepts of assimilation and identity, while explaining the tactics that individuals use in order to bypass the strategies of the institutions of power. Whether the proximity to Denmark and the differences in language, culture and identity is enough to deter the commitment to become a part of Swedish society; or if the relationship that brought the family to Malmö can withstand these contrasts are difficult to predict. The greatest motivator for assimilation is to feel as if you are welcome in society. This is why Malmö proves to be a safe-haven for Danish citizens wanting to live together with their spouse and start a family.

6.0 REFERENCES

- Alba, R. & Nee, V. 1997 'Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of Immigration', International migration review. Pp. 826-874.
- Alexander, J. C. 2001. 'Theorizing the 'Modes of Incorporation': Assimilation, Hyphenation, and Multiculturalism as Varieties of Civil Participation', Sociological Theory, 3, p. 237-249.
- Brubaker, R. & Cooper, F. 2000. *Beyond Identity*. Theory and Society 29. Kluwer Academic Publishers. pp. 1-47
- De Certeau, M. 2011. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. n. p. Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press 2011. EBSCOhost, viewed on 25 May 2015.
- Fearon, J. D. 1999. 'What is identity (as we now use the word).' *Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Stanford, California*. (Online) Retrieved from http://dev.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/initiative_identity_fearon2.pdf
- Fer, S. 2015. 'Perspectives on Identity and Acculturation of Immigrants in Europe'. *Journal of Identity & Migration Studies*. Pp. 67-77. Political Science Complete. EBSCOhost, (ONLINE) Retrieved from <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=11&sid=54309ed8-7b9a-4769-80ca-1dc4ef9f7637@sessionmgr115&hid=111> viewed 25 May 2015.
- Gustafsson, H. 2008. *Skåne I Danmark: En Dansk Historia till 1658*, n. p.: Göteborg : Makadam, 2008 (Lettland).

Malmö Stad (2014) 'Malmöbor med Utländsk bakgrund'

Available at: <<http://malmo.se/Kommun--politik/Statistik/Befolkning/Utlandsk-bakgrund.html>>

[Accessed on May 25th 2015]

Manners, I. 2008. *De danske forbehold over for den Europæiske Union: Udviklingen siden 2000*. Institut for Internationale Studier/Dansk Center for Internationale Studier og Menneskerettigheder. Pp. X (ONLINE) Retrieved from

http://www.diis.dk/files/media/documents/publications/de_danske_forbehold_udviklingen_siden_2000b.pdf viewed 25 May

Pia Kjærsgaard (2002) 'SÆT EN BROKLAP I ØRESUNDSBROEN'

Available at:

<http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/Pia_Kj%C3%A6rsgaard_S%C3%A6t_en_broklap_i_%C3%98resundsbroen>

[Accessed on May 25th 2015]

Politiken (2011) 'Ny integrationsminister er imod integration'

Available at: <<http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/ECE1217082/ny-integrationsminister-er-imod-integration/>>

[Accessed on May 25th 2015]

Portes, A. & Böröcz, J. 1989. 'Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation'. *International Migration Review*, 3. Pp. 606-630. JSTOR Journals. EBSCOhost, (ONLINE) Retrieved from

http://www.jstor.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/stable/2546431?origin=crossref&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents viewed on 25 May 2015.

Schmidt, G. 2014. 'Troubled by Law: The Subjectivizing Effects of Danish Marriage Reunification Laws'. *International Migration*. 52. Pp. 129-143. JSTOR Journals. EBSCOhost, (Online) Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/doi/10.1111/imig.12132/epdf> viewed on 25 May 2015.

Willerslev, R. 1979. 'Nettoudvandringen fra Sverige til Danmark 1850-1910. En komparativ undersøgelse.' *Scandia: Tidskrift för historisk forskning* 45.1. (Online) Retrieved from <http://journals.lub.lu.se/index.php/scandia/article/viewFile/1393/1180> viewed on 25 May 2015

7.0 Appendices

Transcriptions and sound files of the interviews conducted can be provided upon request.

7.1 Interview Guide

Icebreaker: Fortæl om dig selv.

- 1: Hvordan har processen med at flytte til Malmø været?
(følg op) har det været besværligt at vænne sig til forskellene i sprog, kultur og væremåde ift Danmark.
- 2: Hvad ligger bag beslutningen om at flytte til Malmö?
- 3: Hvordan vil du identificere dig selv ift. Din identitet: Dansk, Svensk eller Skandinavisk?
(følg op) Har det ændret sig siden du flyttede til Malmø?
- 4: Har du taget SFI kurser - hvordan gik det?
(følg op) hvad synes du udbyttet har været?
- 5: Taler du engelsk med dine Svenske bekendte?
(følg op) yder du en aktiv indsats for at forbedre og bruge Svensk i hverdagssituationer?
- 6: Har du en social omgangskreds bestående af Svenskere eller består din omgangskreds udelukkende af andre Danskere?
(følg op) Forklar nærmere antal eller sammensætning?
- 7: Har du taget del i kommune- eller kirkevalg i Sverige?
(følg op) hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- 8: Er du en aktiv del af nærmiljøet?
(følg op) Tager du del i aktiviteterne som finder sted i Malmø?
- 9: Hvis du skulle igennem en mere formel proces (i stil med at ansøge om visum til USA; ansøgning for workpermit/residence permit) ville du så stadig flytte til Sverige?
- 10: Synes du at det er rimeligt at stille krav til at folk integrerer sig; hvis de har et job og fast indkomst eller skal kommunen/staten blande sig uden om?
- 11: Hvor ofte tager du til Danmark (i ikke arbejdsmæssig hensigt)?

7.2 List and Description of Interview Participants

Interview participant 1 is in a relationship with her Swedish partner. She is 38 years old and originates from Viborg, Denmark. She holds a Bachelor degree and a degree in Specialized Business Studies, and works in Copenhagen as self-employed. She defined her income as middle-high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. She identifies herself as Scandinavian, feeling more Swedish than Danish. She will leave Malmö and move to Uddevalla in the summer 2015.

Interview participant 2 is single. He is 23 years old and originates from Køge, Denmark. He has completed the Higher Technical Examination Programme (HTX) in Denmark and is currently studying to become a flight mechanic and works at SAS in Kastrup. He defined his income as middle; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high. He has been living in Malmö since May 2014. He identifies himself as Danish and will be moving back to Copenhagen in the summer 2015.

Interview participant 3 is married with his Iranian spouse. He is 33 years old and was born in Teheran, Iran. At the age of 7 he moved with his family to Kolding, Denmark. He got married in 2012 and left for Malmö in 2013 in order to undergo family reunification. He is currently working at a social institution for criminal teenagers in Copenhagen. He defined his income as middle-high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. He identifies himself as Danish but cannot imagine moving back to Denmark.

Interview participant 4 is married with his Indonesian spouse. He is 36 years old and originates from Esbjerg, Denmark. He holds a Bachelor degree in Sociology from Aalborg University and is currently working in Copenhagen. He defines his income as middle-high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. He moved to Malmö approximately 18 months ago in order to become married and live together with his spouse. He identifies himself as Danish; but at the same time feels that his personal identity has changed since moving to Malmö. He cannot see himself moving back to Denmark again as he and his spouse have created a new life in Malmö.

Interview participant 5 is living in a relationship with her Swedish partner. She is 29 years old and originates from Esbjerg, Denmark. She holds a Master degree in Business Administration and Commercial Law from Copenhagen Business School. She defines her income as middle-high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. She identifies herself as Danish; but is convinced that she will feel more Swedish once she starts language classes. In spite of her having a large social network in Copenhagen and her Swedish partner speaking Danish, she cannot see herself moving from Malmö. They chose Malmö as a compromise; because of the proximity and the higher disposable income.

Interview participant 6 is married with his Kazakh spouse. He is 53 years old and originates from Copenhagen, Denmark. He is working as an Oil-engineer in Copenhagen and has been working in Esbjerg, Denmark and later in Kazakhstan where got married and stayed four years. He finds difficulties in defining his identity; he sees himself as a mix and admits that he feels unsettled. He defines his income as high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. He moved to Malmö in order to undergo family reunification and cannot see himself moving back to Denmark.

Interview participant 7 is living in a relationship with his Swedish partner. He is 34 years old and originates from Jutland, Denmark. He has been working abroad for a Swedish company situated in Spain and is currently working in Copenhagen. He chose to move to Malmö late 2010 in order to live together with his Swedish partner. He identifies himself as Scandinavian; and feels alienated from Denmark due to the change in political climate for the last 10 years. He defines his income as high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. He and his partner are considering to move to Denmark within the next 5-6 years in order for their son to experience growing up in Denmark.

Interview participant 8 is married with his Singaporean spouse. He is 51 years old and originates from Sønderborg, Denmark. He has been living in Malmö since October 2014 and is working as an accountant for a Swedish company based in Malmö. He finds difficulties in defining his identity; he has been living abroad for the last 20 years and sees himself as a citizen of the World. His wife is a business owner living in Singapore, so he sees Singapore as his home rather than Malmö or Denmark. He defines his income as high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high

and high income. He did not move to Malmö in order to undergo family reunification and cannot exclude moving back to Singapore in the future.

Interview participant 9 is living in a relationship with her Swedish partner. She is 26 years old and originates from Herlev, Denmark. She is currently studying to become an office assistant at Hvidovre Hospital, Denmark. She identifies herself as Danish; this has not changed since moving to Sweden. She defines her income as middle; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. Although they have been in a relationship for 8 years, she only recently moved to Malmö in summer 2014. This was originally done as a compromise in order to be close to family in both Sweden and Denmark, as well as having a higher disposable income.

Interview participant 10 is married and lives together with his wife and child. He is 49 years old and originates from Copenhagen, Denmark. He holds a Master degree in International Relations and a Bachelor degree in Archaeology. He is currently working as a political advisor at the Japanese Embassy in Copenhagen. He defined his income as high; on a scale from low, low-middle, middle, middle-high and high income. His wife originates from Russia but acquired a Danish citizenship before they moved to Malmö. They have been living in Malmö for the last five years.