Citizenship in Sustainable Transition

A Two-sided Story about Refugees and Sustainability

Maja Steensberg

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science (30hp/credits)







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Abstract

The world is facing multiple crises, including ecosystem degradation, global climate change and human conflicts. One of the consequence is an unprecedented displacement of 65 million people in total and historic records in the number of asylum seekers in the European Union. This poses the challenge of how to integrate the increased number of refugees in an effective way. As immigration is only one of many convergent crises, integrated solutions are needed - solutions that provide synergies between human equity, well-being and environmental sustainability. To date, no research on sustainability within immigration studies has looked beyond sustainability as a condition for human development and examined the potential of sustainability processes in solving social challenges that are not directly linked to environmental conflicts or degradation. This thesis seeks to demonstrate how processes towards environmental sustainability can also nourish socially inclusive and flourishing societies. Focus is on Denmark where the challenge of refugee integration has become a matter of particular importance and political focus. Denmark also faces significant challenges in its agricultural sector which is unsustainable both ecologically, economically and socially. Through a multiple-case study, this thesis explores how to better integrate refugees via sustainable projects and to provide the opportunities for them to take active part in sustainable transition in a local community. With a theoretical outset in the capability framework, the study finds evidence on how learning and practises for sustainability can have a positive effect on refugees in terms of enhancing their capabilities and motivation to take active part in sustainable processes. The case studies reveal that the examined initiatives form viable supplements and alternatives to current policies and practices within both fields. However, the case studies also show certain constrains pointing towards the need of a broad collaborations between governments, business and civil society as a condition for successful integration of refugees. This form the basis to discuss concepts of citizenship and elaborate on the theory of ecological citizenship. Supported by the case studies the research finds a potential of a new sense of citizenship that goes beyond territorial and nation-based cultural norms and values. The study suggests that approaching refugee integration, policymakers should take a holistic approach and a long-term perspective. Finally, the thesis concludes that approaching sustainability as a process that can encourage more inclusive and democratic societies while also tackling environmental issues has so far unrevealed potentials.

Keywords: Refugees, integration, Denmark, Danish agriculture, capability approach, ecological citizenship, sustainability.

Word count (thesis): 13.996

Prologue

Within the last years, I have been engaged in various grassroots initiatives for sustainable food systems and I have worked on several organic farms in Denmark and Europe. In 2016 my interest in sustainable food systems brought me to a place I had never been to before. As part of an internship in the Danish NGO Chora Connection, I became part of a new initiative called "Sustainable Refugee Centres", initiated by Chora Connection and Danish Red Cross in cooperation. The aim was to develop a new model on how to make food production a central activity in Danish refugee centres and thereby facilitate new local communities and a meaningful life for asylum seekers. During 2016, vegetable fields were established in collaboration between refugees, local farmers and employees at two refugee centres (Auderød and Jelling). Between October 2016 and May 2017, two educational programmes in sustainability and organic food systems held at a third refugee centre (Avnstrup). I participated in the coordination of the establishment of the fields at the first two centres and was the coordinator of the educational programmes.

The time spent in the centres has given me insight into the exhausting and demotivating life in a refugee centre. Often was I astounded by frustrations about the logic of the system, the way refugees are sent to one place after another and kept in temporary and uncertain conditions for years. The thing, which surprised me the most, was the way people became restricted in their actions and self-determination. The experience also gave me a glimpse into very personal stories and hopes for the future of individuals at the centres. With agrarian backgrounds, almost all of the participants enrolled in the educational programme hoped one day to be able to start an organic farm, open a shop with organic food, give courses in sustainability or similar activities. They were all longing to be able to contribute to positive changes in the world. My interest in sustainable agricultural initiatives together with the experiences I gained from working at the refugee centres, gave me the motivation and inspiration to write this thesis.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank Karen for her trust and support in my work at Avnstrup refugee centre. Also, I would like to thank my colleagues from Chora Connection, who have followed the present research project from its beginning with big enthusiasm and support. If I had not been given the opportunity to be part of this project initiated by Chora Connection, I would not have found the inspiration to write this thesis.

Thanks to the teachers and staff at Avnstrup refugee centre for a fantastic collaboration, for the hard and fun work we carried out together. Thanks to all the participants at the centre, for sharing their stories, thoughts and dreams about a better future. Thanks to the people from Langeland for their time, openness and inspirational work.

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List of Abbreviations

CA: Capability Approach

EC: Ecological Citizenship

ATL: AndelsTanken Langeland

ARC: Avnstrup Refugee Centre

1. Introduction

1.1 Refugees and Sustainability – Where is the Connection?

The world is facing a convergence of crises, including ecosystem degradation, global climate change and human conflicts (Rockström et. al, 2009; Kates & Parris, 2003). One of the most tangible consequences is the current refugee situation. According to UN statistics there are more than 60 million forcibly displaced persons globally and about 21 million refugees¹ (UNHCR, 2016a). In 2015 the number of asylum seekers in the European Union reached historic records (Eurostat, 2016). One of the main challenges of immigration in Europe today is how to support refugees to integrate into host communities (Joppke, 2007). Due to an increasing perception that refugees pose a security threat and place burdens on national economies, anti-immigration voices are on the rise and governments prefer to grant temporary protection rather than permanent local integration (Jacobsen, 2001; Rayp, Ruyseen, Standaert, 2017). However, refugees are migrants who under international law deserve protection by their host country (Zamfir, 2015).

While integration already present significant challenges, UN predicts that climate change and related conflicts over decreasing resources will displace even more people in the future (UNHCR, 2016b). This demonstrates the interconnectedness of the crises and stresses the need for integrated solutions solutions that provide synergies between human equity, well-being and environmental sustainability. The refugee situation as well as the environmental challenges equally urge us to think beyond national borders and confront our conception of citizenship. So, while the growing number of refugees can be approached as an isolated social challenge, I seek to bridge the challenge of integrating refugees and the need for sustainable development. I argue that emphasising the agenda of sustainability in response to the social challenges of immigration has the potential to offer solutions, which are beneficial in both immigration and sustainability perspectives.

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¹ The UN Convention from 1951 defines a refugee as a person who "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country." (Zamfir, 2015).

1.2 The Case of Denmark

Like the rest of the world, Denmark is affected by the abovementioned crises, and two of the major political issues in Denmark today are refugee integration and agricultural development. Denmark is considered as one of the most restrictive in Europe when it comes to immigration (Danish History, 2016; Borevi, 2017). In addition, Denmark's performance in labour market integration of refugees falls short compared to other OECD countries (Nannestad, 2004). With an average employment rate of 14 % after 4 years stay in Denmark, refugees coming to Denmark belong to the lowest socio-economic class (Fihl, 2015; Andersen, Larsen, Møller, 2009). Agriculture composes another key challenge. Sustainable agricultural development is a matter of particular importance in Denmark, as agriculture constitutes the main cause of environmental degradation (OECD, 2008; Ejrnæs, Wiberg-Larsen, Eske, 2011). Furthermore, the structural changes of agriculture realised in the past decades have had a negative impact on the economy and social life in rural areas.

In recent years, Danish politicians have announced that more refugees should get employed in the agricultural sector (Baastrup, 2016) and while politicians and farmers request refugees to take employment on conventional farms, others take more holistic approaches addressing both issues. Refugees engaged in sustainability projects has become a growing phenomenon in Denmark. While some initiatives focus on the therapeutic benefits for refugees from working in and with nature (New Roots, n.d.), others emphasise educational efforts that can strengthen refugees' abilities to take part in local transition projects and to take up employment within the food sector for sustainable agriculture (LØS, n.d.a; Andelstanken, n.d.; Chora Connection, n.d.). In this thesis I look into two Danish initiatives, one being SEES; an educational programme in sustainability held at a refugee centre and the second AndelsTanken Langeland; a local citizen-driven sustainability initiative. These cases provide alternatives to national integration strategies while simultaneously targeting the need for sustainable development within the agricultural sector.

1.3 State of the Art

While there is a substantial amount of research related to both immigrant integration and sustainability, research in social sciences and sustainability studies has not produced significant studies that look at the issues of integration in relation sustainability. That being said, there has been studies related to both topics that are relevant to this thesis.

A growing body of research examines sustainable management of natural resources as an instrument to avoid conflict and enhance collaboration between refugees and host communities (Jacobsen, 2001; Martin, 2005; Walton, 2012; Türk, 2016). The focus of this strand of research is to develop strategies to turn the negative impact of immigration in low-income countries into positive impact that serves the interests of the host community. The general conclusion is that policies should take an integrated approach to assist refugees as well as host communities to gain new knowledge and capabilities to obtain sustainable practices (Walton, 2012; Al-Husban & Adams, 2016).

In the context of sustainable agriculture several studies document how local food and farming initiatives can serve as social spaces in which citizenship and environmentalism can unfold (Higgins, Dibdenb, Cochlincl, 2008; DeLind, 2002; Robinson, 2009). By reconnecting agriculture to the local ecology and community, these initiatives have the potential to facilitate public education and political practice while generating environmental awareness. Recent studies have paid particular attention to the benefits of community gardens on the integration of marginalized groups, especially refugees and migrants. These studies demonstrate that community gardens can function as places in which refugees can build social and material connections to their new country, which can in turn support the integration process and improve their health, in both physical and psychological terms (Harris, 2014; Eggert et al., 2015; Jean, 2015; Hartwig & Mason, 2016).

In summary, no research on sustainability within immigration studies has so far looked beyond sustainability as a condition for human development and investigated the potential of sustainability processes in solving social challenges that are not directly linked to environmental conflicts. Furthermore, to date the sustainability-immigration nexus has been a neglected field of research in a European context. Also there is a knowledge gap on how sustainability initiatives emphasising citizenship through local farming activities, apart from community gardens, can promote the integration of refugees. Given the current refugee situation in Europe I find it critical to extend these fields of research.² This brings me to the research aims of this thesis.

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² This literature review has been conducted using LubSearch. I have searched for following word combinations: Sustainability + immigration; sustainability + refugee/immigrant integration; sustainable agriculture/farming + refugees.

1.4 Research Aims and Questions

Based on a preliminary review of existing literature on the specific topic of interest, two research aims have been defined. This section presents the aims and the research questions connected to each aim.

The first aim of this study is to bring new perspectives on combined solutions to promote sustainable transition while also addressing social challenges specifically related to refugee integration and agricultural development. It should be clarified that the aim is not primarily to identify solutions that can bring environmental sustainability, rather I seek to demonstrate how processes towards environmental sustainability can also nourish socially inclusive and flourishing societies. The theoretical framework for this will be the Capability Approach (chapter 4). This aim will be satisfied through following RQs:

RQ1.1: What are the current practices and challenges within the two fields of refugee integration and agriculture in Denmark?

RQ1.2: How can learning and practises for sustainability be a viable solution to the challenges described in RQ1.1?

The second aim is to elaborate on the concept of citizenship and discuss the theory of ecological citizenship (EC) as a pathway towards sustainable and inclusive societies. This aim will be substantiated through following RQ:

RQ2.1: How does the concept of EC interact with existing theories on citizenship and how does the notions of EC relate to current and novel approaches to refugee integration?

Based on my findings, I will be able to comment on the political implications of the research and suggest relevant adaptations of national immigrations policies. It will furthermore enable me to reflect back on sustainability and discuss the scope of sustainability science. By broadening the perspectives and understanding of sustainability and citizenship, the hope of the research is to inspire concrete social change.

1.5 Relation to Sustainability Science

Generally speaking, sustainability science seeks to understand the interaction between nature and society in order to identify solutions to enhance human well-being while sustaining the Earth's life support systems (Miller, 2012). Guided by the original idea of sustainable development derived from the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987), sustainability science usually addresses environmental challenges through social interventions (Brandt et al, 2013). Miller (2012) stresses that sustainability science is often

defined in either universalist or procedural terms. While universalist approaches to the field argues within a normative frame of universal values, procedural approaches define sustainability as a process in which values for sustainability emerge from different societal contexts.

In this thesis I take a procedural stand to sustainability, but in contrast to the common approach to the field, I start from a social problem and show the instrumentality of sustainability. In the context of this thesis, I do not perceive environmental sustainability as an end in itself, but as a process that can encourage more inclusive and democratic societies, while also tackling environmental issues. Accordingly, I do not examine how or if the selected cases contribute to solve environmental challenges as such, but how they facilitate social learning and practises, which from a theoretical point of view can drive sustainable change. In doing so, I explore the interplay between skills and knowledge for sustainability, citizen-based sustainability practises and the integration of refugees at a local community level. The scientific implications and contribution of the research will be discussed in more details in chapter 8.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The remainder of this thesis is structured in the following way. Chapter 2 presents the ontological and epistemological foundation of the research, research design and methods of data collection. Chapter 3 examines RQ1.1 and gives background to the two problem areas addressed in this thesis. It first provides insight into current practises and challenges in relation to agricultural development in Denmark, and secondly to existing practises and challenges of refugee integration. Chapter 4 introduces the CA, which forms the analytical framework for the case studies. Chapter 5 explores RQ1.2 using as basis the results and analysis of the two cases. In chapter 6 and 7 RQ2.1 is investigated. Chapter 6 first gives a short account on theories on citizenship and then discuss the concept of ecological citizenship in relation to the case studies. This is supplemented by chapter 7, which discusses current refugee integration policies in the light of the new perspectives and concepts of citizenship. Finally, chapter 8 concludes on the findings of the research, its implications for sustainability science and gives suggestions for further research.

2. Methodology and Methods

In this chapter, I present the ontological and epistemological foundation of the research, followed by a description of the research design and finally the applied methods for data collection.

2.1 A Critical Realist Ontology and Epistemology

Ontologically, this research places itself within the tradition of critical realism (Archer, Bhaska, Lawson, Norrie, 1998). According to critical realism the knowledge we gain of the world will always be imperfect, thus an absolute objective truth is not possible. Nevertheless, we can still judge whether one explanation is better than another, and which explanation best facilitates social practices (Bryman, 2012). To make such a judgement we have to dig into the underlying structures, mechanisms and influencing conditions that produce the effects and events observable in the empirical world. In addition, critical realism holds that there is a mutually affecting relationship between social structures and human agents. This means that individuals have the agency to reproduce or transform the structures that influence their activities (Archer et al., 1998). Bryman (2012) states that the task of social science is to identify and understand these relationships, mechanisms and structures in order to change them to the better. Accordingly, this thesis deepens the theoretical and empirical understanding of existing approaches to integration of refugees, sustainable agriculture and citizenship in order to identify and suggest alternative practises.

2.2 Research Design

My research design is based on qualitative research methods and draws on various literature sources, in addition to ethnographic fieldwork in a multiple-case study of two cases (Bryman, 2012). The ethnographic approach to the field allows me to get close to the individuals being investigated and to gain insights into the personal experiences and the social interactions at play. This perspective is relevant when trying to understand how certain activities can foster certain outcomes in real-life situations (Yin, 2009). The selection of cases is first of all based on personal involvement in the educational programme held at Avnstrup Refugee Centre (ARC) and secondarily on access to the group at Langeland. The selected cases are the only of their kind in a Danish context and no secondary literature is yet available. In addition, the cases represent different phases in the integration process. While SEES exemplifies an activation programme for asylum seekers, AndelsTanken Langeland is an example of integration of refugee in a local community. Since the latest national integration policies emphasise measures to

strengthen integration implemented in the asylum-seeking period (Immigration Service, 2017b), I find it crucial to look into both phases.

2.3 Methods for Data Collection

As a first step in the research, I carried out desktop research comprising literature survey and official document analysis. This part of the research assisted me in answering RQ1.1 and gain insights into the problem areas of this thesis. This forms the contextualisation of the case studies and the empirical background to the further discussion.

The empirical data used to answer RQ1.2 has been collected through participatory observations and interviews. The fieldwork carried at ARC during a six-weeks educational programme was conducted in a combined role of project manager, contact person for the participants and training assistant. These roles gave me the chance of getting very close to the participants, being present during all teaching sessions, and still being able to observe and take notes. In addition, I have attended several meetings within the organisation group before and after the actual teaching programme. Hence, the empirical data comprises a large amount of field notes and pictures from observations during teaching, group work, outdoor practical work, daily evaluation and feedback sessions. The fieldwork conducted at Langeland was spread over four weeks. During that time, I participated in network meetings among members, meetings between employees and the municipality and took part in daily activities in the community. Given my role, I did not have the same access to data at Langeland as in ARC. However, my personal involvement in the programme at ARC, gave me some advantages when talking to people from Langeland. To use past work experience or knowledge is a commonly used strategy to secure an ongoing access the field (Bryman, 2012). Besides the case-specific observations, I have attended meetings with the Danish Immigration Services as well as conferences and seminars on the education of refugees and sustainable agriculture. These events have given me insight into the general structures and trends within the field.

In addition, I have conducted several interviews with key persons involved in the two cases. The purpose of the interviews was first of all to gather information about the programmes and insight into the personal experiences of being part of and facilitating them. The interviews have been a combination of spontaneous unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). For some of the interviews I produced interview guides (see appendix 1). This approach was chosen as it allowed me to be flexible and sensitive to unpredicted events. Some of the interviews have been voice-recorded and transcribed, while others are documented with notes.

Deskwork also comprised part of the research method to answer RQ2.1. For this part of the research, I turn to theory on citizenship.

2.4 Limitations of the Data

I find it necessary to stress that parts of the research draws on my professional experiences in the field, which means that some of the data has been collected before the actual research process started. My role in the field has definitely affected my relationship to the informants, and consequently the collected data. The way the participants talk about their experiences of being part of the programme and their learning process might have been different if I was an external person and not the person in charge of the programme. Another limitation concerns language barriers. All conversations with informants at ARC were translated from Farsi, Dari, Pashtu, Arabic, and Russian to Danish or English. As the concepts and terms used in the training were new to the translators and the participants, it was very difficult to communicate and sometimes complicated to judge whether participants understood the content or not. Language barriers were also a limitation when carrying out interviews. In some cases, I was not able to find a translator, and the interviews were therefore conducted in Danish. This means that I was often only able to ask very simple questions and the interviewees could not always express themselves properly.

3. The Two Stories about Agriculture and Refugees in DK

In the following sections I give an introduction to the dominating approaches to agriculture and refugee integration and related challenges to both issues. In addition, I give a short account of alternative practises such as sustainable agricultural initiatives and experimental approaches to integration of refugees, which will be further explored through the case studies.

3.1 Agriculture in Denmark

Sustainable agricultural development is a matter of particular importance in Denmark for both environmental, social and economic reasons. Since the 1950s, agricultural development in most Western countries has undergone dramatic changes characterized by specialisation, concentration and intensification. Researchers have conceptualized this period of agricultural as productivism (Kristensen, Thenail, Kristensen, 2004). The agriculture development in Denmark constitutes a prime example of the productivist farming period. Jørgensen et al. (2014) points to a new paradigm of post-productivism which is developing alongside a "super-productivist" paradigm. Post-productivism is a term used to describe a change towards an agricultural paradigm that take into account environmental and social concern (Wilson, 2007).

3.1.1 Environmental pressure and economic debt

Despite an overall reduction of the environmental pressure from farming, agriculture is still the main cause of environmental degradation in Denmark (OECD, 2008). A nutrient surplus is causing eutrophication of ecosystems, which together with drainage of water bodies, fragmentation of natural habitats and inadequate grazing of meadows, grasslands and heaths is contributing to the loss of biodiversity (Ejrnæs et al., 2011). Danish agriculture is also contributing to global climate change through the emission of greenhouse gases due to the intensive livestock production (OECD, 2008; Jørgensen, 2010; Larsen, 2016). Besides causing harm on the environment the current dominating agricultural practises are driving economic and social unsustainability. From 1995-2010 the debt of an average fulltime farmer has increased from 3,0 million to 21,8 million (Hansen & Zobbe, 2012). The situation not only puts a pressure on existing farmers, it also hinders new farmers to taking up farming as a profession due to the high land prices (Danmarks Statestik, 2014; Larsen, 2016). As a result, Denmark has seen a dramatic rural outmigration in recent decades (Kaiser, 2013). The loss of rural communities is reinforced by changes in the workforce within the agricultural sector. The technological development of the agricultural sector together with more competition and high payment rates has caused a dramatic drop

in the agricultural workforce (OECD, 2008). Jørgensen et al. (2014) predicts that employment in the agricultural sector will decrease by about 50 % from 2014 until 2030. In addition, a large part of the workforce is from Eastern European countries on seasonal employment conditions, which means that the people working on farms do not have any connections to the local communities in which the farm is placed (Larsen, 2016).

3.1.2 Citizen-driven movement for sustainability

Recently an increasing number of local citizen-driven local food initiatives have emerged in Denmark. These can be characterised as alternative agri-food networks (AAFNs). AAFNs cover a wide range of initiatives that address the need for reconnecting agriculture to the local ecology and communities and they are generally considered as examples of sustainable agriculture (Higgins et. al, 2008). AAFNs suggest a re-localisation of agri-food system, meaning that production, processing, distribution and consumption of food is kept regional (Robinson, 2009). From 2005-2008, 28 food collectives of citizens buying organic food from local farms were established in Denmark (Døff, n.d.). In addition, there are newly started citizen-owned agricultural funds (Oekologi, n.d.), a growing number of social farming initiatives (Samfundsnyttigelandbrug, 2017) and finally, the eco-village movement has grown rapidly in recent years (LØS, n.d.b). Together these initiatives form a diverse but strong movement towards a new agricultural paradigm.

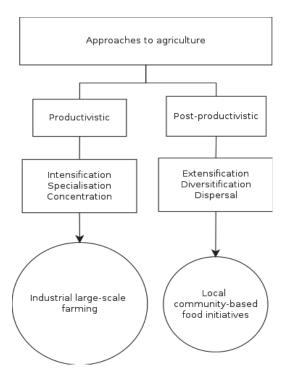


Figure 1: Current approaches to agriculture in Denmark. Developed by author based on Jørgensen et al. (2014)

3.2 Refugee Integration in Denmark

The political attention towards integration of refugees in Denmark is bigger than ever before (Jensen, Schmidt, Tørløv, Vitus, 2016). In 2015 Denmark witnessed a historic high influx of refugees with more than 21,000 individuals applying for asylum. In 2016 this number had stabilised to about 6,000 (Ministry of Migrants and Integration, 2017b). It is estimated that the majority of refugees are without any qualifying education and only 2 out of 10 refugees are able to take a job (Ministry of Migrants and Integration, 2016). Consequently, one of the main tasks in Danish integration efforts concerns giving refugees the right competencies to take employment (Fihl, 2015). In addition, the degree of participation in local associations and politics is notably lower among refugees and migrants than among ethnic Danes (Ankestyrelsen, 2015).

European immigrant integration policies generally take two strands. On the one hand is the stand of social liberalism, emphasising individual rights and equal opportunities for all, on the other hand is the rising neo-liberalist movements, seeking to make immigrants self-sufficient and non-state dependent (Joppke, 2007). In Denmark the social liberal approach is expressed in an increased attention towards education and other capacity building activities, while neo-liberalism is evident by a "work first" paradigm (Andersen et al., 2009). Lately social benefits for refugees coming to Denmark have been reduced by 50 per cent in order to give incentives to take employment (Ministry of Employment, 2015). Besides this, researchers describe a civic turn within immigrant integration policies in European countries, which refers to an increasing attention towards programmes that have the purpose of socialisation immigrants into 'citizens', which include language and cultural knowledge tests (Borevi, Jensen, Mouritsen, 2017).

3.2.1 Activation strategies and labour market integration

Today integration policies are implemented at refugee centres and in local municipalities. Currently, there are 42 refugee centres in Denmark run by Red Cross and municipal operators (Immigration Service, 2017a)³. In the beginning, one of the key tasks of refugee centres was to hinder the asylum seekers to become integrated into society before their case was processed. Following increasing criticism, a new mandatory activation programme was initiated in 2003 (Retsinformation, 2017b), which amongst others allowed asylum seekers to take job training outside the centres (Kohl, 2015). Today competence

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³ In 1984 the first refugee centre was established in Denmark with Danish Red Cross as the head of the operation (Kohl, 2015).

assessment is carried out in the refugee centres and collaboration between refugee centres and municipalities has been strengthened (Ministry of Finance, 2016). The activities and education offered by the centre operators of refugee centres are generally limited to Danish language courses and integration preparatory activities (Immigration Service, 2017b)⁴.

When refugees are granted asylum they are placed in a municipality of their own choice or according to their qualifications and the local need of labour force (Arbejdsmarked, 2016). The municipality hosting the refugee granted residency is responsible for providing an integration programme of 1-5 years (Ministry of Finance, 2016). At this stage, refugees are required to sign a contract declaring the intent to become integrated and act as an active citizen in Denmark (Rosholm, 2015). The integration programme includes Danish language courses, job training and mentor sessions (Arbejdsmarket, 2016). Recent initiatives implemented by local municipalities bear witness of a clear trend towards labour market qualification as a central part of the integration process. A review of existing Scandinavian literature on the effect of strategies to increase employment among immigrants from non-Western countries finds strong evidence of a positive effect of job training in the private and the public sector on the employment rate (Arendt et al., 2016). A study by Andersen et al. (2009) demonstrates that policies of reduced economic benefits have negative effects on successful labour market integration and contribute to further exclusion. The study shows that refugees feel a strong degree of injustice due to their low social assistance benefits and they express feeling disrespected and not acknowledged in the Danish society.

3.2.2 Local experimental integration programmes

In recent years, the Danish national government has decreased the autonomy of local governments to determine their own integration policies (Emilsson, 2015). But despite an increased control, the variety of programmes implemented at the refugee centres and in the municipalities is big. At the local level municipalities are experimenting with community empowerment strategies and practices (Andersen et al., 2009). As a supplement to the activities offered by the operators at the refugee centres, external operators are now increasingly offering a wide range of other activities and programmes (Immigration Service, 2013). Research find that experimental programmes, which emphasise social innovation and mobilisation of citizens, NGO's, and professionals, are likely to be even more efficient than mainstream

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⁴ See appendix II for more specific information on the different education and activation programmes.

policies (Andersen et al., 2009). Andersen et al. (2009) concludes that in a long-term perspective programmes that facilitate collective action and empowerment of refugees can promote sustainable democratic and social development. However, radical changes in the socio-cultural and socio-economic opportunity structures are a condition for the success of such programmes.

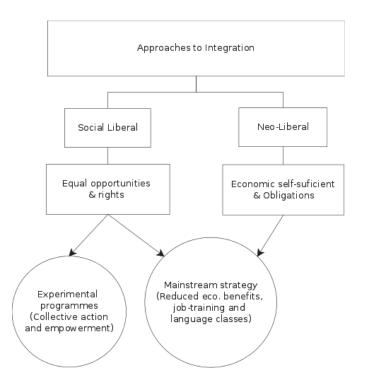


Figure 2: Current approaches to refugee integration in Denmark. Source: Developed by author based on Joppke (2007) and Andersen et al. (2009).

The chapter has outlined the diverging approaches and practises within both problem areas of this thesis. This forms the background to investigate concrete initiatives that bridges the two and exemplifies alternatives to both mainstream integration strategies and the dominating paradigm within agricultural sector. The examined cases exemplify experimental integration programmes emphasising sustainable agricultural development in the phase of asylum seeking and local integration in a municipality. Before presenting the case studies, next chapter introduces the analytical framework, which will guide the case studies.

4. The Capability Approach

In this chapter, I introduce the key aspects and concepts of the Capability Approach (CA). As will be unfolded in following section, the CA offers a holistic framework to evaluate social and political arrangements according to their impact on people's freedom to take active part in society (Robeyns, 2003). Besides people's access to basic needs, pays attention to access to education, political participation and community activities (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). The CA is frequently used as a theoretical point of departure when studying issues related to immigration such as inequality and labour market integration (Risse, 2009; Bonfanti, 2013; Preibish, Dodd, Su, 2016) and has recently become a commonly applied framework within sustainability studies (Peeters, Dirix, Sterckx, 2013; Pelenc & Ballet, 2015), but very few studies have explicitly used the approach in the context of immigration and sustainable development (Al-Husban & Adams, 2016).

4.1 Social Conditions for Human Agency

CA was first introduced in 1980 by Sen as an alternative approach to well-being assessment to what was previously found within utility and resource-based approaches. Instead of focusing on individuals' happiness or income, the CA pays attention to the freedom each person has in terms of doing and being, which anchors the CA within philosophical liberalism (Sen, 1999). The CA holds that evaluating people's freedom implies looking into *capabilities* to achieve certain *functionings* that gives the opportunities to act and be according to what one may value. While capabilities refer to the opportunities an individual has to do something, functioning is the realised possibilities (Robeyns, 2005)⁵. While Sen (2009) argues that a person's defining capabilities are context dependant and should therefore not be prescribed by society, Nussbaum (2003) suggests a list of ten particular valuable capabilities that a state should guarantee to its citizens. These include: 1) Life, 2) Bodily health, 3) Bodily integrity, 4) Senses, imagination, and thought, 5) Emotions, 6) Practical reason, 7) Affiliation, 8) Other species, 9) Play and 10) Control over one's environment. Hereby, Nussbaum uses the CA to argue for a political philosophy and a set of political principles, which should be endorsed by governments (Nussbaum, 2011).

⁵ In Sen's earlier work he used the term capability as a synonym for opportunity set, which refers to both potential and achieved functionings. Later others, including Nussbaum, has used capabilities to refer to only potential and not achieved functionings (Robeyns, 2005).

Nussbaum (2011) refines Sen's explanation of capabilities by dividing these into basic, internal and combined capabilities. While basic capabilities are innate, internal capabilities refer to trained and developed skills and abilities and combined capabilities to the totality of all opportunities determined by the social, political and economic conditions. Nussbaum stresses: 'A society might do quite well at producing internal capabilities but might cut off the avenues through which people actually have the opportunity to function in accordance with those capabilities' (Nussbaum, 2011, 21). She exemplifies this by referring to immigrants who might be internally capable of taking part in society, but restricted in doing so due to their legal rights. This mechanism can also work the other way around; if people have access to political participation, but have not been educated or trained to think critically (Nussbaum, 2011). Accordingly, one of the key points of the CA is that society must strive to enhance people's internal capabilities to allow active participation in society that go beyond employment and embrace engagement in political, social and cultural activities (Buzzelli, 2015).

According to Sen (2009) the social context not only shapes people's capability set, it also influences the process of individual choice to convert capabilities into functionings. Nussbaum notes: '(...) critical thinking, the ability to imagine and to understand another person's situation from within and a grasp of world history and the current global economic order - are all essential for responsible democratic citizenship.' (Nussbaum, 2011, 155). Both Sen and Nussbaum are critical towards policies that endorse specific functions or only use individual agency for economic gains, rather than focusing on individual agency to act upon own values (Buzzelli, 2015). Pointed out by Nussbaum, function-orientated policies will strike to make people function in a certain way, and thereby ignore people's power of self-determination (Nussbaum, 2011). The acknowledgement of human diversity allows immigrants to be perceived as human beings who hold a number of entitlements, capabilities, and aspirations, rather than as passive beings. In this perspective integration of immigrants becomes a matter of converting personal resources into the real freedom of doing and being (Bonfanti, 2013).

4.2 Sustainability as a Social Choice

Sen (2009) claims human development to be a process of empowerment, which out of necessity should be directed towards preserving and enriching the environment. He argues: 'Seeing development in terms of increasing the effective freedom of human beings brings the constructive agency of people engaged in environmental friendly activities directly within the domain of development achievements.' (Sen, 2009,

249). Anand & Sen (1994) claim that the basic notion of sustainability advocated by Brundtland⁶ and others should be combined with objectives for human freedom and development beyond the instrumental value of the concept. Instead of the common view of human beings as consumers or as people with needs, we must identify ourselves as agents who can think and act and accordingly push forward societal change (Sen, 2013). Sen further notes: "The reach of reasoned and interactive agency can indeed be remarkably extensive. It can be particularly crucial for our transition to sustainability" (Sen, 2013, 18). In this sense human development and participatory citizenship are more than merely instrumental in terms of conserving the environment, but '(...) part and parcel of what we should try to sustain.' (Sen, 2004, 2). The argument for this is that since we do not know what future generations will value, we can only think sustainability in terms of conserving people's capabilities to be well and choose according to their values. If sustainability is to be reached through a processes of social choice shaped and sustained through political participation, everyone must be given the capabilities to engage in such processes. To achieve this goal, Sen (2013) argues, we should not stick to the protection of liberal values, but encourage social arrangements that support people in exercising their freedom. Despite the fact that Sen and Nussbaum only offer a general notion of sustainability (Voget-Kleschin, 2013), conceptualising sustainable development through the lenses of the CA contributes with notions of active participation and empowerment to the framework of sustainability (Pelenc & Ballet, 2015).

To sum up, the CA provides crucial insights into the conditions that shape the process of converting means such as goods and services into functionings. Nussbaum's focus on internal capabilities such as people's emotional development, skills, hopes and meanings makes her theory suitable when trying to better understand the conditions and motivations individuals have to obtain certain actions (Robeyns, 2005).

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⁶ According to the Brundtland Report human development is a mean of conserving the environment, thus sustainable development requires meeting basic needs of the present as well as the future (WCED, 1987).

5. Case Studies

In this chapter, I present the results of the case studies. As was described in previous chapter, the CA stresses the need to evaluate social arrangements ability to provide people with certain capabilities as well as the social context in which people can act upon these capabilities and turn these into real functionings. This will be explored through the two cases: i) SEES, an educational programme at a refugee centre and ii) AndelsTanken Langeland (ATL), a local citizen-driven transition project. The exploration of SEES pays specific attention to the effect that the learning process has on the participants enrolled in the educational programmes in terms of enhancing their capabilities and potential opportunities to take part in sustainable practises. The case study of ATL looks into the social context that facilitates the process of converting capabilities into functionings.

5.1 Case I: SEES – Educational Programme for Sustainability

In March 2016 a new educational programme for asylum seekers in Denmark was initiated by the Danish organisation Chora Connection under the title SEES. The purpose of the programme was to build capacity of sustainable practices among the participants, to strengthen their abilities and open new jobopportunities (Chora Connection, n.d.). Chora Connection received money from the Danish Immigration Service to run two programmes at Avnstrup Refugee Centre (ARC) in collaboration with the international organisation Gaia Education, who delivered the training⁷ and Danish Red Cross, who run the refugee centre. The programme replaced the mandatory activation programme offered by Red Cross. The first programme ran in the autumn of 2016 and consisted of a group of 23 asylum seekers from six different countries were educated in sustainability and sustainable food systems. During six weeks the participants were introduced to fundamental design principles of sustainable communities and food systems with focus on economical, ecological, social, and cultural dimensions. A teacher from Red Cross stated that the course is relevant for the attending group due to their former experience with agriculture, which will most likely be their future job opportunities (Interview, 25.11.2016).

⁷ Gaia Education is an international organisation working with education for sustainability in more than 40 countries, supported by the UN Department of Education (Gaia Education, n.d.).

5.1.1 Learning community

The first week of the programme introduces the social dimension of the course. The participants are introduced to a general insight into different community building tools and processes, creating the foundation for an inclusive and supportive learning community. A young woman from Ukraine described, how she found the communication methods, such as collaborative communication and deep listening useful when talking to her daughter and neighbours at the refugee centre. She explained how it is beneficial for people like them, to learn such methods, so that they can support each other by listening and sharing problems (Interview, 13.10.2016).





Figure 3: Photograph of conflict solution exercise (left) and group work (right). Taken by author.

The feeling of being part of a community seems to have a strong effect on the physical and psychological well-being of the participants. Many noted that they gain new energy and feel less depressed by being in the group and working together (Observation, 25.10.2016; Observation, 26.10.2016). A woman commented: 'I am very tired when I wake up, but I gain energy and feel refreshed by being here' (Observation, 01.11.2016). One of the translators explained how a young man for whom she has been translating for a long time is normally very shy, introvert, and unwilling to talk to anyone but the translator. Now he is suddenly full of energy and talks to everyone in the group (Interview, 11.10.2016). Many of the participants expressed a correlation between the psychological well-being they were feeling, an increase in their self-confidence, that they felt respected and that it felt good to show other people respect (Observation, 11.10.2016b).

The sharing of knowledge and perspectives is another important element in the programme. During the course, the trainers gave the participants the opportunities to share their experiences and knowledge (Observation, 11.10.2016; Observation, 18.10.2016), something which is not usually possible

due to language barriers between the participants. After the course, one of the translators noted that she experienced a huge change in the way the participants socialise across cultures. Before the course they never greeted their neighbours from other countries than themselves. Now the Arabic and Afghani people have started cooking together and generally spend more time in the common areas than before participating in the course (Interview, 11.10.2016).

5.1.2 Recognising own resources

The supportive social context and enhanced self-confidence among the participants seems to form an important element for reaching one of the key targets of the programme, namely to facilitate the recognition of skills and resources and to build new knowledge. While the educational background varies greatly between the participants, the vast majority do not have any formal education. The lack of education was evidently associated with a certain taboo among several of the participants. In the second week of the programme, the class was asked about what resources they bring with them. They were told to imagine themselves being part of a local community and reflect on their individual contribution to the community (Observation, 12.10.2016). According to the trainer, the aim of the exercise is to get the participants to recognise their own value and the local resources as a first step to mobilise social capital (Interview, 21.10.2016).





Figure 4: Resource mapping exercise (left) and women discussing gender issues (right). Taken by author.

At first, almost all participants in the group looked down and did not come up with suggestions and several answered that they did not have any skills or resources to contribute with, as they do not have any education and are illiterate. The trainer pointed out that they should try to think beyond education and rather in terms of what there are good at, which resulted in a clear shift in the way they

presented themselves and their skills (Observation, 12.10.2016). This shows how the exercise contributes to the empowerment of the participants by making them reflect on their own resources but also highlights the difficulties they have in seeing and expressing the value of their skills in the first place. This was especially true for women as explained by a man in the class:

'There are many in the group who have a lot of experiences, but they do not know how to express themselves. We have fled in order to develop and change our selves. In Afghanistan women are not taken into account in democratic census. Also women cannot get a birth certificate. I hope for a better future' (Observation, 18.10.2016).

First of all, he describes how people, especially women, are hindered in expressing themselves because they are not used to have a voice. This however does not mean that they do not have the will or desire to develop themselves and use their newly gained rights. How the participants start to rethink their own skills is also illustrated in the comment by an Iraqi woman: 'I have learned that I do not have only to take care of my children. I can do many other things. I have learned about power relations and communication, about economy and the rights of women' (Observation, 18.10.2016). A translator explained that in the beginning of the course this woman did not show up every day as she was supposed to, because she was cooking food for her family and babysitting. After a few weeks she started attending all classes and became more active in the group discussions (Interview, 26.10.2016; Interview; 10.11.2016). The new perspectives and knowledge she was introduced to clearly influenced her self-esteem and her ideas of her own capabilities. One of the trainers described that one of the goals with his teaching was to have everyone say something, stand up and present their ideas to the others. He was very pleased that everyone, including the women, actually made themselves heard and expressed their opinions on different topics (Interview, 17.11.2016).

The given examples also indicate how the programme induces a positive influence on the capability set and the individual conversion factors of the participants (Robeyns, 2005). First of all, the social context of the training strengthens the participants' capabilities to engage in different social interactions and to build new relations across cultures, which Nussbaum refer to as affiliation (Nussbaum, 2003). In addition, the sense of community that it created during the programme gives the participants a social base from which they can build new knowledge and skills. This sense of community furthermore helps the participants in overcoming psychological troubles and enhance their self-confidence. This gives evidence to the claim made by Gasper & Staveren (2003) that in order to

strengthen individuals' capabilities they must have the confidence to express themselves and put words on their own values, hopes and motivations.

5.1.3 Learning in and about nature

To give the theoretical perspectives a practical foundation, the programme at ARC includes three weeks of mostly outdoor activities. A concern expressed by one of the trainers was that the lack of basic knowledge about the larger context of the programme, such as sustainability and global warming, can form a barrier for motivation and engagement in the course itself (Interview, 21.10.2016). Many of the participants have experienced local environmental changes in their home countries, but have not been able to explain these scientifically nor to connect it to the global crisis of climate change. Only two out of 23 persons in the group had heart about it prior to the course (Observation, 20.10.2016). This demonstrates a low degree of awareness of the context that forms the basis to teach sustainable development among participants. The trainer found it useful to draw lines to global issues in order to make the interests and resources of the participants relevant in a broader picture: 'No matter where we live: what is it then we find interesting to work with and how can that have a value for ourselves and for others' (Interview, 17.11.2016). The majority of the participants have a background in small-scale agriculture and being self-sufficient is a natural part of their life (Observation, 18.10.2016). With the new knowledge and insights into sustainability issues the participants gain relevant information from the course by placing their backgrounds in a new perspective and context. This is an example of how the experiences and skills they bring with them are turned into very important capacities in light of climate change and environmental degradation.

The programme provides perspectives on topics like caring for the environment, making fertile soil, providing the right nutrients to plants and planting according to micro climates. A male participant stated in week four: 'We have learned many things which we can use in the future. How we can take care of the nature, live together with the nature. Human beings need to be more aware of the whole'. Another man affirmed this view when he noted: 'We must try to use the nature in a good way. Being self-sufficient and covering the human needs, but at the same time be good to the nature. To do so, we have to make use of waste and give the nature right' (Observation, 01.11.2016).



Figure 5: Photograph of participants working together in the garden. Taken by author.

During the programme a small permaculture garden was developed. Everyone in the class was very engaged and motivated to work in the garden. The positive effect of the practical activities was evident in the change of attitude among participants during the weeks in the garden. One woman was particularly sceptical in the beginning of the course. She kept talking bad about the other participants and did not show up to all the classes. One of the translators noted that she experienced a radical change in the woman's attitude during the three weeks in the garden. Here the woman was smiling and laughing, showed up before the class started in morning and stopped talking ill about the others (Interview, 25.10.2016; Interview, 10.11.2016).

The educational programme also includes several exercises to encourage the participants to create positive visions for the future and reflect on their personal contributions for this to happen. Already on the first day of the course, the participants are requested to map their interests and motivation for participating in the programme. While some wanted to learn more about organic farming, some to be entrepreneurs and open their own shop with organic food, others state that they want to get a job and earn money (Observation, 05.10.2016). In the end of the ecological module, the participants were asked if they want to continue working with permaculture and if so what constraints they see for doing it (Observation, 03.11.2016). Many of the participants explained how they would like to work with organic agriculture and use the methods of permaculture. A general motivation for this is the concern for the next generations, for other people and personal well-being. A young woman said:

'I would like to work with agriculture and learn more about the nature. I hope this will continue into the future, and not only be these weeks. I would like to combine methods,

the traditional, the modern and the organic. I would like to be better at sustaining myself and do something positive for other people; the society, and myself. And to be more in contact with the nature.' (Observation, 03.11.2016).

The examples witness how the practical activities in the garden combined with theoretical perspectives on sustainability strengthen the participants' capability to 'live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature' (Nussbaum, 2003, 42). The training in the garden allows the participants to gain a physical connection with their natural surroundings; it helps them to discover a concern for the nature and to develop a new language to express this concern. In addition, the training facilitates the capability of the participants to visualise positive visions and critically reflect about the planning of their life, which Nussbaum (2003) refers to as practical reason. The capability for practical reasoning is developed though new knowledge and concrete exercises to create visions that strengthen the participants' abilities to imagination, something that was shown to apply for the participants. According to Nussbaum (2011) practical reasoning plays a particular importance in enhancing people's freedom, as it affects the ability to engage in democratic processes of decision-making.

The case study shows how the reinforcement of internal capabilities are at least as important as the gained knowledge that facilitates the ability to practical reason. Being able to see one's own resources and agency enhances their opportunities and influences the choice to take part in sustainable practices. Nonetheless, the participants were very aware of the barriers to realise their visions and dreams. They mention that they need more experience and knowledge, proper language skills, financial support and most importantly they need a network of people who has the right skills from whom they can learn and collaborate with (Observation, 03.11.2016). Since the programme is limited to six weeks training at the refugee centre, the participants are not given any immediate opportunity to act upon the newly gained skills, knowledge and motivation. The question therefore remains how the capabilities can be turned into functionings after the participants have gained asylum and start the actual integration process. This will be examined in the next part, where I explore the case of ATL and examine how practices for sustainability within ATL support the refugees involved in the project to take active part in sustainable practises. This case which demonstrates the phase of local integration after gained asylum and allows me to investigate the further process from capability to achieved functionings and the social conditions that allow this to happen.

5.2 Case II: AndelsTanken Langeland - Sustainable Transition Project

AndelsTanken Langeland (ATL) is a local development council, initiated by the national network AndelsTanken and local people from the Danish island Langeland (Holmberg, 2017). It is an attempt to revitalise the co-operative movement in Denmark and facilitate sustainable regional development through community-owned agro-businesses, CO2-neutral farming systems, community gardens and educational programmes (Andelstanken, 2017).

In 2016, ATL facilitated an educational programme targeting unemployed citizens, including refugees. The programme was held in collaboration between a number of educational institutions⁸. The aim was to give citizens outside the labour market, with both Danish and refugee background, the capacities to take employment within the agricultural sector and to become agents of change through different agricultural activities (Andelstanken Project Application, 2016). As a result of the programme, various agro-business have been set up on the island. One of these is Tranekær Agroforestry, a farm of six hectares that demonstrates new methods of CO2-neutral farming to inspire local farmers to more sustainable methods and to take part in new collaborations between local farmers. Another project is The Local owned in cooperation by local citizens and selling local products. Besides these a number of new educational programmes are under way (Interview, 27.02.17).

5.2.1 A holistic project based on local resources

An integrated part of ATL is that they try to build on the resources that exist on the island and on existing skills and interests of the inhabitants. In an interview the director in Tranekær Agroforestry, Johan, explained how ATL, as a regional development project, aims to support the resources, which are present on the island:

'If you think about regional development, who is it then you want to help? It is the most vulnerable in society, which in this case are refugees and unemployed. How can we engage everybody in this community and create value at Langeland based on the resources we have on the island, both in terms of soil and workforce? What kind of employees do we have on the island?' (Interview, 27.02.2017).

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⁸ Involved partners: ATL, Langeland Jobcentre, University College Lillebælt, Kold College and Gaia Education (Andelstanken Project Application, 2016).

This statement reflects how the project aims to embrace the diversity and tries to take advantages of the individual resources in place. So far ATL has focused on agriculture but they plan to develop different educational programmes in collaboration with the local jobcentre targeting each of the primary sectors at Langeland (Interview, 28.02.2017). Based on the success from 2016, they want to do more courses that target refugees. This shows how ATL is sensitivity towards the local needs and resources and has a strong focus on cultural diversity.

After attending the eight-week course from ATL, four refugees from Eritrea are now employed in Tranekær Agroforestry. Johan explained how the project took its current form and why they decided to employ refugees in the agroforestry. He described how it was a matter of who had the interest and right background: 'So we looked at who was in the course. Who is relevant to engage in a business project? There were the four refugees.' (Interview, 27.02.2017). Johan also stressed how ATL is a holistic project, as they target environmental as well as social issues like integration of refugees. The four refugees all have a background in agriculture as small-scale farmers and they are therefore happy to be able to work with agriculture again (Interview, 10.03.2017). At a meeting between the local jobcentre and ATL, the job consultant described the difficulties they have in finding companies that can employ refugees and who need the skills the refugees bring with them. She sees an opportunity in the programme facilitated by ATL because it draws on things, which the refugees know from home. She described how one of her clients who attended the course, since then has wanted to get employed in ATL (Observation, 27.02.2017).

5.2.2 Translating agrarian background to a new context

When asking the Eritreans about the learning outcomes from the course, they explain that while some of the content was completely new to them, other was well-known. Despite their background in agriculture, working in Tranekær Agroforestry is not without challenges. Johan explained how he, from a personal perspective, is very happy to work with the four young men, but from a professional view he finds it very challenging. To some extend they can draw on their agrarian background, but the farming methods are different and it is hard for them to adjust to a new kind of agriculture system (Interview, 27.02.2017).

Johan stated that the efficiency of their work is relatively low, which makes him consider if this is the best solution. He underlined that it is not a question of motivation, but rather language barriers and not having the right competences and technical expertise to solve the tasks they are supposed to. For the project to gain political and social support they have to prove that they can provide a sustainable

alternative to existing practises. In doing so, the balance of social inclusiveness and economic efficiency is a matter of concern. ATL cannot promise the refugees to stay in the job due to the economic instability of the project (Interview, 27.02.2017). Another challenge is due to the experimental character of the whole project. Since the project is still in implementation the tasks are not final and defined ahead of time:

'You have to remember that this is something very experimental. One thing is what we want to do; another thing is what happens in practise. It is a very creative process (...) there is no recipe; it is what we are about to make. This is one of the challenges to take in workforce in the phase of implementation and not when things are in production.' (Interview, 27.02.2017).

One of the central capabilities that all citizens should have according to Nussbaum (2003) is control over one's environment, which entails political and material elements. ATL facilitates both of these. The high rates of unemployment at Langeland for both citizens with a Danish and refugee background show a lack of individual and collective agency to take part in society. By providing work opportunities for persons who are normally marginalised on the labour marked, ATL supports individuals in gaining material control over their environment.





Figure 6: Photograph of course participants working in the field. Source: Andelstanken, 2017.

The project also provides people with political opportunities, as it assists the course participants in actively choosing what they might find valuable to work with. Besides new knowledge and skills, the participants are given the freedom to be active part in determining their own employment. By localising the economy and creating jobs through new projects, enterprises and collaborations that have been

initiated by ATL, people's opportunities to take part in determining their own life is enhanced. But the ability to have an influence on the local development of the island is also enhanced.

5.2.3 Flexibility and social network

In an interview, the former head of Langeland's refugee centres emphasized that successful integration of refugees is dependent on whether the organisation or company is open and understandable to the individual circumstances and also whether they are able and willing to adjust to the individual needs. He stressed that ATL is a great example of a community that is flexible and spacious and not least a community that motivate people to contribute (Interview, 28.02.2017):

'When you are needed (...) That I think is much more important than economy. This is also where I can see AndelsTanken doing a difference and contributing to the creation of community and a feeling of being mutual dependent on each other. This community feeling has been torn apart. I think AndelsTanken can help people coming together again.' (Interview, 28.02.2017)

Flexibility is also important at a professional level between the jobcentre and the employees in ATL. At a meeting with the jobcentre, Hanne, who is the director of The Local, expressed a need for flexibility from the jobcentre. She is about to hire another of the Eritrean participants from last year's programme. His job description is to transport vegetables from the local farmers to the store and to help out at the farm. Hanne explained that since many still work on a voluntary basis in ATL and the exact tasks are not yet defined they cannot offer regular working hours nor exact working tasks (Observation, 27.02.2017).

Since half the participants were Danish and the other half refugees the course provided a social space for people to meet across cultures. Two of the women who participated in the course described how a very strong relationship was developed between the participants during the course. They are both regularly in contact with most of the participants and especially with the course participants from Eritrea with whom meet weekly (Interview, 28.02.2017). Johan, of Tranekær Agroforestry, explains how he experienced the participants benefitted from being part of the community during the course:

'During the course the participants developed a lot in terms of social network, Danish contacts, being close so someone, practise language, meet people and being part of a

structured everyday life, a context with more than just language classes. They gained some kind of direction and a more intense sense of community with a group of people, teachers and course participants.' (Interview, 27.02.2017).

The social support is obviously one of the main advantages of the programme. One of the members of ATL, who was coordinating last year's course, highlighted that she finds it very important to continue supporting the participants in finding the right education or employment (Interview, 10.03.2017). The fact that Tranekær Agroforestry is still in implementation means that the men from Eritrea do not have any daily contact with other ATL members than Johan. Johan told about the challenge of only being him and them together:

'So, I think they improved in terms of language skills during the course. This, I feel, is put a bit on hold, when we are at the farm, where it is only I. Then they have less time in the language classes. They are them four together, it is a bit too save.' (Interview, 27.02.2017)

5.2.4 Inclusive value-based community

Besides forming a social network that supports refugees to get employment, ATL also exemplifies what Sen (2013) refers to as a social arrangement that support people in participating in the process of defining sustainability. ATL serves as a good example of a very spacious initiative, that allows for a broad variety of values and perspectives to unfold and co-exist. This has its advantages and challenges. At a morning gathering, a member stated that he finds it crucial to have a shared story to tell in order to get new people on board and gain local support. Other members commented that sustainability can have many meanings and that it can be difficult to agree on one single set of values. The group agreed that they need a common standpoint, but that they also need to be open to individual perspectives and opinions (Observation 10.03.2017).

This discussion clearly shows that ATL cannot be defined by a single set of values, but rather as an emergence of diverse values and norms. This means that even though ATL is based on a clear vision of sustainable development, there is still a strong focus on what the individual members bring to the community. This shows one of the strengths of ATL that they try to include everyone who wish to in the discussions. This is evident in the diversity of people who are active part of the community and the variety of people who participate in networks meetings and workshops (Observation, 26.03.2017). One

of the initiators of ATL described his experience with introducing the basic ideas and goals of the project to the refugees in the course:

'When I told about the history of the cooperative movement and how it can answer some of the challenges we are facing today such as global climate change, I could see how it caught their attention. They saw a community with a global outreach, which they could be part of' (Interview, 12.01.2017).

This is supported by a comment of one of the employees in Tranekær Agroforestry. He explained how he knew about climate change, but that he had never really understood it. When he joined the course he understood what it was really about for the first time and he was able to see its importance in a local and global perspective (Interview, 10.03.2017). Johan says that he is sure that his colleagues from Eritrea see their work as part of something bigger, but that they might not be aware of the significance of the work they do in a Danish context. They are used to work with family farming and to cooperate in their local communities, which is what we try to reintroduce in Denmark (Interview, 27.02.2017).

These examples illustrate how the social interactions and daily discussions amongst the members are important elements in developing a common identity and shared values. The sense of community plays a crucial role in shaping the objectives and practises of the project. The practises within ATL gives empirical support to Sen's argument that in order to bring sustainable transition, people must identify themselves as agents with a certain agency (Sen, 2013). The examples given above of the social interactions and discussions that is taken place within ATL demonstrates how the individual capabilities of the people involved in the project are realised through the community. In fact, the individual capabilities are emerging from the collective capabilities, as it is the social interactions and efforts that give space for the members to realise their individual agency (Pelenc et al., 2013).

5.3 A Viable Solution?

The aim of the case studies was to explore concrete solutions to enhance the capabilities of refugees to become integrated in the Danish society while addressing the problem of environmental sustainability. Together, the cases demonstrate how learning and practises for sustainability can have a positive effect on the participants by creating a social space in which they can build new knowledge and visions for the future and take active part in a sustainable transition. The analysis of SEES in particular underscores the

importance of personal empowerment as a supplement to actual training of skills and knowledge building. To have a real effect on people's ability to engage in society, programmes must give people the self-confidence to act upon the knowledge they gain. The examination of ATL gives empirical evidence of how the social conditions that allow internal capabilities to be turned into practices for sustainability is equally important as the enhancement of internal capabilities. The analysis indicates that sustainability initiatives like ATL can play an important role in supporting the integration of refugees by providing job opportunities, social coherence and an open and flexible community. In addition, with a strong focus on environmental sustainability and by showing sensitivity towards the needs of the local communities, ATL displays a great potential in challenging the existing structures and practices within the agricultural sector. But the economic and political context in which the initiative is situated poses a high degree of instability and uncertainty to the project. Despite a general political and public support for the project, there was also an opposing and critical voice from the established agricultural sector (Observation, 26.03.2017). Furthermore, as an integration project, the lack of language skills and low technical competencies of the refugees employed in Tranekær Agroforestry hinder them in taking fully part in the decision-making and development of the project. This reveals that learning for sustainability does not in itself enable integration.

Having examined two examples of refugee integration strategies, I now delve into a broader discussion on citizenship. In subsequent chapter I discuss the concept of ecological citizenship and elaborate on its empirical implications based on the case studies.

6. Citizenship in Transition

"Citizenship is always in the *process* of construction and transformation. Citizens' actions are to be conceived in terms of their self-sustaining and expanding qualities" (Jelin, 2000)

6.1 The Contested Field of Citizenship

In general terms citizenship can be defined as "(...) a collection of rights and responsibilities, which give individuals a formal legal identity" (Turner, 1997, 5). However, the more exact implications of citizenship remain highly contested in both theoretical and practical terms. Therefore, citizenship studies comprise a large and inhomogeneous field (Pfister, 2012). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to give an exhaustive overview of the entire field of citizenship. I will instead only focus on the aspects most relevant to this thesis.

Throughout history, three major traditions of citizenship have emerged in academic theory i) liberal approaches focusing on individual rights and equal status, ii) republican approaches emphasising political participation and collective identities and iii) radical approaches favouring voice, difference and justice. While liberal and republican stands constitute formal conceptions, as they describe the status of citizenship, most radical approaches derive from social movements (Pfister, 2012). Besides formal conceptions there are also material accounts on citizenship, which refer to the practical application of the citizen status, being the way a citizen can use its rights and responsibilities to engage in certain practises (Baglioni, 2016). As we saw in chapter 4, the CA pays attention to capabilities and functionings, rather than rights and duties. Hereby the CA brings a material perspective on citizenship.

Within both formal and material typologies, citizenship is commonly related to the idea of a political community defined by the nation-state. This implies that citizen rights and responsibilities depend on the membership of a national community (Turner, 1997). In the light of contemporary immigration patterns alternatives to territorial accounts on citizenship have gained renewed relevance. Bagloni (2016) argues that if the status of citizens is defined with reference to the social equality and cultural homogeneity based on the nation-state, a growing number of people will be excluded from society. As will be elaborated in following section, Dobson (2003) builds on the tradition of cosmopolitan citizenship (the scope of citizenship is the world community (Linklater, 1998) to develop a new theory of citizenship that go beyond both liberal and republican approaches.

6.2 Ecological Citizenship

Based on a critique of the contractual and territorial idea of citizenship, Dobson (2003) introduces an action-oriented notion of citizenship that goes beyond the nation-state. This he refers to as post-cosmopolitan citizenship. Dobson argues that globalisation should be perceived as the creation of political spaces of asymmetrical obligations. Accordingly, the political space or the community of citizens is not pre-politically given or fixed to a state, but rather materially produced by 'the activities of individuals and groups with the capacity to spread and impose themselves in geographical, diachronic and (...) ecological space' (Dobson, 2003, 30). Dobson agrees with a more virtue-based approach to citizenship, but challenge the idea of virtues being attached to the relationship between citizens and a political authority. Given that many of the private actions we do have public implications, virtues must be attached to relationships between citizens themselves. Hence, post-cosmopolitan citizenship advocates that the private as well as the public sphere must be regarded as political.

First: Liberal	Second: Civic republican	Third: Post-cosmopolitan
Rights/entitlements	Duties/responsibilities	Duties/responsibilities
(contractual)	(contractual)	(non-contractual)
Public sphere	Public sphere	Public and private sphere
Virtue-free	Masculine virtue	Feminine virtue
Territorial	Territorial	Non-territorial
(discriminatory)	(discriminatory) (non-discriminatory)	

Table 1: Three types of citizenship. Source: Dobson (2003).

Having laid the ground for a new theory of citizenship, Dobson develops the concept of ecological citizenship (EC)⁹, which was first introduced in 1990 by the Canadian Ministry of the Environment (Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). The concept builds on, and possesses the same features as post-cosmopolitan citizenship. He stresses that given the environmental concerns of today; the responsibilities of citizenship must be related to the sustainable society. Environmental politics should therefore take into account the question of citizenship. As EC is based on a social ontology of material embeddedness, Dobson (2003) argues that ecological citizens will not obtain sustainable actions because

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⁹ Besides EC, Dobson also introduces environmental citizenship. The two differs in the sense that environmental citizenship is to be realised within the liberal state, while EC go beyond state territory and challenge the traditional perceptions of citizenship such as liberal and civic republican (Dobson, 2003).

of incentives, but because of a feeling of duty based on their ecological footprint. He therefore opposes the idea that fiscal incentives should drive sustainable behaviour (Dobson, 2007). If sustainability has to be realised by a renewed sense of citizenship, we will have to develop ways of educating people that can facilitate active participation in sustainable practises.

Relevant to the case studies presented in this thesis, researcher adds notions of deliberative democracy to the debate on EC (See among others Christoff, 1996; Barry, 2002; Bell, 2005; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). Within this field of research EC is perceived as a mechanism of inclusion and political participation. Melo-Escrihuela (2008) argues that EC should be perceived as a learning process and that citizens must be given the opportunities to choose to act as ecological citizens through democratic processes. In this perspective citizenship is about "collective learning towards transformative change" (Latta, 2007). Along the same lines, the idea behind both initiatives of the case studies is to facilitate sustainable transition through a renewed sense of citizenship. Doing so, focus is put on providing people with the right knowledge, skills and inspiration to engage in sustainable transformation processes. In this regard, the case studies reveal essential insights on how the practical implications of EC.

The examination of SEES in particular shows the importance of personal empowerment as a supplement to actual training of skills and knowledge building. To have a real effect on people's ability to take part in sustainable processes, programmes must give people the self-confidence to act upon the knowledge they gain. In addition, the cases demonstrate the effect of social learning processes. In both cases the social context composes an important support of the participants learning processes. Given their fragile situation the empowering process might be more relevant for refugees than for other less vulnerable groups since they do not have the same social network and natural part in society. In addition, the programmes both includes environmental, social and economic dimensions, as well as theoretical and practical elements. Hereby the two cases exemplify how learning for sustainability can and should encompass knowledge about the world issues such as climate change, social inequality, but also give people concrete to engage in and push forward societal transformations. This tells us something very important about social learning for sustainability and deepens our understanding of what motivate action and engagement in sustainable practices at a general level.

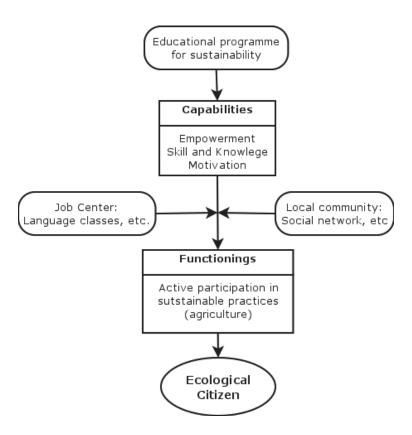


Figure 7: Elements and mechanisms influencing the process from learning to practise. Source: Developed by author based on the case studies.

Dobson (2003) argues that EC will be realised through individual actions and collective efforts to remove economic and political structures that hinder environmental sustainable practices. He advocates a re-activation of a civil society, in which voluntarism and communities can unfold, as opposed to a dominant focus on giving space for the market (Dobson, 2003). The case of ATL illustrates the dynamics of collective action in challenging the productivist agricultural paradigm dominating Danish agriculture. Besides forming the base for a transition towards sustainability, citizenship defined through sustainable practises, has a potential to encourage more inclusive societies. In the case of ATL it is especially clear how the political space is shaped by the activities of the individuals involved in the project, rather than with reference to national norms or values. In this sense active participation in society is not related to 'being Danish or acting Danish', but rather to help drive the local community and practises in a certain direction, specifically towards sustainable development. This highlights the constructive value of EC in terms of forming an open and inclusive community of citizens connected through practises within a local ecological space.

6.3 The Ends and Means of Citizenship

Jerneck et al. (2010, 77) stresses that there are 'potential synergies and tensions between the substantive and procedural aspects' found within the deliberative project of creating the opportunities for citizens to engage in environmental decision-making. Along the same lines, EC advocates for individuals to obtain certain norms and practises for sustainability and the freedom-based approach to citizenship found within the scope of the CA can seems contradictory at first sight. However, both theories are concerned with the dynamics of democratization processes towards sustainable development. Even though Dobson (2003), with his conceptualisation of EC, bases his reinvention of citizenship on a critique of liberal forms of citizenship, he advocates a closer relationship between liberalism and "strong" forms of sustainability, in the sense that the latter is a precondition of the former (Dobson, 2003). This goes well together with the CA and Sen's rethinking of the well-known Brundtland definition of sustainability: 'We can see sustainable development as development that prompts the capabilities of present people without compromising capabilities of future generation' (Sen, 2013, 11). Despite these commonalities the two frameworks take different entry points to sustainability. While the CA is a merely anthropocentric, viewing sustainability as a condition for human freedom (Sen, 2013), EC theories takes a more instrumental approach to citizenship, meaning that citizenship is merely a mean to achieve environmental ends (Latta, 2007). Summing up, there are both synergies and tensions between the two frameworks. The focus on human agency within the CA combined with perspectives on the implications and requirements for sustainable development has been a vital in order to explore the complexity of the initiatives in the case studies.

7. Revisiting Refugee Integration Policies

7.1 Labour Market Integration

In Europe, one of the main task of the welfare state is devoted to maximising employment rates by providing its citizens with the social capital to get employment. Hence, citizenship is practically interpreted as being active on the labour market (Pfister, 2012). The study of Danish integration policies (section 3.2) shows a similar dominant focus on employment as well as a strong attempt to guide refugees to fit the Danish labour market (Fihl, 2015; Kohl, 2016). From a CA perspective, the general attempt to include citizens on the labour market through activation and empowerment is supported, while the narrow economic orientation seeing citizenship as a merely economic contribution is opposed.

Having looked into the conditions of refugees in Denmark today, it becomes clear how current mainstream policies and strategies do not endorse the whole spectrum of capabilities suggested by Nussbaum's version of the CA (Nussbaum, 2011). This is especially evident in the narrow focus on Danish language courses and labour market introduction courses found in current activation- and integration programmes (Immigration Service, 2017b). According to the CA, these programmes should allow refugees to take active part in society that go beyond employment and enable engagement in political, social and cultural activities. This also is supported by Andersen et al. (2009), who points out that experimental programmes of social innovation and empowerment are more effective than mainstream integration strategies in terms of providing socio-cultural and socio-economic opportunities for immigrants. The programmes in the case studies are examples of this. An important challenge to point out in this connection is the implications of temporary residence. Refugees who gain asylum has their status re-evaluated every 1-2 year, and can only apply for permanent residence permission after 7 years (Immigration Service, 2016). This puts some obvious constraints on any integration strategy but in particular holistic approaches that target long-term integration.

7.2 Employability in a Long-term Perspective

Labour market integration should not be disregarded as an essential part of integration. But the focus should not only be on the means to enhance the employability of refugees, but also on what kind of employment that is favourable in the broader picture. There are some signs of this shift in focus with a new trend within refugee integration policies that directs the efforts according to the demand of workforce in the municipalities (Arbejdsmarked, 2016). This is supplemented by mandatory participation in various labour market preparatory courses in the refugee centres (Kohl, 2015). While these new

labour market oriented programmes demonstrate an attempt to make the integration efforts more efficient and address local shortcomings, they also illustrate a narrow and short-term perspective. The agricultural sector constitutes one of the primary sectors in the integration programmes, but as described in section 3.1 the current dominating paradigm of agriculture displays a number of environmental and socio-economic challenges (OECD, 2008; Hansen & Zobbe, 2012). As pointed out by Jørgensen et al. (2014) employment in the agricultural sector will decrease by about 50 % from 2014 until 2030. In this light it is hard to argue that educating people to take employment in the traditional agricultural sector will be a sustainable and even economically efficient solution in a longer perspective.

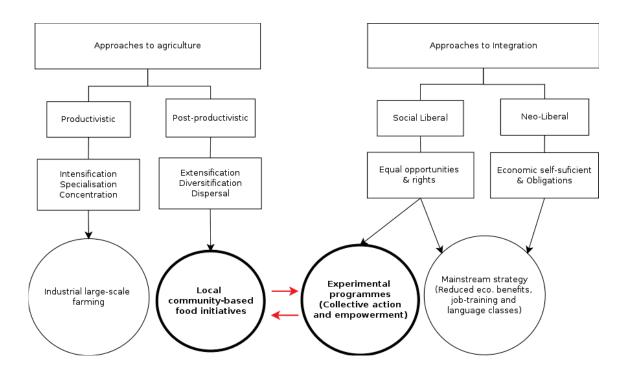


Figure 8: Combining alternative approaches to agriculture and refugee integration. Source: Developed by author.

However, as have become clear during this thesis, Danish agriculture is not a one-sided story. An increasing number of local citizen-driven local food initiatives have emerged in Denmark. AndelsTanken Langeland (ATL) is one example of such, emphasising new models of ownership, climate neutral farming systems and a renewed sense democracy. Despite being small-scale, initiatives like ATL form a powerful alternative to industrial agriculture (Robinson, 2009), and one that addresses the broader interpretation of the work market integration challenges. The case studies demonstrate that in order to push forward a

sustainable transition within the agricultural sectors, new skills and knowledge is needed. As pointed out by Melo-Escrihuela (2008, 128), 'ecological citizens will not emerge spontaneous. They have to be created'.

7.3 The Meaning of 'Active Citizenship'?

The topic of citizen-making, leads us to another focus within current immigrant policies. Besides employability, the Danish debate on immigration and refugee integration is increasingly focused on cultural norms and values (Joppke, 2007; Borevi et al., 2017). Stated in the Danish integration law, immigrants should be given the skills and resources to act upon the common norms and values (Retsinformation, 2017a). Paradoxically, it is a continuous debate in Denmark what Danish norms and values actually encompass. This was exemplified in section 3.2 with the turn towards socialisation of immigrants into citizens also referred to as civic integration. As Borevi et al., 2017 explains, these programmes formally aim to motivate immigrants to participate in the labour market and civil society but also have a symbolic aim to uphold a national identity and cultural coherence. In opposition to this, EC draws the attention towards a re-conceptualisation of the norms and values defining citizenship. As we saw in previous chapter (6) there is a social advantage of defining citizenship in accordance to ecological practises in a global perspective rather than national norms and values. To understand active citizenship in the light of the agenda for sustainable development opens new pathways for more inclusive societies and refugee integration. Accordingly, future socialisation programmes to create citizenship should reconsider what is a 'good' citizen? And what does it take to become one?

While Dobson (2003) claims citizen responsibilities to be attached to the relationship between citizens and a political authority, he still devotes a responsibility to the state of providing the conditions for EC to flourish. In relation to that the case studies in this thesis give insight into the importance of integration strategies emphasising a broad collaboration between citizens, municipalities and businesses. The success of ATL in terms of enhancing the participants' capabilities to take active part in transition processes is only possible due to the flexibility of the municipality. As specified by Andersen et al. (2009) cooperation across sectors can be an essential for promoting sustainable social development. This is also true for environmental sustainability development.

8. Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I have explored the synergies that can emerge from innovative and explorative interventions for sustainability. The study finds the most striking problems related to agriculture development in Denmark to be environmental degradation, increasing economic debt and a general loss of rural livelihoods. In relation to refugee integration the study identifies that marginalisation is increased by a neo-liberal discourse emphasising reduction in social services. However, within both problem areas there are counter movements of citizen-driven sustainable transition initiatives and experimental integration programmes. These movements are exemplified in the two initiatives explored in the case studies. The case studies give evidence to how learning and practises for sustainability can have a positive effect on refugees in terms of enhancing their opportunities and motivation to take active part in sustainable processes. Hereby, the cases are found to be viable supplements and alternatives to current policies and practices within both fields. The case studies reveal the importance of a broad collaborations between governments, business and civil society as a condition for successful integration of refugees. However, agriculture is only one small part of the labour market and training in sustainable agriculture is only suitable for people with a certain interest and background. Finally, this thesis has engaged itself in the broader discussion of citizenship with particular attention to the concept of EC. Supported by the case studies the research finds a potential of a new sense of citizenship that goes beyond territorial and nation-based cultural norms and values. In general, it was found that while programmes emphasising empowerment and social action are good in terms of delivering social wellbeing, there is a good argument that such programmes should also embrace environmental well-being. When approaching refugee integration, policy-makers should therefore take a holistic approach and a long-term perspective.

8.1 Contribution to Sustainability Science

Sustainability science is commonly understood as an emerging transdisciplinary field defined on the base of the problem being addressed (Miller, 2012). This means that the scope of the field and the discourses about what sustainability is an open question. Kates & Parris (2003) have argued that in order to reach the goal of sustainable development, sustainability science must pay attention to the multiplicity of long-term global trends and challenges facing humankind. These implies social, economic and environmental matters, which all pose threats to a sustainable transition. Additionally, it has commonly been argued that the problems and solutions to be addressed within the field of sustainability must be identified by

scientist as well as actors outside academia (Clark & Dickson, 2003; Lang et al., 2012; Wiek et al., 2012). The cases investigated within this thesis shows a turn towards holistic problem-solving at a local level, bridging social and environmental issues. On this basis, I argue that in order to show sensitively towards the real-world problems sustainability science should take a similar approach. This implies addressing social problems that are not directly linked to environmental problems. The theoretical discussion of the synergies and tensions between the thoughts of Sen (2013) and Dobson (2003) underscores the relevance of exploring solutions to enhance human well-being, social equality and environmental sustainability. This opens new avenues for the field of sustainability science to explore synergies between currently disconnected matters. In my experience, the creative process of identifying innovative and explorative solutions of the kind investigated in this thesis, is enabled through active participation in the field, which supports the common participatory approach within the field of sustainability science (Lang et al., 2012; Wiek et al., 2012).

8.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Through the research process, I have identified a political knowledge and interpretation gap regarding the effect of current refugee integration strategies. This is supported by Borevi et al, 2017, who stresses a lack of qualitative evaluation of integration efforts that can serve as guidance for policymakers. Recently, education that supports refugee integration has been pointed out as one of the most important issues for European Education Policies (Eaea, n.d.). In this regard, more research on what kind of learning as well as on how capability-building of refugees can address sustainable development is needed. On this subject, how engangement with nature can enhance the process of integration could be a relevant field of research. In addition, it is equally important to look into other European countries, in which refugee integration poses a challenge. Initiatives for sustainable agriculture that target the integration of refugees is not only a Danish phenomenon. One example to point out is the case of Sicilia Integra (UNESCO, 2016), which is a sister project to ATL, initiated in 2015 as a response to the dramatic influx of refugees to Sicily. Scientific studies of such initiatives are important to guide societal change towards a more sustainable future.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Interview guides

Case I: SEES

Interview persons: Ljudmyla Vladyka, participant in the SEES programme

Date	Questions
07.10.2016	 Can you tell me about your background? What do you think about this programme? What are you expertations to the course? What has been the most important lesson so far?
13.10.2016	 How are you doing? What do you think about the last week? How do you think you can use this course in the future? What has make the biggest impression on you during this week?
02.11.2016	 How are you doing? What do you think about the last week? What was the most interesting thing you learnt? What do you think about the group? What about this week, what did you like most? How did you like what we have been doing today? What week have been the most interesting or fun?

Interview persons: Ditlev Nissen, teacher in the SEES programme

Date of interview: 21.10.2016

Hvad har din undervisning handlet om?
Hvorfor undervise flygtninge I økonomi?
Hvad er den vigtigste lærring eller erfaring fra undervisningen?
Hvad håber du deltagerne tager med sig fra din undervisning?

Interview persons: Bjarne Ganzler, teacher in the SEES programme

Date of interview: 17.11.2016

- Hvad har din undervisning handlet om?

- Hvad er den vigtigste lærring eller erfaring fra undervisningen?

- Hvad håber du deltagerne tager med sig fra din undervisning?

- Du har som den eneste underviser været med den første og sidste dag af forløbet.

Hvilken forandring ser du I gruppen?

Case II: AndelsTanken

Interview person: Johan Fast, Director of Tranekær Skovlandbrug

Date of interview: 27.02.2017

Tema	Spørgsmål
Afklarende	 Hvad er din rolle i Tranekær Skovlandbrug? Hvordan hænger Tranekær Skovlandbrug og Andelstanken sammen? Hvem finansierer Tranekær Skovlandbrug?
Visionen	 Hvad er din vision med Andelstanken? Hvordan er Tranekær Skovlandbrug med til at nå den vision? Hvorfor skovlandbrug?
Deltagelse	 Hvem var initiativtager for Tranekær Skovlandbrug? Hvordan har processen været fra det undervisningsforløb sidste år, til nu at have ansat fire af deltagerne fra kurset? I hvor høj grad er de involverede i Andelstanken med til at udforme projektet (formål og indhold)? Har de ansatte i Tranekær skovlandbrug indflydelse på udviklingen, eller er der en klar plan som I følger?
Lærring	 Andelstanken har igangsat flere forskellige uddannelsesinitiativer, hvordan spiller de sammen med Tranekær skovlandbrug? Hvilke færdigheder er der brug for i jeres skovlandbrug / omstillingen af Langelands landbrug? Har dine kollegaer fra Eteria de nødvendige færdigheder/viden? Hvordan har undervisningen været med det at udvikle eller løfte disse?
Social Kontekst	 Hvordan er dit samarbejde med dine kollegaer fra Eteria? Hvordan vil du beskrive den sociale organisering der er omkring Andelstanken? Hvordan vil du beskrive det fællesskab der er omrking Andelstanken? Hvordan er jeres samarbejde med Langeland kommune?

Interview person: Ulrik Pihl, former head of Langeland refugee centres and coming course coordinator in Andelstanken

Date of interview: 28.02.2017

Tema	Spørgsmål
Aktivering- og integrations- indsatser	Jeg vil gerne starte med at spørge lidt ind til de erfaringer du tager med dig som centerchef på Holmegaard. - Hvad er dit syn på de aktiverings- og integrationstilbud der er til asylansøgere/flygtninge idag? - Hvad ser du som den største udfordring for integration af flygtninge på Langeland? - Hvilke integrationsstrategier mener du har den største effekt?
Andelstanken som integrations- tilbud	Du nævnte da vi talte sammen sidst at det var på dit initiativ at sende asylansøgere i aktivering i Andelstanken - Hvad ser du af muligheder I det? - Hvad var din erfaring med at sende asylansøgere i aktivering hos Andelstanken? - Hvordan adskiller Andelstanken sig fra andre aktiveringstilbud på Langeland? - Hvordan tror du at Andelstanken kan løfte opgaven om aktivering og integration af flygtninge?
Fremtidige kurser	Nu begynder du snart som kursuskoordinator i Andelstanken – Kan du fortælle hvilke kurser/moduler I planlægger at opstarte. - Hvad er jeres fokus? - Hvorfor fokusere på uddannelse? - Hvad er din vision med uddannelsestiltag? - Regner du med at i vil fortsætte med at målrette kurser til flygtninge?
Deltagelse og integration	Hvordan ser du at flygtninge kan have en rolle i de projekter Andelstanken har igangsat omkring omstilling af landbruget på langeland?

Interview persons: Refugees from Eritrea employed in Tranekær Agroforestry

Date of interview: 10.03.2017

Tema	Spørgsmål	
Baggrund	 Kan du fortælle mig lidt om din baggrund, hvad arbejdede du med I Eteria? Hvad håbede du på at komme til at arbejde med da du kom til DK? 	
Undervisning	 Hvad er det vigtigste du tager med dig fra undervisningen sidste år? Lærte du noget nyt, som du ikke vidste før? Hvordan syntes du at du kan bruge det du lærte på kurset? 	
Social kontekst	 Har du stadig kontakt med andre fra kurset? Hvordan er det at arbejde sammen med de andre? 	
En den af projektet	 Hvad syntes du om Andelstanken? Hvad kan du godt lide ved Andelstanken? Hvorfor er Andelstanken vigtig syntes du? 	
Skovlandbrug	 Hvordan er det at arbejde hos Tranekær Skovlandbrug? Hvad kan du godt lidt ved arbejdet? Hvad håber du det vil føre med sig? Hvorfor er det vigtigt at lave skovlandbrug? 	

Appendix II: Overview of education and activation programmes

- 1. Fast track arrangement: Between 2015-2016 the so-called fast-track arrangement was implemented, with the purpose of making it easier to hire asylum seekers and direct the integration efforts to local labour markets. Asylum seekers enrolled in a fast-track programme receive a course that includes language courses with particular relevance for engaging in the Danish labour market, education on culture and norms at the Danish labour market and employment opportunities and job training (Red Cross, 2016).
- 2. Sector programmes: Since 2015 a number of municipalities have introduced a "sector-programme", to direct the labour market integration of refugees according to the sectorial need for labour. The programme includes an introduction to the relevant sectors, competence assessment, and job training (LG Insight, 2015). An evaluation of the programmes points out that job training activities which include concrete objectives and progress assessment in combination with sector relevant courses, language courses, and knowledge about job opportunities are the most effective ways to ensure for successful integration of refugees (LG Insight, 2015).
- **3.** Integration basic education: At national level another pilot project was initiated in 2016 called "Integration basic education" (IGU). IGU is an agreement between refugees and businesses, consisting of two years of job training combined with educational modules (Ministry of Migrants- and Integration, 2017).
- **4. Fund for extermal operators:** In 2013 the Danish Immigration Service set up a fund to improve education and activation of asylum seekers. Until 2016 money was given to external operators who offered education and other activities that strengthen the possibilities of refugees to get employment in Denmark or in their home country in case of refusal of asylum (Immigration Service, 2013).