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13 Briefings on Case Studies
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Deliverable 5.2
13 quantitative briefings on the case studies

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Summary

Deliverable 5.2 - *13 quantitative briefings on the case studies*, presents data collected in Task 5.2 in the 13 locations where the local case studies are implemented. Quali-Quantitative briefings cover both MATILDE Social Dimensions (MSDs) and MATILDE Economic Dimensions (MEDs). Specific attention has been paid to the impact of reception services for asylum seekers and refugees.
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Austria: Villach

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Introduction

This report serves as a preliminary overview of the area of the Case Study Region Villach with all those aspects that influence it as well as its inhabitants and vice versa.

First, the spatial distribution and various socio-demographic characteristics that define Villach, its population and TCNs in particular are discussed. Subsequently, the economic as well as the social aspect with all its dimensions will be examined in detail by presenting statistical evaluations, maps and archival material as well as qualitatively collected data, in order to finally address particularities of the case study region. The quantitative data is mainly based on data from Statistik Austria and is mainly available from 2002 on. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn on the examined dimensions and the resulting needs for further research activities in cooperation with the local partner will be derived.

In this context, the entire team of the Carinthian University of Applied Sciences would like to thank the local partner, City of Villach, the respective departments, as well as the second Austrian research partner BAB for their valuable cooperation, which made the creation of this document possible.
Spatial distribution & socio-demographic characteristics

1. Dimension: Demographic overview

1.1. Population development of time (1960-2020)

The population of Villach increased from 47,140 inhabitants in 1961 up to 63,236 in 2021, which is a total growth of 34.1%. Since 2002 the total number raised by 5,807 persons (+10.1%). As figure 1 demonstrates, this growth is strongly due to international immigration as evidenced by the growing number of foreigners. While Villach’s native population are slightly decreasing (3% since 2002), migrants have more than doubled since 2002 from 7,348 to 13,130 (Statistik Austria 2021a; WIBIS 2021a).

The current share of foreigners of 20.8% (in total 13,130 persons) is displayed in Figure 2. In comparison, in 2002 the share was 10.1%.

Villach is one of the few areas in Carinthia with a double-digit growth rate since 2002 and with the expectations of further growth of 2.8% within the next 30 years, while for Carinthia as a whole a decrease of 5.1% is expected up to 2050 (WIBIS 2021a and WIBIS 2021b).

2. Dimension: Development and socio-demographic structure of population


The number of foreigners in Villach has more than doubled since 2002 (+129.7%) and increased from 5,782 in 2002 up to 13,130 in 2021, which is a share of 20.8% of total population in Villach. The share of female to male migrants behaves contrary to the gender ratio of Austrian citizens (Statistik Austria 2021b).
The age structure of migrants is completely different to the native population. While almost a third of the natives are older than 60 years, only 12.1% of foreigners are in this age segment, even if the number increased since 2002 (+8.1%). The share of younger foreign population (≤ 29 years) decreased to 38.7% since 2002. Most of the foreigners are between 30-44 years (Statistik Austria 2021b).

![Age structure of foreigners in Villach](image)

**Figure 1: Age structure of foreigners in Villach (own illustration, data based on Statistik Austria 2021b)**

2.2. Share of Third Country Nationals (TCNs)

While the total share of foreign population is 20.8%, the share of TCNs is much lower (9.8%; 6,193 people). In comparison to 2002 (5.6%), the share of TCNs grew by 4.2 percentage points. In 2021 in Villach, the share of EU/EFTA nationals is higher (52.8%) than those of TCNs (47.2%) (Statistik Austria 2021b).


Nevertheless, the number of TCNs in Villach has almost doubled and increased from 3,196 in 2002 to 6,193 in 2021, which is a total growth of 93.8%. This has led to an increase of TCNs share from 5.6% to 9.8% of total population. In comparison, the city of Klagenfurt, the capital of the province of Carinthia, show a share of 11.3% TCNs. The rurality of Carinthia becomes obvious also by its low share of TCNs (4.0%) in 2021 (Statistik Austria 2021b).

The development of TCNs in Villach held an average growth rate of 1.4% per year (2002-2010). This growth rate increased in the following years up to 3.8%, before reaching the peak in
the years 2015/2016 with more than 12% annually growth. Since then, the annual growth rate declined to an earlier level of 4.0% (Statistik Austria 2021b).

![Figure 2: Development of TCNs 2002-2021 (own illustration, data based on Statistik Austria 2021b)](image)

In contrast to the total and native population of Villach, there are more male than female TCNs. The current share of female TCNs is 46.8%, after the peak of 48.1% in 2014. The growth of female TCNs was slightly higher than that for male in 2002–2014, but significantly lower during the inflow of refugees in 2015/16. Since then, the average growth rate of females and males shows a rather similar trend.

In 2021, 9.9% of Villach’s TCNs are older than 60 years, while in 2002 this percentage was 5.0%. The share of persons aged 29 years or younger decreased from 46.6% to 44.0% (Statistik Austria 2021b).
2.4. Comparison of Austrian citizens, EU-citizens and TCNs: number, age, gender

To compare the development of the groups over the past years the following figure displays their annual change since 2002 (further details see Appendix table 5). Since 2002, the total population of Villach has grown, while the number of Austrian citizens decreased. Since 1993, the annual birth-death-balance of nationals is negative; since 2002, the migration balance cannot compensate this development. On the contrary, the birth-death-balance of foreigners shows a positive development over all years. As these figures make clear, Villach needs immigration to keep a positive population development (Statistik Austria 2021b).
In comparison to 2002, the share of female, an important parameter for reproduction, decreased in total as well as all groups (Austrian citizens, EU/EFTA citizens, TCNs).

As the illustration below shows, the foreign population in Villach is clearly more prevalent in the younger age segments, which contributes strongly to the rejuvenation of the overall population and has a positive impact in the supply of labour available on the labour market. What is remarkable, is the fact that TCNs are still significantly younger than EU-citizens (Statistik Austria 2021b).
3. Dimension: Predominance of TCN-nationalities


The following chart gives an overview about the most important TCN countries in terms of number of citizens. As the chart shows, people from Bosnia-Herzegovina are the biggest group among TCNs. Their growth was relatively stable over the past 20 years. The number of citizens from Syria, Afghanistan and Russian Federation highly increased in that period. Citizens of these countries add up 1,669 persons and almost reach the level of citizens from Bosnia-Herzegovina. While citizens from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Russian Federation represent the “older” war refugees of the 1990s and 2000s, people from Syria and Afghanistan represent the “newer” war refugees, particularly from 2015ff. However, a strong growth can be observed for citizens from countries marked as “others”. This is due to the increased number of different third countries from 43 in 2002 to 80 in 2021 (Statistik Austria 2021b).

When comparing the share of TCN nationalities amount the TOP10 third countries, it becomes clear that the dominance of Bosnia-Herzegovina has decreased since 2002. On the contrary, the variety of TCN nationalities Villach has increased significantly. In total, all ex-Yugoslavia-nationals hold a share of 41.1% in 2021 compared to 81.1% in 2002. Instead, the share of TCNs from Syria has risen from 0% to 12.2% and those from Afghanistan from 0.1% to 7.8%. Moreover, the overall diversity of TCN nationalities has increased from 43 nationalities in 2002 to 80 different nationalities in 2021. The share of "other nationalities" increased from 7.8% in 2002 to 21.7% in 2021. In total, 109 foreign nationalities live in Villach by the year 2020 (Statistik Austria 2021b).
4. Dimension: Educational background of TCNs

4.1. Educational background of TCNs

The following figure shows the educational background of TCNs, measured according to their highest completed education. In 2018, for 53.4% of TCNs, compulsory school is the highest completed education. This number is relative stable since 2011 (Statistik Austria 2021c). While the share of TCNs, who completed compulsory education and secondary school only shows minimal changes between 2011 and 2018, there is a significant increase of TCNs with university degree (from 8.4% to 13.1%) and a decrease of apprenticeship holders (from 25.2% to 20.5%) (Statistik Austria 2021c).

4.2. Comparison of the highest completed education of Austrian citizens, EU-citizens and TCNs

TCNs in Villach are most common in the lowest (compulsory education) and highest (university degree) education segments. While EU-citizens have the highest proportion of tertiary education, nationals’ proportion of university graduates is almost as low as for TCNs. On the contrary, nationals most likely to have completed an apprenticeship (Statistik Austria 2021c).
5. Dimension: Attractiveness of the region for immigrants

5.1. Cumulative total migration balance

Villach shows a positive migration balance since 2002 (annual results, see Appendix, Table 12). While people with non-Austrian citizenship have a positive migration balance in all those years, the migration balance of Austrian citizens is only in 2011, 2019 and 2020 positive (Statistik Austria 2021d; 2021e).
In total, Villach has a positive migration balance of 6,936 people. While for Austrian citizens the migration balance is negative (-1,293), both, EU-citizens and TCNs, generate a positive migration balance of slightly more than 4,000 people (Statistik Austria 2021d; 2021e).

5.2. Development of migration balance (1960-2020)

Since 2002, the international migration balance for Villach is positive, even though there is decrease of Austrian immigrants each year. Except for the years 2015 and 2016 with an increase of TCNs due to the refugee inflow, the majority of immigrants are EU-citizens. Since 2011, this group has a positive migration balance of 291 persons on average per year. For TCNs, an average of 161 more people per year immigrate than leave the city (Statistik Austria 2021e).
5.3. International immigration of TCNs

In 2020, more than two thirds of immigrants are TCNs, whereas the majority of them (58.6%) are Asians (mostly from Afghanistan or Syria (for further details see Appendix, Table 13). This development can be observed for the first time in 2015 (strong influx of refugees from these countries). In the years before, the majority of TCN-immigrants were people from European third countries (incl. Turkey). In the years 2002–10, the average share of TCNs with a European third country citizenship was 75.8%, since 2015 this average decreased to 31.9%.

The majority of TCNs immigrate from another federal state to Villach, which means that they have already stayed in Austria. Looking at the period 2002–2020, on average 19.0% of TCNs immigrated directly from abroad, whereas 81.0% immigrated to Villach from another Austrian municipality. This development is likely due to the redistribution of asylum seekers between federal and provincial asylum shelters. In the years 2010–17, the share of TCNs immigrating directly from abroad to Villach is above 20% in average, reaching its peak in 2015 with 27.2%. Even if that number decreased since 2017, the average share of 18.7% is still higher than 2002–2009. This situation can be related to two development: on the one hand, many asylum seekers applied for asylum directly in Villach in 2015 and the following years (the proximity to the Italian and Slovenian borders has to be considered). On the other hand, the large high-tech industrial
companies have hired and still hire specialized staff from abroad, who have moved directly from abroad to Villach (Statistik Austria 2021d; 2021e).

![Graph showing the structure of immigration from TCNs in 2020](image)

Figure 10: TCNs moving to Villach directly from abroad – overview by TCNs continent of origin, 2020 (own illustration, data based on Statistik Austria, 2021d and Statistik Austria, 2021e)

Economic Dimension

6. Dimension: Economy and labour market

6.1. Unemployment rate of nationals and foreigners

The relation of employed and unemployed people is displayed in the following figure (further details see Appendix, Table 16). In 2019, among the Austrian citizens, 8.2% are classified as unemployed compared to 8.5% in 2011. The percentage of unemployed TCNs is 20.6%, which is higher than in 2011, but lower than in years 2013-2018. Unemployment rate for EU-citizens is 11.4% in 2019, compared to 11.7% in 2011 (Statistik Austria, 2021c).
6.2. Employed rate by nationals, foreigners and TCNs

In 2019, 80% of the employed population (29,370) were Austrians, 11.9% EU-citizens and 8.1% TCNs. While the share of employed nationals has decreased significantly (from 87.4% to 80.0%), the share of EU-citizens and TCNs increased since 2011.

In 2019, 20% of the employed population were foreigners. 11.9% of them were EU-citizens, compared to 6.9% in 2011. This percentage of employed EU-citizens is higher than their share of total population, which was 10.1% in 2019 and 6.3% in 2011. This difference may be due to the fact that the residential district of Villach is not the same as the labour market district of Villach. Thus, this figure shows that EU-citizens work in Villach, but not all of them live in Villach.

In contrast, TCNs hold a share of 9.1% of the total population in 2019 and 6.1% in 2011, while their share of employed people is 8.1% (in 2019) and 5.7% (in 2011), even though they have a more favorable age structure: 70.8% of TCNs are in the working age between 15 and 60 years, compared to 55.5% Austrians, who are in the working age (Statistik Austria, 2021c).

6.3. Youth unemployment

Total unemployment rate but also youth unemployment rate is higher in Villach than in Carinthia on average. While in 2019, in Villach 12.5% in the age group 15-29 years were unemployed, it was 8.4% in Carinthia. In Villach, this unfavorable situation applies for both, nationals and migrants. 16.3% of young migrants in Villach are unemployed, against 13.9% in Carinthia.

Separating EU-citizens and TCNs clarifies that the high percentage of youth unemployment rate is mainly driven by the TCNs. While 11.5% of young EU-citizens in are unemployed, this applies for 21.1% of young TCNs. In comparison to 2019, 182 young TCNs (≤ 29 years) are unemployed vs. 681 employed. This is also significantly higher than the average in Carinthia (17.0%).

As the following chart shows, young people from Africa, Asia and people classified as “stateless/unknown” face a higher risk of unemployment (Statistik Austria, 2021c).
7. Dimension: Impacts on national and regional labour markets

7.1. Share of migrant workers by branches/sectors

The share of employed migrant workers in Villach is increasing in the secondary (mining, manufacturing of goods, energy and construction industry) and the tertiary sector (all services). In production, their share increased from 19.6% in 2011 to 27.1% in 2019.

The following figure shows in detail the share of foreigners in the different sectors according to ÖNACE. In some segments, such as accommodation & gastronomy (39.5%) and other economic services (34.64%), more than one third of the employed people are migrant employees. Others employment-intensive industries, like construction industry and manufacturing of goods, show a trend toward 30%. Uncommon are migrant employees in the branches energy supply (0.5%) and public administration (2.1%) (mainly based on legal access restrictions) (Statistik Austria, 2021c).
Foreigners are employed in the branches accommodation and gastronomy, manufacturing of goods, trade and other economic services mainly.

The distribution of TCNs shows a similar picture: the main branches are manufacturing of goods, trade, accommodation and gastronomy as well as other economic services. Looking at the allocation of TCNs over the different segments shows the following picture: 27.1% of TCNs are employed in the tertiary sector (in 2011 it was 30.5%). The main branches are manufacturing of goods (20.0%), trade (17.1%), accommodation & gastronomy (17.0%), other economic services (12.1%) (Statistik Austria, 2021c).
Since 2011, there is a general trend recognizable from secondary (industry) towards tertiary sector (services). However, Villach has a growing secondary sector i.a. due to big (high-tech) industrial companies. In 2011, 69.5% were employed in the third sector and 29.7% in the industry. In 2019, the distribution was 72.6% versus 27.1% (Statistik Austria, 2021c).

8. Dimension: Development of migrants’/TCN (social) entrepreneurship

8.1. Share of migrant led enterprises

To analyse the trend of migrant led enterprises, the number of employed and self-employed has been compared (further details see Appendix, Table 19). In 2019, the share of self-employed TCNs was not even half as big (3.9%) as of Austrian citizens (9.7%) and EU-citizens (7.9%). Nevertheless, the share of self-employed persons in all groups has been increasing since 2011 (Statistik Austria, 2021c).
Figure 15: Share of employed and self-employed persons per group, 2011 vs. 2019 (own illustration, data based on Statistik Austria, 2021c)
Social Dimension

9. Dimension: Social polarization and social cohesion

For detailed data and explanations please refer to the MATILDE report, Deliverable 4.3, focus on Austria (Caputo et. al., 2021).

9.1. Distribution of children in different kindergartens and daycare facilities

The following figure shows kindergartens and after-school care centers in the city of Villach. After-school care centers, called "Horte" in German, offer working parents the possibility of supervision for their children after regular school hours at elementary school level. After-school care centers provide lunch, learning support and recreational activities.

In the kindergartens Pestalozzi, Friedenspark and Perau, the share of children with non-German mother tongue is traditionally higher than 50%. In Friedenspark, about 84% of the children have another mother tongue than German in the year 2020/21, followed by 67% in Pestalozzi and 58% in Perau. The following figure displays the number of mother tongues, nations and religions represented in these kindergartens (WP5ATK006).

In the after-school care facilities (Horte) Pestalozzi/Khevenhüller (65%), Friedenspark (55%) and Perau (32%) is the share of children with non-German mother tongue the highest (WP5ATK006).

9.2. TCNs at risk of poverty

To analyze the risk of poverty of TCNs, the number of persons, who receive social welfare benefits is analysed. The number of TCNs, who receive social welfare benefits is multiply higher than of Austrian citizens and EU-citizens. Nevertheless, the figure shows that the share of TCNs, who receive social welfare benefits, decreases since 2018. In contrast, the share of Austrian citizens and EU-citizens, who receive social welfare benefits is with max. 1% since 2008 very low. The share of EU-citizens receiving social benefits is even lower than of Austrian citizens. The increasing number of people receiving social benefits among TCNs can also be linked to the increase of refugees in Villach (WP5ATK007).
10. Dimension: Asylum

In Carinthia, as of January 2021, there are 1,583 asylum seekers in basic care. In 2015, the number of asylum seekers reached a peak of 5,379 persons. Due to various defensive and regulatory measures taken by the Austrian Federal Government (e.g. erection of border fences) and the calming of the situation in the main areas of origin, the number of asylum seekers has continuously decreased (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung, Gesellschaft und Integration, 2021a, 2021c).

The asylum seekers in Carinthia come predominantly from Syria, the Arab Republic of Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran. These figures are also a reflection of the ongoing crisis situation in these countries, but may also show the later onset of family reunification (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung, Abt. 13 - Gesellschaft und Integration, 2021b).
The peak of asylum accommodations in Carinthia was reached in 2016 and 2017. While a total of 164 asylum accommodation units were counted in Carinthia in 2016, there are only 47 accommodation units at the beginning of 2021 (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung, Abt. 13 - Gesellschaft und Integration, 2021c).

As of January 2020, more than twice as many men (925) were being cared for in asylum accommodations than women (462). In December 2020, there were even almost three times as many men (953) than women (329) as asylum seekers registered (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung, Abt. 13 - Gesellschaft und Integration 2021d).

As of July 2021, 233 asylum seekers are being cared for in nine asylum shelters in Villach. 53 of them are under 18 years old, who are partly cared for in special shelters for unaccompanied minor refugees (UMF). Men (164; women: 69) are also predominate among asylum seekers in Villach (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung, Abt. 13 - Gesellschaft und Integration 2021e). In Villach, most asylum seekers come from Syria, followed by Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Tajikistan, Russian Federation and Azerbaijan (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung, Abt. 13 - Gesellschaft und Integration 2021f).

11. Dimension: Living together in Villach – inter-, tri- and multicultural encounters

11.1. Negotiation of conflicts between different populations insisting on the same territory

The City of Villach and the district of Villach Land border on Italy and Slovenia. Villach is only an 18-minutes’ drive away from the Italian border village of Coccau Valico and a 27-minutes’ drive from Kranjska Gora in Slovenia (route query via google maps).

The geographical proximity to Italy and Slovenia is still noticeable in Villach today. For example, markets in Villach offer not only regional products, but also from the entire Alps-Adriatic region (Stadt Villach, 2021c). There are also different networks in economic terms (Gruber, 2020).
Conflict-ridden eras were the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. As WP5ATK002 reports, many rich merchants from Germany (Villach did not belong to Austria until 1759 and was ruled by German bishops from Bamberg) who were important for Villach were Protestants. With the Counter-Reformation, they moved away from Villach, the population shrank and Villach’s economic situation deteriorated. It was not until the construction of the railway in the 19th century that Villach once again became a transport hub. Due to the settlement of the railway management in Villach, many employees from Vienna and South Tyrol, for example, moved to.

The end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy represented an important turning point, because the dispute over the future state border began in 1918. The Slovenian National Council made extensive territorial claims and initially claimed all of Carinthia as Slovenian territory. Due to the detachment of the state of Slovenia from the Habsburg Monarchy, the occupation of southern parts of Carinthia began as early as 1918. Attempts were made to enforce the territorial claims by force, resulting in counterattacks from the Carinthian side to defend their national borders (Abwehrkampf). In the peace treaty of St. Germain in 1919, after armistice negotiations and a local inspection in the areas concerned, the cession of some parts of Carinthia to Yugoslavia (heavily Slovene populated areas) and Italy was finally determined. Due to the ongoing territorial disputes and based on the decision by the Peace Conference, the Council of the victorious powers of the First World War ordered a referendum. The people in the disputed areas should be asked whether they wanted to remain with Carinthia (Austria) or become part of Yugoslavia (Valentin, 2005, p. 20, 22-24). In the referendum on 10 October 1920 (this day is still a regional holiday and pupils are off school), 59.01% of the population in the claimed territories voted to remain with Austria (Valentin, 2005). “Almost every second vote cast for Austria [came] from a citizen of Carinthia with a Slovene colloquial language”(Valentin, 2005, p. 31; own translation). In this context, it must be pointed out that the Carinthian Provincial Assembly made a promise to the Carinthian Slovenes before the referendum to “safeguard their national, linguistic and economic concerns at all times”. (Valentin, 2005, p. 30)

Another important development for Villach, which resulted in boundary shifts, is the incorporation and expansion of the Villach municipal area. The construction of the Karawanken Railway and the Tauern Railway increased Villach’s buoyancy, but resulted in the need (partly due to the influx of railway employees) for a generous expansion of the city area. In terms of
population and geography, the original municipality of Villach was very manageable and consisted only of the main square and the upper and lower suburbs.

The first expansion of the city in 1906 through incorporation of parts of the neighbour municipalities took place in a mutual balance of interests (Hummitzsch, 1962). The second major incorporation step, which was completed in 1973, met with fierce opposition, especially from a municipality with 10,000 inhabitants. The population strictly rejected the incorporation, which Villach had been striving for since 1939 (WP5ATK002; Hummitzsch, 1962). According to WP5ATK002, the incorporated cadastral communities and villages have largely retained their original identity, which can be seen, for example, in the annual celebration of their own local parish fair. The city of Villach is also aware of this and has commissioned a village preservation concept (see Moritsch, 1997). The incorporated villages were and are largely rural and agricultural, but also industrial. The expansion of the city of Villach took place through the annexation of various surrounding villages, which, due to their partly rural character, are not all always fit into the cityscape (WP5ATK002; Hummitzsch, 1962).

11.2. Social engagement of Villach

Villach is very active in the social sector, not least because of the social democratic city leadership. Villach has its own integration office that takes care of the needs of immigrants and an integration mission statement was developed for the strategic orientation of municipal integration work (Stadt Villach, 2021d). The immigration office of the city is responsible for issuing residence permits and hands out the brochure "New in Villach" to all new Villach residents for better orientation. The brochure contains contact persons and interesting facts about the city (Stadt Villach, 2021e; 2021f). Villach has also set up an own website (welcome2vilach.at) with information aimed at all newcomers (Stadt Villach, 2021g). In addition to the services offered by the City of Villach, there are other associations and institutions that support immigrants (i.a. PIVA, Plattform Migration, Westbahnhoffnung) (Stadt Villach, 2021h). Villach is also a particularly family-friendly municipality and has been certified as such. In addition, Villach was awarded the title of "Child-Friendly Municipality" by UNICEF (Stadt Villach, 2021i). For young people, there exists a municipal youth centre as well as a separate youth emergency shelter (Jugendnotschlafstelle) (for 12-21-year-olds), a child protection centre (Kinderschutzzentrum) and street workers take care. Many other church and private institutions support in youth issues (Stadt Villach, 2021j). Villach was also the first city in Austria which
implemented a youth council in 1997, which is elected every two years by 14-19 years-olds (those elected are of the same age). The Youth Council has a speaking right in the municipal council and is consulted on various youth-related issues (Stadt Villach, 2021k).

Villach is also very committed to women. There is a women's office implemented, which is committed to gender equality and women’s policy and carries out various events and projects, as well as networks and cooperates with women-specific institutions and advises on women’s issues. In addition, the city enables the women’s policy work of many other initiatives through a good subsidy policy (Stadt Villach, 2021l). In addition, there are many institutions that focus on women-specific concerns (i.a. Arge Sozial, Caritas, Fit2Work, Women’s Health Centre, Women’s Counselling, Women’s Shelter, Girls’ Centre) (Stadt Villach, 2021m). Villach also takes care of senior citizens and the concerns of people with disabilities. For example, Villach supports people with limited mobility with a free mobility taxi. Many other institutions take care of the concerns of seniors as well as disabled people and provide services (Stadt Villach, 2021n; 2021o).

The "Bauerngman Villach" association is also a special feature which pursues social goals. In 1908, some Villach citizens got together to discuss how they could collect money to provide warm clothes and shoes for needy children and to bring Christmas joy. This gave rise to the "Kindlbescherung" (giving presents to children), which still takes place at Christmas time. Since then, the association has been collecting money for needy children and adults and promotes customs and tradition of the region at the same time (Bauerngman Villach, 2021).

11.3. Profile of resources - financial support and subsidies

Villach provides a range of financial support for people in social need. For example, a reduction of the kindergarten or after-school care fees (depending on income, free use is also possible), property tax exemption, heating allowance, assistance in special emergencies, a deposit loan for people and a compensation fund for families affected by the economic consequences of COVID-19. COVID-19 financial aids were also offered to businesses (Stadt Villach, 2021p).
11.4. Integration concept of the city of Villach

For two years, the city of Villach developed an integration concept, which has been released by all parties of the city council in April 2013. It was a participatory process with experts, civil society, NGOs and other stakeholders. They worked together in different groups on different fields of action: labour and economy, social and welfare issues, kindergarten and school, sports and public issues, living and neighborhood as well as culture, religion and associations. Already existing offers and associations were included and a network build. The integration process implements further action and was accompanied scientifically (Kohlmayer, 2013).

The guidelines are: living together in diversity, respect and acceptance, respecting the same values and norms and speaking German as common language with value on multilingualism. All people in Villach shall have the same opportunities and access to services, to be successfully integrated in the society. Reduced barriers and chances of participation shall help immigrants to act self-initiative. Discrimination and racism shall be fought. Diversity shall be seen as opportunity for a common development (Güngör & Jäger, n.y.) The integration concept is offered in German and English language (Güngör & Jäger, n.y. & 2017). These guidelines are part of the adapted version from 2017 (Stadt Villach, 2021q).

In consequence of the integration concept, different measures were released, like promotion of German language for primary school pupils, for refugees and for women, awareness building with different events or integration workshops for asylum seekers (Stadt Villach, 2021q).

Territorial Dimension

12. Dimension: Peculiarities of the region

12.1. Alps-Adriatic-Region

A geographic or historic definition of the Alps-Adriatic-Region does not exist. Hence, it remains unclear, where the region starts and ends and who is part of the region. Boundaries still exist in the triangle of Austria, Italy and Slovenia and the region still seems to be segregated
(Baumgärtner & Egner, 2013). Even though the meaning of boundaries decreased since the enlargement of the EU and the globalization, the meaning of nations and their mechanism of inclusion and exclusion still is significant and build barriers. Especially in the 20th century, boundaries changed several times and the Alps-Adriatic-Region remains a border region with a history of wars and conflicts. The cause is the national idea of homogenization, in contrast to the existence of diverse ethnic groups in the region. The homogenization processes had decreased the number of ethnic minorities and the results of the conflicts and wars are inherent in the region until today. Nevertheless, cross-border, bi- and trilateral relationships, cooperation and initiatives develop and communication increases, but there is a lack of sustainable structures for cooperation, communication and programs (Gruber, 2013).

An example for an institutionalized cooperation was the consortium “ARGE Alpen-Adria-Region”, which was implemented 1978 by policymakers in the region – cross-border, intercultural and within different political systems at this time. Their self-understanding was an administrative area with focus on regional planning. The number of members increased from 8 to 18 regions until 1999 and decreased since then (Balode et. al., 2013). In 2013, the cooperation was newly-created as Alps-Adriatic-Alliance with members from Austria, Slovenia and Croatia without Italy (Alps-Adriatic-Alliance, 2019).

Geographically nearby Villach are the national borders; Slovenia and Italy are the bordering countries, linked with each other in economic and social issues and in territorial conflicts. Hence, Villach can be recognized as part of the Alps-Adriatic-Region. The city has been intercultural and multilingual (German, Slovenian and Italian) since the Medieval and the knowledge of these languages has been an advantage. In addition, many toponyms and field names in and around Villach are of Slavic origin and, the population was mainly of Slovenian origin in the Eastern and Southern regions of the city, until the early 20th century (Neumann, 2010).

13. Dimension: Urban and rural/mountainous interactions

13.1. Internal and external accessibility

Villach is one of those cities with a very large catchment area that encompasses the regions of Upper Carinthia (Oberkärnten) and East Tyrol (Osttirol). The regional centre of Villach can be reached by 97% of the population in the catchment area in an average of 13.2 minutes by public
transport. Compared to the more peripherally located other district capitals in Carinthia, Villach has good accessibility with 97%. The central area around the supra-regional centres (supra-regional centres are characterised by a superordinate function for the area) of Klagenfurt and Villach is well accessible in Carinthia via the A2-Southern motorway, A10-Tauern motorway, A11-Karawanken motorway and S37 Klagenfurter highway via motorised traffic and with the Southern Railway (Südbahn) via public transport. The nearest supra-regional centre from Villach can be reached by motorised individual transport for all people within 10.8 minutes. 298,000 people live in the catchment area of the supra-regional centre of Villach. They can reach Villach in 46.0 minutes on average by motorised individual transport. 105,000 people live in the catchment area of the Villach regional centre, they reach Villach in 16-45 minutes by motorised individual transport. Villach can be reached by public transport in an average of 13.5 minutes with 100% accessibility between 7.00 and 11.00 a.m., even on weekdays when there is no school (Österreichische Raumordnungskonferenz, 2018). According to Google maps, someone from Villach can reach Klagenfurt, the provincial capital and the next centre, by public transport in 36 minutes and by car in 32 minutes. If people from Lienz in East Tyrol want to reach Villach (East Tyrol is considered as catchment area for Villach, as noted), this takes 100 minutes via public transport and 88 minutes by motorised individual transport (Google Maps, 2021).

14. Conclusions

The case study region city of Villach has a long tradition of immigration, both, internal and international. Villach’s positive territorial, demographic as well as economic and thus also social development has been decisively shaped by immigration, which has ultimately also helped the city to grow, gain prestige and significance. Not only at the time of the construction of the railway and its operation, which continues to this day, as well as the establishment of Villach as a transport hub, but even today Villach’s companies recruit qualified personnel from abroad.

Due to the proximity to the Italian as well as the Slovenian border, intercultural encounters were common. War, rising nationalism and the desire to expand the territory have repeatedly led to conflictual negotiations of borders. The Slovenian ethnic group in Carinthia plays an important role in this context. Immigration processes have ultimately led to a continuous increase in the number of nationalities and languages in Villach. In Villach’s schools with the highest proportion
of children of non-German mother tongue, children from more than 20 nations and with 25 different mother tongues can be met. In total, people with 109 foreign nationalities live in Villach, 80 of them are third-country nationalities. Hence, Villach's population growth is mainly based on immigration. For the future development of Villach, a population growth is forecasted, in contrast to the province of Carinthia, which will experience a population decline in the long term.

Migrants in Villach have largely become well established and organised, established migrant businesses and shops, founded cultural and mosque associations and started intercultural activities, which should also bring together different nationalities and locals.

The further future development of Villach will be characterised by immigration and interculturality. Enriching coexistence also depends on the openness of the local population and who is ultimately declared to belong. With the development of the integration model for Villach and Carinthia, steps were taken towards a prosperous coexistence.
Bibliography


1. Introduction

This local case-study briefing compiles qualitative and quantitative data for three selected municipalities of Vorarlberg (Austria), where further research and participatory activities in the frame of MATILDE take place at a local level. It provides information of existing conditions, activities and future challenges in relation to the specific research topic of the local approach.

In the case of Vorarlberg, the main focus of the analysis lies on social integration processes of TCNs with a special focus on refugees and asylum seekers and it aims to identify specific challenges and needs of local communities as well to reflect on opportunities of social integration processes at local level. There will be an in-depth analysis of questions how and in what way contacts and social relations between refugees and locals are established and maintained, what are the local structures to support this exchange and what are the perceptions and needs of TCNs and the local inhabitants.

With this perspective in mind several case study specific selection criteria have been defined besides also reflecting on territorial issues (like accessibility/remoteness or location in a particular mountain area) to find relevant municipalities where processes of social integration activities can best be observed.

Albeit not all criteria were to be fully met, the following selection criteria gave an indication for municipalities, where social integration processes show explicit features:

i) General openness of municipality towards immigration and heightened interest for measures for social integration

ii) Availability of traditional associations and their openness towards refugees

iii) Existence of volunteer organizations for refugees

iv) Full time actors with regard to refugee actions, e.g. administration
v) Housing and neighbourhood conditions

After consultation within the local case study working group¹ and direct telephone contacts with several mayors the following case study municipalities have been selected (related mountain valley in brackets):

- Frastanz (Walgau)
- Schruns (Montafon)
- Innerbraz (Klostertal)

On sub-regional level all these mountain valleys are located in the southern part of Vorarlberg, which altogether constitutes a more rural and mountainous part of Vorarlberg.

[Map of Vorarlberg and the case study municipalities]

Figure 18: Vorarlberg and the case study municipalities

Particularly Montafon (with the municipality Schruns) and Klostertal (with the municipality Innerbraz) are Alpine valleys with tourism as a main income source while Walgau (with the municipality Frastanz) is more densely populated and industrialised. The three municipalities show quite distinct characteristics with regard to the spatial distribution and socio-economic

¹ At this time consisting of participants of the research partner, the local partner and the coordinator for refugees integration in the southern part of Vorarlberg
characteristics of TCNs and the social, economic and territorial dimension of the impact of foreign immigration. This will be described in more detail in the chapters below.

With regard to existing social integration features the municipality of Frastanz has already a long tradition of institutional and volunteer integration activities, while in the municipality of Schruns, albeit it has had a “refugee home” for over 10 years, institutional representation for integration issues is less pronounced. There is a small group of active civil society on the one hand with highly engaged locals, on the other hand local inhabitants are perceived as very reluctant when it comes to migrant and refugee accommodation and integration. In the smallest municipality of the three selected local areas, Innerbraz, the mayor (and his predecessor) show high interest and engagement with regard to immigration and the integration of TCNs, which made an impact on the general attitude in the municipality.

To get more in-depth knowledge of the local social and economic structures and also raise engagement of the local actors with regard to the forthcoming participatory research activities we conducted interviews with the following actors:

- Facility for elderly people (20.4.2021)
  - Hotel owner (21.4.2021)
  - Hairdresser in Frastanz (22.4.2021)
- Coordinator for refugee integration of Vorarlberg Süd (8.7.2021)
  - Mayor of Innerbraz (28.7.2021)
  - Former Mayor of Innerbraz (28.7.2021)
  - Mayor of Schruns (24.8.2021)
- Administrative employee in Frastanz, responsible for social issues (25.8.2021)
  - Statistics Vorarlberg (25.8.2021)
- Former voluntary employee for refugee issues in Schruns (26.8.2021)
  - Housing advice centre Caritas (1.9.2021)
  - Regional museum association of Klostertal (7.9.2021)

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2 Interview has been conducted in spring 2021 due to preparation contacts.
2. Short description of the three selected municipalities and their migration history

The area of Vorarlberg is characterised by strong immigration flows since long. Main waves of immigration occurred since the late 19th century indicate the high relation to large-scale geopolitical influences (Häfele, 2016). While over several decades, before the first World War, immigrants arrived from the Trentino in Italy to work in the booming industries and big infrastructure building (mountain train tracks) at the turn of the 19th century, also German-speaking immigrants came from diverse parts of the then Austria-Hungarian monarchy to supply craftsmen, clerks and construction workers. Origin of immigrants shifted in the next wave during the World War II to textile workers from South-Tyrol, as well as “forced labourers” during the Nazi-regime from Poland, France, Slavic and Russian countries. Since the 1950s a stronger in-flow from people of other Austrian origin took place which had, however, to be complemented since the 1960s by the “guest workers” scheme attracting people from Ex-Yugoslavia and particularly Turkey. Within a decade (by 1973) this last group attained already more than 20,000 persons, a share of 22% of active population.

In our observations we tend to be preoccupied with later waves of family reunification (since the 1990s) and a focus on asylum seekers from Balkan wars and other conflict zones in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. Since Austria’s accession to the EU in 1995 also migration from EU countries increased substantially (Häfele, 2015). The combined effects of these periodic waves and continuous in-flow of migrants into Vorarlberg led to a situation where both EU-migrants and TCNs represent a significant share of the local population. This is true also for rural areas, including remote locations of Vorarlberg, and will be explored in the following for more details in the three selected municipalities.

Local variations are particularly relevant due to structural differences of the three municipalities and their location within the region. Schruns and Innerbraz are touristic municipalities, who profit from seasonal workers of different nationalities for many years. As
addressed for the whole province, during the 1950s workers came predominantly from other provinces of Austria, and after the German reunification in 1989, many migrants came from Eastern Germany, followed by Hungarians, people from Ex-Yugoslavia and from Belarus. Frastanz, however, is a densely populated and industrialised municipality, and therefore has a long history of labour migration. During the time of industrialization, around 1900, Frastanz was marked by tobacco cultivation and processing and later leather tanning. At that time, labour migrants mainly from South Tyrol came to work in the municipality. In the 1960s a textile and a paper company located in Frastanz, which attracted labour migrants from other regions of Austria and later from Turkey.

In the 1990s all three municipalities were affected by the migration of Ex-Yugoslavians, guest workers and refugees of the Yugoslav wars. Family reunification of labour force mainly from Turkey is still ongoing. In Frastanz the immigration of guest workers is also visible in terms of housing structure in the form of housing estates for workers (Herburger, 2015). The detailed analysis of the various components of immigrants underscores the high temporal and spatial variability of flows and place-specific particularities (of origin, scale, continuity, composition, social differentiation, skills etc. of immigrants).

The most recent specific event for immigration was the peak in 2015/2016, when a high percentage of TCNs came from countries involved in wars such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. The provincial council of Vorarlberg was committed to the proportional accommodation of asylum seekers in all of Vorarlberg’s 96 municipalities. This implied that out of the total 6,350 refugees who were accommodated in Vorarlberg in 2016 75 asylum seekers and convention refugees found an accommodation in one of the three residential areas in Frastanz: Haus Felsenau, Schulgasse, and Fellengatter Bahnhofstraße (Markgemeinde Frastanz, 2016).

Frastanz had a large accommodation for asylum seekers, called “Bradafos” which is located in a peripheral location of the municipality. The former warehouse was adapted to the needs of the refugees (beds, kitchen, sanitary facilities, playground for children) and was open for refugees from late 2015 until 2017. During that time young men and families, in total 150 people, found an accommodation in Bradafos. The municipality of Frastanz, as part of the “Walgar” region, has established a cross-municipality coordination office for integration together with the other valleys of the southern part of Vorarlberg.
In Schruns, TCN immigration happened through more casual in-flows which could be observed through anecdotal reports on private support and initiatives to enhance integration. Examples are provided by a citizens-initiative to accept 13 migrant families (with 59 persons) in the municipality (in 2014) and the accreditation of the municipality as “place of respect” These private support efforts were confronted in 2015 with refugee migration on a large scale. Up to 100 people were accommodated in an asylum shelter, located in an old hospital (“Maria Rast”), managed by Caritas. Maria Rast has been an asylum shelter for many years with varying occupancy rates over the years. Moreover, in 2015/2016 there were also citizens who provided intensive care for refugees and supported them with donations, teaching German language, and coping with administrative formalities.

As Innerbraz is a very small municipality, numbers of immigrants were low but nevertheless some flows directed towards the community can be observed. In particular, the mayor wants to contribute to integration in a positive way and has dedicated himself to the issue of how to integrate asylum seekers effectively in the municipality starting from 2014 on. In consequence, the first accommodation for basic care was already opened in November 2014 before the big flow of immigrants arrived in late 2015.
3. Spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of TCNs

The three analysed municipalities show quite different backgrounds with regard to their social and development aspects. The following presentation concentrates on indicators revealing the relevance of TCNs and their contribution, their spatial distribution and development in these areas. They are intended to provide an overview on main background figures of TCNs integration in the region. Such context information is particularly relevant for integration efforts at the municipal level. In a multi-level environment like the federal state of Austria the assessment of the local areas seems particularly important to address the full range of tasks and activities of “integration measures” working in combination in this process (Haslinger, 2020).

Table 1: Socio-demographic patterns of TCNs in selected municipalities, valley and NUTS 2 region Vorarlberg, 2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inhabitants total</th>
<th>Number of foreign citizens</th>
<th>Number of TCNs</th>
<th>Number of female TCNs</th>
<th>% of foreign citizens</th>
<th>% of TCNs (of total inhabitants)</th>
<th>% of female TCNs (of all TCNs)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frastanz</td>
<td>6503</td>
<td>1323</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
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<td>Walgau</td>
<td>52854</td>
<td>9801</td>
<td>5060</td>
<td>2420</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schruns</td>
<td>3896</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montafon</td>
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<td>2127</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>317</td>
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<td>4.1</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>23</td>
<td>12.4</td>
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<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16194</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Austria: STATcube

Numbers of inhabitants differ substantially between the three municipalities (see Table 1). Frastanz is comparably large (in the Austrian context) with 6,503 inhabitants in 2020, located in the neighbourhood of the prospering Rhine valley. Schruns is a regional centre in the valley of...
Montafon and accommodates about 3,896 inhabitants in 2020, while Innerbraz is a small mountainous municipality (15 minutes by bus from the district capital) with about 997 inhabitants. All municipalities show a growth of inhabitants in the past eleven years ranging from 3% in Innerbraz to 6% in Schruns and 5% in Frastanz (Figure 2). This population growth is particularly based on the growing number of citizens from EU Member States and EFTA countries. The numbers of TCNs increased for all three municipalities between 2010 and 2020 achieving a peak of TCNs inflow in 2016 and 2017 in Innerbraz and Frastanz, and in 2019 for Schruns (see Figure 2 below). Over the same period numbers of Austrian citizens decreased in Schruns and Innerbraz by 3%. Another specificity is the high share of TCNs in Schruns which is almost twice as high as for the whole valley of Montafon (but still below the federal states average). On the other hand, the share of female TCNs is comparably low (45.6%) in this municipality, probably due to the refugee home, where many unaccompanied minors have been accommodated. In contrast, the share of female TCNs is comparably high in the small municipality of Innerbraz (with 52.3%).

Citizenship of TCNs is dominated by the long-term implications of the former “guestworker immigration”. This led to a situation where the number of Turkish citizens is by far highest in Frastanz (like in the whole Federal State of Vorarlberg), however, with no Turkish citizens in Innerbraz, due to preference for agglomerations and more industrialized sites of that immigrant group. While in Schruns and Innerbraz citizens from Bosnia and Herzegovina have the highest
numbers, citizens from Iraq, Syria or Afghanistan obtain the following ranks in the list of TCNs origin. The distribution of different nationalities of immigrants across the whole country can be seen as a direct effect of the distribution policy of asylum seekers in Vorarlberg since 2015. Numbers for TCNs in Vorarlberg refer to the fact that classical (guestworker) immigration nations Turkey, Bosnia Herzegovina and Serbia lose their relative importance since 2015 (though they still dominate in numbers), while migrants with a citizenship of Syria, Afghanistan, Irak gain in importance.

**Table 2: Top 10 of Third Country Citizenships, 2020**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
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<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>No</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Schruns</td>
<td></td>
<td>Innerbraz</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Turkey</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
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<td>Syrian Arab Republic</td>
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<td>Serbia</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>North Macedonia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Macedonia / Thailand</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brasilia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Costa Rica / Indonesia</td>
<td>Each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Statistics Austria: STATcube*

**Table 3: Age groups of TCNs and total inhabitants in respective municipalities in %, 2020**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frastanz</th>
<th>0-17 years</th>
<th>18-65 years</th>
<th>Over 65 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All inhabitants</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCNs</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While at the regional level of Vorarlberg the distribution between age groups is rather similar between all inhabitants and TCNs (see Table 3) the respective shares differ quite a lot for the municipalities. This is particularly the case in Innerbraz, although this small municipality is a little difficult to grasp in relative terms due to the small numbers of TCNs – 44 persons. However, in Innerbraz the share of young TCNs (younger than 18 years) is almost twice as high compared to the local and regional average of all inhabitants, due to the relatively high number of children between five to nine years (eight out of sixteen children). The share of TCN working age people is below average compared to all inhabitants and particularly below regional average. In Schruns the share of young TCNs is also significantly higher than the local and regional average (for all inhabitants), albeit showing no specific accumulation in certain age groups of five-year classes like in Innerbraz. Looking at the share of older TCNs above 65 years, Schruns shows a particularly low percentage of 3.5% which is extremely low in comparison to the high local average of 23.1%. On the other hand, the share of working age TCNs reaches almost the regional average. Considering all inhabitants, data in Schruns indicate a classical ageing rural community. Being located in the immediate neighborhood district capital of Feldkirch and the Rhine Valley (where 77% of population of Vorarlberg lives), data for Frastanz indicate that TCNs age groups are distributed in a similar way compared to the regional average of Vorarlberg. There is a smaller share of young TCNs and slight over representation in the working population age group and in the older age group.

Table 4: Educational attainment of TCNs (aged 15 years or more) in %, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Secondary education</th>
<th>Tertiary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frastanz</td>
<td>All inhabitants</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Austria: STATcube
The educational attainment shows significant differences between TCNs and the local population. This is valid for Austria as a whole (see Del. 3.2 Social Impact Briefing) as well as for Vorarlberg and the selected municipalities. The high relevance of this indicator refers to the correlation between level of education and unemployment: well-educated people are significantly less likely to be unemployed than people with low educational qualification (see also Table 6 in chapter 5).

Though the difference between TCNs and the local population is quite pronounced, the shares in educational attainment of TCNs differ quite a lot between the selected municipalities (see Table 4). Frastanz has a particular high share of TCNs with only primary education, while the share of TCNs with tertiary education is even lower than the regional average of Vorarlberg (which is again lower than the national share). This may refer to the dominance of the people with Turkish citizenship, who have in general low educational attainment (Statistics Austria 2021 p.53). In Schruns, on the other hand, primary education is below, secondary and tertiary education of TCNs above regional average, which confirms the higher educational attainment of TCNs as a whole. This is even beaten by Innerbraz where educational attainment (primary and secondary education to be precise) of TCNs is well below the local average but the differences between TCNs compared with all inhabitants getting smaller compared to Schruns (and certainly Frastanz). To a certain degree this may refer to the working places offered in Schruns and Innerbraz, where working places in the secondary sector and the production of goods have a relatively low dominance compared to Frastanz (see also Table 5 in chapter 5).
The attractiveness of a region for TCNs might be estimated by their migration balance as an indicator to show if the municipality/region is an attractive living environment where people want (and are able) to stay on a voluntary basis. Certainly, a lot of other factors are relevant in this regard (e.g. housing opportunities, working places, educational opportunities, etc.). As migration per year is a very situational event and may show strong numbers in immigration in one year while in the other year out-migration prevails, we calculated migration balance at a three years period (2018-2020) and over the complete period of observation, an eleven years period (2010-2020) (see Figures 4 and 5).

Before going into more detail on social dimensions we want to specify the development of international migration balance and present its development in each municipality from 2010 to 2020, year by year (see Figure 3) as this has a strong influence on the cumulative migration balance in the municipalities.

The yearly international migration of TCNs at the regional level of Vorarlberg shows a well-known turn from a slightly negative international migration balance in 2010 (-71 persons) to a distinct “peak” in 2015 (+2,231 persons) and since then a decrease reaching almost a balanced saldo in 2020 (+167 persons). This could not be observed by looking just at the international migration balance of all foreigners (including citizens from EU and EFTA states), which, after a peak in 2015
(+4,112 persons), thereafter decreased similar as for TCNs, but which still reveal a solid positive migration balance in 2020 (+1,689).

In the selected municipalities the international migration balance of TCNs (and all foreigners) is even much more volatile. This is particularly the case for Schruns where the closure of a refugee home in 2012 led to an immediate downward trend in the migration balance, while the re-opening of this refugee home in 2014 and the allocation policy for immigrants in Vorarlberg in 2015 led to an immediate increase of TCN numbers in Schruns. Frastanz, on the other hand, shows a more balanced TCN development, with only a slight peak in 2015, indicating that the immigration of TCNs here is not so strongly influenced by forced migration and regional allocation policy. With regard to Innerbraz, the low numbers of TCNs make it again difficult to interpret the development in relative shares. There is a peak in 2015 (+3 persons) and again a peak in 2019 (+5 persons), indicating the settlement of a family with a third country background. Still, the balance is mostly positive in each year, leading to a positive international migration balance of 14 persons (from 2010-2020), which is quite remarkable for a very small mountain municipality.

The cumulative (total) migration balance of TCNs, including both, internal and international migration for Vorarlberg is positive, considering the past three years and the past eleven years (see Figure 4 and 5).

Figure 21: Average total migration (resulting from internal and international migration) of TCNs, on municipal level 2018-2020
The migration balance for TCNs in the past three years compared to the past 11 years, show a diverse picture of the migration behaviour of TCNs on the local level. While in the past 11 years the total migration balance is positive in all municipalities (especially based on the positive international migration balance), for the past 3 years this is only the case in Frastanz. During this time internal migration of TCNs was negative in all three municipalities, but particularly so in Innerbraz and Schruns leading to the beforementioned negative total balance. This underlines the observation of the coordinators of refugees, that in the past three years recognised refugees move increasingly from rural and remote parts of Vorarlberg to the agglomerations (see also chapter 6, Figure 9 and 10).

Figure 22: Average total migration (resulting from internal and international migration), of TCNs, on municipal level 2010-2020
4. Social dimension

In this chapter we give an overview of indicators on the social dimension of integration and inclusion of TCNs in the respective municipalities, concentrating on support mechanisms such as minimum benefit payments, housing issues and local level integration initiatives. As quantitative data at local level for TCNs is difficult to obtain for certain indicators we also show data for all inhabitants on municipality level to give an impression about the general situation on selected social inclusion aspects (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung, 2021a).

Data for our in-depth analysis on social integration efforts at local level originate mostly from municipality webpages and local newsletters and from the interviews with local actors.

Quantitative indicators of the social dimension

As indicator for active participation and citizenship the number of residents who acquired citizenship may be an approximation. Naturalisation is mainly an issue for TCNs, whereas the number of EU citizens who acquired citizenship in Vorarlberg is quite negligible (59 persons). The main reason is the difference it makes to individual persons in their situation and the relief for TCNs to be approved as citizen. In 2020 310 TCNs acquired citizenship, which is 0.9% of all TCNs. Most of them (110 persons) had a former citizenship from Turkey. The number of TCNs who acquired citizenship peaked in 2014 with 414 naturalised TCNs and again in 2019 with 402 naturalised persons and had its lowest point since 2010 last year in 2020 with 310 persons. Data of municipalities is not available at all, and data for the respective districts refer to a particularly small number of naturalised TCNs in the district of Bludenz (where Schruns and Innerbraz are located) with an average of 51 TCNs naturalised per year in the period between 2010 and 2020. The average yearly number of TCNs naturalised in the district of Feldkirch (where Frastanz is located) is twice as high (100 TCNs per year). However, this low absolute numbers hardly allow any meaningful conclusions as to the development and specific influences on fluctuations of the level of naturalisations.
In particular, for young people participation in education and training or in employment is essential for the socialisation process. The indicator of „young people neither in employment nor in education and training“ (NEET) aims at measuring the respective group of young people with tremendous challenges and integration problems. The indicator measurement is based on representative surveys at large scale, thus observations for small-scale development, like required for local development are hardly available. For Austria the NEET indicator attained 7.1% in 2019 which was slightly higher than for the situation in 2018 where 6.8% were reported. In the context of Vorarlberg, the situation was similar, with an indicator value of 7.2% which means more than 3,000 young people attributed to this category (Buchinger et al. 2021). Differences between young women (7.0%) and young men (7.3%) are minor. It is, however, striking that the EU-27 average for young people attributed to NEETs show a significantly higher level of 10.1% (Statistik Austria).

Taking the general income level and social support mechanisms as indicators for social cohesion in Vorarlberg, reveals the observation that income levels across TCN groups in Vorarlberg is generally higher compared to the rest of Austria. At the same time, data shows that income gap for people with foreign citizenships is much smaller in Vorarlberg where TCNs earn 90% of the Austrian citizens while the level of income for TCNs against the Austrian average attains just 80% (see also analysis reported in Deliverable 3.2 on social impact). Interestingly, people with Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizenships earn, on average, more than people from EU-states (old and new
Member States), which is also in compliance with the respective relationship for Austrian averages. Other TCNs (including recognised refugees) earn the least but are still better off in Vorarlberg compared to the national situation (ÖIF, 2021).

With regard to income support instruments, primarily assessed through **minimum benefit payments**, in Vorarlberg about 6,800 people received minimum benefit payments in 2019 (source: Statistics Austria, 2020), out of which 56% are TCNs. This is significantly above the Austrian average of 46%. Out of the TCNs in Vorarlberg who receive minimum benefit, most of them are recognised refugees (67%) or people in subsidiary protection (9%). They mostly have origin from Syria, the Russian Federation and Afghanistan (in this order) (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung, 2021b). No data is available for municipality level on this indicator.

If we assume the regional share of 56% is a very rough indication for TCN recipients of minimum benefit also at municipality level in Vorarlberg we may conclude through that estimation that in Frastanz about 111 persons with TCN background received minimum benefit payments, in Innerbraz about 18 TCNs and in Schruns about 94 TCNs (in 2019). These are quite sensible numbers in the observed municipalities and might have important implications for the basis of life of the respective households and integration patterns in those communities.

According to the report on the social situation in the federal state (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2021a) the share of children under 18 years in families that receive minimum benefit is comparably high in the valleys of Montafon and Walgau (with a respective share of 6.2% and 5.7% of children) but less so in the Klostertal/Walgau region (3.9% of children)\(^3\). According to this source the share of children under 18 years in families that receive minimum benefit payments compared to all children under 18 years is third highest (of all municipalities) in Schruns with 11.2% (highest share in the State capital Bregenz), while Innerbraz has a share of 8.2% and Frastanz of 6.2.

**Housing** situation of TCNs is also a very important factor when talking about the social dimension of integration and inclusion. A special survey in the framework of the register census in 2011 indicated that the share of TCNs living in smaller apartments (below 45m\(^2\) and between 45-60m\(^2\)) is significantly higher compared to Austrians. This difference applies for all respective municipalities and also the regional average. The difference is quite substantive with as much as

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\(^3\) No data for TCNs are available and because of potential multiple counting (in case of change of residence) also no average data for Vorarlberg is available (Amt der Vorarlberg Landesregierung, 2021: p.128)
twice the share of households of TCNs living in such small housing facilities. The share of TCNs living in an apartment below 45m² is particularly high in Schruns with more than 11% of all TCNs (compared to 5% of the Austrian citizens). For larger apartments with 90m² and more we observe the contrary relationship. In that size category of housing Austrian citizens dominate, albeit there are differences between the municipalities, which may depend on housing offers, land prices, rents, attractiveness factors etc. Regional data for overcrowding in Vorarlberg are only available in a three years average, because of the small number of the random sample, they indicate that there has been a decrease of the respective share from 11% in the years of 2014-2016 to 8.7% in the years 2018-2020 (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2021c).

The share of non-profit housing (“social housing”) in the total private housing market range from zero (in small mountain municipalities) to 25% in the district capital Bludenz with an average share of 12% in Vorarlberg (2018). In Innerbraz 2% (9 apartments in total) of all private houses, in Schruns 9% (163 apartments) and in Frastanz 14% (381 apartments) are apartments in non-profit housing (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2021a). If we look more in-depth into the housing situation, we realize that 57% of the non-profit housing residents in Frastanz have a TCN background, the great majority are Turkish citizens (72% of all TCNs), about 7% have an EU citizenship and about 36% are Austrians (municipal data).

Non-profit housing has limited tradition and a bad reputation throughout Vorarlberg. The negative assessment had already been reported in the interview with a housing expert on regional level (at the occasion of WP 3 interviews), and was again underlined by interviews in the different municipalities. Frastanz has some long-standing tradition in non-profit housing, reaching back to the 1950/1960 when the largest regional non-profit housing association built a first wave of apartments. Schruns has also a history of non-profit housing since the 1970ies, when first housing estates developed. Nowadays the municipal administration place particular importance on the mixing of different nationalities and people with foreign and Austrian citizenship in these housing facilities, as they are anxious not to favour one group against the other, particularly being afraid of providing a pretext for suspicion that people with foreign backgrounds are preferred. “Local” people repeatedly stressed the point that waste separation is an issue, where many disputes between different groups of residents and discomfort for locals arise. They also offer non-profit apartments hire purchase apartments, which is more adapted to residents better off.
In Innerbraz a housing estate was built in 2012 with nine apartments. Currently one family with refugee background is living there. In general, in spatial terms TCNs live more likely at the periphery of the municipality, in apartments of lower housing standards. This is particular the case in Frastanz while in Innerbraz segregation processes are not clearly expressed or visible, also due to the small absolute number of TCNs.

A case of **housing shortage** is observed when a person or a household makes active use of the services of the homeless assistance, indicating the search for some housing facility. The share of people who are affected by housing shortage is 0.47% of the whole population in Vorarlberg (1,862 persons in 2020⁴), in the district of Bludenz this share is only 0.23% (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2021a). Apparently, such services are less widely used in rural locations where limited awareness and understanding of such a searching strategy hampers use of public housing and even search for housing. As a consequence, this implies that the share is probably much higher because of a great share of hidden housing shortage, which concerns especially women (Novak and Schoibl, 2000). A survey on housing shortage (Beiser, Hämmerle, & Jagschitz, 2020) points out, that 38% of all cases have a TCN background, most of them have been recognised refugees. After peaks in 2016 and 2017 (2,100 and 2096 persons sought homeless assistance), the numbers remain constant at a high level. The slight decline in 2020 compared to the two previous years may be attributed to a dampening “corona effect”. Contact and entry restrictions led to a decline in the use of services for homeless people.

**Local-level integration efforts**

With regard to our specific research question on social integration processes we had a thorough look at the local community structures and social participation opportunities of TCNs with a specific focus on asylum seekers and recognised refugees.

- **Activities of the municipalities, and civil society engagement**

  The responsibilities for migration and integration issues, and implementation of communal offers vary across the three municipalities according to their size, while at the same time the distribution of responsibilities give also an indication of the relevance of this issue.

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⁴ Data refer to a survey of the “Working Group Housing Shortage Survey” (Beiser, Hämmerle, & Jagschitz, 2020) during the timeframe of October 2020.
In Frastanz, for example, a municipal committee on social issues and integration takes care of this topic, they also organize various offers and initiatives. Albeit this has led to varying success and interest by population groups in question, responsibilities are in the hands of the municipal administration, they are also committed to engage in coordination of voluntary engagement of the civil society. In the years following 2015 about 30 people have actively participated in voluntary work, such as organizing leisure activities or offering language training etc.

In Schruns on the other hand, responsibilities for activities for migration issues are more loosely linked with the municipal administration, who see their responsibilities in the mediation and selective support of certain activities (provision of premises, coffee facilities, etc.). In 2015 a voluntary coordinator for refugees, who is also member of the municipal council, was responsible for the distribution of donations and acted as mediator for asylum seekers and volunteers. While Caritas was responsible for basic needs, the voluntary coordinator for refugees saw his main task to “make live more liveable for refugees”. Together with other volunteers he organised German classes, a sewing café and a local festival to introduce the refugees and the local population to each other. As the interest for voluntary work gradually decreased, voluntary engagement on a more comprehensive level ceased and is now concentrated on private involvement of volunteers who have already been active in refugee care long before 2015.

Since 2014 issues of migration and integration in the context of forced migration are directly linked to the personal commitment of the mayor in Innerbraz. As to the situation before 2014 there was no need visible for this responsibility. As Innerbraz is a small municipality and the administration team is very small, there are no thematic committees, most questions are discussed and decided within the local council. Despite the non-enthusiastic attitude towards asylum seekers by the local population, the mayor received asylum seekers in a friendly way (personal welcome by the mayor for each newcomer) and also incited and organized volunteers and voluntary activities.

To conclude, in all three municipalities there has been an active civil society, including a core group of volunteers actively engaged with asylum seekers and refugees support. Activities by local volunteers peaked in 2015 and the years after, while the engagement of the voluntary teams faded away in the past 2-3 years due to smaller numbers of asylum seekers coming in, an increasing negative attitude of local population groups fed by the critical stance of many local and national
press releases and last but not least, the Corona pandemic, that made individual contact and meetings practically impossible. This does not mean that all activities at municipal level stopped, however they are very much concentrated on specific activities like a low-threshold German course for women in Frastanz, that has been well received for two years now, or activities, that are carried out by other actors or in another framework. In Schruns for example, a learning café organised by Caritas is planned to start this autumn. But overall the impression prevails that voluntary engagement in the course of refugee care and integration needs a new impetus to gain momentum.

- **Initiatives and projects in respective municipalities with a first assessment of their usefulness and attractivity**

With the increasing numbers of refugees in the year of 2015 and following years, in all three municipalities various initiatives and projects have been initiated (if they had not been already active before). On the one hand activities aimed to provide immediate help and support for asylum seekers, on the other hand it was an attempt to strengthen links and build bridges between migrants, refugees and the local population. Many members of the civil society and volunteers participated in this regard, with a more or less intensive support by the municipality administration (see above). Activities focused on support in everyday life concerns (e.g. activities of the non-profit organisation “helping hands” in Innerbraz, or voluntary family support in Frastanz, and individual support in Schruns), the organization of cultural events and festivals (e.g. in Frastanz and Schruns), community gardening with refugees (Schruns) educational activities, like presentation series with regard to children’s education or parents-child meetings (Frastanz), language teaching by volunteers, initiation of learning cafes or language cafes in all three municipalities, and the encouragement to participate in the local football club or other sportive activities (all municipalities).

While many activities have been received well by locals and newcomers at the beginning, after some time the enthusiasm waned. This was particularly the case with festivals and cultural exchange groups, but also language teaching by volunteers had only mixed results and did not sustain over the past years in many cases, also due to a extended offer of professional language courses. In a first assessment local actors conclude, that initiatives are only well received and successful in the long run if the actual needs of the target group are met, while many offers failed to meet demand. The following approaches have been mentioned as particularly successful:
contacts on a direct level like personal visits, talks and individual support, a low threshold language course for women (Frastanz, still working) and a sewing course for refugee women in Schruns.

- **Existence of more traditional associations and participation of newcomers**

In each municipality there is a large variety of more or less traditional associations, ranging from various sports activities, the volunteer fire department, to cultural and traditional associations (like local music associations, guilds, associations for acting drama, comradeship organisations etc.), and associations focussed on the natural environment (e.g. bee-keeping societies, fishing association, horticulture society). Despite this broad offer of associations in each municipality only the football club has been mentioned as being actually integrative by all interviewees, since it is a sport well known and enjoyed all over the world. If there is no intervention by a local actor or stakeholder (like the mayor) this is the main possibility for boys and men to participate in local associations, while for girls and women the access is even more difficult. Many associations are described as being socially exclusive, focussed on the local population, with little intention to be open for newcomers of any kind.

5. Economic dimension

**Impact on national and regional labour markets**

Indicators on the economic dimension of TCNs at municipality and district level reveal economic performance as a foundational resource for (local) integration of immigrants. The following quantitative analyses are based on official data from Statistics Austria about labour distribution for TCNs. This account is augmented with qualitative information from interviews with entrepreneurs in the three municipalities, already conducted for Deliverable 4.3 on economic impact assessment. Despite country programmes for labour market integration (Ortlieb et al., 2020) the impact on integrating TCNs in local work contexts remains limited. It will be explored in more detail in the upcoming empirical steps to which degree economic performance is linked to structural support, institutional background and social integration patterns that provide a complex web of interactions and influences on value shaping and adaptation.
The share of employees from third national countries in Vorarlberg is 7.6%. In Frastanz 10.2% of all employees are TCNs, in Innerbraz only 3.0% and in Schruns 6.3%. The most important countries of origin of recognized refugees in employment are Syria, Afghanistan, the Russian Federation, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Somalia (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2021d).

Table 5 shows the share of TCNs working in first, second and third sectors of all TCNs assigned to these sectors. The share of TCNs working in the primary sector is very low in all three municipalities, varying from no active person in agriculture in Innerbraz to 0.29% in Frastanz (1 persons) and 1.55% in Schruns (2 persons). In contrast, the share of TCNs working in the second and third sector is high, and particularly advanced for the service sector. However, compared to Austrian citizens, most of the TCNs work in the second sector (see Figure 7), especially in Frastanz, where a high share of TCNs is active in the production of goods. In Schruns and Innerbraz as well, a relatively high percentage works in the production of goods. It can be assumed that job engagement does not mainly rely on the local situation within the resident municipality but is dependent largely on the regional job offer. Like other locals, a considerable share of TCNs commute to other municipalities.

Analysing specific branches one can observe that main working fields for TCNs in all three municipalities are trading, accommodation and food service activities as well as other economic services (maintenance of buildings and streets, temporary workers). Moreover, Figure 7 reveals that TCNs show quite distinct employment patterns from foreign citizens in general which leads to the conclusion that also integration pathways might look quite different for the groups of TCNs, other foreign citizens (mainly from EU Member States) and incomers from other provinces in Austria.

Table 5: % of TCNs in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sector of Total TCNs, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary Sector</th>
<th>Secondary Sector</th>
<th>Tertiary Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frastanz</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innerbraz</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schruns</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feldkirch</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 shows the unemployment rate of 2019 for the three municipalities and Vorarlberg. It is apparent that the unemployment rate of TCNs is significantly higher than the average of total population. The highest total unemployment rate has Schruns with 7.1%, followed by Frastanz with 4.5% and finally Innerbraz with 2.9%. In Schruns, 21.1% of all TCNs are unemployed, in Frastanz 8.6% and in Innerbraz 11.8%.

Table 6: Unemployment rate 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>TCNs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frastanz</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innerbraz</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schruns</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorarlberg</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Austria: STATcube
With regard to the gender balance of the two districts where Schruns, Innerbraz (Bludenz) and Frastanz (Feldkirch) are located, male TCNs in the district of Feldkirch have a higher incidence in unemployment, it is 58% on average between 2010-2019, while in Bludenz the difference between male and female unemployed TCNs is negligible.

Figure 8 illustrates the development of the unemployment rate from 2011 to 2019. When looking at this graph, it is important to keep in mind that Innerbraz has a very small number of TCNs, which leads to unbalanced relative shares, for example, the unemployment rate of TCNs in 2011 in Innerbraz is 7.1% (one person out of fourteen). In 2013, 2014 and 2018 no TCN is unemployed. The highest rate shows in 2016, where 21.4% are unemployed (three persons out of fourteen). In Schruns and especially in Frastanz, where more TCNs live, the numbers are more consistent. While in Frastanz and at the regional level of Vorarlberg, the unemployment rate of TCNs is more or less stable (more or less 12%) with a considerable decrease in 2018 and 2019 in Frastanz (to only 9%), it fluctuates much more in Schruns. In 2011 the rate was 16.9% (14 out of 83 persons) with a peak in 2014 (24.1%), then drops again to 16.5% and is again at a high level with 23% in 2018. In Schruns, tourist industries are the main employer also for TCNs. There are no larger industrial estates and in the mostly small craft business, TCNs have seldomly access. The distinct fluctuations may be attributed to a varying demand for labour in this branch, but will be analysed in more detail in the research activities ahead.

![Figure 25: Unemployment Rate of TCNs 2011-2019 on municipal level and Vorarlberg](image)
Impact of COVID

The Covid-19 pandemic has had and continues to have a severe impact on the Austrian labour market. Unemployment increased abruptly across different groups of people and industries as a result of the crisis-related measures since March 2020. In Vorarlberg, a total of 17,928 people were registered as unemployed in April 2020, which was 78.6% more than in the previous year. Among foreign persons, the rate even increased by 89.8%, whereas recognized refugees were only affected by 45.6%. It can be assumed that this lower increase in the number of unemployed TCNs compared to all foreigners and the total population results from the already higher unemployment rate of TCNs before the crisis. However, the figures also reflect the statement of an interviewee who indicated that many of the recognized refugees were not employed in the sectors affected most by the crisis, and which had to put many employees on short-time work or terminate their contracts.

While the unemployment rate was still very high at the beginning of 2021, it has been falling continuously since February. In July 2021, the number of recognized refugees registered at the Austrian Labour Market Service was 842, which represents a decline of 21.2% compared to the previous year (July 2020: 1068 persons) (AMS 2021).

The share of recognised refugees under 25 years registered at the Austrian Labour Market Service is 29.6%. About 49% of the 25 to 45-year-olds and 22% older than 45 years are unemployed. Most recognized refugees currently in care of the unemployment service (78%) have no vocational or school education beyond compulsory schooling, only 15% of all registered refugees have completed higher education or academic training. Women are on average better educated than men (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2021d).
6. Territorial dimension

Urban – rural/mountain interactions

- *Internal migration between urban and rural part of Vorarlberg*

Figure 9 and 10 focus on internal migration balances in Vorarlberg, divided by citizenship, and by the rural (Nuts3 region Bludenz-Bregenzerwald) and the urban (Nuts3 region Rheintal-Bodenseegebiet) part of Vorarlberg. Internal migration thereby also includes migration from or into other federal states of Austria.

Looking at the development at the regional level of Vorarlberg (Nuts2 level), the overall balance is even, in the past eleven and also in the past three years. However, TCN inflow was always on the positive side with a higher yearly extent from 2010-2020 (including 2015 and the years after). In both timeframes the urban part of Vorarlberg (Rheintal-Bodenseegebiet) profits from an inflow of people, and this is particularly due to a positive TCN balance. The positive balance of TCNs from 2010-2020 in Bludenz-Bregenzerwald may be most likely traced back to the allocation management of asylum seekers in 2015 and the years after, while the more recent outflow of TCNs discernible in the past three years derives from a (more classical) rural to urban migration.

![Internal Migration Balance 2018-2020](image)

*Figure 26: Average internal migration 2018-2020 by nationality and on NUTS 3 and NUTS 2 level*
**Internal and external accessibility**

In contrast to other rural regions in Austria, public transport offer is well developed and provides accessibility also to small villages and remote places. Also tariff structure boasts of affordable prices, a unique situation in the country, except for the capital Vienna. Since a substantial tariff reform for public transport in Vorarlberg in 2014, offering a yearly general ticket for 365 Euro, ticket owners of the yearly ticket increased drastically so that currently more than 73,000 inhabitants of Vorarlberg use this option. Transport volume is provided by 320 busses and 30 rail transport facilities which covered more than 23 Mio person-kilometers (2017). Also the network of about 1,850 bus and rail stations contributes to enhance accessibility of public transport and enables to reach those stations within walking distance. Transport capacity and performance increased substantially, achieving a 40% increase over a ten years period (2007-2017) from a previously already high level of transport volume of 73 Mio. Person-kilometers (in 2007) (Amt der Vorarlberger Landesregierung 2019:p.8f).

As visible from these figures improvements in the offer of public transport have resulted in a heightened attractiveness throughout the country. This includes also the municipalities of the case study (see Figure 11), even if there are divergent situations for remoter parts of the region.
However, good accessibility patterns are not only dependent on the offer of public transport, the spatial arrangements of the network and interrelations with settlement structures and organisational aspects, but importantly also from the spatial distribution of required services and places of interest. In this regard, the province aims to retain its approach of supporting living conditions in small-scaled settlement structures through offering public services also in remote places. This can be observed by the still scattered spatial distribution of leading services like schools, health services and other services of general interest that are still provided in close neighbourhood to (dispersed) settlements. For example, the location of schools (Figure 12) indicates the distribution of primary schools through rural, small municipalities. Again, this might have direct implications for integration issues at local scale, but with challenges of quality securement and continuity of services as well.

Figure 28: Distribution of bus stops and train stations
Sense of belonging to the place

Results of the European values study (EVS) for Austria (Friesl et al., 2019), carried out last time in 2018, include a question about relevant attitudes of what is perceived important for being Austrian. The sample is representative of the Austrian resident population. Most of the respondents feel it is very important for being Austrian to know the German language or respect Austrian political institutions and legal regulations. This share even enhanced from 65% in 2008 to 70% in 2018, while the importance to be born in Austria decreased from 26% in 2018 to 16% in 2008 (characterized as very important). Thus “belonging” tends to be linked with less unchangeable characteristics (e.g. place of origin) but with characteristics that can be acquired (such as knowing the language, abiding by rules). This is usually evaluated in such a way that a more inclusive “we” is created. Data for Vorarlberg is not available.

Another international survey focused on “The Integration of the European Second Generation” (TIES-project) with a special interest in the “sense of belonging” of persons of the
second generation with Ex-Yugoslavian and Turkish background (Grabherr and Burtscher, 2012). Compared to other national states (e.g. Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands) the sense of belonging, particularly of the second generation with Turkish background, is comparably little developed in Austria. However, for both groups a comparably strong affiliation to Vorarlberg is observed. The regional living environment seems to offer more opportunities to develop positive feelings of belonging than the more abstract national level.

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AMS (2021): Arbeitsmarktdaten Vorarlberg Juli 2021


Statistik Austria, Mikrozensus-Arbeitskräfteerhebung, 21.4.2020
Bulgaria

Author: Chaya Koleva

Introduction

The briefing intends to provide an informative framework for analyzing TCNs presence and impact in the region of Haskovo with a focus on Harmanli. It includes both qualitative and quantitative information. The objective is to frame the territory of Haskovo and Harmanli by its socio-economic and spatial perspective. It is with regards to the selected topic of Bulgarian case study **Impact on community-space interactions, territorialization and sense of belonging of rural/mountain localities through TCNs integration** that the information below is gathered and organised. The report aims at identifying main challenges. The main considered dimensions of TCNs presence in the MATILDE region are briefly explored through their territorial, socio-demographic, social and economic aspects. The report is composed of different subsections and builds on previous reports and additional sources of information such as public reports as well as data collected during the latest field research.

With regards to the necessary data regarding TCNs in the region, an important clarification has to be made, namely the deficit of accurate and systematically organized and recent sources of information concerning migration in Bulgaria. There is no accessible and centralized system for collecting data on migration flows in Bulgaria and especially in rural areas. According to Anna Krasteva there are few reasons for that. Firstly, the lack of information is due to the self-exclusion by local authority representatives from the selection of informants. The second reason is the absence of traditions of openness and provision of public information within the Bulgarian institutional system. (Krasteva, 2021). In this regard MATILDE study is important for the Bulgarian case because it fosters the collection of additional information and a deeper knowledge of TCN presence and their impact in the area. Nevertheless existing data and gathered observations during field research allow to some extent to structure the briefing with reference to various indicators.
Territorial characteristics of TCNs in the region

In this section a few indicators are considered relevant to the topic of planned participatory activity:

- Environmental transformation; Sense of belonging to the space;
- Internal and external accessibility of Haskovo and Harmanli region and Process of negotiation/ conflict between different populations.

Environmental transformation (impact on natural resources and landscape)

Within the topic of **Impact on community-space interactions, territorialization and sense of belonging of rural/mountain localities through TCNs integration** efforts are being directed towards the organization of an activity called “Intercultural Gardens’ in the studied MATILDE region. Intercultural Gardens is a place-making activity where participants can experience a deep attachment, including a sense of belonging. It enables a social, productive and creative response to the risk of social exclusion of TCNs in the region and opens a door for a rich interaction between locals and different groups of foreigners. The last will elaborate together a new shared reality and a new place of encounter through social inclusion and transformation of the common public space. The activity would allow the local society to see TCNs as productive, giving, generous and autonomous. Not only would people contribute with their knowledge, but they would also produce aesthetic value for public benefit. As studied by numerous scholars International or community gardens clearly provide a sense of belonging but they also function as a place and identity for citizens (Neo H, Chua CY, 2017). The activity has a second objective which is emphasizing the need of environmental protection and diversification in the region. The main environmental and disaster problems on the territory of the municipality of Harmanli are related to climate change, droughts, floods, fires, pollution of surface and groundwater and loss of fertility as a result of depletion of the humus layer, soil degradation and acidification, monocultures and lack of crop rotation. The main strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats of local ecological system are listed below in the following SWOT analyse provided in Adoria Consult, Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weakness</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
<th>Threats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provision of drinking water</td>
<td>No use of water resources for irrigation;</td>
<td>Better use of water resources;</td>
<td>Lack of funds for water and sanitation infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for the entire region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Apart from cultural diversity that in many ways contributes to community’s life as demonstrated in previous MATILDE reports, the need to diversify agricultural land in the region is considered currently as a very pressing one. The environmental approach is highly important for the space community taking into consideration the fact that monoculture agriculture has been identified as the third major issue affecting local economic development potential. Putting the emphasis on this problem is one of the main objectives of the chosen participatory activity. In addition, the choice of participatory activity is directly related with the main priorities set in the Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan: Climate change adaptation and environmental protection; Developing an innovative digital, circular and green economy.

**Sense of belonging to the space**

According to observations made during field research TCNs seem to be willing to participate in the social and public life of the community and to be of help to it. For instance, Finnish TCNs in the village of Leshnikovo regularly participate in common events such as planting trees and flowers. Few Finnish residing in the village are examples for easy and smooth integration. They demonstrate vivid interest in getting to know Bulgaria and communicating with Bulgarians, but also to organize joint initiatives with them or desire to join them in such (WP5HAS009; WP5HAS010; WP5HAS011). Last year in the village of Leshnikovo the administration of the refugee camp in Harmanli organized an international culinary event.
that gathered locals with people from various countries living in the region: Palestine, Iran, Iraq, Russia, Tunisia, Syria, Afghanistan. An article of the local media describes the atmosphere as follows: “The aim of the event was to show that while one place in the world is dominated by enmity, in another people of different faiths and beliefs can rejoice together” (SakarNews, 2021). This event turns into a good tradition that takes place every year in different villages. In 2019 the event took place in the village of Dositeevo. In the identified regional context, the acknowledgement of risks for environmental and uniting efforts to mitigate the negative consequences in the frame of the upcoming participatory activity would serve as a clear message to locals proving that TCNs have a strong sense of belonging to the common public space. Even more, it would be a demonstration of willingness to assume responsibility and take actions as fully participating inhabitants of the territory.

**Internal and external accessibility of Haskovo and Harmanli region**

Haskovo can be characterised as an average MATILDE region. There are two key signs for that: the proximity to hospitals is 14.7 minutes versus 14.2 and to train stations 11 versus 10.5 minutes. However, Haskovo differs significantly from the average MATILDE region concerning access to primary schools (11.5 versus 5.9 minutes), to secondary schools (16.9 versus 9.2 minutes), and to shops (9.7 versus 5.2 minutes).

The municipality of Harmanli that is the local focus of this study is located in the central part of the municipality of Haskovo in southeastern Bulgaria. The territory of the municipality of Harmanli is 694.6 sq. km and represents 12.6% of the territory of the Haskovo region (Data from the official site of Harmanli’ municipality). Settlements and other urban areas occupy only 4.32% of the territory of the municipality. Harmanli Municipality includes 25 settlements - 1 town and 24 villages. : Harmanli town, Biser, Bogomil, Bolyarski izvor, Branitsa, Bulgarin, Varbovo, Dositeevo, Dripchevo, Ivanovo, Izvorovo, Kolarovo, Leshnikovo, Nadezhdeno, Ovcharovo, Oreshets, Oster kamak, Polyanovo, Preslavets, Rogozinovo, Slavyanovo, Smirnentsi, Cherepovo, Cherna mound, Shishmanovo.

Regarding the transport in the region there is a built road network on the territory of the municipality including a total of 222.2 km of roads from the republican road network. Two important international transport corridors pass through the municipal centre of the town. They have been the reason for the development of trade in fuel and petroleum products, food and clothing, car repair and parking services in recent years. However, municipal roads are in poor condition as well as the underdeveloped transport

www.matilde-migration.eu
network and the lack of bus connections between the villages and the district centre - Haskovo remain considerable problems that hinders connectivity of people in the region.

**Process of negotiation/ conflict between different populations**

During the field research some of the interviewees shared concerns about are negative attitudes and discrimination that exist among employers who fear that refugees might be perceived badly by clients or conflicts may arise between refugees and Roma employees. (BG WP3&WP4 10) A factory owner explained the non-employment of refugees with several reasons, among which apprehension about a possible conflict between the employed Roma, who are the majority of workers at the factory, and the Afghan refugees (BG WP3&WP4 10). Another manager noted that it is preferable to assign tasks to the employed refugees that are not related with clients because the managers have noticed that some clients are reserved towards foreigners (BG WP3&WP4 07). Regardless of whether those apprehensions are real or exaggerated, they have a real impact on the non-employment of migrants and refugees and the kind of work they are assigned to do. This observation further confirms the need for improving community-space interactions through participatory activities that would minimise the negative impacts on the non-employment of migrants and refugees produced by signs of otherization and distanciation.

**Socio-demographic dimension**

In Bulgaria which has the fastest declining population in the EU the city of Haskovo experiences a high demographic decline. Statistics from Eurostat show that while in 2010 253,127 people lived in the region, its numbers decreased to 228,141 in 2018. Taking into account the country context of internal migration helps understand this population decrease trend. Due to pessimistic future economic perspectives many young and educated Bulgarians leave the country or move to bigger cities such as Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna. It is worth noting that in the last year the pandemic of Covid-19 created an atypical situation for Bulgaria. For the first time since the middle of the last century there has been an increase in the absolute number of people in the villages. Many people changed their address registration from cities to villages. The movement is a reaction of the pandemic because it took place in the months of March, April, May and it coincides with the pandemic outbreak in the same period. 2020 is marked by another interesting tendency, which is the outflow from the capital. For the first time in many years the population of the capital is decreasing (Adoria Consult, Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2020)
In the last two years a good tendency of a bigger number of people who picked Bulgaria as a place of residence can be observed. According to information publicly provided by Magdalena Kostova from the National Statistical Institute around 37 000 people have changed their usual place of residence from abroad to Bulgaria (Bulgarian National Radio, 2021). This includes returning Bulgarian citizens, who return for family reasons, as well as foreigners with a residence permit or status. The highest share of immigrants is from Turkey (29.9%), the Russian Federation (11.0%) and Germany (7.2%, National Statistical Institute – Territorial Bureau South 2019). It is not possible to concretise the age structure and gender structure of TCNs due to lack of data. The population of Harmanli according to the 2011 census is 24947 people. It represents 11.14% of the population of the Haskovo district and 0.37% of the population of the Republic of Bulgaria. The population density of the municipality of Harmanli is 37 people per km2 and is almost twice the national average (Data from the official site of Harmanli’ municipality) As indicated in the table the population distribution is uneven - 78.15% live in the only town. The rest of the population is dispersed in 24 villages:

![Table showing population distribution](image)

In the period between 2010 and 2018 the migration balance in Haskovo remained negative. Nevertheless, for 2014 and 2015 a positive trend could be observed. One explanation for the positive migration balance during these years was the high inflow of asylum seekers and refugees, however no specific data are available for foreigners or TCNs. Similarly, in Harmanli the rate of natural increase of the population was negative between 2013 and 2016. For instance, in 2016 the mortality rate exceeded the birth rate by 175:
According to the latest data of the National Statistical Institute, the natural population rate for Harmanli is slightly decreasing. In 2020 as indicated in the following table, the mortality rate remain higher both for men and women:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth rate</th>
<th>Death rate</th>
<th>Natural increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in the period between 2013 and 2016, the population of Harmanli increased by nearly 2000 people. Overall, compared to population numbers in 2011 there is a growth of nearly 1000 people in 2016 as the population amounted to 26007 people mainly due to an increase in the urban population. This is so because the other factor influencing changes in population numbers and structures in demographic processes is migration. In the city of Harmanli, the net migration is positive in 2014 and in 2015, i.e. there is an influx of population, while in the villages the population is decreasing. In 2018, 280 people settled in compared to 238 people in 2013. The displaced are almost twice as many. In 2018, the number of displaced people was 550 which marked an increase of 25 percent compared to 2013. In 2018, the number of people who left the municipality of Hamrnali was 137 people or 46 more than in 2013 (Adoria Consult, Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2020).

The following graph indicates a significantly positive net migration rate in the years of largest refugee flows in 2014 and 2015. However, in terms of emigration, Harmanli is no exception to the country-wide situation of outflow of people:
The city of Harmanli is one of the 24 cities in the country that has increased its population between 2011 and 2019 with 966 people (5.2%)\(^5\). It is crucial to note it as it is resulting from the administrative pressure over humanitarian or refugee status holders to have an address registration in order to have an ID card. As stated in the law for refugees, people granted international protection in Bulgaria have 14 days to leave the reception centers. Once they are out of the camp refugees need to solve the problem of finding a place of residence in order to obtain ID documents. Practice shows that the process of finding an apartment is a challenge as landlords tend to rent out their apartments to Bulgarians or foreigners but not to refugees, especially to large families. What makes landlords fear even more is the extremely hard procedure of de-registration in case the person who has registered on the address suddenly leaves it. These circumstances create conditions for some people to do business out of selling address registrations (Koleva, 2019). In addition, this unsettled administrative procedure might lead to an artificial expansion of the population. Once refugees receive their address registration, they are given the identity documents they need to leave the country but the registration itself remains on the national database. In response to this risk in 2017 the municipality of Harmanli proposed to undertake legal changes regarding the address registrations of foreigners granted international protection. This rapid increase of the population provoked a public discussion around refugees’ address registration, and it was largely covered by the media. On the other hand, population’ change had its reflections on civic representation in the municipality of Harmanli as the number of municipal councillors depends on the population of the municipality. An interviewee

\(^5\) Socio-economic analysis of the regions in the Republic of Bulgaria, 2020, p. 9
shared that population growth led to the election of a new municipal councillor without concretisation which party the new councillor belonged to or in other words who took the political benefit. (BG WP3&WP4 03)

Spatial distribution of TCNs

TCNs living in the region are unequally dispersed as well. The greatest diversity of citizens of different countries (Turkey, Russia, UK, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, Moldova, Netherlands, Japon, Finland, Germany, Ivory Coast, Switzerland,) can be found in the region of Harmanli. The distribution of TCN in the region is clearly related to the type of migration. For instance, the largest group of TCN - refugees and asylum seekers live in Harmanli town because of the refugee center located there. Russian migrants inhabit traditionally urban areas where they could more easily integrate the labor market. (Krasteva, 2010). Matilde research team identified foreigners from in the following villages: Kolarovo, Cherepovo, Yerusalmimovo, Ovcharovo, Oryahovo, Bryagovo, Biser, Glavan, and Leshnikovo, Studena, Rogozinovo.

Due to lack of data on current spatial patterns of TCNs in and within the region no concretisation can be made regarding the number of TCNs and their share of total populations.

Predominance of nationalities of TCNs in and within the region

The main characteristics of migration groups living in Harmanli municipality are outlined briefly below. They are related to the nationalities of the identified migration groups:

- **Amenity migration**: British migration in the region can be characterized as amenity migration as Britans migrate mainly to the rural areas in pursuit of a dream life of peace and tranquillity. They migrate to a desirable place as they believe that a change of residence will lead to a better and more fulfilling lifestyle. According to the data collected from desk research and fieldwork, there are British people in Harmanli, Kolarovo, Cherepovo, Yerusalmimovo, Ovcharovo, Oryahovo, Bryagovo, Biser, Glavan, and Leshnikovo. People from the Netherlands live in Studena (Dimitrovgrad municipality). In the opinion of UK citizens living in Rogozinovo British people represent now around 10% of the population of the village (BG WP3&WP4 09). Interestingly, the village of Rogozinovo has increased by 5 people which makes it one of the two villages with population growth in recent years following Polyanovo (Adoria Consult, Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2020).

- **Entrepreneurial migration**: There is a considerable ethnic Turkish minority living in the region. As part of the structure of the Haskovo region, the municipality of Harmanli is located in the so-called cross-border cooperation area with the Republic of Greece and the Republic of Turkey. This
geographical proximity facilitates migration and allows Turkish migrants to develop successful business models in the region.

- **Family migration**: Traditionally for the Bulgarian migration profile Russian migrants - mainly women from Russia migrate in Bulgaria because they married a Bulgarian man. Russian migrants in Harmanli are no exception to this common trend. This group of migrants have no particular problems with integration because of immersion in the husband's circles. They also come with skills or motivation to gain such so they could join the labor market and take care of their families. In Harmanli the Russians have settled down since years and have proved their skills which allows them now to enjoy a good career.

- **Refugees** are the fourth important category of TCN. At the beginning of the migration crisis in Bulgaria, a centre for the temporary accommodation of refugees was established in the town of Harmanli. In Harmanli the number of asylum seekers varies depending on the period. The refugee accommodation center on the territory of Harmanli is the largest in the country with a capacity to accommodate 3000 people. The center is of open type and family-style. There is no publicly accessible information on the dynamic of the refugee flow at the Harmanli Registration and Reception Centre. The following table presents the national statistics on the number of asylum seekers in Bulgaria in the last decade (Data from State Agency for Refugees):

<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>1,025</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>1,387</td>
<td>7,144</td>
<td>11,081</td>
<td>20,391</td>
<td>19,418</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>2,358</td>
<td>2,152</td>
<td>3,525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At present, in the most intensive months of the year for migration, the number of asylum seekers accommodated in reception centers throughout the country is 859 (Data from Ministry of Internal Affairs). For comparison in 2016 at the peak of the migration crisis the number of asylum seekers living in accommodation centers in the country was 3950. According to latest updates there are 514 people who live in the reception center of Harmanli. The main countries of origin are: Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Morocco, Pakistan. The current increase in the number of arrivals since the beginning of the year when there were about 300 is often presented in Bulgarian media as a security issue.
Educational background of TCNs

Data on the educational background of TCNs in the region is not available. The comparison of the education level of the total population in Bulgaria and the total population of Yuzhen tsentralen region (to which Haskovo belongs) shows that the level in Yuzhen tsentralen is slightly lower compared to the national scale as demonstrated in Chart:

![Educational level of total population in Yuzhen tsentralen, 2008-2018](image)

While 26.1% hold a primary or less than primary education in 2018 (26.1% compared to 21.5%), the level of secondary or upper secondary education is similar (53.5% versus 53.6%). The level of tertiary education is lower than the national average (20.4 versus 24.8%).

Gathered data from field work indicate some interesting findings as to the integration to the national educational system of refugees. In the education sphere significant efforts were made both by organisations such as UNHCR, Red Cross Bulgaria and Caritas, schools and the Bulgarian Ministry of Education to ease the access of refugee kids to the education system. The legal framework in the area of refugee education was changed by 3 Ordinance adopted in 2016 and in 2017. The first important step is the facilitated procedure for enrolling in school for children who do not have a document certifying the obtained level in their country of origin. The second important policy is the development of a programme for additional Bulgarian language learning. In addition since 2017 there is a Bulgarian teacher at the refugee center. In March sixteen kids were accommodated in the refugee centre, and six elsewhere on the territory of Harmanli. Refugee kids were enrolled in 7 out of the 9 schools in the municipality (Focus Group 1). They were distributed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the educational institution</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of refugee kids enrolled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National school “Otets Paisiy”</td>
<td>Harmanli town</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school “N.Rilski”</td>
<td>Harmanli town</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school “Ivan Vazov”</td>
<td>Harmanli town</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National school “Al. Konstantinov”</td>
<td>Harmanli town</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school “Hristo Botev”</td>
<td>Bisser village</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school “Hristo Botev”</td>
<td>Balgarin village</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school “St. st. Cyril and Methodius”</td>
<td>Ivanovo village</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, a local NGO in cooperation with the IOM has managed to teach 600 migrants Bulgarian in two years (2019–2020) (BG WP3&WP4 03). Due to lack of data, no specific characterization for the age structure and gender structure of TCNs can be provided. According to observations acquired during interviews, most TCNs are in working age with the exception of pensioners from the first generation of British expats. In addition, no significant gender imbalances are observed.

**TOP 10 occupations of Third Country Nationals**

No official data can be applied when analyzing the employment type of migrants. English people are traditionally retirees but the new wave of British migration seems to be entrepreneurial-minded as most of them are trying to develop their own businesses like camping or in the field of camping and house restoration and renovation. According to locals most of the Turkish migrants invest in the region managing factories for exporting specific goods (BG WP3&WP 3). Russian women practice diverse professions such as teachers, hairdressers, family business owners, doctors. Refugees are involved in the regional economic development as low-skilled workers or business owners. They seem to be the main group of TCN in the region integrated in the labor market. They are employed by confectionery companies, clothing industry, bed linen, leather factories or cookie factories. As underlined in the previous report, a small number of refugees remain in the region. However, the case of refugees’ economic integration is very interesting to be explored in more detail as there are cases of people granted international protection who decided to stay and who integrated successfully. Regarding migrant entrepreneurship a lot of positive examples of migrants involved in the local economy were identified. For instance, some migrants launched their own
businesses in the food industry, barber shops, services, second hand clothes shops and other small shops. The entrepreneurial spirit of refugees plays a key role in the improvement of their social image as a vulnerable group. It also positively impacts the intercultural atmosphere.

Attractiveness of the region for in-migrants and immigrants

Abundance of agricultural land
Agricultural land represents two-thirds of it (66.02%), 27.37% forest land while water areas are around 4.32%. The percentage of areas for extraction of more minerals and transport is 2.29%. This structure indicates the existence of favorable pre-conditions (along with the climate and local traditions) for the development of agriculture and could be seen as a premise for entrepreneurship migration in the agricultural sphere in the following ten years. There are many cases of TCNs coming in the region voluntarily with the entrepreneurial idea related to agriculture. For instance, there is one Turkish factory that produces sunflower oil. One of the reasons that made an English couple of botanists pick the region as a migration destination was the ability of soil to meet the needs of agricultural plants.

Calm lifestyle, good nature and climate:

Amenity migration to rural areas is attracted by two key factors: a pleasant climate and affordable real estate. ‘They come for the sun and the climate. They are impressed by the peace and quiet, by the fact that these areas aren’t overpopulated as well as that you can buy property dirt cheap’ (BG WP3&WP4 04). The set of pull factors attracting amenity migration to the Bulgarian countryside is a rich mix of environmental, cultural, social-psychological, and political factors:

‘We are all moving here for the same reason – to live in the countryside, have a quiet and peaceful life, the weather is good, the people are nice, the culture is nice, the wine is also really good and we can grow our own food. Actually, a big reason why we came here was the freedom, there’s a lot more freedom than there is in England, less control ... It’s much less stressful’ (BG WP3&WP4 06).

Proximity to Turkey and Greece

As part of the structure of the Haskovo region, the municipality of Harmanli is located in the so-called cross-border cooperation area with the Republic of Greece and the Republic of Turkey. This fact plays a significant role for the economy of the municipality as well as for its demographic and social development and makes the region attractive especially for Turkish migrants.
Social dimension

Income inequality across socio-economic groups

From the field research it can be concluded that the income of different groups of refugees varies. Particularly striking is the contrast between the income of most refugees employed as low-skilled labour and English or Turkish entrepreneurs. English people are self-sufficient in terms of their ability to sustain themselves financially without being subject to a permanent employment contract. However, the situation is very different when it comes to most Afghan refugees who try to settle down in the region. An interviewee shared that it is often that Afghan workers have no basic income to cover their first needs. This is why some employers decided to provide accommodation while they are hired in the company (BG WP3&WP4 01).

Civic participation/engagement

The general observation from communication with migrants who decided to settle down in the region is that they do wish to integrate in the life of the civic community. Political participation in terms of voting is hardly achievable because it requires Bulgarian citizenship. However, in terms of social and civic participation most TCNs seem to be active. For instance, there are many cases of people who arrived as refugees and decided to stay and exercise the profession of social mediators. These are usually people who have already earned the trust of the community, speak perfect Bulgarian and are employed by international organizations or the NGO sector. Their role is of utmost importance because they provide the link between the local community and the newcomers. Most English migrants who are traditionally familiar with charity initiatives participate in voluntary actions such as providing support to refugees in Harmanli. There is a case of a Finnish family that is in charge of providing food for cats and dogs. Packages of dog and cat food arrive from Finland, which, for example, because they have been slightly opened, cannot be sold in Finland and are sent free of charge to the animals in Bulgaria (WP5HAS011). Talented TCNs participate in the cultural life of the region. Russian migrants organize festivals annually and thus contribute to diversification of cultural life. A Japanese lady has opened an asian restaurant and thus offers a new taste experience to locals. Similarly, few refugees have a kebap restaurant. A man from Ivory Coast works in the local orthodox church as a vicar and in the mayor’s office as an assistant. These are all examples of TCNs who spare no effort to contribute and promote the quality of the community. However, additional incentives to support their actions and to improve communication both between different groups of migrants and between
migrants and the local population would only open a door for enhancing their civic participation. This is why one of the identified needs is the amelioration of the impact on community-space interactions, territorialization and sense of belonging of rural/mountain localities through TCNs integration.

**Economic dimension**

The municipality of Harmanli is characterized by a multi-sectoral economy. The economic development in recent years shows positive trends. There is a relatively even distribution of the number of employees in the different groups, as well as the net income generated by the activity. The majority of enterprises are operating in manufacturing, trade and services, agriculture, forestry and fisheries. The manufacturing industry ranks first in terms of operating income, net sales revenue, followed by agricultural, forestry and fishery enterprises. The transport and equipment, warehousing and post office industry ranks third, and trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles ranks fourth (Data from the official site of Harmanli’ municipality).

In terms of employment situation in the municipality of Harmanli it should be noted that the number of unemployed as a proportion of the total population of the municipality is 3.3%, which is significantly below the average for the country - 5.6 % (National Statistical Institute). The number of unemployed people in the municipality absolutely decreased from 1640 in 2013, to 814 people in 2018.

Although significant progress can be seen, efforts are still needed to create incentives to keep the population in the municipality: jobs, education, social and other benefits. Particularly characteristic of the region is the reduction in the number of unemployed under the age of 24, which partially confirms the hypothesis of displacement due to lack of jobs and the corresponding remuneration. The business market also needs people as the shortage of workers is among the main factors that hinder the activities of companies and one of the main obstacles to the entry of foreign investments (Adoria Consult, Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan: p. 171, 2020). A national survey of employers and managers has found that 34.2% of those in industry need more workers (Union Migrant Net 2020: p. 22). As stated in previous reports on the local situation, a clear paradox is present - there is both unemployment and a shortage of employees.
Share of migrant workers by activity sectors

SWOT analysis in the Harmanli Municipality Integrated Development Plan for the period 2021 - 2027 prioritize the main strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities of the region as summarised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Strengths</strong></th>
<th><strong>Weaknesses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Good transport-geographical position;</td>
<td>1. Border areas have been underdeveloped for decades;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Good conditions for cooperation with the surrounding territorial communities;</td>
<td>2. No new modern industrial zones and warehouses, and no intermodal terminal established on the territory of the municipality;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Proximity to two neighboring countries (part of 2 cross-border regions);</td>
<td>3. Lack of adequate infrastructure for the recreation of travelers and provision of essential services on the international transport corridors of the territory of the municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Proximity to two regional administrative centers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Developed transport and communication infrastructure;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Important transport routes connecting Europe with the Middle East pass through the municipality</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Opportunities</strong></th>
<th><strong>Threats:</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Opportunities for the development of border areas and active development of business with neighboring countries;</td>
<td>1. Illegal migration;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Opportunities to make more active use of the EU funds for the construction of the necessary infrastructure and improve improving the living environment;</td>
<td>2. Threat of cross-border epidemics;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Opportunities for more effectively planned use of the strategic location of the municipality and use of European and Middle Eastern markets.</td>
<td>3. Illegal trafficking and increase of crime situation;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Depopulation of the municipality and part of the populated areas settlements;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Threats from international crises.</td>
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</table>

The widespread anxieties about the threat posed by illegal migration is ranked first among all others possible challenges that the region might face in the following years. In this regard, asylum seekers and refugees are undoubtedly perceived as a security issue rather than a humanitarian one. This securitization
approach of policy makers tends to emphasize the need for protection of locals then the need for integration of foreigners. The assumption that Illegal migration is related to the next two threats - the spread of cross-border pandemic and the increase of illegal trafficking and crime hampers evenmore the successful and sustainable social and labor integration of TCNs coming as asylum seekers.

Main characteristics of economic inclusion of TCNs in Harmanli municipality:
- Most **British people** are no longer of working age and come as pensioners in Bulgaria. They could not join directly the labor market but they arrive with sufficient capital that allows them to invest in the chosen place of migration. Thus they impact the development of the local economy even by consuming local food but mainly by using materials and services produced by locals mainly in the construction sphere and car services sector. As most of them have a bigger standard of living they have more needs to satisfy. Thus they boost local business and create additional employment for local workers. Interestingly, British migration could be characterised to some extent as entrepreneurial migration as well. British people see the economic potential in the region they migrate to. Also in recent years more and more young educated English people move to Bulgaria with the intention to develop a proper business. For instance, there are English people involved in the construction, renovation and selling of houses.

- **Turkish immigration** is attracted by three pull factors: a border factor, a minority factor, and a business factor. Historically Turks became more active in the region in the 90s as they had the experience of working in the market economy system. Turks are defined by the locals as very serious and respectable business actors. In Harmanli there is an oil factory and a livestock company in Lyubimets. The last company was founded by Turks who live in Harmanli and hire both Bulgarians and Turks living in the region. Another company for metal fabrication is situated in Haskovo and managed by Turks.

- **Refugees** are the third category of migrants in the region. The difference between them and the two groups mentioned above is that their migration is not voluntary. Moreover, most of the refugees are detained on the territory of Bulgaria while trying to reach Western Europe. Since the beginning of their stay here, refugees have had the attitude of leaving the country.

Each integration is also an individual path and cases vary from each other, but some common trends for this group of TCNs can be summarised as follows:

- Inability to speak Bulgarian: In order to start working, refugees need to do additional efforts: learn Bulgarian language and go through professional training. Even if the training is provided by the company, the language barrier remains the biggest problem (Union Migrant Net 2020: p. 17).
- Low remuneration: Available job offers in the region were mostly for low-skilled labour (89%) in line with the profile of the majority of the registered unemployed in the region. In general in Bulgaria remuneration for low-skilled jobs is low and this undermines refugees’ motivation to continue working in the region. That is why most of them decide to leave, if not the country, at least the city in search of better opportunities.

- Complicated administrative procedures for employing TCNs and refugees: A lot of refugees who are willing to work haven’t received their status yet or have faced rejection of their applications. As they keep trying to obtain international protection through possible legal procedures, employers also have to face administrative burden to keep them at work.

- One of the main factors that hinders refugees’ active participation in the labour market is the transit character of refugee migration in the region and in Bulgaria in general. This is the main reason why hiring refugees is considered by employers as a risk.

- Negative attitudes and discrimination exist among employers who fear that refugees might be perceived badly by clients or conflicts may arise between refugees and Roma employees.

- The widespread employment in the grey economy represents a serious risk for refugees. In this case they work without an employment contract, non-payment of social security contributions and overtime work.

Migrants running or employed by social enterprises and organizations in rural and mountain areas

Emerging as community-based organisations during the Bulgarian Renaissance, Chitalishta (community cultural centres) are historically the first forms of social enterprises in the country and the second most common legal form operating as social enterprises nowadays (EC 2019: p. 48). This traditional Bulgarian institution is created by and for the local societies in order to maintain vibrant, diverse cultural life in the community. For instance, it is a place for libraries, cultural events such as theatre, workshops, painting or musical instruments classes. The Chitalishta organisations are NGOs for culture and education and a form of voluntary association of society. In Harmanli there are 11 Chitalishte according to the National Statistical Institute (National Statistical Institute). The Chitalishtes function on the territory of the municipal centre and develop schools of folk singing, folk dancing, modern ballet, choral singing etc. In the remaining villages in
the municipality almost only library activity is maintained. 6 These influential institutions provide excellent conditions for diverse cultural activities. No specific information can be found on activities aimed at integrating or involving TCNs in them. However, it was found that TCNs participate in the activities - a woman from Lithuania is part of the dance group and a Taiwanese woman plays on piano (WP5HAS003).

A characteristic example of social enterprise runned by migrants is the case of a centre for play based learning and therapeutic play that functions since 2014 in a refugee camp. The school is financed by donations from all around the world. Through the efforts of two English migrants (mother and daughter) who are qualified playworkers and who created a whole network of solidarity around the cause, the plaschool still provides essential support to refugee kids.

Share of social enterprises and organisations that are mainly aimed at migrants in rural and mountain areas by sector of activity

Matilde research team identified three types of inclusive and effective social enterprises:

- **Social enterprises which work with migrants and refugees**: Characteristic for this type is their genesis - they are created by active citizens, volunteers who decided to involve themselves more actively to help refugees and migrants. At some point, the group of enthusiasts realized that they needed to create a legal entity such as an NGO to continue further the realization of their project ideas. The main activity the social enterprise exercises is the so-called multicultural catering. The enterprise has developed a network of more than twenty restaurants offering food from different countries – Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Korea, Turkey, India, Russia, etc.

- **Social enterprise – restaurant with a social mission**: The second example of social enterprise is also in the food industry. The project was created two years ago by a small group of people who are both interested in creating social missions but also in developing successful business activities. The enterprise aims to contribute to the improvement of communication between foreigners and locals and to create conditions and occasions for more frequent meetings between different ethnic groups. During the pandemic the initiative attracted the attention of sponsors who financed the distribution of food for vulnerable groups of the society and thus became a key part of the circle of solidarity.

6 Socio-economic characteristics of the municipality of Harmanli 2017, p. 40
- **Social enterprise for souvenirs and 'gifts with a cause'**: The last example of social enterprise is realized thanks to the joint efforts and the engagement of refugee women, children and young people with disabilities as well as unaccompanied Afghan boys from a refugee centre. They make dolls, hats, clay objects, postcards, badges and other creative objects.

A very successful example of social enterprise in Bulgaria and unique for the country is the one working in the sphere of outsourcing of data processing. It offers digital work for refugees and migrants. The company does not operate in Harmanli. However the manager plans to do so in the future and is currently looking for a suitable person who could manage the office in Harmanli.

The most important positive impacts as well as challenges and obstacles for the further development of social enterprises are outlined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive impacts</th>
<th>Difficulties and challenges</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Successful empowerment of migrants and refugees</td>
<td>- Lack of experience of new social entrepreneurs</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Active citizenship formed through solidarity and social entrepreneurship</td>
<td>- Lack of adequate Social entrepreneurs support by the state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Diversification of the social enterprises' spheres of activity</td>
<td>- Underdeveloped network of social entrepreneurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Emerging of new type of clients - companies with a social policy</td>
<td>- Poorly sustainable business model of some social enterprises</td>
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</table>

The two main factors limiting more active participation of TCNs are:

- Lack of motivated and experienced people who could manage outsourced activity or company office in Sofia or another big city
- The characteristic of Harmanli as a transit destination resulting in higher unstable turnover of refugees labor force in the region

The most important consequences and effect of social enterprises mentioned above is the empowerment of migrants and refugees. Not only refugees and migrants are among the main beneficiaries of most social
enterprises but they are involved in almost all social enterprises. Migrants are key business partners, as in the case of the social enterprise that provides catering from migrant restaurants for different events.

As to state policies aimed at enhancing TCN's participation in the labour market it should be noted that one of the national employment programmes covering the territory of the municipality of Harmanli is the programme for training and employment of foreigners. The beneficiaries of international protection and persons whose procedure has not been completed can register in the territorial divisions of the Employment Agency (Union Migrant Net 2020). Data from the Employment Agency indicate that although there is an upward trend – from 1,224 in 2016 to 15,912 in 2019 these numbers are insignificant at the national level (Union Migrant Net 2020: 11). There is no publicly accessible information on how many TCN's found jobs with support from the state.

Change in the users (migrants/non-migrants) of their existing programs (IT, food banks, health cares, etc.)

It is important to note that the local economy benefits from refugees' presence in the region as stated by many interviewees. First waves of migration of refugees contributed to some extent to the development of the local economy. Firstly, many locals were hired to work in the refugee centre. In addition, locals share that refugees were shopping a lot so merchants started selling more products and had to adapt to different needs. For instance, they began selling Arab spices. Restaurants were set up specifically for the refugees. Locals also started selling services such as internet and phone talks (WP5HAS003).

In addition to that, the migrant crisis of 2015-16 made visible the need for more systematic solidarity and provision of support to refugees and migrants. In other words, it created the conditions for civil society and humanitarian organisations to become more active and start operating in the region. Beside the support they provide to migrants and mainly refugees humanitarian organisations also tend to employ migrants willing to stay in the country as experts, interpreters and “social mediators’ who would facilitate the communication with others from their national community. In addition, the NGO sector and organisations such as UNHCR plays an important role in mediating between companies looking to hire people and refugees seeking jobs. No official data can be applied when analyzing the employment rate of migrants. In fact, refugees are the main group of TCN in the region integrated in the labor market. They are employed by confectionery companies, clothing industry, bed linen, leather factories or cookie factories. In the process of hiring refugees and migrants it seems that Bulgarian private sector in the region gained a valuable experience working with foreigners as several good practices emerged:
- Companies become eager to provide additional services in order to attract foreign workers. In some cases refugees were provided with social services such as housing during their stay in the company.

- Companies tend to provide training courses for their employers. Some of them provided Bulgarian lesson classes for foreign workers.

- Companies develop a spirit of social enterprise in ordinary enterprises.

- The process of hiring refugees is creating a more sustainable network between different companies in the region as they need to exchange experience and information on administrative and legal specifics.

- Some employers and managers become mediators between refugees and the local society as in some cases they publicly share their favourable opinion on refugee employees.

- Working refugees impact considerably and positively the global image of refugees.

- Employment of refugees in a company creates good conditions for improving the relation between them and the locals.

- Migrant employers who established themselves in the economy tend to employ refugees and migrants as a sign of solidarity and with the idea to help them in their first steps of integration.

Conclusion

The case of Harmanli region shows that the presence of TCN has a beneficial effect on the local economy and contributes to the successful development of intercultural atmosphere and local social life and business initiatives. All types of mentioned migrant groups have a big potential to generate more vividness in the social, economical and the cultural life of the community. A key question remains how this potential can be fully revealed. Gathered information indicates that for some groups of TCN it is easier because they are economically independent. This independence allows them to decide their place of residence, a specific job they would exercise and above all a lifestyle that corresponds to their inner predisposition.
Lack of sufficient data makes it difficult to draw accurate conclusions on the level of implication of both state and local authorities. However, the outlined positive tendencies can be considered as a success story for the participation of third-country nationals in local development and encourage more active strategic planning and creation of necessary prevention and conditions to overcome the challenges TCN face when willing to remain on the territory of Harmanli and to live as part of the community and thus to contribute to its development. The selected topic of the Bulgarian case study addresses the need for more action and activity aimed at strengthening the community-space interactions, territorialization and sense of belonging of rural/mountain localities through TCNs integration. The concrete activity of the International garden is actually a reminder that all people are all children of nature and, in a metaphorical sense, that any tree can sprout and take root in fertile soil when given the care it needs.

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Finland: North Karelia

Authors: Olga Davydova-Minguet, Lauri Havukainen, Pirjo Pöllänen

Introduction

The aim of the Matilde work package 5 case study in North Karelia, Finland is to study social interaction between different immigrant groups and native Finns, how good population relations are improved and how language skills and knowledge of different languages are affecting the livability of everyday life of migrants in the studied regions. The migrants of different backgrounds have diverse language skills, for example for some migrants the English is familiar language and for others they can only speak and read of their mother language. However, it should be noted that there is also illiteracy among some migrant groups (e.g. asylum seekers from Afghanistan). This cannot be indicated statistically, because in Finland the registers of this kind of statistics are not produced. This is however known by previous research (see Pöllänen 2020). Language is the core interest of the case study that is to be conducted in North Karelia. The main question is the influence of language for the everyday life and to good population relations.

The aim of this briefing is to frame the forthcoming case study from the point of view of regions functionality from four dimensions: 1) spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of TCNs in North Karelia, 2) social dimension, 3) economic dimension and 4) territorial dimension. The aim of this briefing is to frame local conditions, in order to prepare action research activities in North Karelia.
Two case study municipalities in North Karelia are Lieksa and Kitee, both of which have about 10,000 inhabitants. These two were selected due their representativeness of rural municipalities in North Karelia with a significant migrant population. Both of the chosen municipalities represent a small rural town that have struggled in the past decades with quickly changing demographic structure. Since the year 1980 the population of Kitee has fallen almost by 1/3 and the population of Lieksa has almost halved (OFSc). The municipalities have lost much of their working age and young population and both have almost double the number of retiring-aged people (those over 64 years old) than the national average.

What also connects the two chosen municipalities is their relatively short history with immigration. In both cases immigration was a marginal phenomenon before late 1990s and early 2000s but has become more frequent in recent years. The immigrants can be largely split into two groups: Those from Russia and those who have come because of humanitarian reasons. The former is attributed to closeness of the border and the transnationality it brings, while the latter group has formed through diverse group of refugees and asylum seekers being located and having moved there. Both of Lieksa and Kitee used to have reception centers for refugees but they have been closed in the recent years. Both municipalities have signed the agreement with the local Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (a regional governmental organization) to house quota refugees and also have received them. Especially Kitee is a noted destination for immigrants from Russia as it is close to a major border crossing point with the country. The Niirala–Värsilä checkpoint, which is fourth most vivid checkpoint between Finland and Russia is located in the neighbouring municipality of Tohmajärvi.
The following parts of the briefing will introduce the methodology used in WP 5 and introduce North Karelia and two chosen municipalities from spatial and socio-demographic, social, economic and territorial dimensions.

Methodology

The data used for this briefing is collected through both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data consists of local, regional and national statistic collected from Statistics Finland (Tilastokeskus), Education Statistics Finland (Vipunen), statistical information on welfare and health in Finland (Sotkanet) which is run by Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare (THL) and Ministry of Employment and the Economy’s integration indicators (kotouttaminen.fi). The data consist both of general information about the municipalities as well as data about the immigrant population in them.

Statistics Finland is official data producer in Finland, and it produces reliable and impartial statistics on Finnish society. The task of Statistics Finland is to process data accumulated from various data sources into statistics and bring them to the benefit of users, who can be citizens, decision-makers, researchers etc. (https://www.stat.fi/org/index_en.html). Vipunen uses data from Statistics Finland but in certain cases has more recent data already in their datasets. Sotkanet accumulates its data from multiple organizations from Finland and abroad but also produces much of the data themselves. Kotouttaminen.fi statistics are mostly build from data from Statistics Finland and THL.

Most important factor to distinguish from the immigrant statistics is the way an immigrant or a person from immigrant background is described. In Statistics Finland has statistics based on the country of birth, nationality, language, and the background country. While first three are self-explanatory, the last classification determined by the country of birth of at least one of the person’s parents. Background country is listed outside of Finland if neither of the parents were born in Finland and if they came from different countries, then the background country is the same as country of birth of the person’s biological mother. (OSFa.)
All these classification are somewhat overlapping but also fail to define the concepts of “immigrant” or “immigration” when used alone. Country of birth does not mean that the person cannot be of Finnish origin or any other origin outside of the classified country. Person’s nationality can change over time. Someone with a foreign language registered as their mother tongue is not necessarily even an immigrant as you can only register one mother tongue in Finland and many from multicultural background might simply register a non-native language for their children just to make studying it possible in the school system (Basic Education Act 12§). Background country makes children of multicultural (Finnish – non-Finnish) families invisible, even if they are immigrants. Background country can also be the country of persons birth if the immigrant’s parents are unknown. In this briefing, statistics based on nationality, language and especially background country are used. Also, as the Matilde project focuses on immigrants from outside of the EU/ETA area we will only highlight those from third country national (TCN) origin. The statistics also hide some languages and origins as it does not list them if the size of the group is less than 10. In North Karelia where the number of immigrants in general is relatively low, there are many migrant groups which do not meet the number.

There are few issues you run into when studying immigration statistics on a municipal level. The first and largest issue is the fact that most labour and education related data on immigrants is in national or regional level. For example, the Ministry of Education and culture has statistics (Vipunen) on every educational institute, but the only way to filter immigrants is through “other languages” filter with secondary school and vocational school students and through “other nationality” filter with institutes of tertiary education. As stated in the last paragraph both of these are somewhat imprecise when discussing migrants. Vipunen does allow to filter the students by the municipality they study in meaning that with schools offering secondary or vocational school we can get a quite precise picture of the phenomenon in general. The statistics in this briefing are used as descriptive to frame the North Karelia and two case study municipalities from four above mentioned dimensions.

For this briefing we will also use the semi-structured interviews that were conducted for the previous reports and briefings in the Finnish part of MATILDE. In total 19 interviews and 2 focus groups were done in North Karelia. In the interviews and focus groups there were participants from both Lieksa and Kitee but also other interviewees who knew of the situations in the
The interviewees consisted of public officials, child and youth workers as well as immigrant support workers both in the public sector and NGOs. We also interviewed both immigrant entrepreneurs as well those running and working in businesses that employ immigrants. In theory, the interviewees and the themes in the interviews were split between an economic part and a social part, but in reality, these two often mixed. The main themes were integration, the (local) impact of migration and the difficulties migrants face in social life as well as the labour market. The interviews were conducted in two parts between September 2020 and early April 2021.

The following chapters of the briefing will frame the local conditions in North Karelia in general and in two chosen case study municipalities Lieksa and Kitee. The aim of the framing is to prepare action research activities in Lieksa and Kitee. The North Karelia case study action research is focused on social issues, namely the importance of language and language skills. The case study conducted in North Karelia will ethnographically observe the local surroundings from the perspective of social interaction, language and integration. How is the language learnt and used in everyday situations? What are the meanings of different languages? What kind of language communities there are in the local places? Due to the focus of action research being in language the most important chapters in this briefing are spatial and social dimensions while economic dimension is not emphasized that deeply.

Spatial distribution and socio-demographic dimension

North Karelia is a Finnish speaking and the most eastern region of Finland. The population of the region is 163,537 (OSF 2021, note: there are discrepancies between different statistics as the municipality of Heinävesi joined the region in the beginning of 2021 and not all statistic counts it yet) with more than half of the population living in the city of Joensuu or the adjacent area. The population of the region has been decreasing constantly since the early 1990s with only Joensuu
and two of its neighbouring municipalities able to grow or keep the population stagnant. It is estimated that even Joensuu will start shrinking within the next 20 years (OSFe). At the same the share of retiring aged residents has increased, while the share of working aged people and children has shrunk significantly (OSFc).

While population of North Karelia has been decreasing in the last few decades, both the share and absolute number of immigrant background people have grown constantly. In 1990 there were less than 700 residents or 0,4% with foreign background in the region, by the year 2000 the number had reached over 2000 and 1,2% and in 2020 the number was almost 6700 with a share of 4,1%. The biggest and still a fast-growing group are those from Russian and Soviet Union origin. They make up over half of the immigrant background population and are present especially in the border municipalities and the regional capital. Other major immigrant groups are people from Turkey (many of them are Kurds), Somalis, Bangladeshis, Syrians, Thais, Iraqis, Vietnamese and Chinese origin. With many of those groups who arrived as refugees the numbers have fluctuated quite a lot during this time. For example, in 2014 there where 547 people of Somali background in the region, the number now is less than a hundred. (OSFc.) The action research will focus on significance of used and learn languages of these different migrant groups. We can assume that different language background has different function in everyday lives of migrants in North Karelia, the forthcoming action research will show if this assumption is true or not.

As said in the previous paragraph, the immigrant population in North Karelia is quite homogenous with those coming from Russian origin making about half of all immigrants. As it is with the region of South Karelia, the closeness of the border is a major factor in this. The North Karelian municipalities next to the Niirala-Värtsilä border crossing point, Tohmajärvi and Kitee,
have an especially high concentration of Russian background residents. This is because the short proximity to Russian side gives Russian speakers possibility to keep up transnational way of living.

The number of refugees being settled in North Karelia has also fluctuated quite a lot depending on the year with spikes in settlement in the early 1990s and few times after 2007. After 2007 on average 130 refugees have been settled in Karelia yearly. Of our case study municipalities Lieksa has taken in much more refugees. In fact, after the municipality started taking in refugees in large number after 2008 it has settled about 42.6% (652) of all refugees in North Karelia. Kitee has settled only 60 (or 4%) refugees after 2008. If you look at the statistics per capita (graph 1) you will also see Lieksa rise up, as it even trumps the national average. As you can see North Karelia in general and Kitee follow the national rate of refugee settlement much more closely but the numbers in Lieksa are many times larger. Still, as stated before and known from both statistics and our interviews, most of those who arrive to North Karelia as refugees tend to leave the region after few years. This in mostly due to better working and studying opportunities in the bigger cities in the southern part of the country. This is especially true with the case of Lieksa which suffers from high unemployment and lack of post-secondary level education opportunities.
Immigration to Lieksa, as it is stated in the introduction, is comparatively a recent phenomenon. As it can be seen in (Graph 2) before 2009, the number of foreign background people living in the city was less than 200. In 2009 Lieksa started see a surge of refugees and migrants of Somali origin moving into the municipality. The number of Somalis peaked in 2014 with the group’s population reaching almost 400. After 2014 most of them have moved out and as of 2020 the Somali community in Lieksa is less than 40 people. In the recent year, this exodus and the fall in number of immigrant background people in the municipality has been mended by the number of Russians moving into town as well as some smaller refugee groups.
Graph 2. Lieksa residents with foreign background from 1990 to 2020. Note: the group “other” also contains EU background residents and some of the other listed groups in the years their number has been under 10. Source: Statistics Finland

In municipal level there is an interesting trend in Lieksa, which shows that in the last five years there has been an increase in 15 to 24 old immigrants moving into Lieksa (OSFd). This can be mostly attributed to the active recruitment of mainly Russian youth into the Riveria vocational school. The campus in Lieksa has received between 21 and 42 new foreign language students every year between 2013 and 2018 (EDFe). The number rose from 27 and 8% of total number of students in 2012 to 117 and 28,3% in 2018. In one of our interviews it was stated in one of our interviews (FIK8) that as many as over 1/3 of the students in the Lieksa campus of Riveria are immigrants.
According to collected data it can be seen that demographically Kitee has had a similar, if not as dramatic, trajectory as Lieksa. In the last four decades it has lost major part of its population, shift that is even more apparent in with children and working aged people. The absolute number of under 15-year-olds has halved since the year 2000 and the decline in the 15 to 64-year-old the share has fallen rapidly in the last decade. Since 2008 the share has fallen from 63.3% to only 51.8%. (OSFc)

Graph 3. Kitee residents with foreign background from 1990 to 2020. Note: the group “other” also contains EU-citizens and some of the other listed groups in the years their number has been under 10. Source: Statistics Finland

In Kitee, which is the other case study municipality the closeness of the border (and a point to cross it) have at least partly contributed to the migration of Russians into regions, which contains also border municipality Tohmajärvi. They have the highest share of people of Russian and ex-Soviet origin in the region. Because of this, for most of its history with immigration, the immigrant background population of Kitee has been very homogenous. In 2020, those from Russian, Ukrainian and Ex-Soviet background made 84% of the foreign background population in
the municipality. The only other statistically visible TCN group in Kitee are those from Turkey, however looking at the language statistics they are mostly Kurds. As seen in graph 3, the overall immigrant background population started growing in the mid-1990s and grew steadily until 2016. After 2016 the absolute number of foreign background residents has been stable at about 500, however their share has risen as the overall population has been shrinking. While in the year 2000 the immigrant background population was less than a percent it reached 5.1% in 2020. Kitee has the highest share of immigrant background residents in North Karelia after the neighbouring municipality of Tohmajärvi (OSFc).

When splitting the foreign background population by gender one can see a somewhat large over presentation of women (57.7%). This is mainly due to the almost 2/3 share of women with those who originate in former Soviet Union. When you look at those from Russian background, however, the difference disappears entirely. There are few possible explanations for this. First is that many of those from ex-Soviet background are women who have marriage migrated to Finland and have married a local man. Those who have Russia or Ukraine as their background are either children of ex-soviet background migrants, are more recent immigrants or have simply stated Russia as their country of birth when immigrating even though they might have been born in Soviet Union. Those from Asian background are also mostly women, as seen also in the language statistics (graph 5), where all ten Thai speakers are listed as women. This is largely due to them moving to Kitee to either marry or already having married a local man. Those from Turkish and other European background are more often men but the small size and diversity of the group makes it hard to make any sort of deeper analysis.
Social dimension

Migrants from Russia have been moving into the North Karelia since the beginning of 1990’s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In North Karelia the everyday lives of Russian speakers are very transnational. In recent research (Sireni et al. 2021) it is emphasized that migrants, especially Russian migrants, everyday life should be seen holistically, where the concept of transnationalism, which focuses on migrants’ social, political, cultural and economic networks which transcend the borders of nation-states, should be considered as part of a successful integration process and liveable everyday life in the rural border region in North Karelia. In everyday life, Russian speakers’ transnational relations do not exclude the desire of immigrants to integrate into their new surroundings and communities, but quite the opposite, the transnational connections can be seen as a resource helping both migrants’ integration having a positive impact for rural vitality and multiculturality (ibid). Sireni et al. (2021) sum up, that local labour market, economies, businesses, legislation and different integrational measures, as well as the attitudes of the general population frame everyday lives of immigrants, making it liveable or not, and affecting their decision to stay or to leave the region. In the case of Russian speakers, transnational ties, Russian language, and transnational everyday life can be seen as social capital but it also has an economic impact.

The major reasons for immigration to North Karelia are family, work, humanitarian and also education. This has of course influence on TCN's everyday lives, social networks and everyday language issues. How TCN's use different languages and what is the meaning of different languages (e.g, mother tongue, English and/or Finnish) is dependent on the everyday surrounding and social networks. For example, the number of foreign language students in Riveria vocational school has quadrupled from 2007 (183) to 2020 (735) and in the University of Eastern Finland’s Joensuu Campus the number of TCN students has almost tripled from 219 to 618 (EDFd). According
to our interviews both Riveria (FIK16) and at least one municipal developmental company (FIK24) have been active in recruiting students from Russia. According to an interviewee from Riveria vocational school the value of English is difficult in vocational school.

“...Those students who live in the dormitory we can support better but in offering learning possibilities we are restricted by the demonstrations of skills and other that still have to be given in Finnish, so we do not have the right to carry out these demonstrations for students in English. It is of course good that nowadays we can teach for example in English, so the teachers have a pretty good preparedness to do it, but then again, all the immigrated students might not have the preparedness...”(FIK176)

As stated before, there used to be a relatively large Somali community in Lieksa, but after 2014 most of them have moved out. There are multiple reasons both for the quite rapid rise and decline. One reason why the migration to Lieksa started has been speculated to be the availability of public cheap housing (Sotkasiira & Haverinen, 2016) but many moved to the municipality because they had already stayed in the local reception centre. According to some news sources (for example YLE) the movement out was mainly due to better job opportunities in bigger cities in southern Finland, but discrimination and racism also seem to have played a part. For example, in 2017 Lieksa had the most reported hate crimes in the country relative to its size (Rauta, 2018).

Even though the number of Somalis in Lieksa declined they still have an influence in the civil society in the city. For example, Lieksan Somaliperheyhdistys is an association started by the Somali community in 2013 and they run the Metka village culture house, which is still an active multicultural meeting space and organizer of activities. Another effect the migration of mainly working aged Somalis and their families into Lieksa was the short halt in the downturn in the share
of under 15-year-old inhabitants between 2010 and 2014. During that time the share even increased slightly from 10.8% in 2010 to 11.4% in 2014, while the absolute number of the age group stayed pretty much stagnant at about 1380 people. On other age groups their arrival did nothing to stop the shift. For example, the share of 15-64-year-old residents fell from 62.4% to 57.7% during the same time frame and in 2020 stood at only. (OSFc.)

Currently the biggest group of TCNs in Lieksa are those from ex-Soviet and Russian origin (graph 2). Their number has been in a steadily increasing in the past decade. The increase in the share of foreign nationals in the city during the past 4 years can be mostly attributed to this group. Besides few smaller refugee groups from Ethiopia and Eritrea, people from Russian origin are the only migrant group that has seen an absolute increase in their number during that time period. Russians have moved to Lieksa for diverse reasons, like family, work and most recently, studies. The local vocational school has done active recruitment of Russian students to its campuses all over North Karelia. According to one of our interviewees (FIK8) collected for previous reports and briefings, Russian students have made major new group to use the services of Metka house during the Covid-19 pandemic.

"...When the pandemic came it meant that the border was closed. And we have a lot of Russian students, some of them underaged, and they cannot get home, cannot meet their parents. At the same time Riveria moved to distance learning so some of them were sitting in their dormitory. We also got messages from the Mental Health Office that they have been directed a lot of unwell Russian background students. This was also visible in Metka. So now, with Jomoni, we have organized activities for the Russian background youth, there is training, there is informing..." (FIK08)
As with Lieksa, one major group moving into Kitee are those coming to study in Riveria vocational school. In 2018 there were 59 foreign language speaking vocational students in Kitee 48 of which were in Riveria (EDFf). This means that about 15% of both overall vocational students and those studying Riveria do not have Finnish as their native language. As the foreign language speaker made about 4,9% of the total population in Kitee in 2018, their number with those in secondary education is three times higher. 46 (or about 11,7%) of the overall vocational students also had a foreign citizenship. Foreign language students or 15% of the total number of students. The local upper secondary school has also started receiving more foreign language students in the recent years. In 2020 their number was 30 or 21,7% of all students, when the number before 2019 had never been higher than 7 (EDFb). Even though the statistics for vocational students are not available yet for years after 2018, it is possible to estimate that about 1/6 of the secondary level student in the municipality are foreign language speakers. This is at least partly due to the active recruitment from Russia but also from the children of immigrant families moving to growing older. It is to be noted however that even though most start their secondary level after comprehensive school typically at the age of 15 or 16, these numbers do not represent the whole age group. You can attend both vocational and upper secondary school even as an adult and there are also those who fall out of the education system after 9.

At the end of 2020 there were 439 foreign language speakers in Lieksa (graph 4), almost half (196) of whom spoke Russian. With all the other five listed languages (Arabic, kurdish, Somali, Thai and Tigrinya) from outside of the EU/ETA area there are less than 40 speakers.
The homogeneity of the immigrant population in Kitee is also visible in the foreign language statistics (graph 5) with about 81% of the foreign language speakers having Russian as their mother tongue. There are so many Russian speakers in Kitee that the municipality has started language groups in the early childhood education to strengthen the children's mother tongue (FIK21 & FIK22). There is also an association called Aljans Ry - Keski-Karjalan Maahanmuuttajayhdistys, that is mostly operated by Russians even though it is technically for all immigrant as the name suggests (the literal translation is “Aljans: The immigrant Association of Central Karelia”). Aljans organizes activities as well as guidance for immigrants (see more https://www.aljans.fi).

Looking at the language statistics there are also 10 registered Thai speakers in the municipality. The Thai origin not being present in the background statistics can be attributed to most immigrants from Thailand being women who marry Finnish nationals. This makes their children invisible to the background statistics. (OSFa)
Economic dimension

The economic structure of North Karelia is service based with manufacturing being diminished over the last decades. In 2019 North Karelia had the worst unemployment rate (10.4%) of all the regions in Finland (OSFa). The unemployment rate of immigrants born outside of Finland has been decreasing during past decades from over 50% in 1995 to about 25.5% in 2019 (Kotoutumisen indikaattorit -tietokanta, 2021; graph 6).

The economic situation in North Karelia from the point of view of immigration and the vitality of the region has so far received little attention in research. Statistical reviews focus mainly on employment (see, for example, kotouttaminen.fi). There are also no local employment statistics for immigrants for the smaller municipalities. This means that in North Karelia only statistics on the regional level and the city of Joensuu are available.
Graph 6. Development of unemployment among those of foreign background but are born outside of Finland.

Overall, in Lieksa the unemployment rate of whole population peaked at 29.9% in 1994 and did not fall under 20% before 2009 (graph 7). In 2019, just before the Covid-19 pandemic the unemployment rate stood at 17.1%. In the last three decades Lieksa has lost over 3000 job positions from over 6700 positions in 1988. (OSFa.) At the same time the share of working aged people and children has fallen significantly. Almost 40% of the population in Lieksa is over the age of 64, meaning that a large part of the residents are retirees. (OSFc.)

Kitee has fared a little better than Lieksa in employment, before the last few years (graph 7). The 1990 depression did not hit Kitee as hard as Lieksa and thus Kitee had comparatively a much better unemployment rate to its northern counterpart until 2014. (OSFb.) One of the major contributors to the sudden surge in unemployment might have been a bankruptcy of a local chipboard manufacturer in 2011 (Jormanainen, 2013).
Territorial dimension

North Karelia is region that is defined by large land area (about 21 584 km2, fourth largest region) and spare population. There is almost a 50-50 split between those living in urban areas and the countryside (OSFc). It is to be noted however that this split is affected by many rural towns not counting as urban areas. According to conurbation statistics most people (69.8% in Lieksa and 54.4% in Kitee) live in conurbations, which in Finland are tightly housed areas of at least 200 people (OSFc). North Karelia is defined by long distances both between different municipalities within the region and outside as well. The distance from centre of Lieksa to centre of Kitee is about 160km and the closest other major city (Kuopio) from Joensuu is about 140km away.

Lieksa is a geographically remote town in north-eastern North Karelia. The municipality (officially a city as defined by the Local Government Act §4) lies on the eastern coast of lake Pielinen about 100 kilometers from the regional capital of Joensuu. While Lieksa shares along border with Russia it does not have a commonly used border crossing point with the country.
Historically Lieksa used to be the second largest municipality in North Karelia but has seen a major downward spiral demographically in the recent decades. The city was hit especially hard by the 1990 depression from which the industrial sector and unemployment in general never really recovered properly (OSFb).

While in many instances Kitee is similar to Lieksa with its demographic trends and overall size, it also has key difference with it. First of all, Kitee is the southernmost municipality in North Karelia and more connected to the rest of the country. The highway 6 and railroad which connect Joensuu and North Karelia to the more populous southern Finland go through Kitee. The municipality (also technically a city as defined by the Local Government Act §4) is located about 60 kilometres south of the provincial capital of Joensuu. On the eastern side, the municipal borders of Kitee end in the Russian border and although there is no border crossing point in the municipality itself, the nearest one is just 40 kilometres from the central town, in the neighbouring municipality of Tohmajärvi.

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Finland: Ostrobothnia

Author: Daniel Rauhut

Introduction

Building on the results of WP3 and WP4 and adopting the tools explicitly devised for the local case studies, this briefing aims at focusing on the territorial impact of immigration in Ostrobothnia. In order to understand the processes related to the territorial impact of immigration, the local level is zoomed in WP5; in WP3 and WP4 the regional and national levels were in focus. Within Ostrobothnia, four municipalities with a population between 5,000 and 15,000 inhabitants have been selected to zoom in: Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre. In some respects, they are very similar, but still displaying different processes of immigrant integration.

WP5 aims at exploring and understanding socio-cultural perceptions and representations on the local impact of migration. Attention is paid to how these perceptions are constructed and reproduced through time by different social groups of migrants and of locals, considering also possible hierarchies of representations. This work is devoted to four key tasks: (1) to identify local challenges in the case study area related to the arrival and settlement of foreign migrants; (2) to identify needs of local communities, in terms of enhancing the active role of migrants in territorial development and supporting their integration through innovative initiatives; (3) to reflect on opportunities associated to immigration of TCNs for European rural and mountain regions with respect to the potential role of these territories within the EU; and, lastly, (4) to illuminate potential misperceptions about the role of migration, often influenced by external factors (e.g. media and politics), by supporting a reflection on the concrete possibility to change them towards a facts-based and place-based knowledge on the phenomenon, that will be co-constructed with the involved stakeholders.

Statistical data, interviews and focus groups with stakeholders and local experts build the basis of the research process. This mixed methods research approach serves two purposes: (a) to frame the main territorial conditions and socio-economic characteristics of the involved territories, in relationship to the presence of foreign immigrants; and (b) to prepare the implementation of participatory tools, identifying
which (sub)groups of participants will be selected for the action research, with respect to the thematic focus adopted in each case study. The information gathered this way is important for the analysis to be made during the participatory research in WP5.3.

The integration of TCNs and the impact on the local labour market in four selected municipalities in Ostrobothnia is the focal point in this brief. As the focus is on the TCN impact on the local labour markets and economy, the indicators collected for the case study in Ostrobothnia will encompass the Population structure, employment and unemployment patterns, educational levels, the economic structure, housing market, mobility patterns and (non)accessibility of infrastructures and/or urban centres. All these indicators have a direct impact on what the impact the TCNs will have on the local labour market in the four studied municipalities.

As expected, the findings in this brief point at somewhat different processes than in WP3 and WP4; the dynamics of an integration process is different at a local level compared to integration processes at regional and national levels. Hence, the findings in this brief (WP5.2) can be considered a problematisation of the social and economic impact of TCNs in Ostrobothnia, which was identified in the WP3 and WP4, and further problematisation will be made in the participatory research in WP5.3. The problematisation made in this brief portrait a more complex and multifaceted picture of the social and economic impacts of TCNs in Ostrobothnia than in WP3 and WP4.

Methodological considerations

In this brief, a number of indicators have been used to identify what the potential impact of TCNs is on the local labour market may be. The selected relevant indicators follow the three Matilde dimensions (social, economic and territorial), and the dimension aspects. Each of these dimension aspects identify potential indicators to be used if considered relevant (Matilde, 2021). For an overview, see table 1. Besides these indicators, one chapter in this brief is devoted to describing the population structure to make the reader acquainted with the number and share of TCNs in the studied municipalities, main TCN nationalities, their age structure and development over time. This information is also relevant when discussing what potential impact TCNs may have on the local labour market.
Table 1. Overview of the selected indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matilde dimension</th>
<th>Dimension aspect</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Chapter in this brief</th>
<th>Data source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Social polarisation</td>
<td>Population at risk of poverty</td>
<td>Income distribution</td>
<td>Statistics Finland, THL, Statistics Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social cohesion</td>
<td>Income inequality</td>
<td>Income distribution</td>
<td>THL, Statistics Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social cohesion</td>
<td>Educational attainment level</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Statistics Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social cohesion</td>
<td>Unemployment / employment rate</td>
<td>Employment, Labour market</td>
<td>THL, Statistics Finland</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access to services</td>
<td>Immigrant employability</td>
<td>Economic structure</td>
<td>THL, Statistics Finland</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housing situation</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Labour market impact</td>
<td>Immigrants by economic sector</td>
<td>Economic structure</td>
<td>Statistics Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour market impact</td>
<td>Job opportunities</td>
<td>Economic structure</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour market impact</td>
<td>Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Social impact, Civic participation</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Territorial</td>
<td>Mobility patterns</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration flows</td>
<td>Transformation of space</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transformation of built environment</td>
<td>Civic participation</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sense of belonging</td>
<td>Attachment to place</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>Travel time</td>
<td>Focus groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration

The main data source for the statistical data is Statistics Finland, supplemented by THL. For the qualitative data, the conducted focus group interviews are the main data source. To collect the needed qualitative data for this brief on the local labour market impact of TCNs a set of focus group interviews were conducted in the case study area during the summer 2021. The qualitative data set contains the information displayed in Table 1. Moreover, the data set from the interviews and focus group interviews in WP3 and WP4 were also used as they contained relevant information for this brief. In total, 25 informants have provided qualitative information relevant for this brief, and the informants cover, among others, actors in the public, private and third sectors, associations and clubs, entrepreneurs, immigration activists and politicians.

One TCN group causing some problems when discussing the TCNs on the local labour market in the case study region is the Russians. However, many of them are not ‘Russians’ in a technical sense as they belong to the ethnic minority population in Estonia and Latvia carrying EU passports. Hence, the number of Russians in the case study region is low.

The information obtained by using the selected qualitative and quantitative indicators, will help to identifying the potential impact of TCNs on the local labour markets in the municipalities of Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre. Hereby, this information will frame the main territorial conditions and socio-economic characteristics in the case study area when it comes to the labour market impact of TCNs. Consequently, in identifying which (sub)groups of participants will be selected, the findings in this brief will prepare the implementation of participatory tools in WP5.3.
Population structure

In some respects, the population structure in the four case study municipalities differs significantly from Ostrobothnia as well as Finland. In general, the share of foreigners is much lower, and the share of Swedish speakers is significantly higher. The number of foreign citizens is, however, quite small. While only 5.2 per cent are Swedish speakers in Finland, the share of Swedish speakers in the case study area is, in general, around 90 per cent (see table 2).

Table 2. Population, citizenship and majority language in case study area, Ostrobothnia and Finland 2019 and 2020.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population size</th>
<th>Share of foreign citizens</th>
<th>Number of foreign citizens</th>
<th>Swedish speakers</th>
<th>Finnish speakers</th>
<th>Other languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kronoby</td>
<td>6,420</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>n=212</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larsmo</td>
<td>5,534</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>n=166</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykarleby</td>
<td>7,496</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>n=525</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedersöre</td>
<td>11,174</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>n=335</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostrobothnia</td>
<td>175,816</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>n=9,846</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>5,536,146</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>n=276,807</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland

The number of TCNs is low in the case study municipalities. As an example, in 2020 only 90 non-EU citizens reside in Larsmo municipality, in Nykarleby the number is 381 (see table 2). The largest TCN groups in the four studies municipalities are Ukrainians and Syrians. Over time, the number of TCNs in the four studies municipalities displays a variation (see Figure 1). In most cases, a TCN group reside in these four municipalities for a very limited number of years, and then they move to southern Finland (Pöllänen et al., 2021). Ukrainians, Vietnamese, and Syrians are examples of TCN groups staying for several years in these municipalities, and so are the people from Thailand and Myanmar. Most TCNs in the four studied municipalities are refugees; labour immigrants are few (Table 3). The share of women among the TCNs is just below 50 per cent in all four municipalities (Statistics Finland, 2020).
Table 3. The number of TCNs (main nationalities) in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre in 2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TCN</th>
<th>Kronoby</th>
<th>Larsmo</th>
<th>Nykarleby</th>
<th>Pedersöre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of which</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukaine</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland
Figure 1. Main TCN groups (>10 persons*) in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre 1990-2020.

* Only nationalities containing at least 10 persons are displayed in the official statistics for integrity reasons.

Figure 2. Age structure in three broad groups in 2020 (per cent).

Source: Statistics Finland

Age structure in Kronoby municipality and among TCNs in Ostrobothnia in 2020

Source: Statistics Finland
The age structure in the four case study municipalities display that the share of population 15-64 years old is about 57 per cent (Figure 2). The share of population below 15 years old is 16-18 per cent in Kronoby and Nykarleby, while 24 per cent in Pedersöre and 29 per cent in Larsmo. While the share of 65 years old in Kronoby and Nykarleby is about 25 per cent of the population, the share of elderly is significantly lower in Larsmo (15 per cent) and Pedersöre (18 per cent).

There is no statistical data for the age structure on TCNs by municipality, only by region. The share of TCNs in Ostrobothnia below 15 years of age is just below 21 per cent, which is a higher share than for the general age structure in Kronoby and Nykarleby but lower than in Larsmo and Pedersöre. However, such generalisation is deceiving. For example, in Nykarleby, there are only 47 non-Finnish children, of which a majority are EU citizens (FIO34). Such low number of TCNs below 15 years of age constitutes a fraction of the total number of children below 15 in Nykarleby. A similar pattern is reported in Pedersöre and Kronoby. The common belief that the TCNs have many children in need schooling, and hence will help to keep small rural schools open, was not confirmed by the focus group discussions.

Education

The share of persons holding maximum an upper secondary education in the four case study municipalities is higher than in Ostrobothnia and in Finland as a whole (Table 4). This is also the case when it comes to the share of persons with upper secondary education and post-secondary non tertiary education. When it comes to the share of population with tertiary education, the share is significantly smaller in the four studied municipalities compared to Ostrobothnia and Finland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Maximum upper secondary education</th>
<th>Upper secondary education and post-secondary non tertiary education</th>
<th>Tertiary level education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kronoby</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larsmo</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedersöre</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykarleby</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostrobothnia</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland

Statistics Finland does not list the level of education for foreign nationals including TCNs separately. Among the unemployed foreign nationals, those with maximum upper secondary education are over-represented among the unemployed in Ostrobothnia and Finland (Figure 5). In one of the analysed municipalities, half...
of the refugee women had maximum primary education or incomplete primary education (FIQ30). The unemployed foreign nationals with upper secondary education and post-secondary non tertiary education are in parity with the total share of population with that level of education. Lastly, the share unemployed share of foreign nationals with tertiary education is smaller than the share of population with that level of education in Ostrobothnia and Finland.

Based on Eurostat data, Laine and Rauhut (2021) note that the share of TCNs in Ostrobothnia with upper secondary education as the highest education is significantly higher than for the Finnish nationals in Ostrobothnia. The same is true for the TCNs with upper secondary education and post-secondary education.

| Table 5. Unemployed foreign nationals by level of education in Finland and Ostrobothnia April 2006-2021 (per cent). |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Finland | 48.6 | 50.2 | 47.3 | 47.4 |
| Ostrobothnia | 29.8 | 29.2 | 29.8 | 31.3 |
| | 21.6 | 20.6 | 22.9 | 21.3 |

Source: Own estimations by data from Statistics Finland.

non-tertiary education. It is also displayed by Laine and Rauhut that the TCNs in Ostrobothnia with tertiary education is significantly smaller than the share of Finnish nationals in Ostrobothnia with tertiary education.

**Economic structure**

The economic structure in Ostrobothnia differs significantly from Finland in general, but also from Ostrobothnia (Table 6). The share of employed in the primary sector (agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining etc.) is on average significantly higher in the four studied municipalities than in Ostrobothnia and Finland. The same is true for the manufacturing sector. When it comes to the service sector, this sector is significantly smaller in the four case study municipalities than in Ostrobothnia and Finland.

| Table 6. Employment by sector, municipalities, Ostrobothnia and Finland 2020 (per cent). |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Primary sector | Manufacturing | Services | Other |
| Kronoby | 12.5 | 40.1 | 45.6 | 1.8 |
| Larso | 2.6 | 38.8 | 56.9 | 1.7 |
| Nykarleby | 15.7 | 38.3 | 44.6 | 1.4 |
| Pedersöre | 9.5 | 48.6 | 40.5 | 1.4 |
| Ostrobothnia | 5.1 | 30.6 | 63.0 | 1.3 |
| Finland | 2.7 | 21.1 | 74.8 | 1.4 |

Source: Statistics Finland
However, this is not a new finding. During the first half of the 1990s, Ostrobothnia experienced a dramatic structural change in the economy. Ostrobothnia has experienced faster branch changes in the region than at the national level. The expanding branches are relatively labour intensive and low productive. However, the positive branch effect is not large enough to neutralise the negative structural effect, which results in an overall slower economic growth in the region compared to the national level (Eðvarðsson et al. 2007). The problems of de-industrialisation still prevail in the region today. Although Ostrobothnia cannot compete with knowledge-intensive regions, it can (still) compete with other rural and peripheral regions with low-productive and labour-intensive branches. Immigrant labour play an important role in this (Rauhut et al., 2021).

That the economic structure in the four studied municipalities differ from the economic structure in Finland in such marked way, has an impact on the demand for labour. TCN labour plays an outmost important role in the primary sector, mainly as seasonal workers, and in the manufacturing sector. TCNs have also stimulated the service sector to expand, mainly when it comes to personal services and restaurants (Rauhut et al., 2021). There is, of course, many nuances to his story.
Table 7. The 11 most common professions for TCNs in Finland for the largest TCN groups in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre 2018.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N (Finland)</th>
<th>51 Personal service workers</th>
<th>52 Sales workers</th>
<th>53 Personal care workers</th>
<th>61 Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers</th>
<th>62 Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians</th>
<th>71 Metal, machinery and related trades workers</th>
<th>81 Stationary plant and machine operators</th>
<th>83 Drivers and mobile plant operators</th>
<th>91 Cleaners and helpers</th>
<th>93 Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport</th>
<th>94 Food preparation assistants</th>
<th>Σ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>2044</td>
<td>10,51859</td>
<td>11,05675</td>
<td>14,38356</td>
<td>0,440313</td>
<td>4,696673</td>
<td>4,354207</td>
<td>2,739726</td>
<td>4,207436</td>
<td>6,996086</td>
<td>3,7182</td>
<td>5,234834</td>
<td>68,34638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>5081</td>
<td>8,305452</td>
<td>8,580988</td>
<td>8,541626</td>
<td>1,417044</td>
<td>11,06081</td>
<td>5,491045</td>
<td>2,460146</td>
<td>7,478843</td>
<td>9,978351</td>
<td>6,395379</td>
<td>1,948435</td>
<td>71,65912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2966</td>
<td>11,22724</td>
<td>3,573837</td>
<td>18,24005</td>
<td>0,708024</td>
<td>1,314902</td>
<td>0,337154</td>
<td>1,652057</td>
<td>0,606878</td>
<td>38,36817</td>
<td>2,090357</td>
<td>2,360081</td>
<td>80,47876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>4040</td>
<td>16,33663</td>
<td>8,737624</td>
<td>6,707921</td>
<td>0,246535</td>
<td>4,455446</td>
<td>5,792079</td>
<td>1,559406</td>
<td>6,262376</td>
<td>7,252475</td>
<td>3,514831</td>
<td>4,777228</td>
<td>65,74257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>8,196721</td>
<td>3,460838</td>
<td>15,30055</td>
<td>0,546448</td>
<td>6,193078</td>
<td>6,921676</td>
<td>7,103182</td>
<td>1,275046</td>
<td>24,95446</td>
<td>4,007286</td>
<td>3,460838</td>
<td>81,42077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>15,27531</td>
<td>8,170515</td>
<td>6,749556</td>
<td>0,32826</td>
<td>5,328597</td>
<td>4,618117</td>
<td>3,374778</td>
<td>2,841918</td>
<td>3,907638</td>
<td>1,776199</td>
<td>4,262877</td>
<td>56,83837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>4407</td>
<td>15,06694</td>
<td>7,261175</td>
<td>10,12026</td>
<td>3,449058</td>
<td>1,520309</td>
<td>0,816882</td>
<td>6,330837</td>
<td>0,635353</td>
<td>26,68492</td>
<td>3,131382</td>
<td>6,58044</td>
<td>81,59746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1251</td>
<td>3,357314</td>
<td>4,076739</td>
<td>4,556355</td>
<td>29,25659</td>
<td>5,035971</td>
<td>2,63789</td>
<td>3,517186</td>
<td>1,838529</td>
<td>6,794564</td>
<td>3,197442</td>
<td>1,199041</td>
<td>65,46763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3208</td>
<td>6,483791</td>
<td>6,951372</td>
<td>5,860349</td>
<td>2,057357</td>
<td>4,800499</td>
<td>4,052369</td>
<td>2,86783</td>
<td>3,4601</td>
<td>10,3803</td>
<td>1,932668</td>
<td>2,119701</td>
<td>50,96633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viet Nam</td>
<td>5194</td>
<td>15,05583</td>
<td>8,83712</td>
<td>4,27031</td>
<td>6,526762</td>
<td>1,212938</td>
<td>2,268117</td>
<td>6,988333</td>
<td>0,57759</td>
<td>8,278783</td>
<td>8,221024</td>
<td>2,446284</td>
<td>64,94032</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own estimations by data from Statistics Finland and Figure 1.
If the largest TCN groups in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre (figure 1) are compared to the most common professions for each TCN group in Finland (data below the national level is not available, see Aigner et al., 2021), a slightly different pattern emerges. Almost every third Ukrainian work in agriculture and related professions, which means that the statistical data for Ukrainians confirm what has been said during the focus group interviews (Rauhut et al., 2021). The very high share of TCNs in personal services is also confirmed by the statistical data. As displayed in Table 6, over 80 per cent of the TCNs from Myanmar, the Philippines and Thailand are concentrated to three sectors: cleaners and helpers, personal care workers and, lastly, personal service workers. However, contrary to the information provided in the focus group discussions, the share of TCNs working in manufacturing appears modest. None of the largest TCN groups in the four studied municipalities make any major contribution to the labour force working in the manufacturing sector (Table 6). Although the TCNs are not numerous in the manufacturing sector does not per se mean that they are not important. Albeit its modest share of the labour force in manufacturing, the TCN labour in this sector may play a very important role to keep up the production.

Notwithstanding this, the structural change in the Ostrobothnian economy continues. During the focus group interview conducted for a review of the economic impact of TCNs in Finland, several of the participants complained about a persistent labour shortage of qualified labour in some branches. In other words, labour with human capital matching the job tasks was not possible to find. The branches suffering from labour shortage were under pressure from an international competition, and the labour costs in Finland are relatively high in an international comparison.

FIO22: “[Our] labour costs are also not the lowest compared to [our] competitors /.../ for cost reasons you try to find solutions where you can reduce, so to speak, manual labour.”

To attract labour, the employer could increase the wages, but with higher labour costs, the companies would price themselves out from the market. Hence, a labour shortage emerges. The employers have to target labour which is willing to accept low-paid jobs, seasonal employment etc. The alternative is to replace labour with capital, i.e., machines, which will increase productivity. However, this requires a higher human capital from the labour (Rauhut et al., 2021). Since TCNs have a lower human capital than nationals (Laine and Rauhut, 2021), replacing labour with capital will reduce the demand for TCN
labour in manufacturing. Moreover, regions struggling with an ageing population tend to experience a lowered demand for labour as labour is to largest possible extent replaced by capital (Dall Schmidt et al., 2014; Mitze et al., 2018). It is likely that this will happen also in the case study area. As displayed in Figure 2, some of the case study municipalities do have high shares of 65+ years in their populations.

Labour market

The labour market in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre display characteristics different from the situation in Ostrobothnia and Finland as a whole. The unemployment rates are significantly lower in these four municipalities than in Ostrobothnia and Finland. Moreover, the employment rates are also significantly higher than in Ostrobothnia and Finland (Table 8). These spectacular numbers can be related to an economic structure – with a large primary sector and manufacturing sector while a relatively small service sector – employing relatively unskilled labour.

Table 8. Unemployment and employment rates by municipality, Ostrobothnia and Finland 2020.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
<th>Employment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kronoby</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>81.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larsmo</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>83.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykarleby</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedersöre</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>85.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostrobothnia</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland

Although the studied municipalities have a low unemployment rate and high employment rate, foreign nationals in general and TCNs specifically do encounter problems at the labour market. The share of foreign nationals who are unemployed is much higher than the total share of Finnis nationals, both in Finland and in Ostrobothnia (Figure 3). The data on TCN unemployment us fragmented, but the unemployment rate for TCNs is higher than for foreign nationals in Finland. In 2016, the unemployment rate for TCNs in Western Finland (which Ostrobothnia is a part of) reached 26 per cent, while the unemployment rate for Finnish nationals just reached 9.3 per cent (Laine and Rauhut, 2021). Alas, the statistical data on unemployment by nationality and municipalities is
unavailable, it can be assumed that the unemployment experienced by TCNs in the four case study municipalities is significantly higher than for the Finnish nationals (Rauhut et al., 2021).

Figure 3. Total unemployment and unemployment for foreign nationals in Finland and Ostrobothnia 2015-2019,

However, unemployment and employment rates do not display a full picture of the labour market situation for TCNs in Finland, Ostrobothnia and the four studied municipalities. The statistics on unemployment and employment is based on the persons participating at the labour market; those persons who are not participating are not counted. In this case, this will create bias when analysing TCNs at the labour market and their labour market participation.

The share of jobseekers outside the labour force has increased since 2006 in both Finland and Ostrobothnia (no data at local level). In Ostrobothnia, there are more jobseekers outside the labour force than are unemployed (Table 9). Many of these jobseekers outside the labour market are women from non-EU countries, i.e., TCNs. Many of them receive different kinds of allowances from the Finnish government to take care of their children and family (Pöllänen et al, 2021).

Source: THL
The very high number of foreign nationals outside the labour market is not the only labour market challenge. Long-term unemployment is another, both in Ostrobothnia as well as in Finland as a whole (Table 10). In April 2021, 18 per cent of the foreign nationals in Ostrobothnia had been unemployed for more than 12 months; the corresponding share for foreign nationals in Finland was 29 per cent. This indicates significant problems for foreign nationals to establish themselves at the Finnish labour market. As previously commented, these numbers relate to all foreign nationals. The situation for TCNs is actually worse.

In labour market economics, unemployment is seen as an indicator for employability. Employability refers to the skills, competences and ability that makes labour more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations, which benefits themselves, the workforce, the community and the economy. It is also common that long-term unemployed leave the labour market; they have given up hope to gain employment (Begg et al., 1987; Schmid and Gazier, 2002).

The focus group interviews as well as some single interviews revealed that the studied municipalities struggle with a labour shortage and hence every single person who enters the labour force is welcome. The high number of jobseekers outside the labour market is to large extent related to the housewives common in many countries outside Europe. If these women could work half time,

Table 9. Labour market status of foreign jobseekers in Finland and Ostrobothnia April 2006, 2011, 2016 and 2021

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Finland</th>
<th>Ostrobothnia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>11,514</td>
<td>17,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jobseekers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>8,124</td>
<td>15,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland

Table 10. Foreign unemployed jobseekers in Ostrobothnia and Finland April 2006, 2011, 2016 and 2021

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Finland</th>
<th>Ostrobothnia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>11,514</td>
<td>17,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>1,981</td>
<td>2,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-term unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland
some of the labour shortage would be mitigated. In 2020, about half of the TCNs in Pedersöre study or are outside the labour market. The situation is similar in the other municipalities.

The labour market situation for TCNs in Ostrobothnia, including the four studied municipalities, is troublesome. The unemployment rate is manifolds higher than for natives, the share of TCNs outside the labour market is increasing and so is the number of long-term unemployed TCNs. The explanation for this development is found in a human capital by the TCNs not matching the demands to gain employment. Hence, the employability is low. To increase the employability among the TCNs, investments in human capital is needed, not just improved language proficiency. However, this is just one side of the story. The focus groups interviews uncovered that labour migrants predominantly pick up seasonal work. There is a huge demand for immigrant labour in the primary sector (agriculture and fur-farming), and for unqualified labour in the manufacturing sector.

Income distribution

The income distribution in the four analysed municipalities differ from the income distribution in Finland (Figure 4). The persons with incomes in the deciles 1 and 2 (i.e., the persons with the lowest incomes) are fewer in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre compared to Finland as a whole in 2019. At the same time, the persons with incomes in the deciles 9 and 10 (i.e., persons with the highest incomes) are fewer in the studied municipalities than in Finland as a whole. When it comes to persons with incomes in the deciles 3 to 7, the studied municipalities hold a higher share of income earners in these income levels than Finland as a whole.
Also, when it comes to the Gini coefficient, all municipalities but Nykarleby displays a more even distribution of incomes than Finland as a whole (Figure 5). To some extent, the findings in Figures 4 and 5 are not surprising when considering that the unemployment rate in the studied four municipalities is lower than the national average and at the same time the employment rate is higher. On top of this, welfare state also levels out the worst income differences through a progressive income tax, on the one hand side, and subsidies and different benefits on the other hand side. If foreign citizens (including TCNs) work and reside in Finland, they are a part of this redistributive system.
Table 11. At risk of poverty rate in dwelling population by municipality, Ostrobothnia and Finland 1995-2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kronoby</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larsmo</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykarleby</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedersöre</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostrobothnia</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland

The lower income level of TCNs can, generally, be explained by the occupational structure; jobs in low-productive and labour-intensive sectors generate lower incomes. People with Estonian or Western European background have the highest median income while Russian, Middle Eastern and Somalian immigrants’ median income is lowest. Median income increases the longer the person has lived in the country (Busk et al. 2016).

The share of persons at risk of poverty in Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersöre is significantly lower than in Finland as a whole (Table 11). At the same time, the share of persons at risk of poverty among foreign citizens and TCNs is significantly higher than for natives in Finland. “The risk of poverty for immigrants is 6 times higher, when compared to the mainstream population” (Caritas Finland, 2017, p. 6). The explanation for this is found in the labour market attachment and language skills of the immigrant (Yijälä & Luoma 2018). TCNs are especially exposed and so are self-employed. Also, persons from low work intensity households (single mothers, in particular) have higher risks (Kangas & Kalliomaa-Puha, 2019). Moreover, the weak position of immigrants is in part because they tend to be independent professionals or employed in low-wage sectors where risk of poverty is greatest (EAPN, 2020).

Housing

Housing issues for immigrants focus either on the Helsinki area or on Finland as a whole. There is a significant research gap for future research to fill regarding housing issues for immigrants in rural Finland (Laine & Rauhut, 2021). A weak attachment to the labour market, low incomes and recurrent spells of unemployment poses a significant influence on the housing situation for, especially,
refugees (Andersson et al., 2010). Moreover, housing overcrowding is a bigger problem for TCNs than for Finns in general (Laine & Rauhut, 2021). Another common trait is that

In the case study area in Ostrobothnia, there are many houses for sale, but few to rent. This is troublesome for many TCNs.

FIO9: “We find it very difficult to find rental housing that is large enough if there is a family with many children /…/ We have houses for sale, but we have no one who wants to rent out their house.”

The focus group interviews reported that there is no housing segregation in the studied municipalities. The TCNs are scattered geographically over the municipalities. Labour immigrants manage their own housing and if not, their employers help them. The main problem with the refugees is that they seldom have a car and/or a driving licence. In a rural region such as Ostrobothnia it is difficult to have good access to services without a car, which means that when housing is provided for refugees it has to be in villages where services are available within walking distance. This is not always a simple thing to do; there are not that many available houses or flats to provide to refugees to start with [FIO42, FIO36; FIO32, FIO35].

Labour migrants from Ukraine appears very willing to buy old houses in bad shape and then renovate them. In many smaller villages in Nykarleby, the Ukrainians have contributed to a repopulation of the rural communities because of the availability of cheap housing for sale (FIO36). The TCNs who rent their flats from the public landlords have the same standard in the housing as natives (FIO32).
Societal impact and transformation processes by TCNS

During the focus group interviews for identifying the social and economic impacts of TCN immigration to Ostrobothnia some major transformations processes could be identified. One of the transformation processes deals with immigrant integration. It is important to remember that integration can take place in many ways in different places. This is especially so in Ostrobothnia with two separate language communities.

FIO8: When you talk about integration in Swedish-Finland, it is completely different between the urban regions and the countryside. Completely different. In the urban regions, and especially where Finnish is strong, it is almost through love and labour that one is integrated. It happens through school, through association life or something similar. While immigration due to labour and refugee status is in the countryside and takes place in a completely different way.

What has happened in many places in Ostrobothnia is that new immigrants do not integrate into the Finnish community – they integrate into the immigrant communities in Ostrobothnia.

FIO7: “There are two fairly parallel communities in the neighbourhood /.../ It is perceived that people who came a long time ago as labour migrants are now... they live in parallel social structures.”

It is also perceived that it is easier to become a part of a smaller communities and get to know people than in larger cities. You were forced to learn Finnish or Swedish because you do not have your own ethnic group around you.
FIO9: If there is an isolated family from a culture, it is much easier to open up to the new culture, the one they come into. But the more people that comes from the same culture, the more you keep an eye on each other. It is a watchful eye, do not let go too much, you keep yourself to the group.

With regard to the four studied municipalities, the size of most TCN groups is quite small (Figure 1). Only Syrians, Ukrainians and, in one municipality, Vietnamese exceed 50 persons. With such relatively small populations, the TCNs ought to open up to the local community and learn Swedish. They do not do so. Instead, they learn Finnish and leave the case study area.

FIO42: When it comes to refugees... what they are trained for they do not get a job for here /.../ many of those who have been in [refugee camps] for a long time do not have such a high level of education.

FIO41: Many come from larger cities, multi-million cities, such as Syrians who came a few years ago /.../ they are used to living in cities. It has been a bit that we have found a suitable housing for them out in the villages, so they move after a while to Jakobstad, which is a slightly larger town /.../ A large part of them then move on to Helsinki, Tampere and the major cities in southern Finland.

Usually, moving south is a two-step process: first the TCN move from Kronoby, Larsmo, Kronoby and Pedersöre to the two major towns in Ostrobothnia (Jakobstad and Vaasa), and after a while they move south to the urban areas around Helsinki, Turku and Tampere [FIO42]. Statistical data on intermunicipal migration flows provide support for this. (Statistics Finland 2021). If you come from a multi-million city, adjusting to rural life may not always be simple.

However, the municipalities identified a pattern among the refugees who left after two years. The refugees have the legal right to choose if they want to be integrated in Finnish or Swedish, and the municipality is not allowed to influence the choice. Many chose Finnish as integration language, but this causes problems: a) to speak Finnish in a Swedish speaking area will exclude the refugee from most social life with the Swedish speaking natives and the labour market, and b) it is difficult for the Swedish speaking municipality to arrange these services in Finnish for the refugees (FIO34).
After two years, the refugees who picked up Finnish in a Swedish speaking municipality leave and move south to Finnish speaking areas. These refugees never had any plans of staying in the rural Ostrobothnia (FIO30; FIO42; FIO35; FIO34). There are studies made pointing at information given to refugees when they leave their home country is misleading. One such information is that jobs, housing and a good life is only available in Helsinki, and perhaps in Turku and Tampere, i.e., in the Finnish speaking south of Finland (Laine and Rauhut 2018). As many refugees stay such short time in the case study area, the area appears to serve as a gateway to Finland. Why learn the language and make friends with the locals of you plan to leave after two years? If this is the case, it is logical to socialise with fellow compatriots and other TCNs to make the planned stop-over in rural Finland as good as possible during the (short) time you are there. It is a rational behaviour (Rauhut 2020).

The second major transformation process that can be noted in the four case study municipalities is related to an increasing service provision. Although not numerous, but outmost important, is the labour immigrants to industry and agriculture. However, the immigrants working in the service sector are far more numerous. As displayed in Table 7 above, a significant share of the major TCN groups in the four analysed municipalities work in the service sector.

FIO42: In Pedersöre, we have one restaurant which is owned by a non-EU citizen. It’s a pizzeria. The owner is from Bosnia.

FIO35: We have two-three pizzerias and kebab-places run by immigrants in Nykarleby. That’s all.

FIO30: I know of one immigrant entrepreneur in Kronoby – she’s from Thailand and is a nail technician.

FIO36: Most of them are employed, they haven’t started their own company.

FIO39: I can’t say that immigrants are more entrepreneurial than natives, simply because this part of Finland is well-known for being very entrepreneurial.
For most TCN groups, personal services of various kind and cleaning services dominate (See Table 7); none of the focus groups or interviews gave examples of successful entrepreneurship or innovations among immigrants. It is positive that the service sector can offer employment, but it is negative that the jobs are related to a labour intensive and low productive work. In the long run this may lead to an economic underdevelopment (Rauhut et al., 2021). If the educational level and language proficiency of the immigrant is insufficient to be competitive at the labour market, unqualified jobs in the service sector still can offer employment to this labour.

Civic participation and societal engagement

Societal engagement and civic participation can manifest itself in many ways. The social capital of the immigrant as well as the natives plays an important role. The third sector is also important in this context as are natural meeting points where immigrants and natives can meet. Participating in political organisations and voting in general elections are also indicators of civic participation and societal engagement: participating in elections is viewed as a sign of desire to influence the life of society by getting involved in selecting those who will govern it. As such, this indicator displays a sense of belonging.

The Swedish speaking minority in Finland is well-known for having a high social capital. This social capital contains of voluntary associational activity, friendship network, religious involvement and hobby club activity. Moreover, avoidance of intoxication- prone drinking behaviour is significantly more frequent among the individuals of the Swedish- speaking community than in the Finnish-speaking community (Hyyppä and Mäki 2003). The social capital and third sector engagement are vivid in the four studied municipalities. Many private persons and families act as mentors for single refugees and immigrant families. The newcomers can learn a lot from their mentors and the mentors can open doors for them in the local society (FIO34).

In Finland, CSOs co-produce integration services alongside comprehensive official integration programmes, compensating for gaps and shortcomings in those services. However, the CSOs’ role in
labour market integration is inherently limited as their services being small scale, short term and project based. Due to their independence and limited role, CSOs operate synergistically with official services (Bontenbal and Lillie 2021).

While several clubs, associations and NGOs are active with TCNs in the case study are, the focus group interviews expressed the opinion that most immigrants cannot be considered integrated. Several of the respondents did explicitly mention the emergence of parallel societies – one for natives and one for immigrants.

FIO8: There are two fairly parallel societies in this area /.../ people who have come for a longer period of time as labour immigration is now living in different parallel social structures.

In Kronoby, special gym and aerobics sessions were arranged for women only. This was a deliberate decision to reach immigrant women and to create a meeting point between native and immigrant women:

FIO33: To make Muslim women attend gym and aerobics sessions, it had to be just for women. Otherwise, they wouldn't come. So, we promoted this locally /.../ only a few immigrant women attended these sessions.

This is most worrying seen from an integration perspective as this will reduce the possibilities for interaction between natives and immigrants. Besides poor language proficiency other explanations for the emergence of parallel societies were offered:

FIO20: You have to be in the circles and how can an immigrant find friends and a way to the Finnish circles, to work, and everything possible? I think leisure time is a very effective way to learn language, culture, feel welcome and everything. Jobs are very important to be able to feel a part of society as well.
Many small business owners [in the region] come from large families and when their companies have grown, they have included the relatives in these companies. These family networks are quite tight and of course you employ family members and relatives in the first place /.../ the need for this unknown [immigrant] workforce about which you have no background information has not been so great, instead you have managed to fill the need for labour through your own networks.

However, in Pedersöre, refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo stand out when it comes to being integrated into the local community. These refugees are Baptists, and the local Baptist community has welcomed them with great hospitality and the Congolese have integrated well into the local community [FIO42]. It seems as if the Congolese are the exception from the main rule.

It is with great regret that the participants in the focus groups in all four municipalities note that the TCNs – as well as immigrants as a whole – have not contributed to any major change in the local community. It would be great if the immigrants could contribute to change the community! The respondents fear that there is an imminent risk that companies will leave the region if the labour shortage is not solved, or at least mitigated. The high unemployment rate of foreign citizens in Ostrobothnia (Figure 3) as well as the high (and increasing) number of unemployed foreign citizens outside the labour market (Tables 8 and 9) means that the TCNs experience difficulties to benefit from the social capital and social networks they would have if working with native colleagues. The sectors in which the TCNs usually obtain employment in are sectors with an unproportionally high share of immigrants in (Table 7; see also Rauhut et al. 2021), and this reduce the chances to become a part of Finnish social networks and obtain local social capital by the natives. Furthermore, to pick up Finnish as a language in the Swedish speaking part of Finland will exclude the person from social interaction with the natives as well as the labour market. Hence, the person will exclude him/herself from the local community. The legal right to choose in what language you want to integrate in actually does more harm than good in this case.
Conclusion: The impact of TCNs on the local labour market

The picture of what impact the TCNs make in the local community in the case study area in Ostrobothnia is contradictory. All respondents wished that the impact – socially and economically – would be bigger than it actually is. Most of the TCNs in the studied four municipalities are refugees. TCN labour migrants stay in the area for the seasonal jobs, then they disappear again; most refugees leave the area as soon as they can, which is usually after two years. The TCNs are most needed to mitigate the labour shortage in the sectors offering unqualified and low-paid jobs. Many locals are engaged in voluntary work trying to make the TCNs enjoy the place and stay.

The number of TCNs is small in the four studied municipalities, Kronoby, Larsmo, Nykarleby and Pedersøre. They are generally scattered in the villages outside the main town in the municipality; there is no housing segregation as TCNs and natives live next to each other in all districts. The main difference between natives and TCNs relates to the share of elderly: almost none of the TCNs living in the analysed municipalities have reached retirement age.

As mentioned in the introduction, this brief on Ostrobothnia focus on four tasks: identify local challenges and needs of local communities, reflect on opportunities associated to an immigration of TCNs and to illuminate potential misperceptions about the role of migration. The first point – to identify local challenges in the case study area related to the arrival and settlement of TCNs – is related to housing issues, labour market access and the educational level of the immigrants. Available housing exists, but usually smaller rental flats. Bigger rental flats, for families with many children, are scarce. The available housing is in villages, usually far away from services and jobs. The educational level of the TCNs is significantly lower than for the natives, which makes the access to the labour market difficult. There are unqualified jobs available in the four studied municipalities, but it is mostly seasonal work in agriculture and fur-farming.

To identify needs of local communities, in terms of enhancing the active role of migrants in territorial development and supporting their integration through innovative initiatives, this second point highlight the difficulties to make the TCNs stay in the four analysed municipalities. By law, the
municipalities are not allowed to influence the immigrant if they chose to pick up Swedish or Finnish as their integration language in Finland. However, if the TCN pick up Finnish as integration language in Swedish speaking municipalities, that person will obstruct his/her integration: if you do not speak Swedish you will not get a job, you will encounter social barriers due to language in contact with the natives etc. Most of the refugees picking up Finnish as integration language in the Swedish speaking Finland have no intention to remain in the region – they move to the major cities in the Finnish speaking south. The integration programs provided by the municipalities are costly, and if many or even all refugees move south, these municipalities have wasted valuable resources in vain.

It is important to reflect on opportunities associated to immigration of TCNs for European rural and mountain regions with respect to the potential role of these territories within the EU, which is done in the third point. If the TCNs would stay in the four analysed municipalities, and if they would learn the language, the potential these immigrants would have on the territorial development for the analysed municipalities cannot be underestimated. In all focus groups and interviews made, it has been explicitly mentioned that these immigrants are both wanted and needed, for keeping up demand, as labour, revitalising rural villages, just a few more children and the small schools can remain open etc. Today – as refugees move as soon as they can and do not learn the language – the impact of TCNs actually exacerbate the current (negative) development trends.

The fourth point, to illuminate potential misperceptions about the role of migration and providing concrete suggestions on how to change these misconceptions towards a facts-based and place-based knowledge, is a challenge. Indeed, there are misconceptions about the role and effects of immigration to rural regions. Often, the positive aspects are exaggerated and the negative ignored (see e.g., Rauhut et al., 2021). Unfortunately, misconceptions on the effects may lead to decision-making with undesired consequences. Many of the misconceptions on immigration as a panacea are exposed when discussing the social dimensions (MSD) and economic dimension (MED) in the Matilde project.

With regard to the MSD social protection, the risk of poverty is much higher for TCNs than for natives in the four case study municipalities. As TCNs pick up insecure unqualified and low-paid jobs, their income levels are below the natives’. This suggests an ongoing process of increased social polarisation.

The MSDs monitoring social cohesion, also suggest an increased social polarisation in society. As the Finnish labour market is predominantly knowledge-based, the relatively low educational levels
of TCNs make it more difficult for them to enter the Finnish labour market. That the TCNs have a significantly higher unemployment rate is a logical outcome of the lower educational levels. Most TCNs do not pick up Swedish, which make it difficult for them to get a job and to participate in the local community. Unfortunately, this leads to a decreased social cohesion in society.

The MSD access to and quality of services consists of two indicators: housing and accessibility of services. It is difficult for TCNs to obtain housing in the four studied municipalities. However, there are available housing to buy, but without a regular income, banks will not give credits. The rental market is small, especially when it comes to rental housing hosting families with many children. Due to this, many TCNs experience an overcrowding problem when it comes to housing. A second issue related to this is that the available housing is usually located in smaller villages with basic services only. If you do not have a car, accessibility to more services is reduced. Many TCNs who are refugees struggle with this as they do not have a car.

Regarding the MSD active participation and citizenship rights, the interviews and focus group interviews suggest the existence of parallel societies. The immigrants socialise with other immigrants. Due to the labour shortage, the locals welcome TCNs because they want the immigrants to stay. The NGOs, organisations and clubs active in immigrant integration are many in this area. However, refugees leave the area as soon as they can, and labour migrants mainly come for the seasonal work.

When analysing the MEDs, the impact of TCNs on economic growth suggest ambiguous and equivocal findings. Generally, immigrant labour, TCNs or not, is needed to keep the production going in low-productive and labour-intensive sectors that the natives have left (agriculture, and manufacturing industry). Too low salaries and unstable work conditions have caused this. Such work is low-productive and does not stimulate economic growth. The GDP per capita in Ostrobothnia 2018 is only 95 per cent of the average for Finland and in the four analysed municipalities in the region of Jakobstad it is even less: 94.3 per cent of the national average (Statistics Finland, 2021).

For the MED monitoring the impact of TCNs on the labour market the findings are just as ambiguous and equivocal as for the first MED. The labour market is segregated, and immigrants work usually in branches the natives have left. Without this immigrant labour, the local labour markets would stop working, with the result that companies either must move the production, close production, or replace labour with capital. The latter would have a positive impact on productivity and
economic growth, but, at the same time, increase total unemployment and welfare dependency. The demand for immigrant labour is highest in the branches dominated by a seasonal labour demand.

The MED focusing on the impact of TCNs on productivity and innovation indicate disappointing findings. During the interviews and focus group discussions none of the participants could mention any example of innovations related to TCNs, or even immigrants in general. The impact of immigrant labour, TCNs or not, on productivity is going in the wrong direction. This labour is used to fill the gaps in low-productive and labour-intensive branches related to agriculture, manufacturing, and the service sector. None of these branches require any higher human capital. Unfortunately, it seems like immigrant labour is used to retain low-productive and labour-intensive sectors.

The last MED, dealing with the impact of TCNs on entrepreneurship, also suggested rather disappointing findings. We have to keep in mind that this Finnish region is well-known for being entrepreneurial to start with. However, a few examples of TCN entrepreneurship were mentioned during the interviews and focus group discussions. Most TCN entrepreneurship is characterised by three things: 1) the entrepreneurship is used by many immigrants, TCNs or not, to improve their own situation in the four case study municipalities. 2) Often immigrant entrepreneurship takes place in the low-productive and labour-intensive service sector. 3) The number of TCN entrepreneurs are few, which partly can be explained by a low number of TCNs in the four studied municipalities.

When analysing the territorial dimension of the TCN immigration to the four case study municipalities, the impact is small, both socially and economically. One explanation for this is that the number of TCNs is small in this area. As noted earlier, both in this report and in Rauhut et al. (2021), the TCNs are needed to fill the vacancies in insecure, low-paid and unqualified jobs, often seasonal jobs, in this region. Such jobs do not boost economic growth – on the contrary, by keeping economically unproductive sectors alive, the region risk to get stuck in a vicious circle of underdevelopment. If this happens, the region will experience a significantly lower economic growth than regions undergoing and economic change. Already today Ostrobothnia struggles with regional development problems and territorial inequalities. To be so dependent on low-productive and labour-intensive sectors hampers regional development. Moreover, the economic sustainability is also challenged as there are few sectors to lead the development if low-productive and labour-intensive sectors stagnate.
To summarise this report in a few sentences is not a simple task. In many ways the findings are contradictory, and there are many separate tales in this story. There are not many TCNs in the studied four municipalities and most of them are refugees. The TCN labour migrants come for the seasonal jobs and then they leave again; most refugees stay about two years before they leave for the bigger cities in the south of Finland. Although the respondents are correct that refugees leave for cities such as Helsinki, Tampere and Turku, many refugees also leave Finland. Finland is not the way many refugees thought it would be. The long, dark and cold winters repelled many refugees, but also the fact that it was difficult to get a job and learning the languages in Finland. Moreover, Finland is a very rural country with few cities. Many refugees who obtained a permanent visa in Finland leave Finland for other countries in central Europe (Laine and Rauhut 2018). In this perspective, the studied four municipalities serve as a gateway, not only for Finland, but also for the EU.

Parallel to this, the TCNs are most welcomed in the four case study municipalities. There are available jobs and housing in the area. If refugees stay instead of leaving as soon as they can, they will make friends with the natives. This would open the doors to local networks, which, in turn, would lead to better jobs. With better jobs the incomes would be higher, and banks would be willing to give credits to buy housing.

The conclusion of this brief is that both the statistical data and the focus group interviews have pointed at a marginal impact of the TCNs on the local labour market in the four studied municipalities. A main reason for this is the small number of TCNs to start with. In the continued case study work, participatory research in these municipalities will try to illuminate to what extent this conclusion appears reasonable or not.
References


Germany

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1. Introduction: Migrant Employment and Integration by Work

In the five MATILDE rural districts Berchtesgadener Land (BGL), Garmisch-Partenkirchen (GAP), Neustadt a.d. Aisch – Bad Windsheim (NEA), Oberallgäu (OA) and Regen (REG) in Bavaria, Germany, the absolute number of TCN (Third country national) employees subject to social security contributions increased since 2015 (see Figure 1). This development is also reflected in a relative increase in the share of TCN employees subject to social security contributions among all employees on-site (see Figure 2).

**Figure 30:** Development of TCN employees subject to social security contributions in MATILDE rural districts 2015-2020

(own illustration based on data from Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2015-2021)
Employment of TCNs in rural and mountain areas is crucial for both the companies in the light of labour shortages and the regions to maintain a diversified regional economy and follow successful paths of development. Finally, for the migrants themselves, employment is a prerequisite and means for self-realization as well as building up a future and an important argument for staying in the countryside.

To capture the multiple perspectives on migrant employment in rural and mountain areas, three perspectives are taking into account in the local case study (see Figure 3). Thematically, a focus is put on the MATILDE economic dimension (MED), including, for instance, the impact on regional labour markets and companies, development of entrepreneurship and impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. Strongly interrelated to TCN employment, however, are indicators that describe the dimension “attractiveness of the region”, e.g. via the share of immigrants.
who can be acquired to the region or tend to stay there (MATILDE territorial dimension, MTD). Finally, the MATILDE social dimension (MSD) is considered, since social cohesion at the workplace and beyond as well as accessibility are addressed.

![Figure 32: Multi-perspectivity on migrant employment](own illustration)

To provide a briefing for the WP5 case studies in Bavaria, four economic sectors are presented, based on an analysis of secondary data provided by the Federal Statistical Office as well as by the Federal Employment Agency (BA), existing scientific and regional literature, previous interviews conducted in the course of the Work Packages 2, 3 and 4 as well as 16 qualitative interviews. In addition, regional and local gatekeepers in the MATILDE rural districts were contacted for off-the-record conversations and to provide feedback on the text drafts.
2. MATILDE Economic Dimension (MED): Sectors and rural districts under study

The assessment of employment of TCNs in the MATILDE region Bavaria in the course of WP5 follows a place-based approach, considering both foundational economies\(^7\) and local and regional economic structures. Regarding the latter aspect, key economic sectors were chosen that caused a certain regional path-dependency\(^8\) and were relevant also in terms of share of employees. The selection is based on statistical data and qualitative assessment of local stakeholders in the course of WP2 and WP4 (Weidinger & Kordel 2020; Kordel & Weidinger 2021b). The sectors under study encompass:

- (health)care (chapter 2.1),
- hospitality industry (chapter 2.2),
- industrial production (chapter 2.3), and
- handicrafts (chapter 2.4).

In the following, we highlight the local-regional relevance\(^9\) of the four sectors and designate certain MATILDE rural districts, where participatory activities are being conducted. In terms

\(^7\) Foundational economies are economic activities that constitute the material infrastructure of social life (Barbera et al. 2016).

\(^8\) See for instance Martin & Sunley (2006). The key economic sectors under study are of specific relevance in the study regions, but also play a major role in other rural and mountain areas in Germany.

\(^9\) As it was shown in the economic impact assessment (WP4), place of living and place of work often do not coincide and commuting also medium and long distances could be identified as an established practice, including related obstacles (Kordel & Weidinger 2021b). Thus, local case studies to be carried out in the course of WP5 may sometimes not focus on LAU or even NUTS-3 scale, but may have to be larger in scale.
of regional peculiarities, data on employment from September 2020 show that employees in the specific sector of (health)care have a relatively high share among all employees subject to social security contributions in GAP, BGL and NEA (see Table 1). The hospitality industry exhibits high shares in the Alpine districts BGL, GAP and OA, and industrial production predominates in REG and OA (see also Weidinger & Kordel 2020)\textsuperscript{10}. Regarding low-paid or marginally employed individuals, the hospitality industry had a considerable share (12.0 to 16.4% of all marginally employed individuals in the districts (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021b, c, d, e, f).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BGL</th>
<th>GAP</th>
<th>NEA</th>
<th>OA</th>
<th>REG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Health)care\textsuperscript{11}</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality industry\textsuperscript{12}</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial production\textsuperscript{13}</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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\textbf{Table 7}: Share of employees subject to social security contributions in the specific sector of all employees in the rural districts in 09/2020
(\textit{own illustration based on data from Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021b, c, d, e, f})

\textsuperscript{10} Handicraft is not considered here, as there are no comparable data available.

\textsuperscript{11} Following the Classification of Occupations (\textit{Klassifikation der Berufe}) developed by the Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, BA), the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) in 2010, (health) care is approximated by occupations in medical and health care occupations (including e.g. doctors’ receptionists and assistants, medical assistants, occupations in nursing, emergency medical services and obstetrics or pharmacists) and non-medical healthcare, body care, wellness and medical technicians (including e.g. occupations in geriatric care).

\textsuperscript{12} Hospitality industry is approximated by occupations in tourism, hotels and restaurants.

\textsuperscript{13} Handicraft and industrial production is approximated by occupations in production of raw materials and goods, and manufacturing (including e.g. mining, production of building materials, glass-making, plastic-making and -processing, wood-working and -processing, paper-making and -processing, metal-making and -working, machine-building and automotive industry, mechatronics, energy electronics and electrical engineering, textile and leather-making and -processing, food-production and -processing).
When zooming in on the relatively small number of foreign employees in general and TCN employees in particular, data for the five MATILDE rural districts display a variation in high absolute numbers with regard to the sectors according to the most recent data available (December 2020). Foreign employees in (health)care accounted for more than 1,000 employees in BGL and GAP. In hospitality industry, handicraft and industrial production, this was observable for OA, GAP and BGL respectively OA, BGL, NEA and REG (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BGL</th>
<th>GAP</th>
<th>NEA</th>
<th>OA</th>
<th>REG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Health)care¹⁴</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality industry¹⁵</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>1,867</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial production¹⁶</td>
<td>1,410</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>1,352</td>
<td>1,746</td>
<td>1,129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Number of foreign employees subject to social security contributions in the MATILDE rural districts according to economic activities in 12/2020

(own illustration based on data from Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021 g, h, i, j, k)

Based on the data and the qualitative assessment of local stakeholders, we chose to study
- (health)care in the rural district NEA with a special focus on the spa town of Bad Windsheim, where respective infrastructures form a spatial cluster (see chapter 2.1),

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¹⁴ Following the Classification of economic activities (Klassifikation der Wirtschaftszweige) of the Federal Statistical Office Germany, (health)care is approximated by economic activities regarding human health and social work (including hospital activities, medical and dental practice activities, residential care activities and social work activities without accommodation).

¹⁵ Hospitality industry is approximated by economic activities regarding accommodation and food service (including hotels, guest houses, holiday centers, camping grounds, restaurants, cafés and bars).

¹⁶ Handicraft and industrial production is approximated by economic activities regarding manufacturing of food products, beverages, tobacco products, textiles, wearing apparels, leather and related products, wood, paper and paper products, printing, coke and refined petroleum products, chemicals and chemical products, basic pharmaceutical products, rubber and plastic products, non-metallic mineral products, basic metals, fabricated metal products, computer, electronic and optical products, electrical equipment, machinery and equipment, motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers, furniture, jewelry, bijouterie and related articles as well as repair and installation of machinery and equipment.
• hospitality industry in the Alpine rural districts BGL (and GAP) with a special focus on the southern and mountainous parts of the districts, where tourism accommodation and activities are concentrated (see chapter 2.2),
• industrial production in the rural district REG with a special focus on plastic and wood processing, metal processing and automotive and mechanical engineering (see chapter 2.3), and
• handicraft in the rural district OA (see chapter 2.4).

2.1 (Health)Care
In light of the COVID-19 pandemic and even before, health(care) infrastructure was considered an important pillar in terms of provision of basic goods (Daseinsvorsorge) in rural and mountain areas and is commonly addressed as foundational economy (Barbera et al. 2016). In September 2020, about 434,000 people in Bavaria were employed in the health industry (thereof about 24,000 TCNs) and 342,000 people in residential care activities and social work activities without accommodation, especially for the elderly (thereof about 22,000 TCNs; Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021m). Drawing on employment data, the Federal Employment Agency found that care workers, in particular, are predominantly women, who are employed part-time. In elderly care, unskilled employment represents a relatively high share – around 48% of the workforce, while it is only 16% in nursing care. For unskilled workers, an oversupply of potential work force was identified by the same institution, while on professional level, a shortage exists. The latter affects the whole range of healthcare personnel from doctors to nurses to service personnel and personal care of the elderly (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021m).

In the rural district of Neustadt a.d. Aisch-Bad Windsheim (NEA), the healthcare sector is part of the TOP5 list of economic activities by share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions (see Table 3). Regarding TCNs employed in all sectors subject to social security contributions, individuals from Turkey (240), Syria (156), United States (117), Russia (93) and Serbia (86) predominated in September 2020 (Statistik der Bundesagentur...
für Arbeit 2021d). 57 individuals from Balkan and Eastern Europe\textsuperscript{17} as well as 27 from so-called asylum countries of origin\textsuperscript{18} were found to be working in human health and social work activities (December 2020, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021m).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Economic Activity</th>
<th>Share of employees</th>
<th>Number of employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>9,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>5,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human health activities</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>2,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential care activities and social work activities without accommodation</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>2,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>2,488</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Table 9}: Share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions in the rural district of NEA according to TOP5 economic activities in 09/2020
(Source: Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021d)

Like other regions in Bavaria, NEA raised the political awareness for the topic of health and successfully applied for the label “health region plus” (\textit{Gesundheitsregion plus}) in 2015. A particular emphasis is put on regional networking activities that aim at enhancing the health status of the population, improving health-related quality of life and the optimization of health infrastructures (Landratsamt Neustadt a.d. Aisch-Bad Windsheim 2021a). As a management and steering tool, an annual health forum (\textit{Gesundheitsforum}) comprising local politicians as well as representatives from outpatient and inpatient (health)care infrastructures and health care providers was implemented (WP5DE004, WP5DE016). Besides, working groups focus on healthcare, prevention and psychological health are

\textsuperscript{17} This term covers Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and North Macedonia.

\textsuperscript{18} This term covers Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia and Syria.
established. The health forum reports about the current state of supply in the rural district and illustrates opportunities of fundings in various realms of the health sector. Target groups of the activities are employers and (potential) employees on the supply side and the local population on the demand side, while, recently, a responsible person was identified for onboarding and integration activities of foreign employees (WPDE016, Landratsamt Neustadt a.d.Aisch-Bad Windsheim 2021b).

The peculiarity of the structure of the healthcare sector in NEA is its concentration in the small town of Bad Windsheim, located in the centre of the rural district. Since the 1950s, the small town is a destination for spa tourism and touristic day trips from surrounding cities (Schach 2002) as well as retirement migration (Göler 1994). In 2019, the 22 accommodation providers with 1,496 beds\(^\text{19}\) generated 0.37 million annual overnight stays with a focus on the summer season (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021a), which equals to about 58% of all overnight stays in the rural district (own calculations based on Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021a). Rehabilitation centres and hospitals focusing on curing and prevention imply relatively long duration of stays of at least three weeks, while the average duration of stay in the small town is 4.3 days (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021a). In Bad Windsheim, health infrastructures, i.e., a public hospital, rehabilitation centres and elderly inpatient care are concentrated in the spa area in the North of the town, where also the spa and the spa garden are situated (see Map 1). Four specialists centres, so-called medical supply centres (MVZ), and a dialysis centre with a focus on the treatment of nephritic diseases, in addition, are located in there and in the old town (see Map 1). Hospitals for the general supply of the population and specific treatment for rehabilitation purpose comprise the majority of employees and report labour shortages especially since three years, resulting also in an understaffing of ICUs (intensive care units) (WP5DE016). In regional hospitals, the employment of TCN employees is especially high among doctors (WP5DE005). With regard to the provision of general practitioners (GPs) and medical specialists, the regional

\(^{19}\) In June 2021, there were 26 accommodation providers with 1,632 beds (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021a).
association of public health service doctors (KVB) reports a good supply or even an over-supply, based on the indicator GPs per inhabitants. However, challenges arise from the high average age of GPs. For elderly care, various facilities exist, ranging from a senior’s residence for relatively well-off people to elderly care in-patient facilities, run by both private companies and social welfare organizations. The latter also provide outpatient, ambulant supply and allow for a support of the elderly who reside in their homes. Representatives of hospitals and elderly care facilities report labour shortages, which has the effect that the care of patients is limited and beds cannot be occupied (WP5DE004). Moreover, a competitive situation with regard to employees is reported in the rural district (WP5DE005, WP5DE016).

**Map 1:** Health care facilities in Bad Windsheim, Bavaria, Germany
(Idea: Stefan Kordel, Cartography: Lukas Schorner)

*Recruiting – on-boarding – retention*
Overall, strategies that aim to enhance the reputation of employment in the (health)care sector, e.g. by means of attractive professional trainings schemes or additional payment, are introduced, while the recruitment of both nationals and TCNs represents an important and increasingly acknowledged strategy. Specific programmes, launched by the Bavarian State Ministry of Health and Care (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Gesundheit und Pflege), intend to support medical students and motivate them to work in rural areas by means of scholarships, while the regional hospitals extend this funding to foster bonding. Similar to this programme, NEA is eligible for funding and scholarships for future country GPs (Landärzte, cf. Landratsamt Neustadt a. d. Aisch - Bad Windsheim 2021b). The centre of healthcare professions NEA, a nursing school located in the small town of Scheinfeld, is a key actor and fosters various activities to motivate pupils to start an apprenticeship, e.g. activities in local media, fairs etc. Due to the bad accessibility by public transport, the rural district recently agreed on a relocation of the school to Bad Windsheim (WP5DE016).

Various ways for recruiting personnel are tested and implemented, ranging from classical advertisement to incentives and bonus payments for co-workers in case they attract new employees (WP5DE004, WP5DE005). In addition, private recruiting agencies or activities by the rural district have to be mentioned, e.g. the recruiting of Vietnamese care workers in cooperation with agencies in the source countries. A huge diversity of employees in terms of nationalities can be identified, while some facilities have a preference for personnel from Eastern European countries or acknowledge cultural challenges in terms of on-boarding regarding people from Arabic or Asian countries (WP5DE005). With support of placement agencies, for instance, personnel was recruited from Asian and MENA (Middle East and North Africa) countries, while a certain knowledge of German Language (level B2) is considered a precondition. Based on previous experiences with regard to insufficient knowledge of language, a voluntary social year is introduced prior to an apprenticeship by one company (WP5DE004). The acquisition of personnel from abroad is especially addressed as challenging in terms of young people aged 18-20, since they would need more guidance and intensive on-boarding. Programmes for the recognition of credentials of employees, who
already have professional experiences in their countries of origin, instead, is evaluated as more promising (WP5DE016). High skilled workers, e.g. doctors, who already live in the country mostly take the initiative by themselves and apply for a job. Other TCNs, who already reside in the region, are not explicitly addressed by recruiting measures and there is no established communication channel.

For the on-boarding process within the company, practical instructors were established in those facilities, where personnel resources allow this re-allocation. Besides, some companies also support the provision of housing, since they experienced discrimination of foreigners on the private housing market (WP5DE004, WP5DE005). The health region programme also supports with housing and is currently establishing on-boarding activities in the social realm to provide valuable support especially for smaller facilities. Excursions, day trips or a virtual exchange meeting (Digitaler Stammtisch) for foreign employees are realized. Moreover, additional language courses with a focus on work-related aspects are provided both on initiative of a company in cooperation with a local language course provider (WP5DE005) or the rural district in cooperation with the nursing school (WP5DE004, WP5DE016).

With regard to retention, an overall welcoming culture within the company was identified as crucial (WP5DE004, WP5DE005, WP5DE016). Besides, however, cultural and social integration in the region should be fostered according to the interviewees.

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### 2.2 Hospitality industry

The hospitality industry is one of the most important economic sectors in Bavaria as it provides employment subject to social security contributions for about 190,000 employees, thereof about 34,000 TCNs (September 2020, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021). In the past, the sector was quite resilient to crises (Hopfinger 2011). Nevertheless, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and related closures, travel restrictions and curfews, hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, cafés and bars were and are still suffering. While, between 1989
and 2019\textsuperscript{20}, the number of overnight stays in Bavaria increased from 74,752,290 to 100,911,480, the industry faced a significant decline of 40.6\% in 2020 (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021d). Recently, however, a fast recovery is witnessed – at least in terms of domestic tourism (WP3WP4DE009, Berchtesgadener Anzeiger 2021).

In the rural district Berchtesgadener Land (BGL), the hospitality industry is part of the TOP5 list of economic activities by share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions in September 2020 (see Table 4)\textsuperscript{21}. Regarding TCNs employed in all sectors subject to social security contributions, individuals from Western Balkan, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina (360), Kosovo (200) and Serbia (113), as well as Turkey (174) and Afghanistan (134) predominate (September 2020, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021). 122 individuals from Balkan and Eastern Europe\textsuperscript{22} as well as 82 from so-called asylum countries of origin\textsuperscript{23} were found to be working in the hospitality industry (December 2020, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021). In terms of low-paid employees, hospitality industry has the highest share and number of employees in the rural district (see Table 5). Here, TCNs from Kosovo (33), Bosnia and Herzegovina (30) and Turkey (25) were the most important ones for all sectors (September 2020, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Economic Activity</th>
<th>Share of employees</th>
<th>Number of employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>7,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>5,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human health activities</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>4,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation &amp; food service activities</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>3,195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{20} Only accommodation with more than ten beds is considered from 2010 on.

\textsuperscript{21} In the rural district Garmisch-Partenkirchen (GAP), tourism is similarly structured and plays a comparably important role. The district will be involved in a later phase and is therefore not considered in this report.

\textsuperscript{22} This term covers Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and North Macedonia.

\textsuperscript{23} This term covers Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia and Syria.
Table 10: Share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions in the rural district of BGL according to TOP5 economic activities in 09/2020
(Source: Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Economic Activity</th>
<th>Share of employees</th>
<th>Number of employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation &amp; food service activities</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>2,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>1,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts, Entertainment and Recreation; Other service activities; Activities of households as employers; Undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>1,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate activities; Professional scientific and technical services</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Share of and number of low-paid employees in the rural district of BGL according to TOP5 economic activities in 09/2020
(Source: Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021b)

Since the 19th century, BGL has been a steadily growing tourism destination (Schöner 1982) and is known for its national park and its alpine biosphere reserve. Nowadays, hospitality industry equals about 14% of the gross value added in the rural district BGL (including related economies, WP5DE015). The district generated 2.98 million overnight stays in 2019, thereof 0.38 million by foreigners (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2020), while arrivals tend to be twice as high during summer season (see Map 2). Around a dozen first class hotels with

\[24\] Only accommodation with more than ten beds is considered.
more than 200-300 beds each are located in the district (WP5DE006). In addition, further 0.81 million overnight stays are reported in hotels and guesthouses with nine or less beds, revealing the small-scale structure of mostly family-owned and -managed tourist accommodation in the district (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021e). Most of the providers of holiday homes also have other main jobs (outside tourism) and are only keen on receiving additional earnings (WP5DE006). The eight municipalities situated in the southern mountainous part of the district, i.e. Bad Reichenhall, Bayerisch Gmain, Berchtesgaden, Bischofswiesen, Marktschellenberg, Ramsau, Schönau am Königssee and Schneizlreuth (see also Map 2), account for 90% of all overnight stays25 (own calculations, Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2020) and are thus characterised by a high tourism intensity.

25 Only accommodation with more than ten beds is considered.
Map 2: Tourism intensity (overnight stays/1000 inhabitants) in the rural district Berchtesgadener Land
In order to better pool the region’s strengths and improve tourism marketing, various more or less formalized cooperation between different stakeholders have been established in the southern part of the district. The two important ones are the Bad Reichenhall Tourism and City Marketing (Bad Reichenhall Tourismus & Stadtmarketing GmbH), comprising the neighbouring municipalities of Bad Reichenhall and Bayerisch Gmain, and the special-purpose association mountain experience Berchtesgaden (Zweckverband Bergerlebnis Berchtesgaden), an inter-municipal alliance which seeks to enhance tourism in the municipalities Berchtesgaden, Bischofswiesen, Marktschellenberg, Ramsau and Schönau a. Königssee (Zweckverband Bergerlebnis Berchtesgaden 2021).²⁶ To foster individual tourism instead of mass tourism, a new initiative titled “Tourism 2040” is being established by the local administration, the local branch of the hospitality organisation (DEHOGA) as well as various universities (WP5DE003).

Foreign workforce plays a major role in the hospitality industry in BGL. While employees from EU countries have been working in this service sector since decades, in the last 15 years, labour shortage especially of support staff and apprentices, was mitigated also by means of EU citizens and TCNs (WP5DE003, WP5DE015). In recent years, asylum seekers and refugees could fill vacancies especially in the gastronomy sector (WP5DE006). Those are mainly employed as service staff, e.g. as kitchen helpers or dishwashers, while some of them manage to progress their careers rapidly (WP5DE006).

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, however, companies had to close twice (or even more often) and could mostly only provide short-time allowances to their employees for a long time. As a result, local experts estimated that between 10-20% of the workforce left the hospitality industry for other economic sectors (WP5DE003, WP5DE006, WPDE015, see also Berchtesgadener Anzeiger 2021), aggravating the shortage of workers (WP5DE003). Besides, self-employment among foreigners in general and TCNs in particular can be reported. In the

²⁶ Three municipalities of the northern part of the district, i.e. Anger, Piding and Teisendorf are associated partners of the special-purpose association.
gastronomy sector, individuals from the Western Balkan and Asia predominate. In the hotel business, some managers of Eastern European decent are of relevance.

*Reaching - on-boarding - retention*

Most successful recruitment strategies on-site seem to draw on personal contact and word-to-mouth communication (WP5DE003). Building up a sustainable personal relationship between companies and source regions abroad is a common strategy among some entrepreneurs (e.g. WP5DE014). Migrant entrepreneurs from Western Balkan and Asian countries, in particular, seem to recruit employees among family members and relatives in their countries of origin and in Germany, fostering (temporary) chain migration (WP5DE003, WP5DE010). Making use of established contacts is also identified as a possible strategy for recruiting personnel in the hospitality industry (e.g. WP5DE007). Moreover, the local Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the local branch of the hospitality organisation, the employers and the Commissioner for Integration are currently planning to implement an extra-occupational apprenticeship, which also includes a German language course (WP5DE003). This is considered to increase the recruitment rate in general and fill a gap in existing offers as it is more appealing for TCNs, who seek to transfer money to their families back home. The main challenge with regard to recruiting labour force from abroad stems from long waiting times to get visa (WP5DE003, WP5DE010, WP5DE015). Besides, only a low demand for fast-track procedures for skilled personnel is witnessed (WP5DE015).

Regarding the on-boarding of TCNs, three main challenges could be identified so far. First, entrepreneurs lack time to train new employees due to heavy workload (WP5DE003). Second, TCNs lack social bonds to native speakers of their mother tongue, which may foster feelings of discomfort and dissatisfaction and can cause dropouts of apprentices (WP5DE003). Third, employees in general and TCN employees in particular often face difficulties to get access to housing in BGL and only high-scaled hotels are able to offer company flats to their own employees (WP5DE003, 014). Therefore, a district-wide housing strategy is deemed necessary (WP5DE015). In addition to the challenges, knowledge of the German language is mostly considered a basic requirement for career advancement. It was
reported that German courses offered on a voluntary basis make an important contribution in this respect (WP5DE006).

With regard to retention of TCN employees, no overall strategies were observable yet. Instead, singular engagement of individual entrepreneurs and actors from civil society is witnessed (WP5DE003, WP5DE006). This engagement includes opportunities for further qualification (WP5DE010, WP5DE014) or incentives, such as the supply of mobility (WP5DE014). In addition, individual activities intend to strengthen place attachment among foreign employees, e.g. by means of hiking together (WP5DE015).

2.3 Industrial production

According to the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, Regional Development and Energy (StMWi), industry is the engine of economic development in Bavaria and a core driving force for the value creation process (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft, Landesentwicklung und Energie 2021). In September 2020, 1.4 million employees worked in industrial production, thereof about 76,000 TCNs (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021). Car production and car component industry are especially important in this regard, and despite being concentrated regionally, the demand for labour could and can only be met by means of big commuter catchment areas and busses provided by companies.

In the rural district Regen (REG), manufacturing plays a very important role and leads the TOP5 list of economic activities by share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions in September 2020 (see Table 6). At the same time, Regen has the highest share of workers involved in plastic and wood processing (6.1% of all employees) and metal processing (6.1% of all employees) among the five Bavarian MATILDE districts (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021a), which is partly related to the availability of natural resources, e.g. wood. It also has a comparably high share occupied in automotive and mechanical engineering (6.6%, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021a), which is not least due to the spatial proximity to plants of Audi and BMW. Foreign workers, two thirds of
them men, comprised 12.4% of the total workforce\textsuperscript{27} of the rural district (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021a). The majority (85%) of the 3,690 foreign employees in jobs subject to social insurance contributions originated from other EU countries, mostly from the neighbouring Czech Republic, from Poland, Romania and Hungary. The 570 TCN workers, instead, are mainly from Syria, Kosovo and Afghanistan (140, 60 respectively 57 individuals; Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021a) and are mostly men (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021n). However, those from non-European asylum countries\textsuperscript{28} tended to be younger and less frequently hired as specialists compared to their counterparts from Balkan and Eastern Europe\textsuperscript{29} (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021n). Latest data from December 2020 indicate that companies involved in manufacturing employ 95 TCN workers from non-European asylum countries and 46 TCN workers from Balkan and Eastern Europe, subject to social security contributions (Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021n). However, individuals hired via temporary employment agencies are not considered in this count. In terms of low-paid employees, manufacturing has the second highest share and number of employees in the rural district (see Table 7). Similarly to employees subject to social security contributions, the majority of the 333 low-paid employed foreigners stemmed from other EU countries in September 2020, especially from the Czech Republic. In autumn 2020, the remaining 94 TCN workers were mostly from Syria and Kosovo (14 respectively 11 individuals; Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021a). So far, however, there is no quantitative information about the low-paid occupation of TCNs in manufacturing. With regard to vocational training, foreigners only play a minor role so far (5.3% of all apprentices)\textsuperscript{30}. However, three fourth are TCNs, mainly Afghan, Syrian and Iraqi citizens (21, eleven respectively five apprentices, September 2020; Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021n).

\textsuperscript{27} This refers to the total number of jobs subject to social security contributions.

\textsuperscript{28} This term covers Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia and Syria.

\textsuperscript{29} This term covers Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia.

\textsuperscript{30} In vocational schools, the share of foreign students among all 1,628 students is much higher (17.2%) (Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik 2021b). This is related to the fact that all those who required to attend school are taught there, including asylum seekers.
The high number of TCNs may be related to the fact that vocational training facilitates their legal continuation of stay in Germany. Especially among people, whose application for asylum is pending or was denied, the 3+2 rule \( (3+2-\text{Regelung}) \) is an option that allows them to pursue a three-year vocational training and continue to work in the company or the field up to two years after (Hackl 2020; cf. Kordel & Weidinger 2021a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Economic Activity</th>
<th>Share of employees</th>
<th>Number of employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>10,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>3,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>2,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential care activities and social work activities without accommodation</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>2,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation &amp; food service activities</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>2,117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions in the rural district of REG according to TOP5 economic activities in 09/2020
(Source: Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021f)
as employers; Undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use

| Other service activities | 7.6% | 567 |

Table 13: Share of and number of low-paid employees in the rural district of REG according to TOP5 economic activities in 09/2020
(Source: Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021f)

One half of the companies identified as being involved in industrial production in REG are SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) with less than 250 employees, the other half is (at least partly) much bigger, some operating as part of multi-corporate and multi-national enterprises. A few of the companies may even be termed ‘hidden champions’ (Brunner 2010). Nevertheless, since the 2010s, a lack of workers in this sector is reported (Adam 2014; PNP 2012), while most of them already got involved in the employment of TCNs – either as interns, apprentices or part-time or full-time employees. Recently, the rural district development agency started a participatory process about the future development of the region (PNP 2021). For companies, in particular, it is deemed vital to achieve long-term location security by means of recruiting new apprentices and qualified workers as well as retaining them.

Recruiting – on-boarding – retention

In terms of recruiting, the district-owned rural district development agency (Arberland REGio GmbH) provides a networking platform dealing with securing skilled workforce and the marketing of the region and its companies, both internally and externally. Thus, the rural development agency hosts a job platform and organises job fairs. While a focus is put on the recruitment of individuals who formerly left the region, in the past, they also unsuccessfully aimed at attracting foreign workers from southern and south-eastern Europe in the course of the “Job of my life”-project funded by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs on behalf of local companies. Besides, the district also attracted funding for an IQ (integration
through qualification) project titled “A living culture of welcome in ARBERLAND” (*Gelebte Willkommenskultur im ARBERLAND*) that targeted both international migrants living on-site and local companies and, until 2019, offered career and recognition counselling, qualification measures and entrepreneurial trainings.

Following the immigration of forced migrants in 2014/2015, the rural district administration, furthermore, established a new executive department titled “Education and integration” (*Stabsstelle Bildung und Integration*)\(^{31}\). The team is staffed by a person responsible for education management and monitoring (from 2017 to 2019, coordinator for educational offers for newcomers) and an integration guide (since 2018). These two persons aim at facilitating courses of education for TCNs to assist life-long learning, relieving language and cultural barriers as well as mediating the TCNs’ access to the labour market (see also Kordel & Weidinger 2021a). The regional adult education centre (*Volkshochschule Arberland Regen*), owned jointly by the rural district and the municipalities, is a further actor when it comes to recruiting as it provides language courses and qualification measures for TCNs on-site, thereof refugees\(^{32}\) and facilitates mandatory internships in private companies. From a previous research project, it is also known that local refugee relief groups in Bodenmais-Böbrach, Regen, Viechtach and Zwiesel as well as individual volunteers support applications of refugees and place them in local companies and mediate in everyday life in case problems occur (Kordel & Weidinger 2021b).

So far, however, the role of various other actors in the process of recruiting, on-boarding and retention of TCNs is still underresearched. This is not least true for the companies themselves, where there is only anecdotal evidence about the funding of language courses (PNP 2013) or facility visits for the specific group of refugees in the case of companies (PNP 2017). It also applies to the chamber and networks of companies such as the Chamber of Industry and Commerce Lower Bavaria (*IHK Niederbayern*) and the local associations

\(^{31}\) Recently, the executive department was regrouped to the central services department, led by the rural district administrator.

\(^{32}\) To improve its offers, they participated in two EU-funded projects in the past, i.e. “Way of Helping Immigrants through Education” (2008-2010) and “Educational Integration of Refugees. A Classroom Approach” (2016-2018).
“Economic Forum Regen” (Wirtschaftsforum Regen e.V) the “Business juniors Regen” (Wirtschaftsjunioren Regen e.V), whereby the latter had organised an information evening about the labour market integration of forced migrants in 2016, for instance (Wirtschaftsjunioren Regen 2016). Finally, further research has to take into account the contribution of the Federal Employment Agency, the four different temporary employment agencies on-site as well as further educational actors (e.g. middle schools (Mittelschulen), vocational schools, “Network school-economy Arberland” (Netzwerk Schule-Wirtschaft Arberland)\(^3\)) in terms of labour market integration of TCNs.

2.4 Handicraft

At the end of 2020, Bavaria counted 207,129 handicraft enterprises, which is the largest number among all Federal States in Germany (Statista 2021). Handicraft comprises 147 different professions, covering around 940,000 employees and equalling a share of 13% of all employees subject to social security contributions (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft, Landesentwicklung und Energie 2019). Moreover, around 71,000 apprentices are working in the handicraft sector, representing 30% of all apprentices in Bavaria (ibid.). In general, the handicraft sector in Bavaria mainly consists of small-sized companies, while more than 70% only have less than five employees (ibid.).

In the rural district Oberallgäu (OA), the handicraft sector plays an important role (Kordel & Weidinger 2021b). While figures indicate that 28.5% of all employees subject to social security contributions are working in the manufacturing sector, handicraft only comprises a small portion of manufacturing (see Table 8). However, the handicraft sector is an important pillar in the provision of services for local households and private persons. Besides, many craft enterprises are also partners or suppliers and service providers of other medium-sized enterprises as well as industry and large service companies (Bayerisches Staatsministerium

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\(^3\) The Network was founded as Working group school-economy Arberland (Arbeitskreis Schule-Wirtschaft Arberland) 30 years ago and revived in 2016. It consists of both school principals, teachers and entrepreneurs and is currently led by the person responsible for education management and monitoring.
Für Wirtschaft, Landesentwicklung und Energie (2019). In Oberallgäu, 3,038 TCNs are employed subject to social security contributions, with nationals from Turkey (979 individuals), Kosovo (203), Bosnia and Herzegovina (180), Syria (141) and Serbia (135) being the largest groups (September 2020, Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Economic Activity</th>
<th>Share of employees</th>
<th>Number of employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>16,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>6,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation &amp; food service activities</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>6,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate, professional scientific and technical services</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>5,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>4,502</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Share of and number of employees subject to social security contributions in the rural district of OA according to TOP5 economic activities in 09/2020 (Source: Statistik der Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021e)

The small handicraft companies often join forces in regional chambers to overcome size-specific disadvantages and receive and provide support and advice. In Oberallgäu, a total number of 175 handicraft enterprises is organised in the regional craft association (Kreishandwerkerschaft Oberallgäu) and its five guilds, i.e. carpentry, construction, hairdressing, painting and varnishing (KHS Oberallgäu 2021). Due to the difficulty to find young talent among Germans and EU-citizens, TCNs often join vocational trainings. Thereby, both potential companies and TCNs themselves are supported by means of a specific preparatory programme termed vocational integration year (Berufssintegrations-jahr) (WP5DE001).

Recruiting – on-boarding – retention
To recruit staff, apprenticeship fairs and information evenings at secondary schools are organised and job vacancies are advertised in local newspapers or at the Chamber of Crafts’ vacancy exchange (WP5DE001, WP5DE002). In addition, personal contacts are particularly valuable in organising the matching between jobseekers and employers (ibid.). For placing and mediating TCNs in internships, vocational trainings or regular jobs, word-of-mouth communication is considered important (WP5DE001). While volunteers, such as refugee relief groups, played an important role in the matching process in the past, a professionalization and institutionalization can be observed since then (ibid.). Since 1999, in addition, the Chamber of Crafts for the administrative district of Swabia has implemented a so-called ‘welcome guide’, who assists migrants living on-site and working or aiming to work in the handicraft sector as well as companies involved (Handwerkskammer Schwaben 2021). The recruitment from abroad, however, does not seem to play a major role in the handicraft sector in OA so far.

Regarding the on-boarding of TCNs, language barriers and differing expectations about the day-to-day-training are reported (WP5DE001, WP5DE002). Besides, differences in the practical processing (technical issues) between the country of origin and Germany may result in the intransferability of acquired skills (WP5DE001). To address these challenges, some enterprises have installed individual mentors who accompany TCNs during everyday work (ibid.).

The retention of TCNs in the company is of special interest for enterprises in the handicraft sector in OA. Yet, it is considered an ongoing challenge. Especially after the completion of a vocational training, TCNs often leave for better-paid workplaces in the manufacturing sector situated in the northern part of the rural district as well as larger cities in the region (WP5DE001). Loyalty to employers is embedded in the overall decision whether to stay in the region, which not only depends on the availability of a job, but also on other location advantages of the region and on the presence of family members on-site (WP5DE001).
3. Outlook: MATILDE Economic Dimension (MED) in interaction with MATILDE Social Dimension (MSD) and MATILDE Territorial Dimension (MTD)

Based on the above briefing on the four key economic sectors in the Bavarian rural districts under study, the relevance for the local economy and the provision of basic goods and services, as well as current developments, such as labour shortages could be identified. Moreover, relevant stakeholders and associations were illustrated and the role of TCNs was reported. In the further course of WP5, strengths and weaknesses, but also opportunities and threats of employment of TCNs will be analysed for three phases, we assume to be relevant: access to employment and recruitment (first phase), on-boarding (second phase) and retention of TCNs (third phase), not only in a chronological order, but taking place simultaneously. Thereby, further research in the local case studies in WP5 is guided by the following questions:

First, **access to employment and recruitment** is addressed.

- What narratives about motivations to hire TCNs can be identified among employers and stakeholders in the region?
- What practices of recruitment can be identified (public, private) and which networks are relevant?
What obstacles can be detected in terms of recruitment (bureaucratic issues, provision of housing, ...) in the light of local structures?

How do TCNs – both those having been recruited and those having resided in Germany - perceive the access to employment retrospectively? Are there differences between migrant groups?

What experiences of failure with regard to access to employment do TCNs report?

Second, on-boarding is taken into account.

Which kind of measures do employers and local / regional stakeholders consider as relevant for the on-boarding of TCNs?

How do employers become involved in first orientation both within the company and beyond?

What networks can be identified in terms of the provision of on-boarding measures?

How do co-workers react towards the employment of TCNs?

What experiences do TCNs report about their first weeks in the company? How do they evaluate measures? Are resources among the TCNs mobilized (agency)?

Third, retention and the staying orientation is considered.

How do employers describe the status quo of the establishment of bonds to the company (migrant-and non-migrant employees)?

Which kind of measures do employers and local / regional stakeholders consider as relevant for the retention of TCNs?

How did TCNs accumulate knowledge about employment alternatives both in the region and beyond in the light of social upward mobility?

What arguments can be identified for rural staying?

Bibliography


**Press articles**


1. Introduction: the selection of the two case studies

With respect to the thematic of the action-research, to be implemented in WP5, one of the two Italian case studies, South Tyrol (eastern Alps), focuses on TCNs labor integration in a multi-lingual and border region. The main aim of the activities to be conducted on the field is to foster a new awareness, both regarding public and private sectors, about the role of foreign immigrants in local economy, discussing the current situation of TCNs trying to enter the labour market (as to ameliorate their working conditions) and analysing bottlenecks as well as best practice examples related to labour integration.

The other Italian case study, the Metropolitan City of Turin (western Alps), focuses on the impact of TCN labour and forced migrants' settlement in mountain and peri-urban rural areas on housing patterns and socio-spatial transformation of villages. On this backdrop, several aspects will be considered: the dwelling, the use of public spaces, the local community’s ways of living and perceiving itself, and the connections between mountain areas and the rest of the province, with special regard to the capital city.

Considering the action-research and participatory activities to be held in WP5, to be based on community engagement and small numbers of stakeholders, it has been necessary a scaling-down while approaching, framing and enacting these two territories.
On the basis of mapping already conducted in WP2, in South Tyrol the district of Burgraviat near Venosta/Vinschgau Valley has been selected, focusing on the main town of the District – the touristic municipality of Merano (41115 inhabitants) – and on the small municipality of Tesimo (1991 inhabitants).

Map 1 – The Burgraviat District

(source: https://bar.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Comunit%C3%A0_comprensoriali_Alto_Adige.svg)

In Merano and Tesimo the local partner of MATILDE, Caritas BZ, runs since 2015 two reception centres for asylum seekers (“Arnica” in Merano and “Noah” in Tesimo, hosting around 90 people in all, including families with minors, single persons and young single mothers) and one counselling centre for immigrants (“Moca” in Merano, that gives advice to around 1200 persons a year). Merano represents, in our research an urban and macro pole, situated at the core of a productive and touristic mountain territory, offering many job positions (from service to tourism, agriculture, and manufactory) and access to mobility services: all features that tend to attract many immigrants, both temporary (seasonal workers) and long-term residents. Tesimo represents, on the other side, the rural and micro dimension of many municipalities of South Tyrol: the countryside world, more traditional, with a strong local and linguistic identity and a less
multi-ethnic population than Merano. As in most of the small rural contexts, here there are fewer services of public interest, in any case mostly accessible only by car, and there are also fewer professional opportunities than in the city of Merano. Hence a lower percentage of migrants is present on this territory.

The choice of Merano and Tesimo within the South Tyrol case-study is therefore linked to the following criteria: 1) a relevant share of non-EU migrant residents, at least in the city of Merano; 2) local actors available to collaborate in the project and the presence of reception centers for migrants; 3) the possibility of a comparison between macro and micro levels, between a town and a mountain village.

In the **Metropolitan City of Turin** the small-size municipality of **Bussoleno** (5806 inhabitants) in Susa Valley has been selected.

![Map 2. The Susa Valley and the city of Bussoleno.](source: https://collettivoantigone.wordpress.com/2015/06/30/tav-una-soluzione-alla-ricerca-del-problema)

Here the opportunities to engage local actors and residents in WP5 activities appeared even higher than in South Tyrol, due to the local history of welcoming migrants dating back to the early 1990s. Bussoleno has been therefore selected because of: 1) a relevant and long-lasting share of foreign residents (TCNs and also Eastern European EU citizens); 2) public spaces that
could be targeted by the action-research; 3) diversified interconnections (railway, commuting, services, etc.) between the small municipality and the regional capital of Turin; 4) local actors available to collaborate in the project, in particular active in the field of migrants inclusion (as Italian Red Cross, local Mayor, catholic church).

Given the different thematic focus of the two case studies, they will be presented here individually, on the basis of the most useful indicators derived from the Matilde Matrix: a comparative analysis will be presented in the conclusions of the report. While selecting the different indicators, in South Tyrol (Merano and Tesimo) more relevance has been put on the economic dimension, as the case-study focus of the action-research is labour integration. On the other side, in the Metropolitan city of Turin (Bussoleno) more attention has been devoted to the indicators related to the social and territorial dimensions, as the fieldwork will be on public spaces of encounter.
2. The spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of migrants

2.1 Merano and Tesimo (South Tyrol)

Considering the number and share of Third Country Nationals, the town of Merano has a higher percentage both of foreigners and of TCNs compared to Italy (where foreigners are 8.7% of national population; ISTAT 2019). In fact, while in the Burgraviat district there are 7217 TCNs residents (2020), that is the 6.8% of total population (64% of all foreigners), in the city of Merano we find 5102 TCNs residents (2020), that is the 12.3% of the total population and 72.9% of all foreigners. On the other side, the percentages of foreigners and TCNs in the small and mountain municipality of Tesimo are considerably lower: here we find only 83 TCNs residents (2020) forming 4.2% of the total population and 61.9% of all foreigners (ASTAT 2020. See Table 1 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tesimo</th>
<th>Merano</th>
<th>Burgraviat district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tot. Population</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>41381</td>
<td>105431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot. Foreigners</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>7005</td>
<td>11287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of TCNs</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>5102</td>
<td>7217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of TCNs on tot. population</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of TCNs on tot. foreigners</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td>72.9%</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 – South Tyrol case study – Foreign residents in Merano and Tesimo
In relation to the **age groups**, in Merano almost a quarter of the TCNs (23.9%) are minors, where adults 35-64 years old are the most numerous population (39.6%) followed by young adults, 18-34 years old (30.8%), while elderly people over 65s are very few (5.5%).

In Tesimo the population of TCNs is definitely younger: minors under 18 years are 30%, young adults are 44.5% and over 35 are 25%. Elderly people are definitely a minority (0.5%).

Relating to the **share of females**, in Merano 47.5% of all TCNs and 34.6% of all foreigners are female (N=2423), while in Tesimo 43.4% of all TCNs, 26.9% of all foreigners, are female (N=36) (ASTAT 2020. See Table 2 below).

Table 2 – South Tyrol case study - Age groups and share of females among TCNs (%)
in Merano and Tesimo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tesimo</th>
<th>Merano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-17 years</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-34 years</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-64 years</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65 years</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Share of females among TCN’s</strong></td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Share of females among foreigners</strong></td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


When considering the **TOP occupations of TCNs**, according to an interviewee working in a job placement agency in Burgraviat district (interview ITB33), the three main working sectors for migrants in Merano are tourism (hotel and restaurant), agriculture and food industry, while in Tesimo, agriculture prevails. Migrants tend to work in low-skilled job positions, where no particular training or previous experience are required. However, a minimum of training and
understanding of the language is also required to comply with work safety regulations, otherwise migrants do not get the job. Salaries are quite low but job offers do not lack, even though many migrants do not have a private car and depend on public transportation to reach the job places, with relevant problems with respect to daily commuting. Following the opinion of the interviewees, in the hotel sector, Asians workers are much appreciated and sought after, especially Pakistanis and Indians (cooking job), while women are more requested as maids on the floors. In local industry, North Africans males and migrants from Eastern Europe (Albania and Macedonia) prevail, also because many have a driving license and a private car. In agriculture, Moroccans men prevail, and more generally, Magrebi and Sub-Saharan workers, together with migrants from Asia (Interview ITB33).

Statistics of the Labour Market Observatory Office of Merano, (interview ITB32) confirm this scenario. The top 4 occupations in Merano in fact are: 1. personnel in cleaning and sanitation services; 2. cooks in hotels and restaurants; 3. low-skilled personnel in tourism services; 4. cleaning staff in hotels and other reception structures. In Tesimo the top 4 occupation are: 1. low-skilled personnel in tourism services; 2. general worker in agriculture; 3. cleaning personnel in hotels and other reception structures; 4. waiters.

Low-skilled professions seem often correspond to low educational background: even if there are no statistical data available on this issue at the local/district level, according to an interviewee working in a job placement agency (ITB33) many TCNs have a very basic qualification (compulsory schooling), while some of them are also graduate, even though their qualifications are frequently not recognized in Italy. If they have experience in the professional sectors they usually have never worked in Italy and thus they don’t know machinery and equipment, neither national regulations.

When considering the top nationalities among TCNs, Merano shows nationalities and percentages quite similar to the rest of the Burgraviat district. Reporting only the most numerous groups, in 2020 there are Albanians (N=1096; 21.5%), Kosovars (N=482; 9.4%), Moroccans (N=459; 9%), and Pakistanis (N=438; 8.6%). Tesimo, on the other hand, has mostly Nigerians (N=21; 25.3%), Pakistanis (N=18; 12.7%), and North Macedonians (N=9; 10.8%). They are therefore mainly migrants from countries that use the Balkan route to reach Italy. The relevant presence of
Nigerians in Tesimo is due to the activity of the Casa Noah reception center for asylum seekers, opened in 2015 (see Table 3 below).

### Table 3 – South Tyrol case study – Top nationalities in Merano and Tesimo: 1990-2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tesimo</strong></td>
<td>Pakistan (2 persons)</td>
<td>Jugoslavia (m.d.) Pakistan (m.d.)</td>
<td>Poland: 34,4% Kosovo: 18,8% Bulgaria: 15,6%</td>
<td>Nigeria: 25,3% Pakistan: 12,7% North Macedonia: 10,8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merano</strong></td>
<td>Tunisia: 17,4% Morocco: 14,0% Switzerland: 13,2%</td>
<td>Jugoslavia: 19,9% Albania: 15,6% Morocco: 10,4%</td>
<td>Albania: 22,7% Serbia: 11,3% North Macedonia: 10,9%</td>
<td>Albania: 21,5% Kosovo: 9,4% Morocco: 9,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burgraviat</strong></td>
<td>Tunisia: 17,3% Switzerland: 15,2% Morocco: 11,2%</td>
<td>Jugoslavia: 22,2% Albania: 12,6% Morocco: 9,5%</td>
<td>Albania: 16,4% Serbia: 10,5% North Macedonia: 9,3%</td>
<td>Albania: 18,4% Kosovo: 9,5% Morocco: 9,4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


If we consider the **cumulative total migration balance**, Merano appears to have a significant attractiveness towards foreign immigrants and an increase of migrant rate, especially TCNs, during the last 20 years. The backdrop is that of a general demographic growth of the city, also due to an increase of Italian residents: the population in 1995 was over 34 thousand inhabitants, while today it is over 41 thousand inhabitants (ISTAT 2020). Regarding foreigners, Merano, which fairly reflects the evolution of the migration phenomenon of the Burgraviat district, had in 1995 only 1354 foreigners (3.4% of the population) of which only 8.4% (N=113) were TCNs (mainly Moroccans and Tunisians) while the majority of foreigners came from EU Europe (mainly Germany and Austria). In 2000, the number of foreigners in Merano began to increase (N=1917; 5.5% of the population), and the share of TCNs among the foreigners grew considerably (N=1063; 55%); in addition, the main ethnic groups that we will find in the following decades appears: Yugoslavs, Albanians, Moroccans, Pakistanis, Tunisians. From 2000 onwards, the number of foreigners increases rapidly until it reaches 5666 in 2010 (14.8% of the population) with a share...
of 55.4% of TCNs (N=3143), to increase again, arriving at the current 7005 in 2020 (16.9% of the population), with a considerable growth of TCNs (N=5102; 73%) (ASTAT 2020. See Table 4 below).

Table 4 – South Tyrol case-study - Merano cumulative total migration balance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>N of foreigners</th>
<th>N of TCNs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>34068</td>
<td>1354</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>34341</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>38226</td>
<td>5666</td>
<td>3143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>41381</td>
<td>7005</td>
<td>5102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our elaboration on ASTAT data, 2020.

While considering the small rural municipality of Tesimo (N=1991 inhabitants in 2020), there has been even here an increase in the number of Italian residents (N=1548 in 1990) but also in the number of foreigners, although in this case the numbers are very small: in 1990, 21 foreigners lived in Tesimo, of whom 2 were TCNs. In 2000 there were 31 foreigners (18 TCNs). In 2010, a total of 61 foreigners were present, of whom 10 TCNs. The growth, albeit still in small numbers, occurred following the birth of “Casa Noah” (reception center for asylum seekers and refugees), which more than doubled the numbers of foreigners and TCNs in the area. (ASTAT 2020; see Table 5 below).

Table 5 – South Tyrol case-study - Tesimo cumulative total migration balance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>N of foreigners</th>
<th>N of TCNs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1548</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our elaboration on ASTAT data, 2020.
2.2 Bussoleno (Metropolitan City of Turin)

Starting the analysis from the **number and share of TCNs**, we see that in the whole Susa Valley, where the municipality of Bussoleno is located, there are 4348 foreigners (2019), equal to 6% of the total population (71288 in 2019), with percentages, therefore, quite similar to those of the Bugraviat district (6.8%) in South Tyrol. On the other hand, the percentages of foreigners and TCNs of Bussoleno compared to those of Merano are lower.

Foreigners residents in Bussoleno are actually (2020) 395 and represent 6.8% of the population (N=5806), while TCNs (in Bussoleno, mainly Moroccans and Albanians) are 253, 4.3% of total population (in Merano is 12.3%) and around 64% of all foreigners (in Merano 72.9%) (ISTAT 2019). However, if we add to these two major ethnic groups the migrants coming from an EU country with a strong migratory pressure, represented by Romania, we arrive at about 94%, that is almost the totality of foreigners present in Bussoleno.\(^{34}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bussoleno</th>
<th>Susa Valley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tot. Population</td>
<td>5806</td>
<td>71288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot. Foreigners</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>4348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of TCNs</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>m.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of TCNs on tot. population</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>m.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of TCNs on tot. foreigners</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>m.d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6 – Metropolitan city of Turin case study – Bussoleno number and share of TCNs*


In relation to **the age groups** of foreigners, in Bussoleno minors represent the 18%, while 23.2% are young adults, 48.1% adults and 10.6% people over-64. Relating to the **share of females**, in Bussoleno 48.2% of all TCNs and 54.4% of all foreigners are female (N=215), with percentages quite in line with national data (ISTAT 2020. See Table 7).

\(^{34}\) In some cases, where we found lacking of data on TCNs at local/provincial levels, we referred to data on foreigners.
Table 7 - Metropolitan city of Turin case study – Bussoleno age groups among foreigners and share of female among TCNs (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups among foreigners</th>
<th>Bussoleno</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-17 years</td>
<td>18,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-34 years</td>
<td>23,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-64 years</td>
<td>48,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65 years</td>
<td>10,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of females among TCNs</td>
<td>48,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of females among foreigners</td>
<td>54,4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Considering the top occupations of TCNs, an interview with an officer of the public administration of Bussoleno points out that the municipality is out of the Susa Valley’s tourist circuits, while there are no large companies headquarters nor big shopping centers on the territory: rather there are several small companies and even numerous shops, mostly run by individuals. Therefore, the main professional fields where foreigners seem to find occupation are construction, commerce and factories, all located outside Bussoleno administrative borders. There is a certain professional specialization, especially among Albanians and Romanians, less among Moroccan: Albanians are those more active in opening a self-managed activity, working mainly in the construction sector. While Albanian women work sometimes in the restaurant sector or as caregivers, the majority of them do not have a professional job, also because they often have large families and remain at home for taking care of their children and relatives. The Romanians living in Bussoleno, both men and women, are mainly employed at large factory in the close town of Avigliana (which produces boats) or in Bruzolo village, at a company producing car components. Romanian women are also employed in commerce (bars, restaurants and the food sector). Moroccans men living in Bussoleno work in several sectors, especially in construction, but also in factories, while women are mainly housewives (Interview ITT34).

The educational background for the first generations migrants depends mostly on educational policies of the country of origin, resulting higher for migrants from Eastern Europe, less rich for those from Africa, especially for women: first generation of African immigrants have often an educational background very low, especially among Moroccans, even more if they are women.
The situation seems to change while considering the second generations migrants, although the country of origin seems influencing educational choices: Romanians and Albanians new generations are more educated and attend technical high schools that allow them to enter the labour market more easily. The Moroccans, on the other hand, when continue to study after secondary school, usually choose professional training. Second-generation Moroccan women are less likely to continue their studies with respect to other foreigners, thus reproducing intergenerational mechanisms in which women continue to stay at home and do not work outside (Interview ITT35).

A member of the local municipality clarifies the relationship between Bussoleno and migration flows: the Susa Valley, and Bussoleno in particular (hosting an important train station) have a long history of immigration, particularly significant after the Second World War, with relevant flows of internal immigrants from Southern Italy. With regard to international immigration, the presence of foreigners in the Valley began to be significative in the 1990s and it is linked to some particular events. For example, the presence of a relevant Albanian community can be explained with regard to the Italian national policies implemented in 1991 when refugees arriving by boat in Puglia region were redistributed throughout Italy using the old disused military barracks. In Susa valley there was one of these barracks and so the Albanians were sent there and then over time they remained, living in the municipalities of the Valley. In the case of the Moroccans, migrants arrived in the Valley because of the construction of the motorway connecting Italy to France. Many young Moroccan men worked on the motorway construction site and then stayed in the villages of the Valley, some reuniting with their wives and children, others finding a wife here and starting a family (Interview ITT32).

Bussoleno is one of those municipalities where foreigners have been present since the 1990s. In relation to the top citizenships among TCNs, including European countries with strong migratory pressure, the largest foreign community is that from Romania with 33.7% of all foreigners living in the municipality. Among TCNs, the largest communities are the Moroccan (26.6%) and the Albanian (18.7%) (Tuttitalia 2020). These are also the three ethnic groups most present in Italy nowadays (ISTAT 2019).
If we look at the last thirty years to reconstruct the cumulative total migration balance of the territory, there has certainly been an increase of migrants, especially TCNs. However, since a few years the numbers have slightly decreased, on the background of a substantial loss of overall population that characterizes Bussoleno and that can be found in quite all the valleys of Piedmont. The population in 1993 was 6602 residents and today is 5806, 12% less (ISTAT 2019; interview ITT33). In spite of this, the attractiveness of Bussoleno for migrants continues to be relevant and their presence allows to slow down the demographic decline of the municipality. In 1993 there were 107 foreigners in Bussoleno (1.6% of total population) of which about 70% were TCNs, mainly Moroccans and Albanians, the two ethnic groups that will characterize the foreign component of Bussoleno also in the future. In 1999 the foreigners in Bussoleno had doubled to 202 out of a total population of 6527 (3%), with Moroccans and Albanians in the lead. Romanians started to be significant only since 2003 thanks to Romania’s entry into the Schengen area in 2002, with the consequent possibility of free movement within Europe. In 2009, foreigners almost tripled (N=586; 8.9% of the population, which seems to have grown slightly, with 6562 inhabitants) while acquisitions of citizenship started to have double-digit numbers. Today (2019) the total population has decreased (5806 residents including the 297 foreigners now naturalized as Italians) but the foreign component continues to be significant (N = 395; 6.8%) (ISTAT 2019; interview ITT33). The cause of the demographic and TCNs loss seems to be the lack of work: in fact, in recent years the closure of some factories has led to the transfer of many Moroccans to France (Interview ITT32). See Table 8 below.

### Table 8 – Metropolitan City of Turin case study - Bussoleno cumulative total migration balance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>Moroccan</th>
<th>Romanian</th>
<th>Albanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>6602</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>6527</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>6562</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>5806</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. The social dimension

3.1 Merano and Tesimo (South Tyrol)

According to one expert on migration working in the public sector (Interview ITB34) the percentage of TCNs at risk of poverty in Merano and Tesimo is increasing due to Covid-19, especially for those who were employed in the tourist-hotel sector. In fact, the sector has been closed practically for a year in 2020 and has reopened only in 2021. Many who worked in kitchens as dishwashers or cooks have been out of work: they came mainly from Asia (Bangladesh, Pakistan), belonging often to socially vulnerable groups, with seasonal contracts, and the Covid-19 situation has weakened them even more (see also Grüber, Lardiés-Bosque, Membretti and Tonelli, 2021). The poverty situation in Merano is accentuated by the lack of housing and inadequate housing conditions for migrants. This concerns especially African and black migrants in general, to whom few people seem available to rent houses (Interview ITB42).

This situation – as stated by the interviewee – intensifies the income inequality across socio-economic groups that were already at risk of poverty before Covid-19 spread: migrants have frequently low contractual capacity in the labour market due to low educational attainment level. Although a detailed survey on this issue is lacking for South Tyrol, it is estimated that around 80% have no or low educational qualifications, no directly usable vocational skills and often little language knowledge (Interview ITB42). In particular, the educational qualifications are very low or non-existent (analphabetsim) for many of the migrants coming from Africa, including the Maghreb. Their knowledge of Italian or German language is also very poor. Migrants arriving from Africa without knowing how to read or write are not even able to attend the workplace safety courses that allows them access to internships and jobs. Those coming from the Balkan peninsula, on the other hand, have high levels of education and a good knowledge of Italian and German. This means that the TCNs arriving in Merano and Tesimo are mainly low-skilled workers.
who, however, respond to a labour supply that is also low-skilled. According to 2020 statistical data of the Labour Market Observatory Office of Merano (Interview ITB32) almost 98% of non-EU workers residents in Merano are low-qualified workers, and the percentage increases to 100% in Tesimo. Foreign young people neither in employment nor in education and training are proportionally less than Italian NEETs (Interview ITB33).

Generally speaking, South Tyrol has very low percentage of unemployment (less than 3% in 2020, against an Italian average of around 10% and an average of 7.7% in Piedmont). However, in 2019 in South Tyrol the unemployment rate was 11.6% among TCNs, while it was only 2.9% among the general population; this means that when there is a crisis, the first to suffer are the migrants who lose their jobs: after the Covid-19 spread in 2020, the unemployment rate increased by one percentage point (3.8%) in the Italian population, while the increase was close to four percentage points (15.3%) among TCNs (ASTAT 2019). However, it is difficult to establish the real unemployment rate since many immigrants are employed part-time or on a temporary basis, with seasonal contracts: that of temporary work is a “...vicious circle from which it is difficult to escape...” (Interview ITB42). Moreover, an emerging phenomenon among seasonal workers is that instead of recruiting foreigners who already live in South Tyrol, as it was in the past, farmers are turning to commuters from Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary). These, working in Italy only 3-4 months and then returning home, are preferred by employers because they have fewer needs, since they have no children or family with them. Another emerging phenomenon is the fragility of the caregiver sector, which in South Tyrol is mainly occupied by Ukrainian women: it occurs often that, when the assisted elderly person dies, these women are obliged to return to their countries of origin, if they do not find quickly another job (Interview ITB34).

Residents who acquired Italian citizenship in Merano from 1996 (the first year in which statistics are available) to the present day are in total 2886: there were only a few dozen until 2009, but in 2010 they became a hundred, and then gradually grew and doubled between 2014 and 2015, when they rose from 184 to 365 and then stabilised at 250-300 a year. Since the small municipality of Tesimo has few migrants it has also few corresponding acquisitions of citizenship. These are only 18 since 1990 (the first year in which statistics are available). The fact is that in Tesimo about a quarter of migrants are related to the recent (2015) establishment of
“casa Noah”, the reception shelter for asylum seekers; this means that about a quarter of the migrants in Tesimo arrived recently and have not yet reached the stage for applying for citizenship. The first acquisition of citizenship dates back to 1998 by a Filipino migrant. This was followed by a couple of acquisitions between 2002 and 2011 and then had an increase since 2014 with 6 acquisitions between 2014-16 and 9 acquisitions between 2019-2020. The nationalities of those who have acquired citizenship are primarily from Macedonia, Kosovo, and Eastern European countries. Again, there are no migrants acquiring citizenship coming from Africa, as Casa Noah reception center is a recent activity, dating back to 2015. (Interview ITB35).

3.2 Bussoleno (Metropolitan City of Turin)

According to an interviewee who plays an active role in migrant assistance and reception activities in Bussoleno (ITT40) the percentage of TCNs at risk of poverty here is quite high: the economic wellbeing of the population is lower than in the municipalities of the upper Susa Valley, where the touristic sector has been developing since decades. This is still a peri-urban area, where years ago many people used to work in factories which then closed down, leaving many families poorer. The families most in difficulty – says another interviewee working in a voluntary association (ITT41) - are addressed to the Caritas desk in Bussoleno, which follows about 350-400 people per year, half of them foreigners and, of these, 70-80% are Moroccans; some of these Moroccan families are in real need, others come because in their culture, in their religion, charity is a pillar to which they all refer. This means also that the income inequality across socio-economic groups concern not the Albanians/Romanians, who are more prosperous and more successful in their careers, but Moroccans, who are the poorest group.

In relation to the spatial distribution (and eventual segregation), TCNs living in Bussoleno are settled mainly in the historical centre, where there are many old houses, often in bad conditions and, consequently, with lower rent. Some TCNs also have rented houses that overlook the Dora river, that crosses the village: these are cheaper solutions on the housing market, because there is humidity close to the water, and the risk of flooding. Another residential area that has now
become economically more accessible to TCNs is the central street of the village, where there used to be many of the shops and bars, that have been closed due to Covid-19 economic depression: so, here now house prices are lower. With regard to meeting places, there are no specific spaces for foreigners – says the Mayor of Bussoleno (ITT32) - while even for Italians there are few spaces for socialising. The square in front of the train station, however, seems to be more frequented by migrants. A case in point is the Logistic Centre of the Red Cross that hosts migrants trying to cross illegally the border with France, when they are sent back by the French gendarmerie. In relation to the overcrowding rate in immigrant households among TCNs – continues the interviewee - the only group that seems to have numerous families, living in a condition of overcrowding and housing discomfort is the Moroccan one. Moroccan families are also those with the higher number of children, and therefore there are cases of minors in precarious housing situations.

In Bussoleno the first resident who acquired citizenship was in 1995: by 2019 there were 297 acquisitions of citizenship, mostly of citizens coming from Morocco and Albania. Few citizenship acquisitions until 2006, where numbers often become double-digit, with a peak of citizenship acquisitions in 2015 (54) and a subsequent decline (in 2019 there were 17). The decrease in applications is due to a decrease in migrant citizens who, having lost their jobs in Bussoleno, have moved to nearby France where job opportunities are better (ISTAT 2019; interview ITT33).

In Bussoleno - says an interviewee working in a social cooperative (ITT42) - many activities are implemented to foster civic participation and engagement, mainly through the synergies developed between the Municipality and local authorities on one hand, and associations, cooperatives and the local parish (which also coordinates Caritas activities) on the other hand. The associations work throughout the Susa Valley. In Bussoleno, shortly before Covid-19 spread, the FutureLab Project was developed, which made it possible to carry out some circular economy actions, starting with the re-use of unsold market products, collected and distributed to the weaker groups of the population. FutureLab also gave good results in terms of engagement with young people, so much so that the Association, together with other local and municipal authorities, developed a new project named "Semi di comunità" (Seeds of Community). It involves a group of young people aged between 20 and 30, who already have a close link with the territory
as they are members of local youth associations and groups: the music band, the scouts, the Fridays for Future movement, the NO TAV (movement against the high-speed train, crossing the Valley). These young people have taken on the role of tutors to carry out activities with younger people, such as local school students, who have suffered greatly during the months of distance learning. Other ongoing activities are the "Social Libraries", a project coordinated by the Unione Montana (consortium of local mountain municipalities) that takes place in some libraries of the Susa Valley, including Bussoleno, with the aim of engaging young people. There are not many migrants in these initiatives, but those that do are second-generation. This means that the inclusion processes have been successful. The parish of Bussoleno organizes social events such as the "Festa dei Popoli" (Festival of the Peoples), which in 2020, just before Covid-19 spread, saw the participation of the catholic bishop of Susa (the most important city in the Valley) and more than 200 people of 22 different nationalities, from Albania to Guinea Bissau, representing all the migrant communities in Susa Valley.

In Bussoleno the meeting spaces used by migrants seem to be mainly those linked to care and recreation of children (spaces in front of the primary school, public gardens and playground) or to daily life (cafeterias, market spaces, spaces in front of the train station). Both Italians and migrants lack indoor and outdoor socialising spaces. There are no associations on an ethnic basis. For the Moroccans, the most important place of encounter remains the mosque, that is a small Islamic prayer room, which however only welcomes men. Islamic religious festivals are an important social occasion, such as circumcision for children, or the killing of mutton, even if the problem is that there is no slaughterhouse or other places suitable for halal slaughter. An interviewee who works in an association in the Valley (ITT41) tells that they have carried out many initiatives in which migrant families participated, also from Bussoleno. For example, the 2nd of June Festival, where we also organized the parade to celebrate women’s vote, or the initiative "One Sunday a month", to bring together and share food with people of different nationalities and religions". 
4. The economic dimension

4.1 Merano and Tesimo (South Tyrol)

In Merano and Tesimo there are no social enterprises or cooperatives run by migrants. However, an interviewee (ITB37) says that there are companies that target migrants for training and psychological counselling (such as the company Trait d’union), and other companies that employ migrants (such as the cooperative Spirit, which employs migrants in agriculture and catering). There are also some entrepreneurial realities that hire foreigners, as the case of a cleaning company run by an Italian woman that has 14 employees, all foreigners. There is also a help desk of the Bolzano Empowerment company that is open once a month in Merano for foreigners who know either Italian or German. The desk provides support on various aspects including employment. In Merano - adds an interviewee working in a social cooperative (ITB37) - there is Caritas, with the “Moca” desk dedicated to the orientation of migrants in their search for housing and work.

Migrants have certainly an impact on local labour markets: according to one interviewee working in a job placement agency (ITB33) in all the Bugraviat district the flow of migrants has led to the emergence of new job opportunities, in particular the professional figures of cultural mediators and tutors, and linguistic and professional training (teachers and trainers).

In Merano there are 12 primary schools, 5 secondary schools and around 15 high schools. In Tesimo there is only one primary school. Unfortunately, the statistical data on the proportion of people in primary/secondary/tertiary education by migration status or migration background are available only for the whole Bugraviat district, and not for the single municipalities. The emerging picture is of a high proportion of foreign students and TCNs.
enrolled in school compared to the Italian average (11.5% of foreigners) and to South Tyrol (11.9%): in fact, in the primary school there are 745 foreign students (20.3% of all students) including 594 TCNs (79.7% of all foreign students and 16.1% of all students); in the first level of the secondary school the number of foreign students enrolled decreases (like for the Italians), but the percentages of foreigners and TCNs remain almost the same as in the primary school, with 486 foreign students (21.0% of all students), including 394 TCNs (81.1% of all foreign students and 16.0% of all students). The same trend emerges in the data on high school, with 336 foreign students (18.7% of all students), including 270 TCNs (80.4% of all foreign students and 15% of all students). Data on university enrolment are not available (Interview ITB31).

According to an interviewee working in the area of basic socio-pedagogical assistance (ITB36) there are not health services specifically for migrants in Merano and Tesimo. Migrants living in Tesimo use the medical services of Bolzano and Merano, because the small village has only one family doctor. However, the most important health challenges for migrants - adds the interviewee - are related to psychological trauma. Unfortunately, local health system services do not seem to be adapting to this challenge of migration, also because it is very difficult to offer trauma therapy to people who do not speak the language of the receiving country. The use of cultural mediators seems to be an exception, even for medical visits at hospital.

4.2 Bussoleno (Metropolitan City of Turin)

When considering the proportion of people in primary/secondary/tertiary education by migration status or migration background, at present in Bussoleno there are one high schools, while there is one secondary school and two primary schools (primary schools in the past were 3, in the centre of the village and in the suburbs). According to an interviewee working in the primary school of Bussoleno (ITT35) up to 10 years ago in the downtown primary school there were 40/50% foreign children, while in the suburb schools, difficult to reach without a private car, the percentage was lower. Today the percentage are generally a little bit lower because many families (especially Moroccans, but also Albanian and Romanian) were moving to France in the years 2010-15 and up to 2018, due to the closure of many factories around Bussoleno.
However, the percentages of students with a migrant background, including children of mixed couples, continue to be very high in the downtown school: over 50% for the first class in the school year that has just started (2021-22).

Primary schools seem particularly important for the inclusion processes of newly arrived foreign children; the interviewee recalls: "at the beginning of the 2000s there were projects implemented by CONISA – Susa and Sangone Valley Social Welfare Consortium to facilitate school integration. They mainly concerned primary schools, where children arrived during the year. We went on for 5-7 years with regional funds, then the funds disappeared. These are projects that left their mark because there were no major problems afterwards. Those children are now in their twenties and thirties."

Other important territorial services are the health ones. According to the Mayor of Bussoleno (Interview ITT32) "...there are no territorial health services activated mainly to respond to specific migrants’ needs: they have access to the same health services of other citizens, which are basic services including doctors, a paediatric consulting room (for mothers and families with young children), and the so-called Punto G (G Point), where G stands for young people (Giovani): in fact it is a counselling service for that age group. Here in the village we also have a senior care home and one day a week we have a blood test point. For everything else, citizens, being foreigners or not, have to go to other nearby towns."

In relation to public housing, the Mayor reports that in Bussoleno there are a number of social housing. They are scattered throughout the town, both in the historical centre and in the suburbs, usually located in old buildings that are modest or in need of major renovation and in wetlands, next to the river (Interview ITT32). Another interviewee working in a social cooperative (ITT42) adds that there is also “Casa Bussoleno” (Bussoleno house). It was opened in 2015, taking over the previous experience of “Casa Meana” and was founded and managed by a social cooperative. It is a space dedicated to the protection of people going through a temporary period of difficulty with regard to housing and economic condition, due to various reasons, especially lack of income and work. Another interviewee who plays an active role in migrant assistance and reception activities (ITT40) states that “... in Bussoleno there has always been a big problem with evictions for outstanding rental payment: 9 on 10 evictions today are of migrants, probably Moroccans, as..."
well as perhaps they were Albanians 15 years ago”. However, if we look at the data on housing needs in Bussolelo this need has probably decreased in recent years: the housing need index, that explains how much housing need there is in a given territory, in 2009 was 7.45 and in 2019 decreased to 2.02. Other indicators (e.g. number of economically assisted households, number of evictions number of defaulting tenants, etc.) also speak of some downsizing of the problem, both probably due to the public intervention and to the decrease of foreigners in Bussolelo (CMTO 2019).

5. The territorial dimension

5.1 Merano and Tesimo (South Tyrol)

Merano and Tesimo are located in the Bugraviat district, which consists of four valleys that gravitate around Merano. After Merano, the main municipality is Lana. Although the landscape is dominated by mountains, a rather warm climate characterises the area, allowing the development of intensive agriculture dedicated mainly to apples and wine grapes. The mountainous landscape appears thus densely cultivated. Despite the mountainous conformation of the territory the internal and external accessibility is quite good: the Bugraviat territory is crossed by the SS38 Stelvio national road that goes from Bolzano to Merano, leading then to Austria and Switzerland. There are also frequent train connections on the Bolzano-Merano railway and towards the Venosta Valley. Buses throughout Bugraviato are quite frequent too. However, commuting by bus to major towns is more difficult in the evenings and early mornings, creating difficulties to those – like many TCNs - working night shifts. The A22 - Brenner Motorway passes through nearby Bolzano, at few kilometers from Merano, representing an important north-south route connecting northern Italy with central Europe, through the international border with Austria.
Due to the **flows of external economic resources for migrants professional training and guidance**, provided in the last years by EU and national/regional funds, there has been an increasing activity in Merano and Tesimo of training/coaching agencies. These agencies are often coming from other Italian regions (as Lombardy or Tuscany) and offer a variety of professional courses for unemployed foreigners. In the last years, as reported by an interviewee working in the field of migration (ITB34), there is an increasing number of courses dedicated to foreign women “… in which we try to invest, because, compared to men, they are more committed and achieve more”. Then there are associations that promote language courses and internet courses for foreigners “… because now all public administration goes through the internet and all people to do anything need to know how to use the public digital identity system (SPID)”.

**5.2 Bussoleno (Metropolitan City of Turin)**

The presence of migrants has implied the **attraction of some external economic resources for their training and assistance** in Bussoleno. Most of the actors profiting from these resources are operating at a valley scale, although the Municipality has a considerable weight in this territorial strategy, hosting the headquarters of many institutions and associations. Assistance and reception related to migrants and refugees are provided first of all by the association Caritas of Bussoleno, together with the local parish, the Red Cross of Bussoleno and other civil society organisations. Most of these organizations daily collaborate with the Municipality and with other territorial institutions, as the CONISA, the Susa and Sangone Valley Social Welfare Consortium. Finally, it is remarkable the teaching activity offered by the CPIA, the Italian language school for foreign adults.

The ability to attract external economic resources is also linked to the good connections between Bussoleno and Turin and Bussoleno’s strategic position along the Valley. In relation to the **internal and external accessibility**, the Susa Valley has a planimetric development of about 80 km and is characterised by the presence of infrastructures that allow an easy connection with
the main urban centres. Bussoleno is about 50 km from Turin (about 70 km from Caselle international airport), easily reachable through the A32 motorway (Turin - Bardonecchia / Frejus motorway), which is also the infrastructure at European level coded with E70, the connection way between Spain and Eastern Europe. Near the city of Susa (8 km from Bussoleno) there is a car port, a parking area for cars and lorries, created close to a border post, to facilitate customs control operations without impeding road traffic. There are also two main national roads that cross the Valley, named after the two major Alpine passes that connect the Valley with France: Montgenèvre, to the south-east, and Mont Cenis, located to the north-west and connected to France through the Frejus road tunnel (1979). In 2011, work began on the second tube of the tunnel, which will come into operation in 2021, making it the only Alpine tunnel with a double tube. In addition to the Frejus road tunnel, there is the railway tunnel, inaugurated in 1871, consisting of a single tube and double track, with a total length of 13.63 km. The construction of the tunnel was necessary because the economy of the Valley - and of Bussoleno in particular - was based on the transport of goods by rail. The Turin-Bussoleno line provides about 20 trains per day to allow the population of the Susa Valley in general to reach the regional capital, to carry out their daily activities; in addition, there are no less than 11 railway stations in the lower Valley that precede Bussoleno. (CURA.TE 2021). The Bussoleno - Bardonecchia - Frejus line is particularly used for the transport of heavy vehicles which, thanks to the Frejus railway tunnel, quickly reach France: the trend is to reduce the motorway load of heavy vehicles in favour of greater traffic fluidity, better driving comfort for cars and lower fuel consumption, which has a great impact on the valley’s environment. Finally, there are the buses. The bus services are the responsibility of Extra.to, the sole operator for the metropolitan city of Turin, which brings together 18 historic concessionaires of Turin’s suburban public transport (CURA.TE 2021).

In relation to the creation and re-creation of boundaries, Bussoleno covers a total area of 3710 hectares, developing planimetrically from north to south and it can be divided into 3 large macro-areas: the built-up area, including residential and productive settlements and the historical center. It has an average altitude of about 425 m above sea level, and was rapidly developed in the Middle Ages thanks to the presence of the Dora River, which crosses the entire Valley until it flows into the Po River, a guarantee of immediate water resources for citizens and production activities. The northern territory, close to the inhabited center but purely mountainous,
severe slopes and less suitable for the settlement of the population. The southern territory, also alpine in nature, but with less steep reliefs and a greater accessibility for tourists for trips and excursions, even for families (CURATE 2021). Overall, 95% of the municipality’s land is undevelopable, while only 5% has buildings and settlements: the reason lies in the mountain soul of the town and in the territorial geomorphology. There are no hilly areas between the Valley and the slopes. The municipal soil that is free/unbuilt is mainly wooded: a small part is dedicated to agricultural use, while an important part is not usable due to the risk of landslides or avalanches (Hydrogeological risk and instabilities, about 33.5%). On the other hand, it can be noted that a very small part of the territory is used for productive purposes (only 0.6%) (CURATE 2021). This means that the physical boundaries dictate all other types of boundaries, as the village is squeezed between two mountain slopes and has a river in between. This entails a great deal of effort to create links, bridges and to establish and maintain mountain paths in order to keep the built area as wide as possible.

It should also be added that Bussoleno, as a transit town, with many lines of connection (two state roads, a motorway and the railway), has borders that assume a valley dimension: people tend to move frequently from one municipality to another to find the services they need, even on a daily base. However, to be a transit town goes in some way to the detriment of the municipal dimension: the many roads that cross Bussoleno are big and high-speed, cutting and fragmenting the city in more parts. Bussoleno is thus connected to the Valley but a little fragmented internally: narrow on the sides, between two mountain slopes, and narrow in the center, with car, train and water roads. We can add that there is no coincidence that here in Bussoleno the civic commitment of many has crossed paths with the NO TAV movement; in this case too, in addition to the obvious problems of governance, the debate revolves around whether or not it is necessary to intervene in an area that is already under pressure from a mobility system that certainly offers many advantages for everyone, while the disadvantages remain only at the local level. These reflections also explain how there has been a limited transformation of the built environment, since the space for building is very limited and the factories and companies are located outside Bussoleno. In addition, the demographic decline that also affects the Municipality to some extent has meant that the extension of the built-up area has remained quite limited.
6. Premises for action research

Each of the two case studies examined seems quite paradigmatic of the territory in which they are situated. Both case studies have a significative percentage of TCNs but their demographic trends are different: in Merano and Tesimo (South Tyrol) there is an increase in both the Italian and foreign population, while in Bussoleno (Metropolitan city of Turin) there is a general decrease in both populations. What influences the demographic trend seems to be firstly the different labour market conditions: in Merano there is a flourishing tourist, agricultural and service sector that is looking for manpower, while the near Tesimo has mainly an agricultural economy. Bussoleno, on the other hand, has been experiencing a labour crisis for a long time, as the rest of the Susa Valley. Agriculture and tourism, sectors that usually need seasonal manpower, are not present in Bussoleno. In both territories, TCNs carry out low-skilled professions for which a particular educational background is not necessary. Migrants present in the two territories come from different parts of the world: in Merano and Tesimo, ethnic groups coming from Eastern Europe tend to prevail: the geographic position and the dynamic labour market make South Tyrol an important destination for migrants. In Bussoleno, with a less dynamic labour market we find the most frequent ethnic groups present in the rest of Italy.

The Covid-19 pandemic certainly had an economic impact on TCNs in both territories, leading to job losses that made an already difficult situation even more precarious. The school seems once again a fundamental mean of social inclusion: the percentage of foreign children in local schools is high in both case study (especially in Bussoleno) and multi-ethnic classes constitute an important normality. The presence of migrants in these territories also attracts external people and resources related to their welcoming, training and assistance.
So far, the similarities between the two case studies, which have a **different research focus**: the action research in Merano is focused on TCNs and good practice supporting labour integration. The case study of Bussoleno, on the other side, analyzes the presence and use of public space for socialization. As we have seen, in **Merano** there are several training agencies that offer courses to migrants (in the small, rural town of Tesimo, however, there is no course offer): this need for training is linked to the fact that the district of Bugraviat has a **dynamic labour market**, with several small/medium/big-sized companies. However, this is a labour market mainly characterized by **low-skilled jobs**, and it is **structurally precarious**, as the impact on it of Covid-19 restrictions has evidenced. Moreover, the **temporary labour market is a vicious circle** from which it is difficult to escape. It is therefore important to understanding - and this is the **objective of the action research** in South Tyrol - **what kind of skills and professional qualifications the labour market requires**, and what are the possibilities for TCNs to improve their professional life and get out of the circuit of unskilled labour and seasonality.

In **Bussoleno**, public interventions mainly concern the reception of migrants and their social inclusion. The reduced investments in training courses (compared to Merano) are probably due to the local characteristics of the labour market, consisting in very small enterprises, mostly family-run, and in a few companies or factories around Bussoleno. In the substantial absence of tourism and agriculture, the most significant economic sectors are trade and construction. It is therefore a **limited labour market**, that has been narrowing in recent years. The insertion of migrants in the local labour market is therefore the result of an **engagement activity** of the institutions, and of the migrants’ commitment to remain on the territory despite the difficulties. What emerges is a multi-ethnic community, composed of migrants and Italians, with an active presence of many second-generation migrants. Although job opportunities are scarce for both migrants and Italians, Bussoleno offers some opportunities: not expensive accommodation and affordable cost of living. Finally, the **solidarity network** of associations and institutions constitutes an important help. While the housing problem does not seem to be an emergency in Bussoleno, there **do not seem to be any ethnic enclaves** either. Yes, migrants live in the poorest houses, but they live alongside Italian owners who have restored similar houses. There are separations, but they are mainly caused by the fact that Bussoleno is a **transit town**. This means that the city is crossed by several connecting roads, which are an important resource, but
which **fragment the urban space** into many separate parts. It is therefore a question of understanding, and this is the objective of the action-research in Bussoleno, **whether the creation of spaces of encounter could partly solve these fragmentation problems.**

7. References


**Interviews:**

ITB31 = ASTAT - Provincial Statistical Institute, Bolzano, Employee, office for Population Census, Foreigners and Education.

ITB32 = Labour Market Observatory Office of Merano, Director.

ITB33 = Randstad of Merano, Area Sales Consultant.

ITB34 = District Community Bugraviat, Head of the social district.

ITB35 = Municipality of Tesimo, Major.

ITB36 = District Community Bugraviato, area of basic socio-pedagogical assistance.

ITB37 = Social Cooperative Spirit, Merano, President.

ITB42 = CGIL Merano, New work identities sector Manager.

ITT32 = Municipality of Bussoleno, Major.

ITT33 = Municipality of Bussoleno, Registry office manager.

ITT34 = Municipality of Bussoleno, Municipal counsellor.

ITT35 = Municipality of Bussoleno, Municipal Counsellor.

ITT37 = CONISA - Susa and Sangone Valley Social Welfare Consortium, Pinerolo, Foreigners and minor area manager.

ITT40 = Catholic Church of Bussoleno, Parish priest.

ITT41 = CEIM voluntary association, Coordinator.

ITT42 = Frassati Social Cooperative, Susa Valley, project manager.
Norway

Authors: Maria Taivalsaari Røhnebæk (INN); Nora Warhuus Samuelsen (INN); Signe-Lise Dahl (Innlandet County); Per Olav Lund (INN).

Summary

This report presents an overview of key characteristics of two regions in Innlandet county: Midt-Gudbrandsdal and Nord-Østerdal, selected as case regions for the MATILDE project in Norway. The report assesses how immigration affects the two regions in terms of spatial distribution of TCNs, and in terms of social, economic, and territorial dimensions. Based on assessments of statistics and interview material, the report outlines potential themes for further exploration in the next stages of this research, which involves participatory processes. The report highlights cross-sectorial and inter-organizational approaches to integration and social inclusion as potential themes for further exploration in the regions.

Introduction

This document presents the Norwegian local case study briefing developed as part of WP5 in the MATILDE project. Following the guidelines for WP5, this briefing is based on both qualitative and quantitative data. Moreover, the briefing includes information considered relevant for framing the local case studies, involving participatory research that will be carried out in the autumn of 2021 in collaboration with two selected municipalities: Tynset and Sør-Fron. We position the descriptions of these two municipalities in the broader regions in which they are set: Nord-Østerdal and Midt-Gudbrandsdal. Methods and data sources are
presented in Appendix 1. The remaining part of the report is structured as follows: We first introduce the two case contexts and its location in Innlandet county, followed by a description of each the two case regions separately. The report is then rounded off with some concluding remarks.

Case contexts

Innlandet county

The case regions Gudbrandsdalen and Nord-Østerdal are located in Innlandet county. Innlandet is set in the South-Eastern part of Norway and is the second largest county in Norway with an area of 52 113 square kilometers. It is a landlocked county with borders to the Swedish counties Värmland and Dalarna in the east. The northern and western parts of the county are dominated by mountain areas, while forests and agricultural land characterize the southern and eastern parts of the county. Innlandet consists of 46 municipalities and 12 small cities. One third of the population in the county lives in the four largest cities. Twenty-seven of Innlandet's 46 municipalities belong to the category of the “least central municipalities” of the country, i.e. approx. 60% of the municipalities, but only 24% of the total population.

The population of Innlandet is 370 603 as of 01.01.21. The demographic trend in Innlandet is characterized by a continually aging population and a considerable reduction in the number of children, youth, and young adults. It is also expected that centralization will continue, where Innlandet shows a stronger trend than the country average (NAV Innlandet, 2021). The positioning of the two regions within the broader county of Innlandet, and distances to the cities in Innlandet, is visualized in the map shown below in Figure 1.
Immigration patterns

Approx. 43,000 of the population in Innlandet county are immigrants or Norwegian-born people with immigrant parents (2002). Norwegian-born people with immigrant parents are more integrated in the Norwegian society and have greater social and geographical mobility than their parents. Innlandet has a lower share of immigrants than
the national average (11% compared to 14%). Over 50% are work immigrants. They settle where jobs are available and seem to face less language and cultural challenges than refugees and reunited family members. (NAV Innlandet, 2021).

Work migrants largely migrate from Eastern European countries, such as the Baltic states and Poland. The Influx of work migrants in Innlandet is linked to demands for labour and job opportunities, and they are as such generally included in the labour market. Thus, these groups are to a limited extent target for the government’s integration policies. The other dominant groups are forced migrants that migrate due to needs for safety and protection, referred to in this report as refugees. This cover both asylum seekers that are granted refugee status and residence permit in Norway, and resettlement refugees who have been granted a residence permit in Norway pursuant to an agreement with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Settlement of refugees is a voluntary task for Norwegian municipalities, and each municipality decides on the number of refugees they intend to settle based on requests from The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi). The Ministry of Education has since 2018 annually decided criteria for deciding which municipalities that should be asked to resettle refugees. Norwegian municipalities were requested to resettle a total of 5 030 refugees for 2021, but this was reduced to 3 790 due to the pandemic (IMDi, 2020; IMDi, 2021a).

Since the large influx of refugees that arrived in 2015-2016, the political climate towards refugees has turned more restrictive, despite the capacity and willingness among municipalities. The Government’s integration strategy for 2019-2022 has the ambition of “targeted resettlement”, meaning a better match between resettlement, the refugees’ competencies, qualification, education, and needs of the regional labour market (Lerfaldet; Høgestøl; Ryssevik; Åsheim, 2020). As a consequence, a new goal was set for resettlement work, focusing on that a larger share of participants in the introduction program should succeed in gaining employment or further education. The national policy favours settlement in municipalities where employment rates are high and further education possible. Hence, results in the introduction programme have become the most important
criteria for resettlement. Population size also matters (although there is no definite lower limit), as the size is used as an indicator of the capacity and competency of the municipality. Thus, cities and larger municipalities tend to be favoured, while smaller municipalities in rural areas receive fewer requests for settlement. Currently, 26 out of 46 municipalities in Innlandet are requested to settle refugees35.

We discuss implications of these shifts in immigration and settlement policies in the presentation of each of the case regions below. Certain tensions arise between local interests and priorities in terms of settlement and integration on one side, and the national policies on the other. These tensions are also highlighted in several recent research publications (Høibjerg, 2021; Sætermo, 2021).

Midt-Gudbrandsdal and Nord-Østerdal
The case municipalities Sør-Fron and Tynset are located in the regions Midt-Gudbrandsdal and Nord-Østerdal respectively.

The population of the Midt-Gudbrandsdal region is 13 177, covering the municipalities of Nord-Fron (5 705), Sør-Fron (3 064), and Ringebu (4 408). Nord-Østerdal consists of six municipalities, with a total population of 14 634. The region covers the following municipalities: Rendalen (1 741), Alvdal (2 405), Follad (1 518), Tynset (5 537), Tolga (1 563), and Os (1 870).

The regions are largely mountainous with low population density. Moreover, both regions have aging populations and are facing challenges related to depopulation. Immigration is important for curbing the population decline and constitutes as such an important strategic area for regional sustainability and development.

The municipalities in the two regions are tied together through various inter-municipal collaborations in different public service areas, among others within integration and refugee services. Moreover, both regions have regional councils committed to developing shared regional policies and strategies, and to promoting regional development.

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35 The numbers are acquired from Innlandet County (Local Matilde Partner) that coordinates requests for settlements between the IMDi and the municipalities considered eligible for settling refugees.
across municipalities. These inter-municipal relations are particularly important for the organization and provision of public services to immigrants and for strategic work related to diversity and inclusion. Issues related to immigration and integration are thus largely of inter-municipal concern, which is why we treat the regions as case contexts in this briefing.

Patterns of settlement and population density in the municipalities and the two case regions are visualized in the map in Figure 2 below. We present subsequently further details on characteristics of Nord-Gudbrandsdal, with emphasis on Sør-Fron municipality (Case 1) and then Nord-Østerdal with emphasis on Tynset municipality (Case 2).
Figure 34: Patterns of population density in the case regions
Case 1: Midt-Gudbrandsdal

The region of Midt-Gudbrandsdal, as well as the municipality of Sør-Fron, are facing population decline. However, as shown in Table 2 below, the number of immigrants and Norwegian-born people with immigrant parents has increased between 2018 and 2021, thus curbing the depopulation trend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Midt-Gudbrandsdal</th>
<th>Sør-Fron</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>1 145</td>
<td>1 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population without immigrants and Norwegian-born</td>
<td>12 051</td>
<td>11 835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian-born with immigrant parents</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13 328</td>
<td>13 177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Norway, table 07459

Figure 3 below furthermore display the relative development in population rates over a longer period of time (2006-2021), showing a clear decline in the number of inhabitants in the region, while the share of immigrants clearly increases both in Sør-Fron municipality and in the region as a whole. This underscores how migration plays an important counterweight to tendencies of declining population rates in the region.
Spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of migrants

Table 2: Distributions of settled refugees across the three municipalities in Midt-Gudbrandsdal, 2015-2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sør-Fron</td>
<td>Hidden *)</td>
<td>Missing **)</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nord-Fron</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringebu</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IMDi, statistics at the municipal level: https://www.imdi.no/tall-og-statistikk/

*) The numbers are not available due to privacy concerns, which means that there are numbers available, but they are too low to be publicly available due to privacy reasons. This generally means that the number is lower than four.

**) Missing data may imply that the numbers have not been reported or that IMDi do not have access.

As shown in Table 3 above, the settlement of refugees differs across the three municipalities in the region, and we see that the numbers have declined over the last five years. This relates to the shifts in the national immigration and integration policies, as explained in the previous chapter (see the section on immigration patterns).
For the smallest municipalities, such as Sør-Fron in the region of Midt-Gudbrandsdal this has severe consequences. As we have already shown, immigration is important for curbing the population decline, and even though work migrants make up the dominant immigrant group, settlement of refugees is also important for the small, rural municipalities. Staying attractive as permanent residency for different kinds of immigrant groups is important for the sustainability of the communities, and for upholding local public services such as schools. Moreover, the settlement of refugees creates jobs locally for those involved in the introduction program, i.e. settlement, guidance and (language) training, and the municipalities receive governmental funds to cover the municipalities’ average additional expenses related to resettlement and integration during the settlement year and for the next four years (IMDi, 2021). It should be noted that the governmental funds are not earmarked, and the municipalities are thus not obliged to report on how these are used.

The sudden halt in requests to settle refugees thus creates financial conundrums for the municipalities. They still need to invest in integration measures to ensure inclusion for those already settled, but they struggle to fund and justify sustaining services aimed at refugees when they no longer receive requests for new settlements. At the same time, the municipalities are reluctant to downsize these services because the situation may change with shifting governments and potential changes in the national immigration and integration policies. As explained in our interviews, the hired staff in local services have gained competence and experience in this field, and the informants explained that they have worked actively with improving the quality of the services. If they downsize and let the staff go, it may take time to build up these competencies and services again if the national policies changes. The dilemmas involved were explained by an informant:

*When we have settled people over time, the services build their competencies, the health services know what to do, there are good collaborations across the service units, and there is smooth machinery created which contributes to ensure that those arriving in Norway receive help in the best possible way. But when this*
machinery is not in use, it gets rusty. The competencies and the routines require steady maintenance. (Informant 3).

These challenges are not only relevant for the municipalities that are no longer requested to settle refugees, but also for those who do not receive the number of refugees that they have budgeted for. One informant from Ringebu municipality explained: Last year we did not receive those ten people we had politically decided to resettle, and this year we have not receive anyone. (Informant 3).

Hence, the general impression from the interviews was that the municipalities were eager to settle more refugees than they currently did, and they perceived the recently stricter national immigration policy as a hindrance.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF TCNS (SPA2A)

The figure below shows the highest educational level among immigrants, compared to the local population (age 30-66 years) in 2019, both at the municipal and regional levels.
The education level is lower in Midt-Gudbrandsdal compared to Nord-Østerdal (see also next chapter for comparable numbers from Nord-Østerdal). At the regional level, a larger share of the population (both immigrants and others) has university-level education in Nord-Østerdal as compared to Midt-Gudbrandsdal. Equally, a larger share in Midt-Gudbrandsdal (both immigrants and others) has elementary school as their highest educational level.

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**Social dimension**

**INCOME INEQUALITY ACROSS SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS**

The indicator “Children in households with persistently low incomes” means the share of children between the ages of 0-17 who lives in households where the household’s income in total is less than 60 percent of the median income for households in Norway. The indicator “Children in immigrant households (TCNs) with persistently low incomes” refers to
households where the main income earner comes from a TCN country and where the household’s income in total is less than 60 percent of the median income for households in Norway.

Table 3: Share of children aged 0-17 who lives in households with persistently low incomes, percent, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Children in households with persistently low incomes</th>
<th>Children in immigrant households (TCNs) with persistently low incomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innlandet county</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sør-Fron</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nord-Fron</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringebu</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bufdir/SSB: www.barnefattigdom.no

We do not have data for this indicator for the case-regions. Thus, we included the numbers at the municipal level for Midt-Gubrandsdal. Children with an immigrant background from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe is more at risk of living in low-income households compared to others. Children with immigrant background from Somalia, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Eritrea are particularly vulnerable (Fløtten, 2009; Epland & Kirkeberg, 2016). The table presenting the municipalities of Midt-Gubrandsdal shows that immigrant households has a higher risk of low income than other households, and that a high percentage of children growing up in these families can be experiencing poverty.

Growing up in low income households can make it harder for children to be integrated in the Norwegian society because many social activities for children cost money. The overrepresentation of immigrant children in the low-income statistics also explains much of the geographical differences in child poverty in Norway (Fløtten, 2009: 57), because parents with immigrant background more often have weaker occupational affiliation compared to the rest of the population.
Economic dimension

JOB OPPORTUNITIES BY FIELD

The table below shows the structure of businesses in the region of Midt-Gudbrandsdal and in Sør-Fron municipality. Specialization and concentration of businesses in an area can be measured by location quotients (LQ), which indicates whether a certain business is stronger or more weakly represented compared to a larger geographical area. This analysis uses Norway as the reference region. LQ=1 implies that the share employed in the business is the same as at the national level. LQ<1 implies that there are fewer jobs in this business sector compared to the numbers nationally, and LQ>1 implies that the number of jobs is higher. LQ=2 implies that there are twice as many jobs in this business sector compared to the country as a whole. Thus, LQ indicates how important certain business are in a given area, and this can also give insights on employment opportunities and employability.

The table shows that businesses such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, wholesale and retail trade, and construction are important in Sør-Fron and the region. Forestry and agriculture have traditionally been dominating businesses, but there has been a growth in development of recreational areas by which construction of holiday homes/second homes has boosted construction as an important business sector. The region is also characterized by demographic change with an aging population, which raise the need for health care and social services. The table shows that the employment in these sectors has become increasingly important at the municipal and the regional level, which corresponds to trends in many rural and remote municipalities in Norway.

Table 4: Concentration of businesses according to location quotients (LQ) in Midt-Gudbrandsdal and Sør-Fron

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Midt-Gudbrandsdal</th>
<th>Sør-Fron</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry and fishing</td>
<td>4,54</td>
<td>3,88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>0,23</td>
<td>0,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacture</td>
<td>3,13</td>
<td>4,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, water supply, sewerage, waste management</td>
<td>0,89</td>
<td>1,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>5,83</td>
<td>6,86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wholesale and retail trade: repair of motor vehicles
Transportation and storage
Accommodation and food service activities
Information and communication
Financial and insurance activities
Real estate, professional, scientific and technical activities
Administrative and support service activities
Public adm., defence, soc. security
Education
Human health and social work activities
Other service activities
Unspecified

Source: Statistics Norway, table 07984. Calculations: Østlandsforskning

Territorial dimension\(^{36}\)

The territorial aspects of the region clearly affect settlement of migrants and their opportunities for participation and inclusion. For instance, as described, population size impacts requests to settle refugees, as policy makers perceive this as an indicator for the municipalities’ ability to facilitate integration and social inclusion.

Moreover, the region covers a vast geographical area with a dispersed population and long distances between centralized settlements. The region is connected by the railway, running through the Gudbrandsdal valley. The southern and northern part is also connected by the highway, European route 6, which is the main land transport corridor from Oslo (the south) and the Eastern lowlands and the city of Trondheim. However, while public transport is available at least between the centralized areas, it was underlined in the interviews that having a driver licence and access to a car is pivotal for mobility, social inclusion, and participation in the labour market. One informant explains: People tend to get access to a car quite fast. If you don’t have a driver license when living here, you may end up feeling pretty isolated. (Informant 8)

\(^{36}\) We do have not access to data which directly responds to the indicators listed under the territorial dimension, thus we present data that more generally shed light on how the territory have implications for the settlement and inclusion of immigrants in the region.
Thus, opportunities for immigrants is linked to mobility, and to where they get access to housing. An informant from the municipality of Ringebu explains how they have placed emphasis on this in their strategies for settlement and efforts to support integration among refugees:

*We have now arranged things so that all newly arrived refugees are settled in walking distance from schools, childcare, stores, and all that. This is in Ringebu, but in Sør-Fron they can’t do this in the same way because there is no municipal center as such. So, we had to use taxis to get parents to reach childcare centers before they had to attend class themselves. Not being isolated from a center is also an important part of the integration. If immigrants are visible in the town center, and can meet up there, it makes a difference for the well-being; to be able to walk to attend cultural activities and football training.* (Informant 3)

A certain impression of accessibility and mobility in the municipalities and in the region can be gained by looking at patterns of commuting to and from the municipalities. The table below present statistics on commuting for each of the three municipalities.

**Table 5: Overview of commuting patterns in the municipalities in Midt-Gudbrandsdal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nord-Fron</th>
<th>Sør-Fron</th>
<th>Ringebu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commuting in</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting out</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working and living in the municipality</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>1495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Summarizing key characteristics

Overall, the region of Midt-Gudbrandsdalen is characterized by declining population rates, an ageing population, and demands for labour especially within health and elderly care. Immigration is, among the informants of this study, perceived as important for meeting
future needs for strengthening the workforce and for curbing the population decline. Work migrants from Europe constitutes the dominant immigrant groups, but also settlement of refugees have brought important resources to the municipalities.

However, the number of settled refugees has declined sharply over the last five years, which is linked to a stricter national immigration policy and shifting priorities in requests for settlements from the national authorities. The informants express that this constitutes a loss of resources for the municipalities, both in terms of concrete transfer of funds from the government, but also in terms of expertise. That being said, the informants also stress that the settlement of refugees is not without challenges. It requires investment in labour market inclusion and social integration, as opposed to work migrants, who settle where jobs are available. Labour market inclusion and social inclusion of refugees can be challenged by cultural differences, language barriers, low education levels, illiteracy and health conditions. Failure to enable labour market inclusion will result in pressure on the municipal economy in terms of payment of social security, which was seen especially in Nord-Fron (see also section on employment rates). Hence, over the last years, particularly after the high number of arrivals in 2015/2016, the municipalities have joined forces and worked systematically with improving the quality of services for refugees. This has resulted in an inter-municipal refugee service, covering all three municipalities, with Sør-Fron as the host. An overview of the organization of the services is presented in the figure below.
Figure 37: Overview of the organization of refugee services, adult education and labour and welfare services in Midt-Gudbrandsdal

In addition to the inter-municipal collaborations, the municipalities have focused on strengthening the quality of relevant services by enhancing the interdisciplinarity, intersectorial and inter-organizational collaborative relations. This enhances the understanding of immigration and integration issues as a collective concern for the community rather than ‘tasks’ to be handled by specific units.

Overall, a running theme in the interviews was the concern for making responsibilities and engagement related to social inclusion and integration a collective concern for the communities. It was acknowledged that this requires efforts to mobilize resources across the private, public and third sector and across different municipal units. Various initiatives were ongoing to enhance inter-organizational collaboration and cross-cutting approaches. Still, this also stands out as an area with potential for further developments. Thus, explorations of potentiality and challenges related to inter-organizational and cross-sectorial approaches to social inclusion and integration in Midt-
Gudbrandsdal constitutes a relevant theme for the upcoming collaborative processes in the region.

Case 2: Nord-Østerdal

Both the region and the municipality of Tynset has experienced a population decline during the past few years, as shown in the table below. As in the case of Midt-Gudbrandsdal, immigration has contributed to counteract depopulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>1 415</td>
<td>1 395</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population without immigrants and Norwegian-born</td>
<td>13 308</td>
<td>13 010</td>
<td>4 889</td>
<td>4 826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian-born with immigrant parents</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14 914</td>
<td>14 634</td>
<td>5 605</td>
<td>5 537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Norway, table 07459

The figure below displays the relative development in population rates over a longer period of time, showing a clear decline in number of inhabitants in the region, while the share of immigrants clearly increases both in Tynset municipality and in the region. This underscores how migration plays an important counterweight to tendencies of declining population rates in the region.
Figure 38: Share of migrants related to total number of inhabitants and relative development of inhabitants in Østerdal (2006=100). 2006 – 2021.

Source: Statistics Norway, table 07110

Spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of migrants

Table 7: Distributions of settled refugees across the three municipalities in Nord-Østerdalen, 2015-2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tynset</td>
<td>Hidden*)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolga</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvdal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rendalen</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>Missing**)</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folldal</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Os</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>Hidden</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IMDi, statistics at the municipal level: https://www.imdi.no/tall-og-statistikk/

*) The numbers are not available due to privacy concerns, which means that there are numbers available, but they are too low to be publicly available due to privacy reasons. This generally means that the number is lower than four.

**) Missing data may imply that the numbers have not been reported or that IMDi do not have access.
As shown in the table above, the spatial distribution of refugees differs also (significantly) across the six municipalities in Nord-Østerdal, in line with the differences described in Midt-Gudbrandsdal. Here we also find a general decline in numbers of settlements for all municipalities. In 2020, the numbers are too low to be shown for all expect Alvdal, who settled 10. As for Midt-Gudbrandsdalen this has severe consequences for the smaller municipalities who, due to external factors (shift in settlement policies and the pandemic), no longer receive requests for refugee settlements. Both Folldal and Rendalen municipality no longer receive a request for settlement: *It will affect us. We belong to the category that is too small – we are not prioritized for settlement – yet we can show good results.* (**Informant 11**). At the same time, for the municipalities in the region that still settle refugees, receive fewer requests both due to the pandemic and possibly the restructuring of IMDi:

*It’s been slow, last year we settled 1 out of 10 and we had a request for 12 [...] It is also a challenge that IMDi has been through a structural change, they have hardly had the overview of the situation themselves. [...] This has prevented us from having a regular contact with IMDI. They’ve thought we’d received families that haven’t arrived.* (**Informant 1**)

In the same interview the informant discusses the consequences of fewer settlement over the last three years; they find the situation unpredictable and leads to difficult decisions of whether to maintain or downsize local services involved in settlement and integration work. The informant explained that they have been hesitant to downsize more than necessary, hoping that national policies will shift. The informant also stressed that they have built competencies over time and that recruiting new staff with necessary experience and competencies is more difficult in the districts compared to the cities.
Educational background of TCNs (SPA2A)

The figure below shows the highest educational level among immigrants as compared to population excluding immigrants (age 30-66 years) in 2019, both at municipal and regional level.

Figure 39: Educational levels in Nord-Østerdal and Tynset related to background

![Diagram showing educational levels](https://www.imdi.no/tall-og-statistikk/steder/F00/utdanning/utdanningsniva_samlet)

Tynset has the highest educational level among the two case-municipalities (ref. Sør-Fron). More people have completed university/university college both for immigrants and population excl. immigrants. A higher percentage of immigrants than population excl. immigrants in Tynset has higher education (university/university college).

Also, at the regional level, a larger share of the population (both immigrants and population excl. immigrants) has university/university college in Nord-Østerdal as compared to Midt-Gudbrandsdalen. Equally, more people in Midt-Gudbrandsdalen (both immigrants and population excl. immigrants) have elementary school as their highest educational level. (See the section on case1 for details on Nord-Gudbrandsdal and Sør-Fron).
**Social dimension**

**INCOME INEQUALITY ACROSS SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS**

As for the case municipalities in Midt-Gudbrandsdalen, the number of children in households with persistently low incomes (see definitions under case 1) in these municipalities are higher for TCNs.

**Table 8: Share of children age 0-17 who lives in households with persistently low incomes, percent, 2019**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inland county</th>
<th>Children in households with persistently low incomes</th>
<th>13.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tynset</td>
<td>Children in immigrant households (TCNs) with persistently low incomes</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolga</td>
<td>Children in households with persistently low incomes</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children in immigrant households (TCNs) with persistently low incomes</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folldal</td>
<td>Children in households with persistently low incomes</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children in immigrant households (TCNs) with persistently low incomes</td>
<td>57.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We do not find number for the case-regions for this indicator; thus, we included the numbers at municipal level for Nord-Østerdalen. Only three out of five municipalities are included in the table because the numbers for Alvdal and Rendalen are too small to be presented. In line with what we found for the other case-region this table shows that immigrant households have a higher risk of low income than other households, and that a high percentage of children growing up in these families can be experiencing poverty. It is important to remember that immigration itself is not the reason why these children grow up in low-income families. There can be several reasons why these households have a low income: parents with an immigrant background often have a low level of education, which makes it difficult to enter the labor market in Norway. Weak occupational affiliation may
also be linked to parents’ Norwegian language skills. Also, there are often more people to support in the household due to large families (Fløtten 2009: 58-68)

Economic dimension

Job opportunities by field

The table below shows the structure of businesses in the region of Nord-Østerdal and in Tynset municipality. As explained in the previous chapter, on Midt-Gudbrandsdal, specialization and concentration of businesses in an area can be measured by location quotients (LQ), which indicates whether a certain business is stronger or more weakly represented compared to a larger geographical area. This analysis uses Norway as the reference region.

Demographic changes with aging populations are also reflected in the table displaying concentration of businesses in Nord-Østerdal and Tynset, in line with the first case. In Nord-Østerdal the concentration of employment in health care and social work services are even stronger than in case 1.

Table 9: Concentration of businesses according to location quotients (LQ) in Nord-Østerdal and Tynset

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nord-Østerdal</th>
<th>Tynset</th>
<th>Tynset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry</td>
<td>5,23</td>
<td>4,78</td>
<td>3,49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and fishing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>0,14</td>
<td>0,08</td>
<td>0,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacture</td>
<td>3,17</td>
<td>1,75</td>
<td>1,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, water</td>
<td>0,89</td>
<td>0,70</td>
<td>0,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supply, sewerage,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waste management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>4,12</td>
<td>3,65</td>
<td>3,65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail</td>
<td>4,45</td>
<td>6,19</td>
<td>6,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trade: repair of motor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vehicle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and</td>
<td>1,61</td>
<td>1,75</td>
<td>1,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and food</td>
<td>0,99</td>
<td>0,99</td>
<td>0,99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>service activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and</td>
<td>0,52</td>
<td>0,97</td>
<td>0,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial and</td>
<td>0,27</td>
<td>0,29</td>
<td>0,29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insurance activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate, professional,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scientific and technica</td>
<td>1,55</td>
<td>1,63</td>
<td>1,63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and</td>
<td>0,80</td>
<td>0,78</td>
<td>0,78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support service activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public adm., defence,</td>
<td>2,04</td>
<td>1,84</td>
<td>1,84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soc. security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3,32</td>
<td>3,69</td>
<td>3,69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Human health and social work activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10,22</th>
<th>11,74</th>
<th>11,74</th>
<th>11,32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other service activities</td>
<td>0,95</td>
<td>0,98</td>
<td>0,98</td>
<td>1,91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>0,72</td>
<td>0,47</td>
<td>0,47</td>
<td>0,32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Statistics Norway, table 07984. Calculations: Østlandsforskning

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**Territorial dimension**

Nord-Østerdal covers a larger geographical area than Midt-Gudbrandsdal, but only a slightly larger population. Nord-Østerdal, as it is defined here, includes six municipalities, covers a population of 14,634 people, and stretches over 9444 square kilometres. Midt-Gudbrandsdal has a total population of 13,177, includes three municipalities and covers 3,134 square kilometres. Thus, the population is more dispersed over a larger geographical area in Nord-Østerdal, but Tynset represents a relatively clearly defined regional centre with a population of 5,537. The region is also less integrated and less clearly defined, and the municipalities included in the region varies, depending on the context and definitions used. The northern municipalities of the region tend to be more oriented towards municipalities in the county of Trøndelag, and especially the municipality of Røros. Nord-Østerdal is sometimes referred to as the mountain region, which also includes Røros ([https://www.fjellregionen.no/kommunene](https://www.fjellregionen.no/kommunene)).

As such, it is more difficult to treat Nord-Østerdal as a clear case region. Thus, the case study of Nord-Østerdal has a more specific focus on Tynset as case municipality. At the same time, understanding Tynset’s interrelations with neighbouring municipalities is unavoidable considering issues related to immigration, and regional resources and developments. For instance, Tynset is hosting the inter-municipal training centre providing language training and primary education for adults (see next subchapter for an overview of organization of services across the municipalities).

The vastness of the geographical area that constitutes Nord-Østerdal makes the issue of traffic and public transport a highly pressing issue when it comes to the settlement of immigrants. This region is also connected by the railway (Rørosbanen) which provides

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37 We do have not access to data which directly responds to the indicators listed under the territorial dimension, thus we present data that more generally shed light on how the territory have implications for the settlement and inclusion of immigrants in the region.
connections between the south/Oslo and the north/Trondheim/. Highway 3 (riksvei 3) is also an important transport corridor between Oslo and Trondheim. However, accessibility to public transport is limited, given the dispersed population and long distances. Thus, having a driver’s licence and access to a car becomes consequently a necessity for labour market and social inclusion. One of the informants explains:

*It’s about the distances, if you don’t have a driver licence it is not easy to be employed in this region. If you need to get the kids to nursery, and then to get to work yourself... you just cannot rely on public transport. We have a regional labour market, and it is not easy to get around across places (Informant 11).*

At the same time, another informant also points to accessibility to public transport as a strength for region. Hence, perception of accessibility and connectedness varies within the region:

*Public transport – bus and train – you’re not far from central areas, and this is important because a lot of refugees come from big cities. Handling the transition of living in a small place and getting used to the Norwegian climate can be quite tough. (Informant 1).*

Also, in this case, patterns of commuting can be relevant for getting some insights on accessibility and interconnections. This is displayed in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tynset</th>
<th>Tolga</th>
<th>Alvdal</th>
<th>Rendalen</th>
<th>Folloal</th>
<th>Os</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commuting in</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting out</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working and living in the municipality</td>
<td>3780</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summarizing key characteristics

Nord-Østerdal is a region covering a vast geographical area, with a dispersed population except from the regional centre Tynset, which is more densely populated. As in Midt-Gudbrandsdal, population is declining, and they experience an increasingly aging population. Immigration has been important for counteracting population decline, and the general impression from the interviews is that immigration is perceived as a crucial resource which contributes to meet demands for labour and for sustaining local services. This is clearly visible in plans and strategies for Tynset, and also confirmed in the interviews:

*The municipal council and management are very positive to settlement of refugees and towards a multicultural community. They are open for suggestions from us, and they clearly communicate that immigrants should be provided with opportunities to contribute and to be integrated* (Informant 1)

The informants also describe the labour market as thriving, with low unemployment rates and demands for labour in several sectors.

The informants describe the political climate in the region as collaborative, with few tensions and conflicts. Still, the characteristics of the region varies greatly across the municipalities. Some are dominated by mountains, low population and dispersed settlement, while other areas, such as Tynset, has a centralized population with accompanying public services and job opportunities. With the shifts in settlement policies at national level, centralized areas in rural regions are increasingly prioritized. The impact of immigration therefore varies among the municipalities of the region.

Thus, there are more significant differences between the municipalities in this region as compared to Midt-Gudbrandsdal, and the definition and boundaries of the region is less clear cut. Given the vast geographical distances, this may hinder inter-municipal
services in the same way as in case 1. At the same time, due to the relatively low population in some of the municipalities, collaborations and inter-municipal efforts are important. So, we see a range of constellations of inter-municipal collaborative arrangements in the region, and also a willingness for merging resources across sectors such as the public and third sector. The figure below visualizes how the municipalities collaborate and organize municipal services that are most relevant for immigrants, and particularly for refugees.

Figure 10: Overview of the organization of refugee services, adult education and labour and welfare services in Nord-Østerdal

The interviews give the impression that inter-municipal collaboration generally work well in the region, and also that they manage to work collaboratively across sectors (e.g. training/education, housing, labour and welfare services). This is perceived as important for the overall integration efforts. However, the interviews also show that this has not always been the case. Particularly, the collaboration between the Labour and Welfare Services (NAV) and the refugee services/adult training centre has been challenging:
Previously, Nav Nord-Østerdal handled all economic aspects, and we had to wait for them to do our job. They were downsizing in a period with high influx of immigrants, and we didn’t receive payments to do necessary purchases [related to settlement] and the collaboration was strenuous. Since 2016, we have worked to change this, since it did not work well for anyone. It has taken time to get the new regulations in place, and it was just sanctioned during spring 2021. So, now we have responsibility for the economy as well, and NAV only handles social security. This has made the collaboration far less complicated (Informant 1).

Given these experiences, and issues raised in the interviews on the needs for bringing together resources across organizations and sectors, we also here recommend that cross-cutting approaches to integration is to be further explored. We therefore suggest that cross-sectorial and/or inter-organizational collaborations should be explored in participatory workshop.

Concluding Remarks

This report sheds light on a range of issues related to immigration and integration in the two regions Midt-Gudbrandsdal and Nord-Østerdal. The two regions cover nine municipalities that can be characterized as rural mountain regions, but their sizes and degree of remoteness differs. Still, the municipalities share similar trends with declining populations and a growing share of elderly in need of health and care services, while the younger population of working age is declining. Immigration represents an important resource for the municipalities as it contributes to curb the population decline.

What stands out in this preliminary data collection and analysis of the two regions is that the municipalities are eager to welcome immigrants and to settle refugees, since it is acknowledged as providing valuable resources to the region (in various respects). What is reported here is mainly the official perceptions among strategic municipal managers and public service mangers, but the overall impression is that the communities at large are also
open and positive to welcome immigrants. What stands in the way, so to say, is the national immigration policy which has become gradually stricter and which entail a shift in priorities in terms of which municipalities that are requested to settle refugees. The larger municipalities with more centralized settlements are prioritized, given that they can prove good results in the introduction program for refugees. Even these municipalities experience that they are not receiving the agreed number of refugees and are uncertain of whether this is only due to the pandemic. Overall, this is described as a loss for the municipalities, and that the unpredictability is frustrating.

The shifts in national policies imply that smaller rural municipalities need to increasingly collaborate and integrate their services in order to yield benefits from immigration. Thus, the regional interactions become increasingly important. We see examples of this in both regions, as well as examples of increased collaboration across the different service agencies, organizational units and across the private, public and third sector. As highlighted in the summary of key characteristics for both case regions; we suggest to further explore this theme through participatory processes in both case regions.

The specific focus of areas for cross-sectorial and/or inter-organizational collaborations should be further explored and defined by the participants from the regions themselves. We believe the regions already have ongoing initiatives and projects that can be further developed and strengthened through the participatory workshops, and we believe the workshops may support creativity and development around new forms of collaborative arrangements.
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NAV Innlandet (2021) *NAV Innlandets omverdensanalyse 2021* [NAV’s Horizon Scan 2021 Developments, trends, and consequences towards 2035]. Available from:


Appendix 1

Methods and Data

Statistics

The statistics presented in this report is collected from the following governmental institutions/organizations:

- Statistics Norway is the national statistical institute of Norway and the main producer of official statistics. They are responsible for collecting, producing, and communicating statistics related to the economy, population and society at national, regional and local levels. [https://www.ssb.no/en](https://www.ssb.no/en)

- The Norwegian labour and welfare administration (NAV) administer one third of the national budget through schemes such as unemployment benefit, work assessment allowance, sickness benefit, pensions, child benefit and cash-for-care benefit. [https://www.nav.no/en/home](https://www.nav.no/en/home)

- The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) implements the governments integration policies. IMDi is responsible for strengthening the competence of municipalities, sector authorities, and other collaborative partners in the field of integration and diversity. [https://www.imdi.no/en/](https://www.imdi.no/en/)

The count date for statistical data is January 1st, unless stated otherwise.

The report is mainly based official statistics, combined with contextual insights of the regions’ characteristics gained through qualitative interviews.

Interviews

The briefing is based on interviews with 14 informants carried out as individual interviews or in groups of two. Ten interviews in total. The interviews were conducted by videocalls (using Teams) with two participating researchers. The interviews were semi-structured and
followed an interview guide which was adapted to the position and background of the informants. One of the researchers was dedicated to taking notes and documenting the interview, while the other researcher guided the conversation. An overview of the interviewed informants is presented in the table below.

**Table 16: Overview of interviews and informants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Role/position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Manager public services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manager public services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manager public services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Top level municipal manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Top level municipal manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Top level municipal manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manager public services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manager public services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Manager public services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Policy maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Regional advisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Member of international council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of international council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spain

Authors: Raúl Lardiés-Bosque & Nuria del Olmo Vicén

Spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of TCNs

The case study has been carried out in 2 of the 33 comarcas (districts) in the Autonomous Region of Aragón: Alto Gállego (hereafter, AG) and Los Monegros (hereafter, LM) (Fig. 1).

1) The comarca of AG is located in the north of the province of Huesca and borders on France to the north; it has a population is 13,434 inhabitants (2020), and the capital municipality (9,185 inhabitants) accounts for 70%; the comarca has 8 municipalities and 85 population centres, some of which are uninhabited.

2) The comarca of LM is located in the south of the province of Huesca and a southern part belongs to the province of Zaragoza. The comarca has a population of 18,447 inhabitants (2020), and its capital (4,184 inhabitants) accounts for 23%. This comarca is made up of 31 municipalities and 50 population centres.
The two regions were chosen due to their contrasting, different socio-economic dynamics, which have led to different migratory processes and different characteristics of the immigrant population. On the one hand, the comarca of AG is located in the mountainous area of the Pyrenees and has a services (tourism) and industry-based economy only in the capital of the comarca. Forestry and natural vegetation account for 91.9% of its surface area, and only 0.5% of the total area is used artificially. Livestock and, to a lesser extent, agriculture, have been very important in this region in the past, in spite of being a mountainous area with few usable areas; nevertheless, the importance of this land use has declined and the agricultural surface area has shrunk from representing 10% of the entire territory in 1990 to 8% in 2018. On the contrary, tourism is its economic and territorial driving force; the comarca is home to two alpine ski resorts and there are numerous industries in the capital, which has enabled it to maintain and even increase its population in some municipalities since the end of the 1990s (12,184 inhabitants in 1996 and 13,434 in 2020).

On the other hand, the comarca of LM comprises more territory and is not a mountainous area, but is in a flat area at the end of the Ebro Valley. In this comarca, 81.5% of the land is
used for agriculture and 17.8% for forestry and natural vegetation, a sharp contrast with the comarca of AG. Therefore, the main economic activities are based on the primary sector - agriculture and livestock farming. This comarca is close to the regional (Zaragoza) and provincial (Huesca) capital, so there has been a lot of emigration and its population is older than that of the AG comarca.

While the AG comarca’s population represents 1.0% of Aragón’s population (1.3 million), its disposable income is 11%. Similarly, the LM comarca’s population represents 14% of the population of Aragón and its disposable income is 1.01%.

Methodologically, various socio-economic and territorial statistical sources have been consulted, in order to work on the different quantitative indicators. In addition, 17 in-depth interviews have been carried out with different stakeholders (9 in AG and 8 in LM):

WP5AG001: Head of Social Services (AG),
WP5AG002: Director of public school (comarca AG),
WP5AG003: Trade Union (AG),
WP5AG004: Mayoress of municipality (AG),
WP5AG005: Head of CARITAS (AG)
WP5AG006: Director of semi-public school (comarca AG),
WP5AG007: Women, TCN from Morocco (AG),
WP5AG008: Women, TCN from Dominican Republic (AG),
WP5AG009: Association of Entrepreneurs (AG).

WP5MON001: Head of Social Services (LM),
WP5MON002: Association of Entrepreneurs (LM),
WP5MON003: Mayoress of municipality (LM),
WP5MON004: Trade Union (LM),
WP5MON005: Director of children school (LM),
WP5MON006: Head of adults’ school (LM),
In Aragón, and also in the Spanish context, the beginning of the migratory phenomenon took place at the end of the 1990s. The foreign immigrant population began arriving in the large cities during that decade, but to a much larger extent in the 2000s. It was from then onwards that the Spanish economy grew rapidly and began to demand a significant amount of labour. Aragón also started receiving immigrants during that decade (Table 1), but few initially in rural areas. The boom started between 2002-2008 and lasted until the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008 (Table 1). The crisis led to many immigrants returning home and the total volume declined in urban and also in rural areas. Subsequently, the number have picked up slowly, albeit unevenly, and only in some territories have the pre-crisis figures of 2008 been reached.
This trend is also to be seen in Aragón, although with differences. While foreigners accounted for only 3.6% of the total population in 2002, in 2008 they accounted for 11.7% (Table 1), although in the province of Huesca they still accounted for 10.8%. However, their presence at local level varies, as while in the comarca of AG they accounted for 14.5% in 2008, in LM they accounted for only 7.9%. By 2008, AG’s tourism and service economy already attracted more foreigners than LM’s agricultural and less tertiary economy. However, the economic crisis (2008-2014) hit both comarcas to a different extent, as the number of foreigners has risen significantly in LM, compared to AG.

Table 1. Foreign immigration in both comarcas in the context of Aragón, 2002-2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aragón (NUT-2)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>1,215,884</td>
<td>1,320,918</td>
<td>1,317,847</td>
<td>1,229,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreigners</td>
<td>43,973</td>
<td>154,892</td>
<td>140,183</td>
<td>162,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCN</td>
<td>40,482</td>
<td>77,020</td>
<td>73,481</td>
<td>95,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Foreigners</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Total population</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Province of Huesca (NUT-3)</strong></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>208,963</td>
<td>222,571</td>
<td>222,909</td>
<td>222,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreigners</td>
<td>6,658</td>
<td>24,263</td>
<td>23,87</td>
<td>27,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCN</td>
<td>5,934</td>
<td>12,870</td>
<td>11,296</td>
<td>13,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Foreigners</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Total population</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Comarca Alto Gállego (AG)</strong></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>12,241</td>
<td>14,416</td>
<td>13,624</td>
<td>13,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreigners</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>2,098</td>
<td>1,522</td>
<td>1,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCN</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Foreigners</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Total population</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Comarca Los Monegros (LM)</strong></th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>21,24</td>
<td>21,238</td>
<td>19,566</td>
<td>18,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreigners</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>1,661</td>
<td>1,778</td>
<td>2,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCN</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Foreigners</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TCN/Total population</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Municipal Register of Inhabitants, IAEST. INE.
In any case, the absolute evolution of the foreign population has been very positive in Aragón as a whole between 2002 and 2020, and in particular in the municipalities of the two comarcas under study (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Variation of total foreign immigrants by municipalities in the comarcas of Alto Gállego and Los Monegros and Aragón, between 2002 and 2020

Consequently, the number of TCNs in the two comarcas between 2002 and 2020 has also risen significantly, specifically by 480% in the comarca of AG and 127% in LM, although concentrated in the territory (Fig. 3).

Most of the TCNs have arrived in the largest and most important municipality (the county capital), while around 40-50% of arrivals have diversified to other municipalities and destinations in the comarca. This means that in the early 2000s, TCNs arrived and settled in the main municipalities, and over time they have spread to other smaller municipalities (Interview WP5AG004). However, this diversification has been uneven, as there are some small municipalities and smaller towns in both comarcas without a single new TCN.
Right now, in 2020, the migratory balance of foreigners can be negative in some years, because some years TCN outflows outnumber arrivals. This is especially true for foreigners from other European countries, but less so for other foreigners such as Latin Americans and Africans.

Broadly speaking, the **number of foreign immigrants** has grown after the crisis throughout Aragón, including in Huesca, and quite a lot in the comarca of LM, while the same has not happened in the comarca of AG (Fig. 4). While the LM comarca has needed a lot of immigrant labour for the recent development of its agricultural sector and work in farms and slaughterhouses, (Interview WP5MON004) immigrants have not arrived in the mountainous territory of AG to the same extent.
The **volume** of TCNs out of the total number of foreigners was very high (70-90%) at the beginning of the period analysed, although it has dropped afterwards to current percentages between 50-55%. This implies that their numbers have grown rapidly, but more immigrants have arrived from the EU, and they are now in the majority. In the AG comarca, foreigners and TCNs represent 5.0% and 4.3% of those living in the province of Huesca, while in the LM comarca they account for 7.4% and 5.8% respectively (Table 2).

As it is shown in Summary (Table 2), the **population of women has grown steadily** for two reasons:

1) the family reunification of the settled Moroccan population,

2) and the arrival of single women of Central American origin, normally initiators of the migration project and heads of single-parent families.
Table 2. Summary of Spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of migrants. Analysis of qualitative indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Current spatial patterns of TCNs in and within the region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Number of third countries national</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Share of total population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MONTEGRUS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception: Between 15-20% of the total population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALTO GÁLLEGUO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception: there is a difference between the less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>populated municipalities with less immigration (municipalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Salient, Puntumos and Hoz de Jaca) (5%9)% and the most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>populated center of population (Subititiga) (around 20%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even immigrants perceive that around 3040% of the population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are immigrants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Current socio-demographic structure of TCNs in and within the age groups of Third Country Nationals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Share of female Third Country Nationals of all Third Country Nationals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Most important Third Country Nationalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Most important occupations of Third Country Nationals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Educational background of Third Country Nationals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MONTEGRUS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perception is that most of the immigrant population are from the 30-45 year old age bracket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20% of women, but large differences by nationality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher proportion of young men in the African group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More balanced presence of women in the Moroccan group, mainly due to family regrouping processes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher percentage of women among the Latin American population. Most of them have started the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migration project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALTO GÁLLEGUO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main nationalities: Moroccans, Venezuelans, Colombians, Argentinians, and few Pakistanis and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moroccan immigrants are mostly young, between 30-40 years old, and their fertility rates are higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than the average for the surrounding area. In addition, there are very different ages between the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partners in a marriage. Women tend to be much younger (20-30 years).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Latin American population is younger, around 30 years of age (more recent settlement), but there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are also many 40-50 year olds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other nearby territories and other migratory stages, migration from sub-Saharan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>countries is very scarce right now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The proportion of women and men is very similar (50%), which is explained by the fact that the Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American population is mainly family-based, while the Moroccan population, which has remained and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settled in the territory, has followed the full family reunification path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main nationalities: from Morocco, Senegal and Gambia. Lower volume of Latin Americans (women from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America: from Nicaragua, Guatemala and Peru).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High unemployment among the Moroccan populaion, closely linked to its cultural level.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
High unemployment among immigrants.

Currently the level of employability between natives and long-settled immigrants is similar, except for Moroccan women who hardly know the language.

Main occupations:

a) Men: unskilled agricultural jobs such as cereal crops, although there are not many such jobs, because it is highly technical work that requires heavy investment in technology but limited investment in labour; that is why these jobs are usually done by nationals who are either owners or hired -in this region-, often they are young people who join the job market before reaching third-stage education. Consequently, there are very few foreign tractor drivers.

b) Women: domestic services (cleaning) and care services. Low female labour participation of Moroccan and African women.

Low level of education, especially Moroccans, Africans and Central Americans.

The Latin Americans' employability is very limited, because it is very hard for them to get their educational qualifications (secondary and higher education) officially recognised; they work in the service sector, mainly in the hotel and catering industry.

The Moroccans' employability is limited due to their linguistic integration, but also due to cultural differences and the native population's perception, which is also conditioned by the group's very background.

Increased unemployment as a result of the economic crisis triggered by Covid-19.

There are also immigrants in livestock farming, except for Moroccans in pig farms; the Senegalese have come into this sector little by little, and construction and services (especially Latin Americans). There are fewer Latin Americans in the agricultural sector.

Moroccan men: in construction and agriculture.

Moroccan women: many do not work, and among those who do, they work in cleaning (hotel maids) and catering.

Latin American males: in the service sector (especially in hotels and restaurants and ski slopes). Many work on the resorts' slopes, but more in bars, restaurants and hotels in winter tourism/skiing areas.

Latin American women: in care services (moving homes and private homes) and housework. There is also a smaller group of women with a higher level of education, who have arrived through family migration and have taken jobs in the service sector: commerce, administration, etc., although the main activity is hotel and catering.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONEGROS</th>
<th>ALTO GÁLLEGO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Predominance of</td>
<td>In TCNs, the group of Moroccans:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nationalities of TCNs in</td>
<td>the oldest, with a high level of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and within the region</td>
<td>family reunification and settlement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban-rural/mountain</td>
<td>In the 2000s there was a greater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interactions</td>
<td>supply of skilled labour, and those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>who arrived then have had more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opportunities to settle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Development of</td>
<td>Senegalese mainly seasonal workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>most important Third</td>
<td>There has been a constant flow of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country Citizenships</td>
<td>emigration to other areas of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>among local TCNs</td>
<td>country, for example to Madrid,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Logroño and Pamplona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central American women:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more recent group; greater</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movement from rural to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban areas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This group is characterised by a fairly high level of mobility from rural to urban areas, as these women tend to leave these comarcas when they have their papers in order and can get a job in the city (Interview WP5AG008). In the comarca of LM, recent Latin American family migration (Venezuela and Colombia) has contributed to the greater presence of women. However, the limited presence of Moroccan and, to a lesser extent, sub-Saharan women in public makes the volume seen lower than is recorded in the statistical data.

People’s perception of number of foreign immigrants does not usually match the real figures, and there seem to be more foreigners than there actually are (Table 3). For example,
fieldwork has shown that the interviewed social actors’ perception about the **size of the foreign population** in the comarca of LM is higher than the actual figures obtained from statistical data (Interviews WP5MON005; WP5AG008; WP5MON008). Some interviewees believe that between 15 and 20% of the county (LM) is currently a TCN immigrant population, while the total number of foreigners is 11.2% of the total population. However, this perception varies greatly from one municipality to another. The perception of the total number of immigrants is also higher in the comarca of AG than the actual figures, and the reason may be the many of them live in the county capital -Sabiñánigo-.

**Table 3. Foreigners and TCNs in both comarcas by municipalities, province of Huesca and Aragón, 2020**

### Comarca Alto Gállego (AG)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipalities</th>
<th>Total Population (TP)</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>TCN</th>
<th>%TCN/Foreigners</th>
<th>% Foreigners/TP</th>
<th>% TCN/TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huesca</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>1,086</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldarrostar</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hor de Jaca</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paracuellos</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabiñánigo</td>
<td>9,185</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saltell de Gállego</td>
<td>1,477</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vale de Tena</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vícar</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total comares LM</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,292</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,407</strong></td>
<td><strong>656</strong></td>
<td><strong>46.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Comarca Los Monegros (LM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipalities</th>
<th>Total Population (TP)</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>TCN</th>
<th>%TCN/Foreigners</th>
<th>% Foreigners/TP</th>
<th>% TCN/TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcalatén</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcalata de Guadaira</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcalatín</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almoguera</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berdun</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berdún</td>
<td>1,162</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calatayud</td>
<td>1,738</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casas de Jervis</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Anillo</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larraque</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Viesa</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesa</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanes</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sopeira</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarazona</td>
<td>1,142</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tudela</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senés</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiedra</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torralba de Arañón</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torralba de Barrio</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujue</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villanueva de Sigüenza</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto de Lira</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunol</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calaceite</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leones</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monnegre de la Puebla</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelayo</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total comares LM</strong></td>
<td><strong>18,408</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,067</strong></td>
<td><strong>899</strong></td>
<td><strong>43.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Prov. Huesca (NUT-3)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>TCN</th>
<th>%TCN/Foreigners</th>
<th>% Foreigners/TP</th>
<th>% TCN/TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>222,687</td>
<td>27,825</td>
<td>15,339</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Aragón (NUT-2)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>TCN</th>
<th>%TCN/Foreigners</th>
<th>% Foreigners/TP</th>
<th>% TCN/TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,329,391</td>
<td>162,048</td>
<td>95,382</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In municipal terms, the differences in the **territorial distribution of foreigners and TCNs** are evident (Table 3; Fig. 5; Fig. 6). In the 2000s, foreign immigrants settled mainly in the larger population centres, which offered better economic opportunities, while over the following two decades they have moved to and settled in smaller population centres. However, the tendency is towards concentration (Interviews WP5AG004; WP5MON003), such that they are to found more in municipalities with more than 5,000 inhabitants, rather than in smaller and more rural ones (< 2,000 inhabitants).

This tendency towards foreigners and TCNs being concentrated in the main population centres is generalised at the provincial level and also in the two comarcas analysed (Fig. 5; Fig. 6). The total population in both comarcas is similar: 13,292 in AG, with 8 municipalities, and 18,405 inhabitants in LM with 31 municipalities. In the comarca of AG, 78.4% of foreigners and 81.5% of TCNs live in the capital, which is the comarca’s main economic and industrial centre, and also in the main tourist centres towards the Pyrenees (South-North direction) (Fig. 5; Fig. 6). In fact, this area of the Aragón Pyrenees is the one with the highest concentration of foreigners and TCNs.
As for the capital of the comarca of LM, it is home to 22.7% of the comarca’s population, and also to a large number of foreigners and TCNs. In this LM comarca, made up of 31 municipalities, the number of foreigners and TCNs is slightly higher than in AG (Table 3), although these immigrants are more spread out territorially (Fig. 5; Fig. 6).
The presence of foreigners and TCNs in LM is higher than in AG, and the percentage of the total population in 2020 was 11.2% and 4.9% respectively. In comparative terms for the whole of Aragón, the presence of foreigners among the total population is quite high in this comarca (Fig. 7; Fig. 8).
As already mentioned, the proportion of TCNs in the total population is 4.9% in both comarcas (Table 3). However, there are territorial differences and differences by municipality, as they are concentrated in the two municipalities that head the comarcas (Fig. 8). Exceptionally, there are a few municipalities in LM where TCNs represent 70% and up to 90% of foreigners, and therefore also up to 11.5% and 15.4% of the total population.
In short, in municipal terms, the concentration of foreigners and TCNs can be seen in those municipalities where there are more job opportunities and which offer the population the best services (Interviews WP5AG003; WP5MON002). Moreover, these mountainous (AG) or non-mountainous (LM) rural areas lack good communications and transport, so not all small towns have good public transport networks (basically, buses). That is why people who live in a small village need to have their own car to get to shops, schools and enjoy leisure activities; for instance, there are bus services in small towns that take boys and girls to the nearest educational centers until the university stage. This is also why the interrelation between rural-urban areas is high, in terms of interdependence (Interviews WP5AG007; WP5MON005; WP5MON006; WP5MON008).

There are also differences in the nationality of foreigners when considering the different territorial scales (Table 4).
Table 4. Ranking of main foreign nationalities in both comarcas, Huesca and Aragón, 2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aragón</th>
<th>Prov. of Huesca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ranking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nationality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Romania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe except EU-28</td>
<td>5,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreigners</td>
<td>162,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>1,229,391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comarca Alto Gállego (AG)</th>
<th>Comarca Los Monegros (LM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ranking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nationality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Romania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe except EU-28</td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreigners</td>
<td>1,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>13,424</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Municipal Register of Inhabitants, IAEST. INE.

By comarcas, the volumes in order of importance are not very different and Romanians also predominate, followed by immigrants from Morocco and Latin America. In LM, Moroccans are perceived to be the most numerous population, followed by Africans (Interviews WP5MON001; WP5MON003; WP5MON007), including those from Senegal, Gambia and, to a lesser extent, Mali (Table 2). In the comarca of AG too, the prevailing perception is that there are a lot of people from Morocco, followed by those from Latin American countries (Interviews WP5AG001; WP5AG005).

The difference between the two comarcas is that in LM there are more Romanians and Moroccans, while in AG there are more Latin Americans; this is explained by the type of jobs they do: Africans work more in the fruit sector and Eastern Europeans in farms, while Latin Americans tend to be more employed in services (hotels and restaurants). In both regions, Moroccans are the oldest-settled group (some heads of family have been in the area for more
than 20 years) and have the highest degree of family regrouping; they are also the group with the highest number of children (3-5 children on average).

As for the age of foreigners and TCNs, most of them (75% to 80% in Aragón) belong to the 16-64 year old adult population bracket, as they are basically of working age and economically active. This contrasts with the local population, in which the oldest age group (+64 years) accounts for more than 21%, while among TCNs in Aragón only 2.7% of them are TCNs. There are certain nationality-based differences, like the fact that there are more TCNs from America and Africa under 16 years of age (around 21%), possibly as a result of family reunification, and that is a higher figure even than the proportion of young people among the native population (14.8% in Aragón in 2020). The trend over the last two decades has been towards an increase in the number and proportion of under-16s; the immigrant population over 64 has also grown, although less so.

In the province of Huesca and in the two comarcas, basically the same age pattern is repeated. In both comarcas, the adult population (16 to 64 years old) accounts for around 80% of the total, but young people (< 16 years old) account for 17% and almost 20% (111 and 175 people, respectively in both comarcas); however, in Aragón, they account for 14.8%. Consequently, the younger TCNs have increased in size and representation over the last twenty years. On the other hand, there are only 10 TCNs over 64 years old in AG and 8 in LM, and they represent only 2.4% and 1.6% of all TCNs, which is much lower than the 21% of the total population.

By gender, there has been a notable masculinisation of the immigrant population, although this has steadily corrected between 2002 and 2020 (Interviews WP5AG004; WP5MON005). In Aragón, foreign men accounted for almost 58% in 2002 and now account for 50.7% in 2020. In parallel, women represented 42.2% in 2002 and now account for 49.3% of all foreigners. So foreign origin men still outnumber women, but to a very minor extent, while among the population of Aragón as a whole the opposite is true (more women).

However, the situation differs from one comarca to another. In one of them (AG), in 2002 there was a strong feminisation (55.7% of women), but this figure quickly started to fall to
49.9% in 2020. On the contrary, in the comarca of LM, in 2002 there was a strong masculinisation (61.2% men), which has also rapidly decreased to 50.7% of men in 2020. Therefore both comarcas have seen a trend towards gender equalisation and a process of convergence, to approach the percentages of the Aragón’s native population.

The predominant nationalities have also changed over the last two decades. Initially, the majority were Latin Americans, Moroccans and less Europeans (Romanians); however, the flows have more recently diversified towards immigrants from other countries such as Algeria, Ukraine, Chile, etc. Following the recent crisis in Venezuela, the presence of these immigrants has also increased.

Another important variable to analyse is the educational level of TCNs, although there is no much information available on this. However, some statistics are available on foreign students enrolled in primary and tertiary education, including for both comarcas (but not for secondary education).

In primary education terms, what is remarkable for the academic year 2019/20 is that students from the Maghreb (basically of Moroccan origin), account in Aragón for 43% of all enrolments of foreign origin, 47% in the province of Huesca, yet 67.6% in the comarca of AG and 66.4% in LM. Therefore, if the weight of Moroccan schoolchildren is over-represented in both comarcas, that of Africans is lower than average (only 2.7% of the total in both comarcas). This difference is due to the fact that Moroccan immigration is family-based and the aim is family reunification (Interviews WP5AG001; WP5MON001). In contrast, most African immigrants are men, and they seldom end up bringing the rest of their family.

In the comarcas, after children of Moroccan origin, the second largest group are of Latin American origin (24.3% of the pupils enrolled in the district of GA and 22.1% in LM). They are followed by children of European origin (2.7% in GA and 7.1% in LM). Asian children (Chinese) account for 10% of pupils in Aragón, but only 4.6% of the total in this province, and only 2.7% in the comarca of GA and 1.8% in LM, so their presence is very low; it is often said that the Chinese, who engage in commercial and catering activities, settle in cities, but rarely in rural and more isolated areas (Interview WP5AG002).
The growth in the total number of TCN children in schools has been rapid since 2002. In the 2002/03 school year there were only 13 children enrolled in AG and 28 in LM, while in 2018/20 there were 74 and 113 respectively. Already in 2002 there were more Maghrebi children in LM, while none in GA. However, 77% of the children enrolled were of Latin American origin in GA in 2002, while there were practically none in LM.

Regarding the impact of these children at school, in the two comarcas they represent 10.5% and 13.3% of the total number of children attending school in the 2019/20 academic year, with a very similar representation to that of Aragón as a whole (Table 5). This representation has risen in these two comarcas (Interviews WP5AG002; WP5MON005), although, broadly speaking, there are more children in urban areas such as the cities of Zaragoza and Huesca.

**Table 5. Percentage (%) of TCNs among the total population in primary education by academic years, 2002-2002**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Aragón</th>
<th>Huesca</th>
<th>Alto Gállego</th>
<th>Los Monegros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002/2003</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008/2009</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015/2016</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019/2020</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IAEST, data from Education Department, Government of Aragón.

**Tertiary studies** data are only available for the total of Aragón and not for the comarcas; they are total data and do not differentiate between types of studies such as Degree studies, Master, Doctorate or 'Higher Level Training Cycles'). During the academic year 2019/20, 1,176 TCNs were enrolled in these types of third level training courses in Aragón (approximately 1.2% of the 95,382 TCNs resident in the region in 2020). These 1,176 TCNs enrolled also represent 3.9% of all third level students in the region in the 2019/20 academic year. The large proportion of all university level TCNs are women, who in some cases account for 60-70% of those enrolled. Consequently, the demand for university studies among TCNs is really low, whereas in Spain, 22.7% of the total population has a university degree.
There are also local and regional differences in terms of the nationalities of origin of these university students. While there are significant numbers of Latin American and Maghrebi students in primary education in the comarcas, the majority of university students are from the USA and Canada (45% of the total) followed by Africans, except those from the Maghreb (28.1%), and by Latin America and Caribbean students (12.6%).

As for the demographic size of the municipalities where immigrants live, the majority prefer urban areas. In Aragón, in 2002, only 13.2% of foreigners lived in strictly rural municipalities (<2,000 inhabitants) but 74.2% in urban (>10,000 inhabitants) areas. By 2020, this distribution in Aragón had not varied much (11.8% in rural 73.1% in urban).

However, in the province of Huesca, the distribution is different, with a higher percentage of foreign immigrants living in rural areas (24.2%) than in urban areas (56.6%). While in the province of Zaragoza, more foreigners live in its capital and main cities, the percentage of foreigners residing in rural areas is higher in the province of Huesca. This is due to the fact that the province of Huesca has fruit-growing areas which attract many, but not all, African immigrants, especially many of them on a temporary basis, in addition to the more rural city structure. As already mentioned, in the comarcas there is also a tendency towards concentration in the larger towns, while the presence of foreign immigrants in small towns of less than 500 inhabitants is much lower.

Social Dimension

In general, TCNs in both comarcas are to be found in the most disadvantaged socio-economic strata, with the economic difference being most notable among those living in the comarca of GA, especially in the more mountainous area of the county and in the more isolated areas. However, the psychosocial level of well-being of these migrants is high and the migration project is meeting their initial expectations (Interview WP5AG002).
In general, and with the exception of North Africans and Central Americans, TCNs perceive and state that they have **opportunities to improve their professional and economic situation** over time, although the biggest promotions are limited to low- and medium-skilled positions (Interview WP5MON002). This lack of professional promotions can be explained both by endogenous factors related to the development of social and human capital -the level of training and development of their networks-, and exogenous factors related to the lack of job opportunities in the area and the difficulties of getting qualifications officially recognised. This lack of official recognition of studies and professional qualifications mainly affects the Latin American population, given that the level of education and professional training of North Africans, sub-Saharan Africans and Central Americans is very low; however, many Latin Americans often have high levels of training (Interviews WP5AG003; WP5MON004).

The **Covid-19** situation has impacted the population of the comarcas deeply both from a health and economic point of view (Table 10) (Mahía, 2020), and in particular the oldest population (mainly natives, and less the immigrants, due to the reduced number). One of the most affected areas is the comarca of AG, due to the fact that most of the jobs involve seasonal ski and summer tourism-related services. As a result, many TCNs, as well as the local population, have lost their jobs and face economic hardship. According to two workers from CARITAS and Red Cross in both comarcas:

"Covid has affected the region's service sector, the closure of the ski resorts... so it has affected the immigrant population far more because they don't have the capacity to save, they don't have a (financial) cushion" (WP5AG005; CARITAS).

"Covid hits immigrants harder due to the underground economy..., when they don't have work, they collect snails, or do odd jobs like repairs, farming work..." (WP5MON007; Red Cross).

In the comarca of LM, TCN families might not have been hit so hard by the health crisis, as more of the population engages in primary activities, which generally did not come to a standstill. However, any families whose income does depend in part on black economy activities have seen their income limited. In these cases, public administrations - above all
regional, county and municipal governments - have provided economic resources to help cope with the neediest situations.

In social cohesion terms, no nationality- or ethnicity-based residential segregation trends are seen in either comarca (Table 6). However, and especially in some small population centres in the comarca of LM, there are some concentrations of TCNs (especially North Africans) who live in certain -and central- areas, where housing is of poorer quality and less well maintained (Interview WP5MON003). This spatial segregation is mainly due to economic reasons and the lower price of housing in those areas where they are concentrated. These TCNs’ low level of income is the reason why they can only afford the cheapest-priced type of housing. Many of these families are of Moroccan origin, and most of them rent housing, although there are already some who are now home owners:

Table 6. Summary of Social dimension. Analysis of qualitative indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MONEGROS</th>
<th>ALTO GÁLLEGO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Social polarisation / social cohesion:</strong></td>
<td>Moroccans: Segregation of the use of public space by nationality. No segregation by ethnicity but segregation by economic status.</td>
<td>Segregation is not perceived, although sometimes economic-based segregation can be observed. There are two main areas:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial segregation of TCNs</td>
<td>Almost all Moroccans live in the central parts of urban centres, where housing is older and therefore cheaper. In the other groups, there is no spatial segregation, but there is economic segregation.</td>
<td>1) Mountain tourist areas where housing is very expensive, so workers choose to move from these towns to the south, to the region's capital -Sabiálgö-, where there is more, cheaper housing. For this reason, the valley/mountain area is practically inhabited by natives and holiday residents (second homes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) On the contrary, there is more diversified employment in the towns in the south of the valley and mainly the capital of the region's capital -Sabiálgö-, which therefore account for more TCNs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Social polarisation:</strong></td>
<td>There is a marked stratification of African groups (seasonal workers, although they are scarce because there is less need for fruit labour in the region, and because their living conditions have also improved a lot).</td>
<td>There are important socio-economic differences between TCNs and natives in some parts of the region, such as in the Tena valley (a more tourist and service-oriented area). Less of a difference in the rest of the region, but there is stratification, with Moroccan TCNs ranking as the most disadvantaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income inequality across socio-economic groups</td>
<td>Among the settled population, the Moroccan group shows greater income inequality. In small towns, there are no major differences.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Access to and quality of services:</strong></td>
<td>Only observed on a temporary basis among seasonal agricultural workers.</td>
<td>No overcrowding. Dwellings are occupied by families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowding rate in immigrant households</td>
<td>None among settled families.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of psycho-social wellbeing</td>
<td>Satisfactory level which increases over time.</td>
<td>Satisfactory level. They appreciate the peace and calm of living in a rural area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Also observed in some LM villages, more than in GA, is the segregated use of public space (Table 6), usually among the Moroccan population, and to a lesser extent among Latin Americans and some immigrants from Eastern European countries).

"In small towns there is no difference, but in X and Y (towns), Moroccans tend to take houses - Romanians prefer flats -; they are the cheapest, most run-down houses, are in the centre, which is why they choose to live in the most run-down part of the old town; they fix them up" (WP5MON001; Social Services).

The perception of the social actors interviewed in both comarcas is that this segregation is prompted by a lack of interest in integration, often on the part of the immigrants themselves, who stick to their groups of acquaintances and friends from the same country of origin as
themselves (Interviews WP5AG004; WP5MON005). This can be interpreted in terms of their more vulnerable economic situation compared to the local population, and cultural variables such as the desire to maintain their own culture and values. One example is the differentiated use that Moroccan women with their children make of public spaces:

"Moroccan women go to the park at different times than the rest, and now it seems that children have more access to the swimming pools; this year we have seen that they have applied for more season tickets (WP5MON001: Social Services).

Another observation made about the lack of social cohesion is the lack of participation by foreign children and parents in school activities. Some interviewees from schools reported that this may be because they lack the financial means to take part, although schools tend to fund those basic activities that pupils have to pay for, to ensure that all pupils can attend (Interviews WP5AG002; WP5MON005). However, coexistence activities are organized in many schools to put parents of different origins in contact:

"We do a lot of socialization work between parents. Because they are families that come from abroad, who find it difficult to get integrated... and we understand that they must feel integrated in the school. That is why we have two meals a year with all the parents and students, and a musical every two years, as well as other activities..." (WP5AG006: Director of semi-public school).

With regard to cultural factors, marked particularly by religion, it is noted that they affect not only personal/social relations, but also employment, as these people often turn down jobs in the pork industry.
Economic Dimension

In terms of employment, the regional economy and the province of Huesca is not one of the worst in Spain, and therefore its level of unemployment is also somewhat better than in the rest of the country. Both in Aragón and in the province of Huesca, unemployment has risen between 2002 and 2020 (from 5.5% to 11.7% in Aragón, and from 5.5% to 10.7% in Huesca), but it is still among the lowest in Spain. This should be taken into account in order to explain why immigrants come here, as its job market offers employment possibilities (Interview WP5MON002). At all territorial levels, unemployment is higher among women, although the differences tend to converge. It would be interesting to have information on unemployment in the comarcas and also among the TCNs, but it is not available.

However, there is a determining factor, because in rural areas there are fewer work and employment opportunities than in cities:

> “Few jobs are generated here … Let’s see, a lot of waiters, cooks… this type of workers is needed. But, at a general level, both for nationals and non-nationals [..], I think there is more work in big cities” (WP5AG009; Association of Entrepreneurs).

Regarding the economic situation in both comarcas, there are some similarities, with signs of more industrialisation and tertiarisation (more employment in tourism and service activities) and less employment in the primary sector (except in agriculture) and mining activities. The difference is that the tertiary sector in GA is much more important than in LM. In economic wealth generation terms (Table 7), agriculture accounts for almost half of the wealth in LM, followed by services. However, in the comarca of AG, services are much more important, as well as industry and other financial services. While AG specialises in tourism and services (above the Aragón average), also somewhat in livestock, LM is renowned for its primary activities (animal farms, irrigation with extensive crops, and fruit harvesting), but with services below the regional average.
Table 7. Percentage of Gross Value Added (VAB) by type of activity in the comarcas of Alto Gállego, Los Monegros and Aragón, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes CNAE-09 (1)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Alto Gállego</th>
<th>Los Monegros</th>
<th>ARAGÓN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agriculture, forestry and fishing</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>66.23</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: E</td>
<td>Extractive activities, Energy and water</td>
<td>7.68</td>
<td>5.02</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Manufacturing industry</td>
<td>53.12</td>
<td>7.95</td>
<td>17.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>7.57</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>6.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-J</td>
<td>Commerce; repair; transport; hospitality; information and communications</td>
<td>10.41</td>
<td>17.59</td>
<td>22.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-N</td>
<td>Financial, real estate activities; professional, scientific and technical,</td>
<td>14.06</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td>20.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>administrative and auxiliary services activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-U</td>
<td>Public administration and defense; compulsory social security; education;</td>
<td>19.44</td>
<td>10.56</td>
<td>22.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>health and social service activities; other services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total % of Gross value added (VAB)</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Codes CNAE-09: National Classification of Economic Activities. CNAE-2009 - INE

Source: IAEST.

Based on these data, and in terms of each comarca, the largest number of jobs in GA is in the different types of services (42%) but also in the primary sector (cereal agriculture and mountain livestock farming; 23.5%) (Table 8). However, mining activities weigh heavily in employment in the comarca of LM (40.1%), and also primary activities (14.9%), well above the regional average.

Table 8. Number of employments by type of activity in the comarcas of Alto Gállego, Los Monegros and Aragón, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes CNAE-09 (1)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Alto Gállego</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Los Monegros</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>ARAGÓN</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agriculture, forestry and fishing</td>
<td>1.267</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>40,200</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: E</td>
<td>Extractive activities, Energy and water</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2,488</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>7,700</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Manufacturing industry</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>92,700</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>39,300</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-J</td>
<td>Commerce; repair; transport; hospitality; information and communications</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>171,500</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-N</td>
<td>Financial, real estate activities; professional, scientific and technical,</td>
<td>2,266</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>79,700</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>administrative and auxiliary services activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-U</td>
<td>Public administration and defense; compulsory social security; education;</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>187,100</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>health and social service activities; other services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total employment</strong></td>
<td>5,393</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>6,210</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>618,200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Codes CNAE-09: National Classification of Economic Activities. CNAE-2009 - INE
Therefore, depending on the differences in economic specialisation in the two comarcas, **TCNs’ employment** is also different in both. In AG, the services sector accounts for most jobs (Table 9), while the primary sector does in LM. In both cases, the percentages of employed people are very different from those of the province and region. In both comarcas, the construction industry employs more TCNs than the provincial and regional averages. However, while the primary sector generates a lot of wealth and employment in the county of AG, only 2.6% of TCNs are employed in these tasks, with the service sector absorbing the majority.

**Table 9. Percentages of occupations of TCNs by economic sectors in the comarcas of Alto Gállego, Los Monegros, province of Huesca and Aragón, 2020**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comarca AG</th>
<th>Alto Gállego</th>
<th>Los Monegros</th>
<th>Province of Huesca</th>
<th>Aragón</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Livestock and fishing</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry and energy</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IAEST, data from General Services of Social Security.

Although the absolute number of TCNs is not very high in the two comarcas, (656 in AG and 895 in LM), their economic impact is proportionally important, and the percentage of TCNs in total employment has been growing steadily since 2002. Thus, the economic weight of the TCNs among those employed in LM is much higher than it should be in terms of their demographic size.

In particular, the proportion of TCN workers is very significant in some economic sectors, such as the primary sector in LM (9.3% of the total employed in that sector and 8.8% in construction). TCNs also represent 7.3% in the construction sector in the comarca of GA, while in the primary sector they represent only 3.6%, as indicated above.
Workers’ employability” can be construed as the probability of a person being employed according to variables such as training, knowledge of the language, ability to adapt to the job, etc. At present, in 2021, and according to the employers and agents consulted in both comarcas (Interviews WP5AG003; WP5MON004), the level of employability between immigrants and natives is similar. However, we call these opinions into question, due to the difficulties that TCNs face in getting certain jobs and given the existing labour segmentation. In fact, unemployment is higher among the immigrant population, and even higher among TCNs, as it is in the country as a whole (Mahía, 2020). Further research into the reasons for the high unemployment can be further carried out in the action-research by means of the planned focus groups.

Most immigrants are in the second segment of the job market, with temporary and discontinuous contracts, and worse working conditions. In 2014, the Spanish labour market was reformed in a move designed to give more freedom and make it easier to hire workers. Despite this, Moroccans and sub-Saharan Africans are still in a lower position compared to the native population and other immigrants (Table 10). This may be due to differences in levels of education and the concentration of immigrants in low-skilled labour niches, but also to discriminatory attitudes (Gastón et al., 2021).

"Percentage unemployment is highest among uneducated Senegalese and Moroccans” (WP5MON003; Mayoress of municipality).

Indeed, in both comarcas, there is a significant low level of education, especially among Moroccans, and among Africans and Central Americans in LM (Table 10). There is also little economic diversification of sectors of activity in both comarcas, which prevents immigrants from changing to and choosing other types of jobs. This diversification might be is slightly higher in the comarca of AG, where there is a certain degree of industrial development, although the possibility of TCNs holding certain positions in manufacturing and production processes is low, and therefore their labour mobility is also difficult. Nor is this job mobility seen in the service sector and in tourism in the comarca of AG, as the most senior positions of responsibility are preferably held by natives; the only exception might be in the very few
small businesses and shops in which the TCN might be the entrepreneur and in charge of them (Interviews WP5AG003; WP5MON004). In fact, there are opinions such as that “normally, these people tend to have more initiative, maybe more than those from here, and they come to ask for information, they get informed…” (WP5AG009; Association of Entrepreneurs).

Table 10. Summary of Economic dimension. Analysis of qualitative indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MONEGROS</th>
<th>ALTO GÁLLEGÖ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Development of entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship</td>
<td>There are no social enterprises in the area aimed at immigrants’ integration.</td>
<td>There are no social enterprises in the area aimed at immigrants’ integration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are very few immigrant entrepreneurs, but they say they want to set up businesses, although they are unable to do so due to difficulties and problems. They are mainly in the service sector, such as restaurants (bars) and shops (food shops, hairdressers and repair services).</td>
<td>Broadly speaking, a greater, albeit smaller-sized business structure has developed in recent years, and there continues to be a low percentage of immigrant entrepreneurs. Most of them are Latin Americans (Venezuela and Colombia) with a higher level of education and, exceptionally, there are some from Pakistan. Since immigrants arrived, some non-existent sectors have opened up, such as 24/7 stop food shops run by Chinese and Pakistanis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are immigrants with an entrepreneurial spirit, but this spirit is hindered by different difficulties; that is why there are few businesses run by immigrants.</td>
<td>There is not much immigrant entrepreneurial activity in the region’s rural areas. In the northern area (Biscay) there are some initiatives such as bars, but not in the southern area -except for the capital, Sabiñánigo-. However, in the northern, heavily tourism-oriented area of the region, tourism, starting up a small business is very expensive.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Impact of COVID crisis on entrepreneurship</th>
<th>MONEGROS</th>
<th>ALTO GÁLLEGÖ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COVID-19’s impact: generalised rise in the demand (among natives and foreign immigrants) for social services such as food banks and emergency financial aid for housing rent and electricity.</td>
<td>The area’s population has been affected significantly by the pandemic, both in health and economic terms.</td>
<td>Some municipalities like Biscay have launched plans such as “Renauntiz”, co-funded by the Aragon Regional Government (60%), the Provincial Council (20%) and the Town Council (20%), with the aim of providing employment for people who have lost their job. The hotel, catering and winter tourism services (ski slopes) sector has been severely hit by the restrictive measures and the closure of activities, as well as by the province’s and region’s perimeter closures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the users (migrants/non-migrants) of their existing programs (IT, food banks, health care, etc.)</td>
<td>From the health and care perspective, the elderly have been the hardest hit sector of the population.</td>
<td>The hotel, catering and winter tourism services (ski slopes) sector has been severely hit by the restrictive measures and the closure of activities, as well as by the province’s and region’s perimeter closures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of the activity sectors in order to tackle the new COVID crisis.</td>
<td>From an economic point of view, the hardest hit have been the elderly local population, followed by immigrants working in the informal economy (domestic work and the agricultural sector) and temporary jobs (if they do not work, they do not get paid).</td>
<td>The hotel, catering and winter tourism services (ski slopes) sector has been severely hit by the restrictive measures and the closure of activities, as well as by the province’s and region’s perimeter closures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal migrants: they have fewer chances of self-isolating in Covid-19 situations, but have been offered public health care.</td>
<td></td>
<td>However, the region’s economic diversification has enabled it to overcome the pandemic. There is an existence on the need to diversify not only the tourism sector - to desaisализar tourism, and to make it not only winter tourism - but also the economy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Moroccan women have the lowest level of employability, mainly due to a lack of knowledge of the Spanish language, a lack of basic training and little work experience. Moreover, Moroccan women are also influenced by other factors such as cultural constraints, gender roles and beliefs, related to the number of children and living in households with a marked sexual diversification of roles and activities (Interviews WP5AG005; WP5AG007). In conclusion, they work much less than other immigrant women, they do more domestic and basic work, and their economic situation is worse than that of other women (Simón & Murillo, 2014). Some interviewees recognise how hard it is for Moroccan immigrants to find work and integrate:

"For Moroccan women, the language is a determining factor when it comes to socialising" WP5AG001; Social Services).
“Moroccan women don’t socialise. They go out with their children, but they don’t interact. Their children join make friends with local children and those who have been there longer break with traditions, they do not accept arranged marriages, leave home... [.] Moroccan women live on the fringes of the community. Religion and economic issues limit their relationship” (WP5AG004; Mayoress of municipality).

During the action-research phase (Focus Group and World Café) further insight could be gained into these regions’ economic potential, as a basic reason for population to settle and for the demographic revitalisation of villages. In the comarca of LM, the sectors that employ the largest number of foreign TCNs are agriculture (unskilled work), and sometimes temporary work, especially for sub-Saharan Africans (Ródenas, 2016). One booming sector is industrial pig farms, which are very numerous and have a high demand for workers. Employment in this sector involves rapid training for most foreigners, regardless of their level and knowledge of the Spanish language (which is not essential for this basic job). However, for religious reasons, Moroccans do not accept these jobs, while Senegalese - mostly Muslims - have been taking them up.

Between the late 1990s and the 2000s, the construction sector hired a significant number of people, particularly Moroccans. However, the volume is lower today, although it still maintains a significant percentage of Moroccans, and to a lesser extent sub-Saharan Africans. Particularly in the 2000s, many immigrants took up unskilled jobs:

"In the 2000s..., at that time..., that boom was mostly for unskilled work: what was on offer and what was in demand, and I think that those who have stayed here, have steady jobs now (WP5AG009; Association of Entrepreneurs).

The few Moroccan women who work tend to be in the cleaning sector, as they are not accepted or trusted by the native population in the care sector. However, Central American women (mostly from Nicaragua, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic) are the largest group of workers in LM. They also work in cleaning, but especially in care services, particularly for the elderly, due to the fact that this comarca of LM has one of the highest ageing rates in Aragón.
There are few Latin Americans in the agricultural sector, so they tend to be found in the service sector, as for example in the comarca of AG; here there are large numbers due to the significant tourism-related important development of the service sector, especially in winter (ski slopes). On the other hand, Latin Americans have a somewhat higher level of entrepreneurship -also from immigrants from Romania-, particularly in the hotel and catering business and repair services.

Second-generation immigrants enjoy greater development opportunities, so it is still early to see the evolution and labour integration of many TCNs (Interviews WP5AG001; WP5MON001). However, immigrants from Eastern European countries (Romanians), who have spent a fairly long time in Spain, have integrated in ways similar to the area's native population (Dueñas et al., 2021).

Data regarding on workers registered with the Social Security can be used to portray the qualification and type of employment of TCNs. In Aragón, 42% of TCNs work in basic labourer jobs (which would be the lowest level by qualification), 24.5% as basic journeymen, and another 18.2% are other types of low-level journeymen: these three groups account for 82.9% of all employed TCNs. In the primary sector alone, 65% of TCNs are employed as labourers.

A grouping by type of job and function shows that, in Aragón, only 23.6% of the TCNs are employed in jobs requiring some kind of qualification, compared to 52.4% of all workers. This implies a strong segmentation of the labour market, since foreign immigrants, and more so TCNs, occupy certain jobs. These tend to be the most tiring jobs, that require the most effort, are the lowest paid, and therefore the ones that the native population want the least (Interview WP5MON002) (Simón & Murillo, 2014).

The same situation is to be seen in the two comarcas, albeit with few differences. In the comarca of AG, only 13.8% of the TCNs work as labourers, almost 70% work as journeymen and assistants, while only 3% work in highly qualified positions (engineers and workshop managers, ~3 or 4 people in total-); despite these figures, qualifications are better even than in Aragón as a whole.
By economic sector, the situation does not vary much. In total, TCNs do more unskilled than skilled work, and their employment accounts for 4.4% of all employment in the comarca. Of the 420 TCNs hired in this comarca during 2020, 23% were the most numerous group, and got jobs as kitchen/food assistants; another 20.5% were hired as catering service workers, and another 14% as cleaning staff. This shows how much tourism and the service sector matter as a driver of employment, albeit not highly skilled jobs.

In contrast, 44% of TCNs hired in the comarca of LM are hired as labourers, and in general, for lower-skilled jobs. This may be due to the fact that the jobs are mostly in the primary and secondary sectors, and less in services. A further 48% are hired as journeymen, also quite low-skilled. However, TCNs are seldom found in highly-skilled jobs. In total, TCNs in this comarca hold 14.8% of unskilled jobs, and in general, 10.8% of all jobs. However, they are notable in the primary sector, where they account for 27.5% of unskilled employment in the comarca. Except in construction (where they represent 20.9% in LM), the proportion of TCNs doing unskilled work in the other economic sectors is not so high in the two comarcas.

In the LM comarca, a total of 1,148 new contracts were signed with TCNs in 2020 (one person can have several contracts per year) and 60.6% were hired as agricultural and forestry labourers, together with 4.6% as labourers in industries, which account for the majority of unskilled employment. Interestingly, 7.7% of these contracts were for skilled work in livestock activities. However, other categories were more residual: domestic workers (2.4% of contracts), construction and mining labourers (2.1%), shop assistants (2.1%), care workers (1.9%) and transport vehicle drivers (1.9%).

As Fernández & Parra (2013) mention, most of the immigrants entered the Spanish secondary labour market, that is to say they have come to occupy those jobs that were not covered by Spanish workers. Indeed, the economic downturn due to the crisis 2008-13 led immigrant workers to the underground economy or to move to cities to find more economic opportunities. The result is that TCNs occupy the least skilled jobs because the labour market is highly segmented and divided, making it very hard to get the most skilled jobs. This is in
Territorial Dimension

The two comarcas have territories with different characteristics: AG is a mountain area with a service economy, visited by many tourists and with numerous scenic and aesthetic attractions; however, not all of the comarca is like this, as the southern municipalities do not share the same topography or Pyrenean landscape. Instead, it is a flat, non-tourist area given over more to dry cereals. In contrast, LM is a rural area, but not a mountainous one, and specialises more in primary activities.

Due to their different characteristics, there are territorial inequalities in both comarcas. These inequalities are reflected in the distribution of the population (Fig. 9), which is not homogeneous, since they are concentrated in certain municipalities with more employment possibilities, more services and better communications).

Figure 9. Total population by municipalities in the comarcas of Alto Gállego and Los Monegros, 2020
The territorial inequalities have been analysed by applying a territorial development index, both in the comarcas as a whole and in each of their individual municipalities. If the baseline for the whole of Aragón is 100, the indices for AG and LM are 100.6 and 99.5, respectively. Much of this index can be explained by the AG accommodation and tourist development and tourist infrastructure factor, while the most negative factor has to do with the lack of services in some municipalities and lack of economic opportunities. In LM, there is a major lack of amenities and services in some municipalities, or they else are remote, and this is also due to landscape, aesthetic and economic factors. These factors, which hinder territorial development, can be analysed in the Focus Group and in the World Café that will be conducted in the action-research phase.

On a territorial level, another aspect analysed is TCNs changes of residence. It is known that the residential mobility of foreign immigrants is higher than that of natives (Recaño & Miguel, 2012; Reher & Silvestre, 2011), and even more so for TCNs. By nationality, TCNs from European countries change their place of residence the most (58% of all changes in Aragón in 2020,
78% in the county of AG and 59% in LM). By order of importance, they are followed by TCNs from countries in the Americas and Africa, although not always in this order.

With regard to **travel times** from the places of residence to the central and main population centres where services and infrastructures are located, they are as long as if one lived in a large city. Therefore, accessibility to goods and services is one of the main problems highlighted by all rural dwellers, and especially by TCNs. This is an important issue for deciding to reside in rural areas and for settling population, so attention will be paid to it by carrying out a 'Mobility Mapping' in the action-research phase. The reason is that not all of them have a private car and they tend to have lower salaries than the rest of the population, making it harder to buy a car (Table 11). This is what a TCN of Moroccan origin says:

"Small towns have less work, fewer services, and you need a car for everything" (WP5AG007; Female TCN).

For example, in the comarca of AG, there are generally two daily bus services that run through some villages and go to the county capital, but these services do not operate in a few municipalities/villages. In addition, travel time to the county capital can vary from 20 to 60 minutes each way. However, if the trip is to the provincial capital, the time it takes using public transport (if available) varies from 55 to almost 100 minutes in public transport. In short, this is a mountainous area where some communications are difficult, public transport frequencies are low and journey times are also high. As a result, using a car is a must and the little public transport available is not used either:

"Most people in the villages do not rely on public transport. I’m not saying that it doesn’t exist, but... [...] you need your own private" (WP5AG004; Mayoress of municipality).

The travel situation in the other region, LM, has common features because it is also a rural area, but it is different because the territory is flat (it is not mountainous) and closer to the cities of Huesca and Zaragoza. There are also many shortcomings in terms of how often buses run to all villages and municipalities: in many villages there are only 1 or 2 buses 2 or 3 days a week, and usually only on working days. However, access/travel times to the county capital are shorter than in the AG region and range from 8 to a maximum of 50 minutes each
way. Therefore, living in these villages and rural and rather peripheral areas is a problem for many people, including TCNs.

Table 11. Summary of Territorial dimension. Analysis of qualitative indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Urban-rural/mountain interactions</th>
<th>MONEGROS</th>
<th>ALTO GALLEGO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Flows of people (TCNs and migration professionals, e.g., Social workers, teachers…)</td>
<td>There is not much interaction, especially among first-generation immigrants who have only been settled for a short while.</td>
<td>There is not much interaction, especially among immigrants who have been settled for a short period of time and belong to the first generation. The second generation, from Eastern European countries, is more settled and has migrated to urban areas with more opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sense of belonging to the place</td>
<td>Moroccans are noted for their very limited sense of belonging, low level of language learning (especially women) and participation in local activities and festivities.</td>
<td>The Latin American population has a greater sense of belonging, of a second homeland, similar to the local population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Attachment to the local dimension developed by different communities (foreigners and locals), measured as a score on a specific scale</td>
<td>Naturalised TCNs have a higher level of interaction and a greater sense of belonging, similar to locals.</td>
<td>Young natives have a sense of belonging but feel the need to leave in order to improve their life opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Process of negotiation/conflict between different populations</td>
<td>There are no signs of conflicts between different groups. Lack of interaction by some groups (Moroccans) with natives and other nationalities. Two variables: economic and cultural.</td>
<td>There are no signs of conflicts among the population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Observable outcomes of the process of negotiation/conflict between different populations insisting on the same territory in terms of public decisions/results</td>
<td>Good relations in the work environment (between companionship and competitiveness). They are grouped by nationality and religion.</td>
<td>Different opportunities are perceived among the population. In particular, educated natives find it difficult to further their careers in the territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Visual re-presentation of the territory</td>
<td>No shared images of the territory. The native population considers it difficult to find life opportunities in the area. Immigrants settle because they find a way of life and tranquility. The second generation is perceived to be closer to the native population.</td>
<td>Latin American immigrants usually come from large, densely populated cities and value the tranquility of rural areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Images of the territory (socio-cultural heterogeneity; shared or not representations) produced and circulating inside and outside the local dimension</td>
<td>Latin American families from large cities perceive the rural and mountain area as a quiet place to live. They have felt welcome and believe that the region has opportunities to develop their own businesses or join existing sectors.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Creation and re-creation of boundaries</td>
<td>Cultural boundaries do not affect children, but they do affect young people and their parents. Linguistic boundaries are reduced thanks to the action of public bodies and non-profit organisations.</td>
<td>None observed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Observable socio-cultural, administrative, physical boundaries produced, changed, removed</td>
<td>Integration is limited due to cultural differences; the least integrated groups are the Africans and especially the Moroccans. It does not affect administrative boundaries; most of the population have their administrative documentation correct, and some have even been naturalised.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Their **identity and the sense of belonging to the area** is also another territorial-related aspect. According to the TCNs interviewed and other stakeholders consulted, the degree of sense of belonging is high from the point of view of wanting to continue living there (Table 11). Very often they appreciate—specially Latin Americans—the tranquillity of living in small population centres and in rural areas with an absence of conflicts of coexistence (Interviews WP5AG008; WP5MON008). For example, a mayor of a municipality in GA said:
"Venezuelans value security very much, they come from urban areas" (WP5AG004).

This is despite the lack of a high degree of social cohesion, particularly in the comarca of LM. Also, despite the lack of services or difficulty accessing them, which leads to natives and foreigners constantly referring to the need to have your own vehicle to live in rural and mountain areas (Interviews WP5AG007; WP5AG008; WP5MON003).

In general, foreign immigrants living in rural areas of Aragón are found to positively appreciate their well-being in these environments, regardless of their gender or educational level, and despite the socio-economic challenges facing these areas (Table 11) (Gil-Lacruz et al., 2019). The second generation has better expectations in relation to the sense of belonging to the area, particularly Latin Americans (Interview WP5AG008). On the inclusion of Latin American and Romanian second-generation girls in a Pyrenean village, the mayoress said that:

"They are well received, they are adopted, they are welcomed [...]. For example, this weekend we had a beauty contest [...], and four of the princesses are from overseas: a South American girl, another Romanian... they were born here and are very proud to be beauty princesses of X (town) (WP5AG004; Mayoress of municipality).

However, the most obvious explicit difficulties involve the cultural and religious differences of the Moroccan population living in both comarcas. This group is seen to have built individual and group socio-cultural borders, and in doing so themselves limit their integration and that of their families (Table 11); future research should be conducted on this issue. On this point, a Moroccan woman said:

"Spain helps a lot, and everyone equally, but Moroccans do not change their lifestyle. It's our fault if we don't socialise with them. We came, we have to look for work, and anyone who has tried, has improved a lot" (WP5AG007; Female TCN).

Finally, we will comment on the role that the arrival of TCNs can play in environmental recovery. The issues are not always related, but they are both involved in the recovery and maintenance of some abandoned villages. Particularly in the mountainous region of AG, there are many villages that have been left empty in recent decades as a result of the general
depopulation of the country. Some of these villages, especially those that are better communicated and close to the main centres of economic activity, have recovered as families of foreign origin have settled in them; one example are the villages around the county capital, Sabiñánigo (villages such as Ibort, and several in the valley of 'La Guarguera', in the municipality of Sabiñánigo). In some cases, the government of Aragón or other land-owning institutions give them the land and some immigrants settle in the villages.

These immigrants play an important role in the maintenance and recovery of communications infrastructures, roads and paths, land and fields, and in the development of a lot of unused land. In other areas of the Pyrenees, such as Catalonia, the demographic role of foreign immigrants in maintaining many small villages has also been analysed (Morén-Alegret & Wladyka, 2020). Both the national government and many Autonomous Regions have various village recovery programmes, such as the “Programme for the Recovery and Educational Use of Abandoned Villages” (Spanish acronym PRUEBA: Programa de Recuperación y Utilización Educativa de Pueblos Abandonados), https://www.miteco.gob.es/en/ceneam/programas-de-educacion-ambiental/pueblos-abandonados/), in which foreigners play an important role: The settlement of immigrants in small villages and their recuperation will also be considered in the action-research phase, by doing Focus Groups and by the World Café technique.

In summary, there are two comarcas with different territorial characteristics and with contrasts between them. These characteristics lead to the installation of different groups of immigrants, with different models of economic and social inclusion, although this varies more by nationality than by territory.

References


1. Spatial distribution and socio-demographic characteristics of TCNs

In this report we pay particular attention to education and labour market participation among TCNs (MATILDE PART 1-3 FINAL). The report starts with a quantitative briefing aimed to illustrate how Dalarna compares to the rest of the country as well as differences within the Dalarna region.

Quantitative indicators

We are focusing on the following indicators: Number of foreign-born residents, share of foreign-born residents, age and gender distribution and top-ten countries of birth. In the report we use the term “foreign born”, i.e., person being born outside Sweden, rather than to “TNC”, third country nationals. As highlighted already in Country Report Sweden, D.21, an important factor that affects Swedish data on demography and migration is that it is relatively easy to acquire Swedish citizenship. A person is eligible to apply for Swedish citizenship after having lived in the country for 5 years, with a permanent residence permit. There are no requirements of knowledge about the country, to speak Swedish or to be able to support oneself and one’s family through gainful employment.\(^\text{38}\) This leads to the situation, that in Swedish statistics, foreign citizenship is not

\(^{38}\) On 22 June 2021, the Swedish parliament approved amendments to the Aliens Act. These came into force on 20 July. The change in the law primarily means that sufficient means of financial support through work or an own company is
adopted to delimit people with third country background (TNC). This also have impact on the availability of the statistics. Several of the indicators related to integration, migration or asylum seekers is considering “foreign-born”, rather than “foreign-citizenship”.

Dalarna County is located slightly below the center point of Sweden, in the north-west bordering to Norway. The northern part of the county is sparsely populated, covered mainly by forests, with a mountainous character. The central part of the county, the area around lake Siljan, is a popular location for tourism, while in the southern part several industrial towns are located, who are facing economic restructuring. In 2018 a total of 286,165 inhabitants lived in Dalarna County. The county consists of 15 municipalities, ranging from between 5,000 and 42,000 inhabitants. Map 3 depicts the location of the study area – the municipalities of Älvdalen, Vansbro and Hedemora. The municipality of Älvdalen is in the northern part of the county and have 7,121 inhabitants, Vansbro municipality is in the central part of the county and is with its 6,807 inhabitants approximately the same size as Älvdalen. Hedemora municipality is located in the southern part of the county and with its 15,457 inhabitants, almost double the population size of Älvdalen and Vansbro.

__________________________
required for a permanent residence permit to be granted. The requirement applies to all applicants who did not receive their decision before 20 July 2021.
Between the years 2008 and 2018 the number of foreign-born residents in Dalarna increased from 21,893 to 37,163. As illustrated in Figure 40, the increase of the foreign-born population was rather steady during this period. The main reason for this was the increased immigration to Sweden since the 2000s. In the period between 2013-2018, 771,645 persons were granted a residence permit in Sweden. Out of these 9% arrived to study, 6% were EU-citizens, 31% were asylum seekers, 31% were based on family attachment and 23% based on work (Region Dalarna 2020).

The overall immigration to Sweden resulted in a rise of the share of foreign-born residents in Dalarna from 7.9% in 2008 to 12.9% in 2018. However, the share of the foreign-born population in Dalarna is still below the national average, 19.8%.
On the municipality level, the share of foreign-born residents varies to a great extent. As illustrated in Map 4, the share of the foreign-born population varies between 7% and 18.4% of the total population. Älvdalen and Vansbro, belong to the municipalities with a relatively low share of foreign-born, 8% and 8.9%, respectively. On the contrary, the municipality of Hedemora belongs to the municipalities with the highest share of foreign-born in Dalarna with 14.7%. One of the explanations for the high share of foreign-born in Hedemora is that the municipality was experiencing economic restructuring in the 1990s, and several of the smaller settlements had many empty housing tenures.
Map 4: Foreign-born population over total population in Dalarna municipalities, 2018. Source: Statistics Sweden

Common origins of Dalarna’s population with a foreign background are, both in the year 2008 and 2017, countries in the Middle East and north-eastern Africa (see table Table 1). In 2008, the most common country backgrounds were Iraq, Somalia, and Ex-Yugoslavia. The large number of refugees arriving from countries such as Afghanistan, Eritrea and Syria in connection to the migration wave in 2015 changed the composition of the population’s backgrounds. In 2017, the most common country backgrounds were Syria (4,814 inhabitants), Somalia, (3,966 inhabitants) and Eritrea (2,039 inhabitants).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2008</th>
<th></th>
<th>2017</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Country of Birth</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Country of Birth</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ex-Yugoslavia</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Eritrea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foreign-born population in Dalarna is significantly younger than the Swedish born population (see Figure 41), and thus make up a higher proportion of people in working age. As many of the immigrants are in fertile age, many build families short after their arrival to Sweden. This further contribute to the younger age composition compared to the domestic population.

As illustrated in Figure 41, there is also a male surplus among the foreign-born population. The male surplus is most common in the age groups 20-24 years and 25-29 years. Among those being 20-24 years, there are 2082 men per 1224 women. A reason for the surplus in this age group is the large number of un-accompanied young people\textsuperscript{39} arriving to Sweden in connection to the migration wave in 2015.

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\hline
5 & Thailand & 830 & 5 & Thailand & 1,373 \\
6 & Russia & 574 & 6 & Turkey & 1,183 \\
7 & Iran & 464 & 7 & Afghanistan & 1,125 \\
8 & USA & 339 & 8 & Russia & 901 \\
9 & P.R. China & 337 & 9 & Ex-Yugoslavia & 848 \\
10 & Philippines & 280 & 10 & Iran & 796 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{TOP 10 FOREIGN BORN COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, 2008 AND 2017}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{39} The average age of unaccompanied young males at the time of immigration is 17 years old.
Quantitative indicators: As indicators of social dimension, we have focused on education attainment level (age group 25-64 years), unemployment rate (age group 20-64 years), share of gainfully employed (in age group 20-64 years) and young people neither in employment nor in education (in age group 20-24 years). In the figures and text, foreign-born are compared to native-born. To place the statistics into a broader context, statistics is initially provided as national average for both categories, i.e., for foreign born and native-born population, thereafter, regional level is shown using maps.

Figure 42 illustrates the education attainment level among foreign-born and the native-born population in Dalarna. Among foreign-born residents, the most common educational level is upper secondary education, with 31%. Pre-secondary education, i.e., nine or less years of elementary school, is the second most common education attainment level among foreign-born, with roughly 28%. As illustrated in Figure 42 below, compared to the native-born population, the share of foreign-born residents with shorter as well as longer university education is approximately the same in both groups, while the largest differences are in the compositions of the pre-secondary and secondary education, respectively. While half of the native-born population, 51%, have secondary
education as its highest education attainment level, among foreign-born part of the population, only one third of the residents have secondary education as its highest education attainment level.

Figure 42: Education attainment level foreign born population age 25-64 years in Dalarna, 2018. Source: Statistics Sweden

Figure 43 depicts the unemployment rate for foreign-born and native-born in Dalarna and on a national level for the period from 2008 to 2018. On a national level, the unemployment rate among the native-born population increased from 9% in 2008 to 12.8% in 2010, after this peak it leveled out and kept decreasing, and in 2018 it was 7.9%. Among the foreign-born population, the unemployment rate continued to increase, and a slight decrease can be seen first in the 2018. Still, the unemployment rate among foreign-born in 2018 is substantially higher, (26%) compared to the
native-born population (7.9%). As illustrated in

Figure 43, the increase in unemployment rate among foreign-born population in Dalarna is since 2010 substantially larger compared to the unemployment rate of foreign-born in Sweden. While in 2018, the unemployment rate among foreign-born in Sweden was 26%, the corresponding number for foreign-born in Dalarna was over 35%.

As illustrated in Map 5, there is also a substantial variation on municipality level, with an unemployment rate ranging from between 20% to 50%. The municipalities of Älvdalen (26.5%) and Vansbro (28.8%) belong to a group of municipalities with a relatively low share of unemployed among the foreign-born population. Hedemora municipality (40.4%), belongs to a group of municipalities with a high share of foreign-born in unemployment.
Figure 44 illustrates the share of young people (in the age group 20-24), who are neither studying nor working, distributed by foreign-born and native-born and comparing Dalarna to the national averages for both groups. The graph shows that all four compared groups, foreign-born population in Dalarna/in Sweden and native-born population in Dalarna/Sweden, follow the same trend in the entire period 2008 - 2018. Between year 2008 and 2010, the share of young people neither working nor studying increased and reach a peak in 2010 for all four compared groups. In 2010, 36,8% of the foreign-born in Dalarna were counted as neither working nor studying, while the corresponding number among native-born in Dalarna was 19,5%. Thereafter, the share in all groups is decreasing. In 2018, 20,1% of the foreign-born population in the age 20-24 years is neither working nor studying, compared to 13,1% in the native-born population in the same age category.
Figure 44: Young people (age 20-24 years) neither in employment nor in education and training, 2008-2018. Source: Statistics Sweden

Figure 45 depicts share of gainfully employed (in the age group 20-64 years) among the foreign-born and native-born population, in Dalarna and in Sweden. After an initial decrease between the year 2008 and 2010, the share of gainfully employed increases through the period for all four groups. In 2018, 84% of the native-born population in Dalarna was gainfully employed, while among the foreign-born, the corresponding numbers for Dalarna was 58%, i.e. below the national average for Sweden, 63%.
Figure 45: Gainfully employed (age group 20-64 years) in Dalarna and Sweden, 2008-2018. Source: Statistics Sweden

Map 6: Gainfully employed (in age group 20-64 years) in Dalarna municipalities, 2018. Source: Statistics Sweden

Map 6 illustrates the regional variations in gainful employment. Hedemora (56.2% gainfully employed among foreign-born population) and Vansbro (57.3% gainfully employed among foreign-born population) belong, together with several other municipalities in the southern part of the
county, to the group of municipalities where a lower share of the foreign-born population has gainful employment. In Älvdalen 63.7% of the foreign-born population are gainfully employed and thus belong to a group of municipalities with a relatively high proportion of gainfully employed foreign-born.

Figure 46 depicts the share of foreign-born workers in various labour sectors. The highest share of foreign-born workers, 31%, can be found in the sector “Accommodation and food service activities”, in “Human health and social work activities” and “Administrative and support service activities” account foreign-born workers for 12% of the workforce in the respective sector.

![Figure 46: Share of foreign-born population in sectors. Source: Statistics Sweden](image)

2. Social Dimension

Our specific focus within the social dimension is immigrant employability. The reason for this is that labour market participation is crucial for participation in society, and the welfare system is
constructed in close relation to the individuals’ position on the labour market. This means that we are interested in both the migrants’ attributes and the nature of the labor market, as well as local organizational structures. In this report we are mainly focusing on migrants with a refugee background.

Over the past thirty years, the Swedish labour market has gone through major structural changes and become more knowledge and technology driven (Andersson Joona 2020). A large proportion of workers have moved from the industry sector to the service sector involving higher demands on the worker, particularly regarding language skills (ibid.). Conversely, much of the industry has become automated and the proportion of low skilled jobs are sinking. This means that the work skills that new arrivals bring with them from less developed countries are not always easily transmitted to the Swedish labour market. Several studies have shown that it takes a relatively long time for immigrants, and especially refugees, to establish themselves on the labour market in Sweden (Szulkin et. al. 2013, Joyce 2017, Andersson Joona 2020). As in many other European countries, refugees in Sweden are more likely to be unemployed or have temporary jobs and have lower incomes than native peers (Åslund, Hensvik, and Skans 2014; Bevelander 2011). It can also be noted that immigrants’ prospects for employment are poorer in Sweden than in other refugee-receiving countries (Irastorza and Bevelander 2017) and the employment gap between immigrants and natives has recently been among the highest in OECD countries, e.g., 14.8% in 2018, according to the OECD (2018). The differences in employment rates of immigrants and natives have often been attributed to lack of language skills, formal education, and access to networks (Bevelander, 2011). There are also big differences between men and women in terms of both participation in activities within the establishment program and establishment patterns in the labour market (Jansson 2020). These structural changes also create higher demands on the Swedish introduction and integration program, including all partners in this work to prepare newly arrived refugees and migrants for the labour market.

As shown in the presentation of the quantitative indicators, primary education or lower, is more common among the foreign-born population in Dalarna compared to other inhabitants. According to our earlier investigations, the share of foreign-born individuals with low levels of education is higher in Dalarna compared to the rest of Sweden (Classification of MATILDE regions report. p 440). However, the labour market in Dalarna is able to absorb more low-skilled workers
and the share of employees in the primary sector is slightly higher in Dalarna compared with the national average (3.8% compared to 2%) (ibid.). As the unemployment rate among migrants in our three case municipalities are relatively high, much focus has been put on refugees with low or no education in order to increase their skills in the Swedish language and provide job training alongside education. Migrants with higher education have therefore not been prioritized as they usually solve their situation and go through education and find work on their own. According to our informants, many have moved from the municipality where they were placed to jobs elsewhere. According to a former integration coordinator in Hedemora, the municipality could have worked more strategically to retain those with higher education (WP5SW03).

Even though the statistics presented in the quantitative indicators show that the labour participation among migrants is lower among migrants in Dalarna compared to the country as a whole, it has increased compared to five years ago, also among the recently arrived. In interviews with stakeholders, several informants confirm that they recognize this trend and see three plausible explanations for this; labour shortage, fewer new arrivals and that the coordination of integration measures to include migrants on the labour market has improved (WP5SW05). Statistics [unpublished] also show that the foreign-born population in Dalarna have not suffered from higher unemployment due to the pandemic to the same extent as domestic-born. Some interviewees speculate that this may be due to the increased domestic tourism, as many migrants work in the service and tourism sector in Dalarna (WP5SW01).

In interviews with representatives from the education administration, principals and educators, they highlight that the organization has gained much knowledge since 2015 regarding how to work with the introduction of refugees, diversity and language training. The municipalities work to create networks with local employers and the Swedish for immigrant courses are now more closely linked to different vocational trainings such as the health care sector. The adult education and folk high schools have become more flexible and responsive to the demands of the labour market and can adjust their education to be able to match the migrant’s skills with the needs of the local labor market. There is a focus on lifelong learning, but also early interventions. For example, students in secondary school, receive labor market knowledge and visits from companies that inform about their activities (WP5SW03, WP5SW04).
The quantitative indicators (Map 3) also reveal great variation regarding the unemployment rate between the three case municipalities, where unemployment is relatively low in Vansbro and Älvdalen and high in Hedemora. While this can be explained by the differences in share of foreign-born population where Vansbro and Älvdalen have a relatively low share of foreign born and Hedemora belongs to the municipalities with highest share of foreign-borns in Dalarna, the labour market in the three municipalities also differ to some extent. In Vansbro there is a labour shortage as they host several large industries (like Lyko and Orkla) who employ low skilled workers and offer “on the job” language training (WP5SW02). In Älvdalen many work within the service sector which is related to the tourism sector in the area.

To tackle the challenge of high unemployment rates, all three municipalities have been working to streamline the cooperation between the different actors involved in the education to work path for migrants. There have been many different projects targeting different groups such as low educated women and young people. What we have learned from the MATILDE-research is that most involved highlight the importance of individualizing the path to work through education, as one of the welfare providers interviewed in WP3 explains:

“We at the adult education collaborate with the health care administration to a large degree. So, their non-educated employees have the possibility to educate themselves at our school and get language training at the same time as they work. If you have a full-time job, we offer you distance learning. If you don’t work full time, then we offer a vast number of courses you can take here on campus. Now, because one has started to set stricter demands, there are more people who work and study at the same time because they understand the importance of being educated. And to get a good education one also needs to know the language, to be able to pass theoretical courses and get a grade.” (WP3WP4SW007)

In the focus group with welfare providers, they informed us about their participation in a project initiated by the delegation for young people and newcomers to work. The delegation has been given the governmental task of promoting state and municipal collaboration in order to streamline the establishment of young people and newcomers on the labour market. Mora, Orsa and Älvdalen have for example an agreement to collaborating.
Within the working group we go through each person’s situation to see what kind of help each individual needs. The integration coordinator is there, labour market couches, SFI, the folk high school and the Public Employment Service. Everyone works together to see what each person needs. We have a really good collaboration with the Public Employment Service. The distance between the institutions is short. SFI can say that “this person doesn’t function here, can (s)he come to the folk high school? And we say, this person is highly skilled, can (s)he go directly to SFI? It is incredibly individualized”. (WP3WP4SW008)

Even though the interviewees describe how they have come a long way and have gained valuable knowledge and competence in how to work with the establishment of new arrivals, the flow of migrant is not stable or predictable and the group of people that the municipalities work with might change regarding language and education background, demanding adjustments. Interviewees informed us that many of the refugees that came from Syria in 2015/16 where educated and where used to studying, therefore this group have more easily adapted to language training and education measures. However, today’s placements are to a higher degree quota refugees who come from several different countries with many language backgrounds and variable degrees of former education which can be challenging for the education system in small municipalities, as it is difficult to get a hold of teachers with the right language competences as well as vocational teachers matching the regions labour market. In addition, many of the quota refugees come with particular health issues that also demand particular adjustments from the schools as well as an awareness on the part of the employers regarding inclusive labour market policies (WP5SW01).

As previously mentioned, researchers particularly highlight language, age and education as factors that contribute to low labour market outcomes (Gustafsson et. al. 2016; Sandberg, 2017; Parusel, 2020 and Joyce, 2015.

Starting with language issues, an often referred to issue as part of the Matilde project is the challenges regarding employment and levels of Swedish. Courses in Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) are available free of charge to all foreign-born persons who reside in Sweden, but the learning outcomes have been disappointing (Lundgren, Rosén, and Jahnke 2017). According to the Education Act (2010:800), SFI courses should provide freedom of choice and flexibility, adjusted to individual needs (Ministry of Education 2013). The heterogeneity of immigrants (in terms of i. e. country of
origin and level of education) makes it difficult to cater to all immigrants’ needs (ibid.). In addition, recent arrivals have a lower level of education compared to previous arrivals (Swedish government inquiry 2019). Refugees with low levels of education tend to experience difficulties with learning in general, often live in segregated areas, speak their native language at home, and tend to have a large linguistic distance between their own language and Swedish (Ek, Hammarstedt, and Skedinger 2020). These factors make it difficult for them to learn Swedish.

With regards to language learning, the interviewees in WP4 and WP5 highlighted the challenges facing some of the TCNs enrolled in SFI, and in particularly groups and individuals who fail to progress beyond B-level of SFI.

“What do we do with the group… the group that is talked about when it comes to creating education programmes… it is about 20-30 students who will never end up higher than B-level in Swedish... SFI is year 1 -6... printed some as there is no progression. How many will go to social welfare now to get activity support?” (WP5SW01)

In interviews it was highlighted that within this group there were individuals with limited or non-existent education. Some of these will still be successful and some will find it very difficult.

It was also possible to identify factors that might explain progression for example to set up a study plan which takes into account the individual’s progress in learning.

Regarding education (Bevelander 2011:31), it also takes longer time for the immigrants to get acquainted with how the labour market works. Education level and age on arrival are some of the factors influencing integration on the labour market. As shown in Forslund, Liljeberg and Åslund (2017), time to establishment is considerably shorter the higher the education level of the immigrant is. Another side of this is that because those with higher education from their home country often become employed quickly, they do not continue their courses in Swedish and thereby they ‘stay’ in the group with lower language skills. One informant says that it is a pity that not more of the highly educated continue their language studies after SFI. She thinks that could increase their opportunities even more (WP5SW05).

What has also been brought to the fore within the context of the MATILDE-research is the possibilities for further employment training within the various municipalities:
“We have our own programmes - we have many who attend them - healthcare, babysitting, basic industrial education and restaurant education are vocational training that we have at the adult education which has increased in recent years. Many students go from there to these programmes, but also those who have their own training, which we help in other ways, so they get their high school skills and qualifications. Those students are quite independent and then they disappear… they pass their studies… these are often the ones who have a higher level of education…” (WP5SW01)

The efforts that are made through integration measures and labour market measures are also part of the municipal basis that will shape future opportunities. For example, the references to ‘instegsjobb’ (step-in-jobs) to increase migrants’ participation in the labour market are numerous in our case study. This labour market measure was introduced in 2007, targeting newly arrived migrants. An employer can apply for a subsidy covering 80 percent of the salary (limited to 800 SEK/day). The employment should be combined with language training (SFI). The Swedish Public Employment Service manages this support, which targets both immigrants and established entrepreneurs. As highlighted in the WP1 report this was seen as welcome measure together with other measures such as networks. In interviews for WP5 the various respondents highlighted ways they felt would assist individuals getting into employment, often through placements where education and vocational training can be combined. The public economic support for combined education, such as SFI integrated with vocational education at upper secondary level has shown to be positive.

Interviewees also referred to successful ways in which TCNs had been able to access employment, such as through educational programmes and initiatives targeting sectors, such as catering/hospitality and health. This is a common approach, particularly in the health care sector where there is a shortage of staff. The municipalities then create programmes to educate migrants to become employed in areas such as home care (WP5SW01).

Along with education, the age at arrival has a significant impact on the chance to establish oneself on the labour market. However, referring to the employment gap mentioned previously, Szulkin et. al. (2013) exemplified how migrants who have been in Sweden longer, still struggle with
employment, i.e., has trouble with matching. In a study by Gustafsson, Mac Innes and Österberg (2017) almost none of the individuals born in middle- or low-income countries who arrived in Sweden (arrival years sampled between 1990 and 2002) at the age of 50 were established on the Swedish labour market.

What we have found during the MATILDE-research particularly in WP3 and WP4 is that it is not only the migrants' attributes that matter in relation to employability, but also the specificity of local labour markets and their actors, as well as the acknowledgment and utilization of migrant's skills. Another important factor for the social dimension that our informants mention is the attitudes of co-workers. Even though employees might be positive of employing migrants and are willing to focus on language training alongside work, co-workers might be skeptical as they are the ones who are involved in the day-to-day work and thus might also feel responsible for the actual language training and securing safety and quality of the work.

*Employers are often positive about collaborating with adult education with jobs and internships, the problem is usually co-workers, they see it as an extra burden to receive someone who does not speak Swedish.* (WP5SW02)

3. Economic Dimension

Our specific focus within the economic dimension is the organisational aspects of labour market entrance; as well as the local labour market in our case municipalities. As mentioned in section 2, we are particularly looking at migrants with a refugee background.

Figures by Statistics Sweden, reported by Swedish Television, show that rural municipalities with a base in tourism have the highest labour market participation among refugees who arrived in 2015 (SVT Sweden’s Television 2020b). Tourism is a very important employment sector, and Dalarna accounts for the fourth largest number of ‘guest nights’ behind the three largest regions in Sweden – Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth
The interview with the local entrepreneur active in the hospitality industry reflect the situation of entrepreneurship among our target group, where the private services, i.e. hotels and restaurants, and recreational and personal services are easier to start a business in than the more traditional industries such as the manufacturing sector (see Hedfeldt and Lundmark, 2015). Migrants start businesses to a higher degree compared to Sweden-born, businesses such as restaurants and food-shops. The migrants thus fill an important role in increasing access to private service and creating meeting places. Another informant adds that migrants start businesses with low pay, integrating the business with life in general (WP3WP4SW006). This also been highlighted in the previous report (WP4) where one of the interviewees (WP4SW026) referred to a tourist resort who always relied heavily on seasonal workers being recruiter all over the country. When it comes to the cleaning of the cabins at one resort, migrants were brought in/recruited to cover vacancies. The fact that tourism is of relevance in regards to employment, also picked up in talks/meetings for WP5.

The pandemic is assumed to have increased national tourism; people travel in Sweden rather than going abroad:

“What came up spontaneously is the pandemic but I spontaneously think now that above all Älvdalen partly Orsa and Mora of course... domestic tourism has increased in 2021... Älvdalen has a lot of tourism, also Orsa and Mora, but above all Älvdalen...” (WP5SW01)

Issues and challenges related to language proficiency were to some extent brought up by informants representing companies and a social enterprise, as well as by TCN employees. In some of the companies, knowledge of the Swedish language was a decisive factor to be able to get the employment in the company. For example, a manager for cleaners (WP4SW026) at a resort referred to the lack of language proficiency as one of the decisive factors once recruiting new staff among candidates with a TCN background.

Another side of this is however, that language issue has also drawn attention to specific challenges in the workplace that are common to all, regardless of background, and has led to improvements in some workplaces. For example, several employers report that they have made improvements by providing more comprehensive user’s manuals, working routines and more defined ways of communicating what was previously tacit knowledge.
Besides lack of language skills, formal education and limited access to networks, Szulkin et al (2013) also refer to the lack of low skilled positions that might function as entrance jobs for Third Country Nationals (TCN). Interviewees in WP5 also referred to the challenges of a slimmed labour market.

However, Ek (2018), shows how “simpler” low paid jobs for people without a high-school-degree may lead to a relatively quick entrance on the labour market, but does not (within a reasonable period after entrance) lead to more qualified jobs or higher wage. Ek (2018) found that foreign-born are particularly exposed to getting stuck in “simple” jobs. Various interviewees referred to individuals with limited education (as well as language) who risked being left with no financial support beyond social services. Interviewees referred to ‘connectedness’ and ‘being part of something’, and one respondent promoted specific jobs that could offer this:

“The municipalities should operate laundries … learn individuals to operate them … to have a context to have something to do… in Orsa they have a laundry, where they do the laundry for the home care service… there are simpler services for this type of individual and where you have created simple jobs… teach them in a profession… a circle that closes…” (WP5SW01)

One conclusion is that the character of the local labour market has an impact on the migrants’ work opportunities. A large service sector with easy to reach jobs, such as the tourism sector, food processing (ORKLA) or warehousing (LYKO) is an advantage.

As emphasized in an earlier MATILDE report (Deliverable 3.3 - Qualitative assessment of the social impact of TCNs) it is hard to separate social and economic interests; economic development affect how diverse kinds of social, public services and welfare are provided, and vice versa. Also Region Dalarna (2020b) emphasize that strengthening the position of foreign-born people in the labour market is important both for the individual and for solving the current labour shortage in Dalarna. As shown in the introducing quantitative section, the foreign-born population in Dalarna is significantly younger than the native born and has a larger proportion of people of working age. Interviews state that more staff is particularly sought after in the health and home care sector and migrants are advised to pursue an education within this line of work. One possible downside of the
easy to reach jobs is therefor that migrants who are eager to support themselves rather take these jobs than continue towards a higher education, as one interviewee said: “It is difficult for the health and care sector in Vansbro to compete with, for example, Lyko’s salaries” (WP5SW02).

In other case municipalities, this does however not seem like a general problem as many young adults work in the health and care sector: “Almost half of the home care staff here are now unaccompanied boys. It's super cool!” (WP3WP4SW008). The inflow of migrants also creates other job opportunities such as language teachers, interpreters or other specialised teachers. However, as said in section 2, even though jobs are created it might be hard to find the sought after competencies.

4. Territorial Dimension

The territorial dimension is here discussed with a certain focus on the impact of location and contextual factors in relation to access to education and labour market participation.

The region contains small and medium-sized ‘urban’ centers but also smaller towns and villages located one or more hours’ journey from the two larger urban cities. These two cities host around 40 percent of the region’s whole population (287 789 in March 2020, SCB.) This means that the remaining 60 percent live in small towns, villages and rural parts of the region. (6800 – 26800 inhabitants in the municipality centres)

Urban-rural interactions are constantly going on. Flows from rural areas to urban areas apply to students who travel to their upper secondary schools or lower classes for specific lessons, this applies to work commuting as well as individuals’ need for more specialized services. Different types of products are also making their way to urban centres such as food, wind power and wood products. Flows from more urban to rural areas are exemplified by recreation and leisure activities, but also goods and services. There are also numerous interactions, such as those described above, between rural areas.
The geographical context means that more specialized services and services are not evenly distributed in the region and there is a lack of certain competencies. For example, a shortage of teachers with specialist competence in languages or certain vocational educations. Interpreters are also missing, which complicates the establishment process. The health and care sector is continuously looking for staff. This is due to the population’s demographic structure, migration movements and that it may well be that people who are educated within care and health care choose to work in other sectors. For example, in one interview it is mentioned that the wages in the care sector cannot compete with the retail or industry sectors. This situation may lead to degraded services, but on the other hand it has probably meant that it is easier for individuals with a migrant background to get a job in the healthcare sector.

The territory of Dalarna has been studied in relation to tourism development; one conclusion is that the region, by many of those involved in tourism development, is perceived as a homogenous entity and as “the ‘Heart of Sweden’ situated in a mythologised past”. In this context, it means that Dalarna “is represented as an imagined idyll, a land of heroic deeds and iconic images”. The authors argue that late modernity disrupts the imagined idyll used by tourism developers. Dalarna is no less a modern, complex space as other regions in Sweden. It is the reality and desires of local people living in Dalarna as an evolving and lived-in space that needs to be considered.

The studies conducted in Matilde have contributed to increase knowledge on what a ‘modern, complex space’ can be like. One example concerns the challenge involved when, in parallel, affirm the interest and preservation of locally specific traditions such as dialects, crafts and music and at the same time appreciate, pay attention to and integrate diversity. In the report on the social dimension (3.3) we argued that there is a strong regional identity in Dalarna, involving proudness and a will to cherish this identity. A contemporary development project, aiming at preserving the local dialect, also lead to the situation that individuals with a migrant background, who have struggled to learn Swedish, suddenly found another language/dialect was used in the coffee room. (WP3WP4SW008)

One example of physical transformation of space concerns buildings used for hosting asylum seekers. During 2015-2016 when migration flows were very large, buildings that were previously
empty or that contained unprofitable / closed operations were used. When the Swedish Migration Agency no longer needed these buildings, they have in some cases been taken over by private landlords. Due to the housing shortage in some metropolitan municipalities, but also municipalities in the region, households (both with and without a migration background) have been referred to these buildings which were intended for short-term housing due to their poor standard. In media the term ‘social dumping’ has been frequently used. The result is that households that lacks resources are staying in these houses with poor standards and poor communication, something that will not promote access to education and labour market participation.

5. How we expect the information above to inform the action research moments

Preparation for action research

In our preparation for the upcoming action research, we have conducted six dialogue-interviews with twelve representatives from the regional level and our three case municipalities. The purpose of the dialogues was to introduce the representatives to our chosen focus area; education and labour participation, and to involve them in the formation of the upcoming actions.

Dialogue interview 1, representatives from the regional level: head master of the adult education in Dalarna; integration coordinator at the County Administrative Board; teacher at Malung folk high school.

Dialogue interview 2, representatives from Vansbro: chief of education at the municipality (preschool to high school level); headmaster at Lärcentrum Vansbro (adult education).
Dialogue interview 3, representatives from Älvdalen: coordinator of the adult education; headmaster Swedish for immigrants (SFI).

Dialogue interview 4, representatives from Hedemora: head of the education department; head of administration at the education department; principal at the school of adult education.

Dialogue interview 5: former integration strategist at Hedemora municipality, now working at Region Dalarna and SKR (Swedens municipalities and regions) with questions regarding social welfare.

Dialogue interview 6: head of Aktivitetscentrum Vansbro (adult education, SFI).

The meetings were set up as a combined dialogue and interview, where our partner from region Dalarna led the meeting and the researchers contributed to ask questions regarding the participants general understanding of the situation regarding migrants’ paths to education and work in their municipality. The researchers gave a brief presentation of the MATILDE-research project, what we have done and the following action research. The Region Dalarna partner presented a short statistical overview showing that the labour participation of migrants in Dalarna is increasing and asked the interviewees to reflect on the presented picture. The dialogue interview later moved on to discuss in what way information collected through the MATILDE research could best be distributed and put to use in the municipalities, and what needs the interviewees saw that the action research could contribute to highlight and discuss.

An important feature of our action research is that it should be process oriented, involving stakeholders from the very beginning to be able to build a solid foundation in the municipalities. The goal is that this leads to a feeling of ownership of the action research activities, interest in participating and ultimately actions that will be of value to the participant even after the MATILDE-project is over. Therefore, the involved participants were given some time to bring the ideas that came out of the dialogue-interview back to their organizations and discuss what possible actions would be most suitable. A new dialogue is planned with each group during September and will be
executed by the Regiona Dalarna partner. The final activities are planned to be conducted in November/December/January.

Below the activities that were discussed in the dialogue interviews are grouped in accordance with the interview where they were discussed. The plan is that activities will include several municipalities as cooperation and sharing of knowledge and information is a key strategy.

Action research activities Älvdalen:

- Arenas for practicing Swedish (preferably with Swedish-born) is needed
- Recruitment fair where employers present themselves and contacts are established.
- Civil Society fair: organisations present themselves, their activities and goals and recruit new members.
- Improve learning among administrations: Improve the communication among administrations in Mora, especially AME (labour market administration), Vux (adult education) and Integration. Civil servants who work with several municipalities can identify shortcomings as well as good examples of collaborations and administration.

And more:

- Some groups have a longer journey to education and work and specific measures are needed, yet not specified what kind of activities would be helpful. (One example put forward by the Employment agency, regional level, is women who start Swedish courses and other studies, when they give birth they stop, and quite common is that they will get another child, years will pass and they will not return. After a while the hill has become steeper and it is difficult to get over.)
- Employers and validation: A dialogue about employers’ validation of foreign borns’ grades and certificates might be fruitful.

Action research activities Vansbro:
• Increase knowledge about the possibilities a rural environment might offer – for example the labour market opportunities in Vansbro.
• Disseminate knowledge of good examples with regard to employers and job-seekers. (Matching, Cooperation, Vocational training, Apprenticeship training)

Action research activities Hedemora:

• Disseminate knowledge of good examples with regard to cooperation among employers and the labour market agency.
• Improve the cooperation between civil society and the other actors involved in establishment and integration.

Bibliography


1. Introduction

This report is based on the findings of a fieldwork and deskwork conducted to elaborate on the specificities of the impact of international migrants and refugees on the agricultural production processes, labour market dynamics and local economy in the MATILDE region located in the northeast part of Turkey, namely Bursa and Karacabey. The report is composed of different sections. The main composition of the report includes sections, which disclose the points revolving around the spatial distribution of migrants and refugees in the MATILDE region (Karacabey and Bursa), their socio-demographic characteristics, and their social, economic and territorial impacts on the region. The report mainly delves into the problems, challenges, opportunities that are constituted by migrants and refugees residing in Karacabey and Bursa. As the last decade has brought about massive migration of Syrians in particular, the report will mostly elaborate on their social, economic and territorial impacts on the region, that has been historically exposed to various forms of migration, both international and domestic.

This report is composed of different subsections inquiring about the social, spatial, economic, and territorial aspects migration in the MATILDE region of Karacabey and Bursa in Turkey. We have conducted a fieldwork in Karacabey and Bursa in the summer of 2021, following the footprints of a participatory action research (Stringer, 2014; Schneider, 2012;...
McTaggart, 2010; Lewin, 1946). We conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with migration experts, migrant employees, seasonal migrant workers, small scale migrant entrepreneurs, employers, and local stakeholders involved in health, employment and education sectors (See Table 1). Three different sets of questions were originally prepared to be asked to the migration experts, migrants and local stakeholders. The research team was composed of the principle investigator, researcher and translator from Arabic to Turkish. In addition to the interviews conducted during the participatory action research, this report also benefits from the statistical sources provided by the official bodies as well as our interlocutors, and finally our observations during the field research.

Considering the MATILDE case studies and three main clusters in which the case studies are identified, the impact on labour markets in rural-mountain regions through TCNs integration is at the center of this report. Social and demographic dimensions have not been completely set aside, though. In this sense, the available data mostly refer to the indicators of the economic dimension (share of migrant workers and/or e.g. share of foreign employers) and the related ones (e.g. educational statistics) indicating the labor-market integration. Nevertheless, the existence of data or the lack of data or unreliable data is a general problem for Turkey, especially at the local level, and for the rural areas. The available data may somehow be misleading for a proper analysis on its own. The problem of registration and the high rate of informality in the labour market must be taken into consideration as well, not only for Bursa (and/or Karacabey) but also for Turkey in general. This challenge on data was tried to be overcome by the local information and figures provided by our interlocutors, as mentioned earlier, during the field research. The quantitative gap in indicators that we chose was tried to be closed by the qualitative information provided through the interviews.
Mass Migration of Syrians to Turkey

The migration of millions of Syrians to Turkey made it the country hosting the largest refugee population in the world, since 2015. In August 2021, there were over 4 million refugees in Turkey, of whom 3,699,388 were Syrians under the temporary protection. Turkey has managed the Syrian mass migration successfully, largely using its own resources, but also supported by international financial aid. Municipal responses in terms of services and

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40 For detailed, up-to-date statistics, see the website of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM): [https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638](https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638)
projects that support and include the Syrians have been a key success factor, together with Turkey’s history and experience in dealing with mass immigration.

Unlike EU countries, Turkey does not define the presence of the Syrians refugees as a crisis, though their daily life in Turkey is far from problem-free. There have been situations where social tensions between Syrian migrant and native communities have emerged (Mackreath and Sağrıç, 2017; Herwig, 2017), but municipal and NGO social cohesion projects and efforts have in general minimized their occurrence, or intervened to prevent their escalation. Nevertheless, with the emergence of social movements and the threat of increasing radicalization of youth, government at all levels needs to review policies regarding Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey, and formulate even more effective social cohesion policies and practices, and positively influence public attitudes regarding migration and migrants. The public institutions, NGOs, political parties, the media and universities can all contribute to combating reactionary tendencies that escalate social tensions and conflicts involving the Syrians. Given that both positive and negative migration-related dynamics occur in local contexts, positive municipal leadership is essential.

Turkey is in the process of developing its laws, regulations and policies on migration, based on a combination of security-focused and developmental paradigms regarding migration (Erdoğan and Kaya, 2015). The Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law № 6458 of 2013) embodies this approach. The temporary protection status of refugees has its legal foundation in this law, and is regulated by the Regulation on Temporary Protection of October 2014. Turkey strives to formulate best practices with regard to migration management by continuously revising its policies, as do several other states in the region. Multifaceted processes of migration management drive policy discussions in a

complex and often politically sensitive direction. Pursuing an inclusive policy regarding migrants, though not universally supported, is essential to ensure social cohesion between the native and migrant communities, as are services of equal quality for all.

The national Harmonization and Communication Department of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) was established to guide migration policy, developed with the participation of a diverse range of stakeholders. Guiding principles are peaceful coexistence, multilateral engagement, self-sufficiency, negotiation, dialogue, multiculturalism, solidarity, empathy, cooperation, reconciliation, and tolerance of diversity, participation in social life, kindness, and respect for human rights. Social cohesion processes based on an intercultural approach emphasize voluntary participation, and two-way communication and cooperation which benefits all stakeholders.43

Migrants and Natives in Local Settings

Turkish municipalities follow the principle of fellow citizenship (Hemşehrilik in Turkish) embodied in Article 13 of the Municipal Law, and strive to provide equal services to non-citizen residents, and initiate projects that foster social cohesion between native and migrant communities. The Syrian refugees have been forced to migrate, and most have suffered extreme trauma and impoverishment due to the civil war, and are extremely vulnerable, and face significant challenges, including the language barrier, as they struggle to rebuild their lives and meet their many needs with minimal resources in a foreign country. It is not surprising that their vulnerability and inability to communicate with locals tends to make Syrians introverted (Erdoğan, 2015).

Legal, political, social and economic projects are thus needed to assist migrants to relate to host communities in these respects, and to live together and actively participate in forming a common yet diverse society based on shared human values and equal human

rights. Developing social cohesion and integration policies should not be viewed as an option, but a necessity. Adopting equal access to services and resources by everyone as a fundamental principle, and developing inclusive social policies as a matter of human rights, justice and humanity, is necessary at both national and local levels. Failure to do so alienates migrants struggling to access socio-economic, political and cultural resources and services, and promotes marginalized, self-protecting parallel migrant communities, and anti-social reactions of varying degrees.

Migrants and Municipal Law

Municipal responsibilities include ensuring that native and migrant communities coexist in peace, and their role in this is far more important than that of national and international actors (Scholten and Penninx, 2016). Challenges faced by nation-states in realizing the 2016 UN Sustainable Development Goals and in managing migration and social cohesion have increased significantly, and it is essential that they are also addressed at local level. Migration studies literature (Scholten and Penninx, 2016) confirms that this is happening, and Turkish municipalities have recently started to play a more active role in this regard, which was given further impetus by the 2016 EU-Turkey Refugee Agreement.44

The local environment for which municipalities are responsible is where migrants and native populations live, work, interact, use infrastructure and receive services, the availability and quality of which affect social harmony, inclusion and coexistence. Turkish Municipal Law includes the principle of ‘fellow citizenship’, and municipalities are responsible for meeting day-to-day needs of all residents, and for promoting a culture of coexistence. Article 13 of the Turkish Municipal Law states that “Everyone is a fellow citizen of the city in which he resides. Fellow citizens shall be entitled to participate in the decisions and services of the  

44 For detailed information on the EU-Turkey Refugee Statement, see https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/18_mart_2016_turkiye_ab_zirvesi_bildirisi.pdf Accessed on Thursday, August 6, 2021.
municipality, to be informed about municipal activities, and to benefit from the aid of the municipal administration." This article makes municipalities responsible for improving social and cultural relations among ‘fellow citizens’, and grants equal rights and responsibilities to all, whether legal citizens or not, and it is important that the general public is made aware of this, in relation to coexistence and social cohesion between the native and migrant communities.

However, Article 14 makes an implicit distinction between citizens and non-citizens in the statement "Municipal services shall be rendered in the most appropriate manner at the places nearest to the citizens", which appears to be inconsistent with Article 13 which refers to ‘fellow citizens’, defined as all residents. Nevertheless, most municipalities accept and act according to the principle of fellow citizenship in Article 13, rather than trying to avoid their equal responsibilities regarding resident migrants by appealing to Article 14, and a literal interpretation thereof.

2. Socio-economic and spatial distribution of migrants in Bursa and Karacabey

Thousands of Turkish-origin and Muslim migrants originating from the Balkans and North Caucasus were settled in Bursa province in the 19th century. After settling in Bursa, the migrants sought jobs to secure their livelihoods, and some even applied to serve in the army in times of war, with their carriages and animals. It is reported that among the Caucasian ’93 Migrants’, approximately 1,000 households of Pomak migrants, who did not speak Turkish,
settled in Karacabey. Albanians and Bosnians, who also did not speak Turkish, settled in Bursa in large numbers during the same period. Resolving the social and economic problems of these large groups of migrants was always a priority for bodies governing Bursa. Migratory inflows to Bursa yielded several positive outcomes: hard-working migrants contributed significantly to the city’s economy, resulting in substantial developments in trade and agriculture, and they enhanced Bursa’s ethno-cultural diversity (Kaplanoğlu & Kaplanoğlu, 2014).

Bursa continued to receive migrants from different sources throughout the 20th Century. Mass migrations of Turks and Muslims from Bulgaria in the 1950s and after 1989 were primarily to Bursa. Nearly 15,000 Bulgarian Turks migrated to Bursa in 1951, and many were employed by the Merinos Factory (Pınar, 2014). In 1980, nearly 400,000 migrants of Turkish origin migrated to Turkey, mostly to Bursa and İstanbul, to escape the oppressive Bulgarian regime, forming a ‘human bridge’ between Bulgaria and Bursa, which is still active today, with ongoing mobility between the two locations (Ciğerci, 2018). According to official statistics, the number of migrants settled in Bursa was around 80,000 in 1989. To curb the rapid growth of the migrant population, migrants were subsequently banned from entering the city.46

Having vast and fertile plains as well as vast and richly varied forests of the surrounding mountainous region, the geographical location gives the city a special feature of a rare agricultural region along with an industrial and trade centres of Turkey. Whereas Mount Uludağ (Bithynian Olympos), having a well-known ski-resort, plays an important role in the development of the tourism sector, its fertile lands, 17 percent of which are covered with plains, make the agricultural production very important in Turkish economy. The area of cultivated land in Bursa constitutes 40 percent of the city’s total land which also contributes a rather orderly urban growth.

Bursa’s population in 2021 was 3,101,833. Karacabey is one of its 17 municipalities, with a population of 84,666 as of 2021. Karacabey includes 64 villages in its district. Regarding

46 For detailed information on the matter, see İnginar, 2010.
population per gender, it has a balanced demographic structure, having 50.06 percent (42,013) male and 49.94 percent (41,910) female population. The ratio of foreigners to total population in this district is 3.65 percent which corresponds to 3,063 in numbers. The foreign population figures include the Syrian population (2,828 in numbers) under temporary protection, which corresponds to 3.37 percent of the total population located in Karacabey.

In terms of the economic structure, the district economy in Karacabey is based on the sectors such as agriculture, trade, industry, transportation and service. However, vast and fertile soils of Karacabey plain (776,744 decares of agricultural land) make agricultural sector have great weight in Karacabey’s economic structure, and the most of its population is therefore engaged in agriculture. Besides, animal husbandry, especially horse and sheep breeding, is also highly developed sector in the district. It is notable to stress that Turkey’s best racehorses are bred and raised at Karacabey stud farm. As the agriculture and animal husbandry have important place in production, the agriculture-based industry in the district has considerably developed and, the district has been the centre of attraction for important
investments. Leading factories operating in the food industry sector (e.g. Nestle, Sütaş) are centered in the district as well as the import-export industry in the fields of feed, poultry, livestock and dairy products due to the agricultural sector and animal husbandry. In terms of employment, those working in industry and agriculture sector mostly work as seasonal workers.

Challenges, Needs and Opportunities in Karacabey

Karacabey has vast agricultural lands that are currently being depopulated due to emigration of young locals going to the big cities such as Istanbul and central Bursa. Agricultural lands remain idle partly because of increasing emigration pattern and partly because of the inheritance problems leading to the conflictual situations among the members of the extended families that prevent them from harvesting the lands. It is reported that the agricultural lands in Karacabey are very fertile, one of the local stakeholders working in the
Karacabey Chamber of Commerce and Industry said the following in order to draw our attention to this issue as well as to some challenges:

This place [Karacabey] is open to corporate capital. There are different companies from about 20-25 countries, the number is increasing day by day. (...) It is found that Karacabey has the most convenient climate to grow seedbed (tohumluk in Turkish). There are even some international companies recently investing in this field in Karacabey. It is apparently a promising field of investment. There are also industrial factories producing agricultural machinery such as Sezer company producing plows. Recently, there are some preparations made by the state actors to introduce the Hightech Industrial Site (YTSB, Yüksek Teknoloji Sanayi Bölgesi). We don’t know though what it is really. There are rumours that some of the heavy industry in Gebze [an industrial district of Kocaeli, a city neighbouring Bursa in the North] will be moved here. If this is the case then we are really concerned that such a move will heavily pollute the agricultural lands, the wild life and the lakes, which are located in the birds’ migration routes. It should be because of these ambiguities and the lack of perspective for the future, youngsters are not willing to stay here, and no bride is willing to come here from outside (Interview WP5TRB003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Karacabey is one of those depopulating districts of Bursa, a city that is hosting around 225 thousand migrants including the Syrians under temporary protection and irregular Afghans migrants. Agricultural lands in the districts of Karacabey and Mustafakemalpaşa are also attracting thousands of seasonal workers coming from the southeastern and southern parts of Turkey each year between April and September, some of whom are Turkish citizens and some of whom are Syrians. Both seasonal and permanent migrants and refugees meet an urgent need that is the continuation of harvesting fertile agricultural lands, an activity that seems to be neglected by the locals because of growing emigration trends and the lack of support by the central state actors as well as the municipal actors.

3. Social aspects of migrants under temporary protection

Bursa is one of the cities most affected by the forced mass migration of Syrians that emerged in 2011. The historical experience of Bursa and its municipalities with migration and migrants manifested itself in the capacity to swiftly respond to this intense mass migration, and to support other organizations to do so. Bursa differs from Turkey’s other border provinces in that Syrians, especially those involved in the textile sector in Syria, preferred to settle in Bursa.
due to its leading position in the global textile industry. According to DGMM data, in September 2021, Bursa was home to 181,266 Syrians.47

A city of rich natural beauty, with strong tourism and industrial sectors (particularly, textile and automotive sectors), Bursa is located on the Silk Road, and is Turkey’s fourth most populated city. Due to its developed industrial sector, Bursa attracts migrants from all over Turkey including İstanbul, including many Syrians who have lived in Turkey for up to nine years. Syrians in Bursa have mostly arrived in the last few years to benefit from its employment, housing, health care, and educational opportunities, along with its multicultural environment created by the city’s rich migration history. The majority of Syrians residing in Bursa today were originally from Aleppo, and the historical, cultural and commercial ties between Bursa and Aleppo, especially the silk and textile industries, make this a natural migration path.

Based on their proportion among foreign nationals in Bursa, Syrian migrants under temporary protection as well as other migrant workers such as Iraqis and Afghans are the particular focus of the case study. The specific subgroup is represented by the Syrians under temporary protection whose population rate corresponds to more than 5 percent of the province’s current population. Karacabey, the rural Matilde region, hosts around 3,000 Syrians under temporary protection out of 225,015 migrants (180,910 Syrians under temporary protection and 48,595 regular migrants with residence permits) in total residing in Bursa as of August 19, 2021.48

Karacabey is also a district that stands out with its agricultural production as well as with its industrial facilities based on agricultural production. The interaction between the local citizens living in rural areas, especially local seasonal agricultural workers, and migrants, mostly Syrians, who live in tent cities built in districts such as Karacabey in Bursa, is important to be identified with regard to social and economic aspects.

47 For the distribution of Syrians under temporary protection by province, see the website of DGMM, https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638 Accessed on September 09, 2021
Labor Networks and Informality

In the early days of mass migration, Syrians used their existing informal labour networks widely. Labour networks are widely applied in the process of migration. Not only do they help potential migrants in obtaining information about the availability of jobs, but they also help new migrants settle before starting a job. Even though applying to labour networks might be helpful it should be highlighted that it cannot always be trusted. During the interviews, several Syrians stated that the jobs that were offered for them via labour networks turned out to have poor working conditions as well as low salaries that were often times not paid on time and consistently. At the heart of self-sufficiency is the ability for individuals to earn a living and provide for their families. Under temporary protection, refugees do not have the right to work and without the legal channels to access the labour market, the informal sector becomes the only option for individuals to earn a living. Jobs are mostly found in the textile, construction, service and agricultural sectors. Wages for Syrians are generally reported to be only half of the minimum legal salary and some participants in Karacabey reported making as little as 80 TL a day (equivalent of 8 Euro in August 2021) (Interview WP5TRB009). It should be mentioned of course that none of these jobs provide job security, occupational safety, or social security benefits.

The lack of formal structures to help migrants find jobs made their integration even more difficult. As it was also not officially possible to get a work permit until January 2016, migrant did not also feel the urge to follow the formal mechanisms to find jobs. Many Syrians had to work in underpaid jobs which mostly did not correspond with their qualifications. As the safety net in big cities was not very strong, the difficulties in the labour market even triggered the exploitation of child labour among Syrian families. A 45-year-old Syrian woman, who came to Şanlıurfa in 2012, locating in Karacabey as seasonal agricultural worker at the
time of writing this report, uttered the following words when she was asked about her children:

We came to Şanlıurfa first in 2012 to work in the agricultural sites and green houses. Between April and September we are coming to Karacabey as seasonal workers to work in the fields to harvest tomatoes, or whatever is offered to us. Our children also work with us. We all get paid the same salary. If the children are too small then one of the elderly children stay with them at the tent. When we are back in Şanlıurfa in September then we work in the fields to harvest apples (Interview WP5TRB010).

Child labour, exploitation of men and women in the labour market, low salaries, lack of social security, difficult working conditions, lack of formal channels to help migrants find jobs, lack of official controls in the labour market have been repeatedly expressed by our interlocutors (Interview WP5TRB011).

When the mass migration of Syrians began, Turkey was at the verge of introducing the new Law on Foreigners and International Protection (No. 6458). However, the mass migration delayed the finalization of the law, and already led to the revision of some of the articles even before the law was put into force. However, these revisions and regulations did not create an environment in which the Syrian refugees would have decent work conditions. One of the most important reasons of this failure was the power of the informal labour markets in Turkey. In the first days of their mass migration, Syrians entered a labour market that had high unemployment and informality, especially among the youth, since the beginning of the 2000s. All these combined with the lack of sufficient regulations, discrimination, exploitation and prejudices against Syrian refugees resulted in their settlement at the lowest and most vulnerable strata in Turkey.

Turkish labour market has its ongoing chronic structural problems such as high informality, low skill sets of the labor force, and low labor force participation rates of women. Formal jobs are more difficult to secure for the low skilled workers such as the young, the women and Syrian refugees. Policies to protect the lower skilled workers such as increasing the minimum wage, provokes shifts from formal to informal employment, making the
working conditions of the workers even worse (Bakış et al., 2020). It is estimated that currently 3.3 million workers earn the minimum wage and that 4.1 million workers earn less than the minimum wage, and this is excluding Syrian refugees (Erdoğan et al., 2021).

4. Economic aspects and labour market situation

Employment of Foreigners and Work Permits

Before the enactment of Law 8375 in January 2016, which allowed Syrians under temporary protection to have work permits only under certain conditions and with certain restrictions, there were only 7,351 work permits issued to Syrians. The number of Syrians who received work permits in 2019, released by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, was around 65,000. The number of work permits issued in Bursa in 2019 was 8,609. Also, according to data provided by Bursa Provincial Directorate Social Security Institution, as of August 2021, there were 9,172 foreigners registered in the Social Security system in Bursa. While 8,300 were male, 872 were female. In Karacabey, there were only 37 males registered in the social security scheme, and 3 female (See Chart 1 and 2 below). Our interviews and observations also affirm this data since there is high informality among the foreigners working in Karacabey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type of permission</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>17,318</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>17,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>32,191</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>32,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>45,721</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>45,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>52,197</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>52,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>64,402</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>64,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>73,410</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>73,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>87,150</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>87,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>115,826</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>115,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>145,232</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>145,232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is reported that there was no substantial change in this figure during 2020 and 2021 due to the negative impact of COVID-19 pandemic in the labour markets. Syrians living in urban areas have to work to sustain their livelihood, several hundred thousand have joined the informal workforce. Anecdotal evidence points to a boom in the construction sector arising from the arrival of the refugees, particularly in the provinces bordering Syria, and that textiles and clothing manufacturing, agriculture and service sector were other major sectors of informal employment for refugees (Kaya and Kıraç, 2015; Ferris and Kirişçi, 2016; Erzan et al., 2018; Rottmann and Kaya, 2020; Kaya, 2020). The field research findings indicate that one of the main reasons for the reluctance of Syrians to apply for work permits is the fact that they know that they will no longer be able to benefit from financial and in-kind assistance once they are given a formal work permit.

Temporary Protection Status as a Challenge

In an economy where informality is merely a reflection of the underlying structural problems of the national labor market, it is very difficult to secure formality for migrants in general, and migrants under temporary protection in particular. However, it is also partly because of the ways in which migrants under temporary protection are legally treated in Turkey that informality remains to be the norm for them. More than 1.6 million Syrians in Turkey rely on the financial assistance provided by the European Union under the Emergency Social Safety Net. Some argue that the financial aid provided by the EU under the Emergency Social Safety Net / Social Cohesion Assistance Program for Syrians (SUY/ESSN) is creating an increasingly dependent and passive population of migrants, and discussions on this issue have been heated. The Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services prepared an Exit Strategy

from the Social Cohesion Assistance Program for Syrians in 2018, to define strategies for incorporating migrants into social life as active participants, particularly as registered, formal participants in the labor market.\footnote{See \url{https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/uigm/duyurular/04042019-nolu-duyuru/} Accessed on 12 August 2021.} The document recognizes that the Syrians under temporary protection are more settled in Turkey (p. 4) and that the Turkish government is willing to “implement more development-oriented assistance programs rather than humanitarian assistance. For this reason, a graduation strategy is considered vital for enhancing the skills and competences of the Syrians under temporary protection and making them less dependent on the social assistance.” The strategic purpose of this “graduation” process is identified as “to increase the social cohesion of the Syrians under temporary protection by supporting their adaptation to the labour market” in Turkey (p. 13). However, the COVID-19 pandemic has made it difficult for the Turkish state actors to pursue such a goal.

Syrians under temporary protection in Karacabey and Bursa have also expressed some other concerns regarding the graduation to formality. The difficulties encountered in naturalization and having work permit are two common impediments expressed by our interlocutors. A 33-year-old businessman who came to Bursa with his family in 2011 when the civil war erupted in Syria has complained about such difficulties. Although he received Turkish citizenship, he stated that citizenship application for the rest of his family is still pending:

\begin{quote}
We are from Aleppo. We are a wealthy family. We used to do business with Saudi Arabia and other countries before the war... After the war erupted we came here with a lot of money. We invested in a dairy product factory in Karacabey where we employ both Turkish and Syrian workers. We were planning to do export, but because of the depreciation of the TL against the foreign currencies lately, we decided to produce for the domestic market. The COVID-19 pandemic initially affected us badly, but now we are doing fine. I received my Turkish citizenship in 2017. But the rest of the family, my father, brother, uncle could not yet receive citizenship. The workers in my factory
\end{quote}
Temporary protection regulation blocks the path to Syrians to citizenship and access to individual international protection application. For this reason, the Turkish government grants citizenship to Syrians under temporary protection through "exceptional citizenship". Some Syrians are naturalized under the article of exceptional citizenship of the Turkish Citizenship Law introduced in 2009. According to the Article-12 (exceptions in acquiring Turkish citizenship) of this Law (Law No. 5901) ‘those persons who bring into Turkey industrial facilities or have rendered or believed to render an outstanding service in the social or economic arena or in the fields of science, technology, sports, culture or arts’ can acquire the citizenship.\(^{54}\) Turkey has so far issued citizenship to around 150 thousand Syrians.\(^{55}\)

**Gender dimension and other challenges in Labor Market**

The situation of Syrian refugees in the Turkish labour market has a strong gender dimension. Syrian women work as flexible labourers at the workplace and at the same time, look after their families. They struggle on both ends, i.e., the production and re-production sides of life. At the workplace, they are the most affected and vulnerable agents of the labour market because they are employed with lower wages in comparison with males from other nations. It is very difficult to engage migrant women in having access to the labour market, because they are also taken responsible for domestic household issues. Despite working as a nurse, a female migrant informant in Karacabey put the challenges into words by stating the following:

“There is a disabled person in my family. It is difficult to work and take care of their needs but we try to manage it somehow (...) Life is hard, my husband takes care of the kids until I return, then he leaves to work [collect waste paper].” (Interview WP5TRB006)

Addressing the household responsibilities, one of our interlocutors, a female Senior Project Manager from International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) in Ankara, talked about a project that they have currently been working on:

_We know that on average migrant-origin individuals are more into entrepreneurial spirit. There are many scientific studies all around the world demonstrating this finding. It is the same in Turkey, I believe. Turkey has not received a very-well educated group of Syrians, we know that. But they brought different kinds of artizanships, which they learned from their parents and grand-parents. They are very good in shoe-making, furniture, other kinds of artizanworks. But it is rather difficult to make women involved in employment facilities... We are now working on a Project called “Home-based entrepreneurship”. We are trying to find out if migrant women can be incorporated into the labour market by getting engaged in home-based entrepreneurship on the one hand, and letting them take care of their household responsibilities on the other hand (Interview WP5TR003).

Gender dimension with respect to the Syrian and other migrants was also raised by another interlocutor we interviewed. A female Project Coordinator working in the “Resilience in Local Governance (RESLOG) Project” funded by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) said the following to draw our attention to the gendered aspects of projects that are engaged in occupational trainings:

_As far as I can see, vocational trainings are very much gender-biased. They are imprisoning both men and women in particular fields. For instance, female migrants are channelled towards gastronomy while male migrants are channelled towards working as mechanics. There is a gendered segregation already here. Such programs can hardly change the life-worlds of migrants and refugees (Interview WP5TR002).
On the other hand, Syrian males are employed with lower wages in comparison to the Turkish male workers (Tören, 2018). A 50-year-old man from Afrin working in Karacabey as a seasonal worker in the fields said the following to refer to the low salaries that the Syrians earn in the agricultural sector:

*We earn 80 TL per day, and 10 percent of this goes to the commissioner who brings us here from Mersin [a coastal city in the eastern Mediterranean region of Turkey]. We are not getting paid the same salary as the Turks. I don’t know how much they earn. We have to meet all the costs resulting from our back and forth travel from Mersin.* (Interview WP5TRB009).

Both women and men working in Bursa and Karacabey are vulnerable. The vulnerability of seasonal workers employed in the agricultural sector is even more. Gendered assignments made in the vocational training schemes makes it harder for migrants to have different options and opportunities existing in the local settings.

### 4. Territorial aspects

Agricultural sites seem to be offering great opportunities for Syrian and Afghan migrants in particular. One of the doctors with Afghan background who had a medical degree from a Turkish university we interviewed in the Karacabey Migrant Health Centre stated the following to draw our attention to the potential in the region to employ migrant labour:

*We treat many migrants here in the Migrant Health Centre. We have two other Syrian doctors. As I had my medical degree in a Turkish University, I can also treat the Turkish citizens. But the other doctors can only treat migrants. Migrants are immensely contributing to Karacabey. They are working in agricultural sites as well as in factories. The locals in Karacabey did not have anyone before to work on the lands. Now, migrants are sorting out everything.* (Interview WP5TRB007).
During the field research, an officer working for Refugee Liaison Office in Orhangazi, an agricultural/rural district similar to Karacabey, stressed the potential of the region for foreign labor force due to insufficient local employment, particularly during the summer period:

*Agriculture occupies here an important place. There is also industrial sector. The number of workers is not enough. There is a serious shortage of labor force. Production in agriculture here begins and continues with peach, eggplant, olive etc. The local population is not enough, we are looking for workers* (Interview WP5TRB012).

Employability of Syrians under temporary protection is not only possible in informal sectors or agricultural one; Turkey also offers some other opportunities to migrants under temporary protection to find jobs. Since 2017, Turkish Ministry of Health has initiated a project funded by the European Union to offer health services to the migrants: SIHHAT Project (Health Project). So far, 177 Migrant Health Centres were opened in 29 provinces. A 35-year-old female nurse with Syrian origin expressed her enthusiasm and happiness to be working in the Karacabey Migrant Health Centre, which operates under the SIHHAT Project:

*I was a dialysis nurse in Syria. I graduated from the University in 2009. [Bashar] Asad prevented in those days us from receiving our diplomas as the regime was concerned that we would leave the country and go somewhere else to work. When I came here with my family, I had my graduation document, and I was able to apply for the SIHHAT Project. We were then in Gaziantep. I was chosen to work in the Project. First, we had two months training in Ankara, and then I had my internship in Sakarya [a city near Bursa in the North]… I applied for Turkish citizenship, I hope I can get it soon. Otherwise I don't know what to do if the Project ends. I guess I will have to work in an underpaid job…* (Interview WP5TRB006).

As witnessed in the field research, Syrian female refugees also take the responsibility of the education of their children who have to struggle with the language barrier, peer violence and discrimination practiced against them in school. All these problems, low working conditions

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56 For more detail on Sıhhat Project see [https://eng.sihhatproject.org/](https://eng.sihhatproject.org/) 21 August 2021.
without social security or registration, discrimination, stereotypes, language barriers, violence, prejudices, low quality housing, integration problems into society create many barriers for them in using their rights at the workplace. While the Syrian refugee population constitutes cheap labour force for the Turkish economy, the state has become a factor in the creation of this situation by neither exercising control nor granting equal rights to Syrian refugees (Tören, 2018).

The discourse of “cheap labour source” was made even more prevalent by the members of the ruling government during the fieldwork in the summer of 2021. When the Taliban forces started to control larger parts of Afghanistan after the US forces started to withdraw in August 2021, the Turkish mainstream media coverage of irregular Afghan
migrants entering the country from the Iranian border alerted the oppositional parties in Turkey to generate a stronger anti-refugee hostility.\(^{57}\) Such an hostility has been immediately reflected towards the Syrians by a large number of the Turkish population, who were chanting “refugees out”, “Syrians out”, “Afghans out”.\(^{58}\) The members of the ruling government explicitly stated that Turkey would economically suffer even more if the Syrians were deported. It was Yasin Aktay, advisor to the Turkish President, who said Turkish economy would collapse if the Syrians had to leave the country.\(^{59}\)

Our observations and interviews with the local stakeholders in Bursa and the local region, Karacabey, also confirm the widespread perception of Syrians and other migrants as cheap labour contributing to the local economy. One of our interlocutors involved in the occupational training programs provided by the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality stated his thoughts about the employability of Syrians in particular.

*Syrians are perceived to be cheap labour. Employers are not willing to go through all that hussle to pay all that money for social security purposes... On the other hand, I also witness that there are many Syrian entrepreneurs who are doing bussiness in Bursa. They have already created a niche economy. Take a look at the Çarşamba district of the city centre. There are many shops owned by the Syrians. They are very organised actually* (Interview WP5TRB002).

The interview data demonstrate that Syrians and other migrants are aware of the opportunities existing in the labour market in Karacabey and Bursa. The state of temporariness and the lack of interactions between the locals and migrant communities

\(^{57}\) For a review of the anti-refugee hostility raised by the oppositional parties such as the Republican People’s Party (CHP), see [this link](https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/aug/05/fleeing-the-taliban-afghans-met-with-rising-anti-refugee-hostility-in-turkey) accessed on 19 August 2021.

\(^{58}\) For more debate on this see [this link](https://bianet.org/english/world/248842-the-west-will-pray-for-erdogan-s-reelection-as-new-refugee-crisis-looms-says-chp-leader) accessed on 19 August 2021.

\(^{59}\) See [this link](https://newsbeezer.com/turkeyeng/erdogans-advisor-yanis-aktay-turkey-has-to-live-with-syrian-refugees/) accessed on 19 August 2021.
make it difficult for the migrants to contribute better to the local setting that they are in. The data also show that gendered dynamics, intersectional discrimination, low salaries, and instrumentalization of migrant labour remain to be the major problems to be solved. Our interlocutors also talked about their sense of belonging that they have generated in Bursa and Karacabey under the given circumstances. Bursa is one of the latest destinations chosen by the Syrians mostly originating from Aleppo. As explained earlier, former inhabitants of Aleppo were mainly involved in agricultural production and textile. To that end, Bursa provides the Syrians from Aleppo with a safe heaven where they can present their talents. However, this territorial sense of belonging is not without any tension. The locals demonstrate their discontent especially in the downtown centre of the urban space (Çarşamba district of Bursa) where the Syrians have developed diasporic spaces with their shops, stores, restaurants, callshops and jewelers.

Çarşamba [district of Bursa] seems to be completely in the hands of Syrians. You [as a Turkish origin person] may be treated differently when you go to those areas. They actually do not want you among them very much... Suddenly, a society with a different background joined our society. They have difficulties in keeping up with the society (Interview WP5TRB012).

The quotation above indicates that there is a growing stream of ghettoisation in the city centre of Bursa a situation as “living as two separate groups”, where the locals and immigrants do not interact to a great extent. This is a surprising phenomenon for a city with a very strong tradition of incoming migration over the past centuries.

Linguistic Elements of Territorial Belonging

The language barrier is among serious obstacles to prompt migrants, particularly the Syrians, generate a sense of territorial belonging as well as to integrate them into education and work environments. It is also one of the factors linked to the increase in NEET rate (see Uyan Semerci and Yilmaz-Elmas, 2021). Public Education Centers (PECs) are among the several
channels giving language training, operating across the country and conducting age-specific Turkish language modules for foreigners. At regional level, Bursa Metropolitan Municipality’s Art and Vocational Training Courses (BUSMEK) provides free Turkish language courses certified by the Ministry of National Education, to support the social and economic integration of Syrians and increase their chances of finding jobs. Syrians who complete the language training can then attend free certified vocational training courses. From 2013 to August 2020, a total of 1,167 migrants (654 women and 513 men), attended the Turkish language courses.\(^6\) BUSMEK Courses Department Manager, during our interview, pointed out that there is high interest among foreigners in language courses among others:

*Considering foreigners, the language is the field we receive the most applications. We are trying to solve the language problem that is the biggest need of foreigners when they start living in another country. For this purpose, we provide training without distinguishing anyone. In general, we have Syrian attendees. Besides, we have trainees from all nationalities such as Dutch, Brazilian, or Indian (Interview WP5TRB002).*

For the vocational training, migrants seem to be eager to be involved in courses throughout Bursa. However, the local stakeholder, BUSMEK Courses Department Manager paid attention to the mandatory priority of earning their living for foreigners:

*They are actually eager to learn something in terms of improving themselves. Of course, this is related to living standards. How much time can they devote to education? People who have overcome livelihood problems show interest in the courses. In other words, those who have a job and are eager for self-development, or those who work somewhere and need to add something for this job, come to the trainings and they are willing in this sense (Interview WP5TRB002).*

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\(^6\) For detailed information about BUSMEK, see [http://busmek.bursa.bel.tr/](http://busmek.bursa.bel.tr/) Accessed on 19 August 2021.
There is a lack of data to follow the situation afterwards for those who have completed the vocational training. Although, for instance, there is a department called Employment Counselling Service within BUSMEK, established to provide a bridge between companies and trainees, there are no specific record on foreigners. There is also a rare feedback or demand for an employment through the vocational trainings (Interview WP5TRB002).

**Table 4. The number of migrant students in elementary and secondary education in Bursa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Level</th>
<th>Kindergarten</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>Prep. class</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BURSA (foreign students including Syrians)</td>
<td>1.095</td>
<td>3.870</td>
<td>4.339</td>
<td>4.571</td>
<td>4.749</td>
<td>4.525</td>
<td>4.116</td>
<td>3.381</td>
<td>2.245</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.149</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>36.206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURSA (only Syrian Students)</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>3.495</td>
<td>3.848</td>
<td>4.093</td>
<td>4.260</td>
<td>4.054</td>
<td>3.644</td>
<td>2.982</td>
<td>1.828</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>31.209</td>
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<tr>
<td>KARACABEY (foreign students including Syrians)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>269</td>
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</table>


Karacabey Chamber of Commerce and Industry Vocational Training Center has also recently provided an opportunity for foreigners in the local region, Karacabey. Established in 2020, the Vocational Training Center is asked by the Ministry of National Education for recruiting foreigners for this year for the first time. It provides a simultaneous education for both high school-level education and vocational training as well as providing work accident, occupational disease and sickness insurance, at least 30 percent of the minimum wage. The training includes theoretical training at school 1-2 days a week and skills training in business 4-5 days a week. Those graduating from the program obtain both mastery certificate and vocational high school diploma. However, having to document secondary school graduation seems the biggest challenge for foreigners, as the Chamber of Commerce and Industry informed us:

*Vocational training courses offer important opportunities to everyone including immigrants. The Ministry of National Education has given instructions for the registration of immigrants to the courses this year, but the problem is that those who*
may attend the trainings must be secondary school graduates. Immigrants do not have their graduation certificates with them. They cannot present their documents. It is a problem (Interview WP5TRB003).

Vocational training is one of the important ways to close the labor shortage in Karacabey. Our interviews conducted in both regional and local levels also reveal that there is intermediate and technical staff shortage:

There is no such thing as not being able to find a job for qualified personnel in Karacabey. Technical staff can get more salaries than an engineer. No matter a citizen or an immigrant, the firms pounced on them, so to speak (Interview WP5TRB003).

Besides vocational education seems to be a way of increasing schooling rate, overcoming school dropouts and preventing child labor to some extent. The decrease in schooling rate is an obvious fact as the level increases in Bursa region as well. According to the figures, delivered by the Bursa Provincial Directorate of National Education, as of March 2021, whereas an average of 4000 students is enrolled in each grade at the primary school level, it decreases considerably in the upper levels. For example, in Bursa, only 475 foreign students (out of which 265 students are Syrians) are enrolled in the schools in the 12th grade. Contributing to household income is an important reason for dropouts (For detailed figures, please see the Table 4). Thus, the migrant youngsters have a very limited chance to go on their education at the university level or to find qualified jobs in the field of employment.

5. Conclusion

This report has concentrated on the social, economic, political, and territorial dynamics of coexistence of migrant and native communities in Bursa and Karacabey. The role of central state actors, local municipal actors, civil society actors and migrants were discussed in detail.
The report revealed the challenges, needs and opportunities in relation to the seasonal agricultural migrant workers and other migrants residing in Bursa and Karacabey. It was argued that modernization and globalization has dispersed young locals in Karacabey and made them to migrate to the big cities such as Bursa and İstanbul. This demographic pressure coupled with the fragmentation of inheritances have made the agricultural lands idle for the last two decades.

Many of our interlocutors addressed the need of additional agricultural labour force to sow and harvest the land, a need that could be very well met by the existing migrants and refugees who are very well equipped with the relevant qualifications. This requires planning, support and subsidies by the local and central state actors, who have so far neglected such local demands and needs. Both the locals and seasonal migrants have addressed the potential of migrant labour to close this existing gap in the labour market.

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UK: North Ayrshire

Author(s): M.L. Caputo, M. Bianchi, S. Baglioni

Summary

- North Ayrshire witnesses a constant process of depopulation but the net migration from and to the rest of the UK is positive.
- In 2011 Census, the share of local migrant population was 2.5% (3446 people). 19% were born in Middle East and Asia, 15% in Americas and Caribbean and 13% in Africa.
- The National Records of Scotland estimates migrant population in North Ayrshire between 3000 and 4000 in the period 2003 - 2020
- In 2019, 5.1% of births in this area were from mothers not born in the UK.
- In North Ayrshire, 201 Syrian refugees have been resettled since 2015.
- At the end of March 2021, 1190 application were submitted for the EU settlement status.
- In 2020, North Ayrshire was the 5th most deprived council area in Scotland.
- Scottish Health Survey indicates that in the period 2014 – 2018, 47% of the interviewees reported a long-term condition and 70% an overweight condition.
- In 2020, one every five persons were prescribed drugs for anxiety, depression and psychosis.
- Social rented houses constituted the 26% of all the North Ayrshire housing in 2017.
- In the period 2013 – 2017, 1.9% of residents in the social rented housing were not born in the UK.
- There is a general satisfaction with local public services. The Scottish Household Survey reports for the 2019 shares of satisfaction of 73% for public transport, 78% for health services and 82% for schools.
Introduction

Previous MATILDE reports identify the economic, social and political characteristics of selected case study areas highlighting interconnections between local development, national migration policies, and macro-level economic dynamics\(^6\).

WP5 sets further research objectives to implement the comprehension of the migration phenomenon; particularly, this part of the MATILDE project works to create a shared assessment of newcomers’ impact and local-based strategies for their integration. This working package is realised together with local partners and stakeholders involving them into a participatory process of research and evaluation. The MATILDE project provides each research team with methodologies and tools to carry out these bottom-up processes\(^6\). The main goal is to co-design proposals for implementing local-based solutions and projects to respond to partners and stakeholders’ challenges related to migrants’ socio-economic integrations.

This report is the first step made by the University of Parma research team to accomplish WP5 goals in the MATILDE case study region of North Ayrshire. The researchers have formed a Case Study Working Group (CSWG) with many actors already involved in the previous work packages (WP3 and WP4) and have also engaged new partners. At the coordination level, the research team strongly collaborate with Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA), which co-lead the activities on the field. At the local level, the North Ayrshire team for the Syrian Vulnerable People Resettlement Program (SVPRP) program has been involved along with various staff members of the North Ayrshire Council.

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\(^6\) See MATILDE toolbox (D. 2.7) and self-assessment method for policy-makers and practitioners (D. 6.6).
As defined by the WP5 guidelines, the research team has organized a series of online meetings – the pandemic restrictions still obstacle researchers’ presence on the field – to illustrate the aim and objectives of this new part of the MATILDE project; then, the team has discussed with partners’ ideas and proposals for the CSWG themes and goals. Inputs from the group go in the direction of an assessment of what has been the impact of the SVPRP on other local public services. In particular, the attention will be on the effects that this program has had on other services aimed at migrants and more generally at the local community. Consequently, the North Ayrshire CSWG theme is defined as “Lesson learned from the SVPRP”. This objective has a dual functionality; first, it allows to assess what has been the impact of the SVPRP in terms of improvement of other public service delivery, and second, it will support the further understanding of the migration phenomenon in this area helping to enhance the community life.

This report presents various indicators aimed at providing information for the Case Study main objective. The main topics were discussed and selected with the Case Study Working Group and some of them have also reviewed the research team proposal for a list of indicators; these are fundamental elements to enhance the analysis of the phenomenon and to co-design the next tools for the participatory assessment of public services in the North Ayrshire.

**Demographic dimension**

**General population and migrations in/to the North Ayrshire**
In this section, we will explore the general trends of the general population living in the North Ayrshire. According to the National Records of Scotland (NRS), the population in this area experienced an important decrease since the last census in 2011. According to those estimates, the North Ayrshire population decreased between 1991 and 2001 of about 2000 people, then increased in the following ten years going back to the figure of 1991. In 2020, NRS estimated that in North Ayrshire were living about 4000 persons less than in 2011.

According to the available estimations, this population loss is not the product of emigration, neither internal or international.

Regarding the internal migration net, such as the net between the movements from/to the North Ayrshire to/from the rest of the United Kingdom, it was positive between 2011 and 2019 (the last available data). The difference between all the people who came to the North Ayrshire from other locations of the UK and those who left the North Ayrshire for other location inside...
the UK was of 809 persons for the years between 2011 and 2019. This mean that the internal migration contributed to maintain the North Ayrshire population. In the next section, we will discuss the impact of the international migration and we will see how it is among the causes of the population loss occurred since 2011. Nevertheless, the larger part of this negative trend in the North Ayrshire population need to be understood in terms of a negative natural change with deaths exceeding births by -3401 units over the period 2011-2019.

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**Migrants in North Ayrshire according to 2011 Census**

In 2011, when the last Census was held, all the non-UK born were 2.5% (3446 persons) of the North Ayrshire population (138,146 persons). The people born in a third country were 1.7% (2290 persons) while 0.8% (1156) were born in Europe.

Among the people born in a third country, 13% were born in Africa, 19% in the Middle East and Asia, about 15% in the Americas and the Caribbean, about 5% in Oceania.

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**Migrants’ spatial patterns inside North Ayrshire**

The non-UK born population was spread in all the North Ayrshire wards: 17% in North Coast and Cumbraes, 15% in Ardrossan and Arran, 14% in Saltcoats and Stevenston 13% in Irvine West and 12% in Irvine East, 10% in West Kilbride and in Kilwinning, 9% in Kilbirnie and Beith.
Migrants language skills in 2011 Census

A fundamental aspect of migrants’ integration is their capacity to acquire the local language and be able to communicate with other to fully become part of the hosting society. In 2011, among the North Ayrshire 942 people declared to “Do not speak English well” and 192 to “Do not speak English at all”. If we assume they were all migrants (non UK-born), then 27% of the North Ayrshire migrant population did not speak English well, while 6% of them did not speak English at all.

At wards scale, it is possible to affirm that the people with low English skills notably lived in Saltcoats and Stevenston (26% of those who do not speak at all, and 18% of those who do not speak well) and in Irvine West and East (32% in total of those who do not speak well, 23% in total of those who do not speak at all).

Concerning the other languages spoken, an indirect indicator of a migrant population or of second or third generation, we could appreciate that in 2011 2298 people declared to use another language at home that was not English nor Gaelic or Scots, the two other main local languages. Among those who speak another language other than English at home, the one using Polish were about the 10%.

Attractiveness of the region in the last decade

The only data available after 2011 are estimations. The new Scottish Census will take place in 2022 (the delay of one year is due to the Covid-19 pandemic).

Estimation of migrant population 2011-2020

The National Records of Scotland (NRS) estimates that in 2003 about 2000 people among the North Ayrshire population was not born in UK. This group seems to have become larger in the following years, and apart from 2015 this population was always estimated to be around 3000 to 4000. Unfortunately, those estimates are far from being reliable as indicated by the fact that their confidence interval oscillates between 1000 and 2000 people.
To produce those estimations of the migrant population at local scale, the Office for National Statistics uses Local Area Migration Indicators, those indicators will allow us to grasp some trend in the North Ayrshire migrant population. Only some indicators are available for our local authority – migration flows (long-term international), migrant national insurance number (NINO) registrations, births to non-UK born mothers GP registrations – while other are missing, notably GP registrations, short-term migration.

Long-Term International Migration (LTIM) estimates

The Long-Term International Migration (LTIM) estimates the number of long-term migrants defined as someone who changes their country of usual residence for a period of at least 1 year. This includes both non-British and British nationals (as shown in the fig.1). LTIM estimations are based on data from the International Passenger Survey (IPS) that collects information from passengers as they enter or leave the UK (White 2018).
The net between the flows from abroad to the North Ayrshire and those from the North Ayrshire to abroad is negative meaning that there are significantly more people leaving than arriving. In the period from 2011-2012 to 2018-2019 the balance between those leaving and those arriving was of -944 units. In particular, during the worst years of the great recession more than 300 people outflowed each year from the North Ayrshire e.g. to find better opportunities abroad or to return to their home country after losing their job in the UK. The net counting remains negative until 2019 as a consistent number of people (UK or non-UK nationals) continued to leave this area to go overseas.
Another indicator of the migrant presence is the National Insurance number (NINo) registrations. NINos are required by non-UK nationals for employment (including self-employment), benefit and tax credit purposes in the UK. The series includes short-term migrants but excludes migrants who do not register for a NINo such as those studying or dependants. In the period 2011-2019, such as the period after the last census, also analysed for the LTIM data, 2.091 migrants registered for a NINo, that corresponds to the migrants who arrived and needed to register, so it...
represents only a portion of them and it does not provide information of how long they remained.

In 2011 there were 165 NINo registration, this number declined in 2012 and showley restart to increased until 2016 (210), then they quite halved in 2018 (118). Those trends also echoe those of the general population as highlighted by Spenger et al. (2020) in relation to the depopulation trends the North Ayrshire.

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**Migrants contribution to the local birth rate**

A further indicator, “Births to mothers born outside the UK” allows to appreciate the contribution of migrants to the maintain the natural balance, that we saw it is crucial in the decline of the North Ayrshire population. While the non UK-born population was only 2.5% in 2011 (Data Source: 2011 Census), the births from non-UK born mothers were 3.6% (52 births) of all the births occurred in the North Ayrshire. In 2019, while the actual number of births from non UK-born mothers was very close to that of 2011 (57), they represented 5.1% of all the births occurred in North Ayrshire.

Generally, we could see how migrants contribute to the North Ayrshire births in a proportionally more important way than natives: e.g. in 2011 (the last data that is not an estimation) migrants represented 2.5% of the North Ayrshire population while they contributed to 3.6% of the births. And how one in every 20 births come from a migrant mother.

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**Graph 7 - Data Source: Office for National Statistics (ONS)**
Syrian refugees in North Ayrshire

Further recent data are available from the Home Office for specific migrant groups. Among those, the Home Office provide data regarding the number of persons resettled in the United Kingdom under the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme until June 2021. In North Ayrshire were resettled 201 Syrian refugees (Home Office, Immigration Statistics), 6 families were housed in Ardrossan, 5 in Saltcoats, 4 in Stevenson, 5 in Dalry, 6 in Kilbirnie, 4 in Kilwinning, 9 in Irvine. All of them where housed in Council houses. Of them three families left (21 persons) while 19 babies were born in North Ayrshire from Syrian refugee families since the beginning of the programme in 2015 (Data provided by the local Council Refugee team).

Europeans who decided to remain – Resettlement Status requests in North Ayrshire

Recent data are also available on EU migrants who applied for the EU Settlement Status, that if granted allow them to continue to leave in the United Kingdom after the 31st June 2021. At the end of March 2021, such as three months before the deadline, 1190\(^63\) applications were submitted by EU nationals living in the North Ayrshire. Of them 140 were from minors (under 18 years old), 970 from people between 18 and 64 years old and 80 from people in pensioner age.

Among 1190 those application, 450 were from Polish nationals (38% of all those submitted); 110 from Italians (9%), 100 from Germans and Romanians (8% each), 50 were from Hungarian and Spanish (4% each). 40 were from French and Netherland people, 30 from (3% each). See the table for the other nationalities. 2% of the requests (20) came from non-EEA national. Of those application, 370 were processed and 230 granted settlement status, while 130 granted pre-settlement status (Data Source: Home Office).

\(^{63}\) Please note that all the following figures are rounded to the closest ten.
Social inequality

Multiple deprivation in North Ayrshire

We will explore in this section the deprivation in North Ayrshire through the lens of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. We will describe the data from 2004 (when the indicator was firstly available) and focus notably on the last 10 years (2012 and 2020). SIMD is an area-based measure of relative deprivation: not every person in a highly deprived area will themselves be experiencing high levels of deprivation.

North Ayrshire in 2020 was the 5th most deprived Council area in Scotland. Of the 186 data zones in North Ayrshire 50 (such as 27%) were in the 15% most deprived in Scotland, and notably in the domains of employment, income and health. This number rise significantly if we consider the 20% most deprived (74 or 40%). The 15% most deprived areas are notably located in the locality of Three Towns (Ardrossan, Stevenston and Saltcoats) and Irvine (see Map 1 and table 2) where they represent about respectively 39% and 36% of all the data zones, as they have a consistent population (about 750 per zone) that means that in Three Towns and Irvine about two in every five people live in deprived areas. In Kilwinning and in the Garnock Valley where those deprived areas seem apparently less present, they represent 27% and 26% of the all data zones, such as that

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<tr>
<td>Most deprived 0-5%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Most deprived 6-10%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Most deprived 11-15%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most deprived 0-15%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>+6</td>
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Table 1 - Number of North Ayrshire data zones in most deprived 5%, 10% 10% and 15% (2004-2020). Source: Scottish Government 2020
over one quarter of the population in Kilwinning and in the Garnock Valley live there. Since 2012, the number of areas among the 15% most deprived of Scotland located in North Ayrshire increased. Two more areas were considered among the most deprived in Irvine, one in Kilwinning and in Garnock Valley, two in the North Coast. On the contrary, in the Tree Towns, two areas were considered not anymore among the 15% most deprived (but still among the 20% most deprived) of Scotland. A slightly better access to employment seems the driver of this small change (Scottish Government Data, SIMD 2012 and 2020).

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<tr>
<td>Irvine</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilwinning</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Towns (Stevenston, Ardrossan, Saltcoats)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garnock Valley (Kilbinnie, Beith, Dalry)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Coast (Skelmorlie, Larg, West Kilbride and Seamill, Fairlie)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arran</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
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</table>

Table 3: Number of datazones in 15% most deprived in Scotland by North Ayrshire Locality Area (2004-2020). Data source: Scottish Government, Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), 2020

The maps following represent the spatial distribution of the Scottish data zones in North Ayrshire and their ranking among all Scottish data zones according Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. They were created using the cartographic tool provided by the Scottish government.

64 [https://simd.scot/#/simd2020/BTTTFTT/9/-4.0000/55.9000/](https://simd.scot/#/simd2020/BTTTFTT/9/-4.0000/55.9000/)
Map 7 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation in 2020 in North Ayrshire's data zones Source: Scottish Government

Map 8 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation in 2012 in North Ayrshire's data zones. Source: Scottish Government
Health inequality

A key indicator composing the multiple deprivation assessment in North Ayrshire concerns health and is described as the share of people living with a long-term condition that limited their daily activities in some way. According to the Scottish Health Survey, in the period 2014-2017 in Ayrshire & Arran was living the largest share of people living with a long-term condition (47%), close to half of the interviewed population – a significantly higher proportion than the average Scottish (women 34%, men 30%). At local authority scale the people living with a long-term condition were 44% of those interviewed in North Ayrshire.

According to the Scottish Health Survey, in the years 2014-2018 Ayrshire and Arran registered also one of the highest share of overweight (a data that includes obesity) population, 70% of the interviewed population, this share was higher at local authority scale for the North Ayrshire: more than 7 people in every ten (72%). At national level, 65% of the Scottish population was overweight, a higher share of overweight population than the North Ayrshire was found only in the Western Isles and the Orkney, both 73%. Obesity itself was consequently recurrent, affecting about one third of the interviewed population (33% both at regional and local scale), a higher share than the Scottish average (30% for women and 28% for men, the highest regional data were found in the Western Isle, 34% and in the Shetland, 37%). Women were particularly represented, about two in every five (39%) interviewed women in North Ayrshire were obese.

The proportion of individuals reporting a doctor-diagnosed cardiovascular condition was significantly higher than the Scottish average (men 17%, women 15%) in Ayrshire & Arran where one in every five-interviewed people (20% at regional and 21% at local authority scale) were diagnosed with a CVD, the highest regional and local shares (Scottish Government 2018).

Concerning the most recent year, in 2020 one in every five persons in North Ayrshire were prescribed drugs for anxiety, depression or psychosis (Scottish Government Data,
SIMD 2020), slightly higher than the Scottish average (19%). At data zone scale, notably in the towns of Irvine and Saltcoats, up to one in every three persons were prescribed drugs (30% to 33% in eight data zone areas in those towns).

At data zone scale, high share of prescriptions is not correlate to the area deprivation, on the contrary among the Scottish 10% most deprived areas situated in North Ayrshire we could find a lower rate of people being prescribed drugs for anxiety, depression or psychosis than in those areas who are among the less deprived of Scotland. This can be interpreted in terms of a higher challenge for people living in deprived areas to access services aimed at the mental health.

As concern the Syrian refugees, the difficulty to access to counselling through the National Health Service has been assessed in the former interviews. Consequently, the Council provides this service by directly employing a counsellor (Caputo and Baglioni 2020). Among the 201 persons living in North Ayrshire only 7 received prescriptions for anti-
depressants, however the compliance is much lower. 36 people have long term conditions both physical and mental, such as 18% of this population.

Access to services

Public housing

In this section, we will explore the social housing in North Ayrshire, in relation notably to the country of birth of the renter and its spatial distribution among the most deprived areas of the local authority.

At local authority scale, social rented housing constituted 26% of all North Ayrshire housing in 2017. Only in few local authorities this share was higher, orderly West Dunbartonshire (37%), Glasgow City (34%), North Lanarkshire (30%), Clackmannanshire (29%), Dundee City (28%), East Ayrshire (27%), Falkirk (27%). The Scottish average was 23%.

In the North Ayrshire, there were more than 18,000 social houses in the late 1990s, a figure that saw a strong decrease in the first decade of the 2000s: it decreased to 13,500ca in 2009. In the second decade, the number of social rented accommodation continued overall to decrease but at much slower pace as they were just above 13,000 in 2009. If we look comparatively at the North Ayrshire social housing, the reduction of the stock was comparatively less important.
than what occurred in Scotland in general. This is showed by the fact that the North Ayrshire housing stock represented an increasing percentage of the Scottish social housing stock (from 2.9% in 1998 to 4.1% in 2009). In the same time, the local population changed from 2.7% of all Scottish population to 2.5% in 2020.

North Ayrshire Social Housing stock as %

Scottish stock

![Graph 10 - Public sector housing stock in North Ayrshire as at 31 March as % of the all Scottish Public sector housing stock. Source: Scottish Government, Annual Return of Local Authority Housing Stock. Mid-year population estimates: Scotland and its council areas, Scotland and its council areas by single year of age and sex 1981 to 2020, National Records of Scotland.]

Public housing by migration background of the households

Concerning the people living in the social rented accommodation, in the North Ayrshire in the period between 2013 to 2017 (see complete date in the appendix), 96% were born in Scotland, 2.0% in the rest of the UK, 1.3% in the rest of Europe, 0.6% in the rest of the world. Comparing with Scotland in general, only 86% of the people living in social rented accommodation were born in Scotland, while 6% in UK, 4% in the rest of Europe and 3% in the rest of the world. Furthermore, North Ayrshire was the second Scottish local authority in terms of share of people born in Scotland living in its social rented accommodation; and among the local authorities (the fifth one) with the lowest proportion non UK-born people living in social rented accommodations, in order Aberdeen City, Scottish Borders, Edinburgh, Na h-Eileanan Siar, Shetland Islands and North Ayrshire.
**Public housing spatial patterns: share of social housing in most deprived areas**

Finally, we would like to discuss the spatial distribution of the social housing among the deprived areas of the North Ayrshire. 62% of the households living in social rented accommodation from 2013 to 2017, was living in the 20% most deprived areas of the North Ayrshire. This share is the fifth highest, after Glasgow City (82%), Dundee City (81%), Inverclyde (66%) and Renfrewshire (63%).

**Territorial access to services: mobility analysis**

As examined by Spenger et al. (2020) North Ayrshire is periurban area, such as a transition zone when rural and urban mix. This local authority has been classified as mostly rural (ibid.) and the majority of the population live in its towns: Irvine, Kilwinning, Largs, Ardrossan, Saltcoats and Stevenston. In the framework of this spatial configurations, we will discuss how the North Ayrshire population access fundamental services by public transport and by car. In this sense, we discuss some geographic indicators used to calculate deprivation in 2020 (data source: Scottish Government, SIMD 2020).
The average drive times by car to a GP surgery, post office or primary school in North Ayshire is calculated as 7 minutes or less from all of the listed localities. As regards the access to the secondary schools, the travel time by car is calculated as 16 minutes from the North coast (in particular Largs Central and Cumbrae), 14 minutes from Arran and more than 10 minutes from different localities of the Garnock Valley.

We could appreciate that the secondary schools are the destination with a higher drive time (as highlighted by Spenger et al. 2020), nevertheless they are easily accessible by car. The time travel by car seem consistent with the geography of the local authority and its population distribution among different towns and with many services provided in loco. Unfortunately, we are unable to compare the accessibility of secondary school by public transport as the data are not available. The issue is yet relevant as the degree of accessibility of the secondary school by public transport is often a determinant in young people opportunities (Gristy 2017).
Travel times by public transport to essential services seems to confirm the hypothesis of high accessible basic services. The post office and the GP surgeries seems accessible from any locality in less than 15 minutes (apart than Fairlie and rural, 16 minutes). Very low also the travel time to the post office that is reachable in less than 14 minutes. A different analysis need to be done in relation to the access to the retail centres who are accessible in less than 26 minutes. The longest travel time was found in Irvine (Irvine Bourtreehill and...
Dreghron, 24 minutes) and in the North Coast (West Kilbride and Seamill 26 minutes). We expect retail centres to be located at the border or outside the town, e.g. in industrial areas and to be aimed at being accessed notably by car.

In conclusion, the geography of the North Ayrshire structured around its towns does explain the easy access to basic service. Nevertheless, this analysis does not allow to draw a comprehensive understanding of mobility as it would require the understanding of the local population’s access to specialised services (e.g. hospitals) and to others essential life-places like the workplace.

Graph 13 – Average travel time by public transport to diverse destinations in North Ayrshire. Source: Scottish Government Data, SIMD 2020.

www.matilde-migration.eu
Local population’ assessment of services

In this section, we discuss about the perception of public services by people in North Ayrshire as described by the Scottish Household Survey; this will enable us to explore the point of view of the local population as user of those services.

Graph 14 - Percentage of people very or fairly satisfied with the quality of public services delivered (local health services, local schools and public transport) by year (Scotland). Source: Scottish Household Survey 2010 - 2019.

Graph 15 represents the evolution of Scottish people’s grade of satisfaction with three of the main public services provided by local authorities such as health services, schools, and transport. For each one, the level of positive feedback is generally higher than the 70% of the interviewed from 2010 to 2019.

At national level eight people out of ten or more among the interviewed sample were very or fairly satisfied of the National Health Service. Nevertheless, this appreciation encountered a significant decline since 2012: from 86% to 80%. This is also the case for the local schools and the public transport. In 2012, more than eight people out of ten (83%) expressed satisfaction for the local schools, they were about seven out ten in 2019 (73%). In the same period satisfaction for public transports dropped from 75% to 68%.
Regarding public transports, that we discussed in the previous section about mobility and travel time from North Ayrshire’s locality to basic services, at local scale about 7 people in every 10 feel very or fairly satisfied with the quality of the service delivered – the curve experience a lot of variation (in the range of 10pp) in the eight years analysed. The satisfaction with the health services seems generally increased over time: seven out of ten people were satisfied in 2012, about eight out of ten in 2019. Local schools satisfied nine out of ten people in 2013, this share dropped in 2017 when only seven out of ten people were very or fairly satisfied of them, in 2019 a new positive trend seems to have started.

Civic participation and engagement: volunteering

Volunteering activities represent an important way to participate to the public and civic life of a community; volunteers guarantee the provision of various types of services and benefits for the local population through a multitude of organizations with various forms such as associations, charities, foundations, or informal groups.
The figures present in this section are part of the Scottish Household Survey, a face-to-face survey of a sample of people in private residencies in Scotland that annually assesses various aspects of the households’ life, among those housing, local services, volunteering, economic activity.

Graphic 8 and 9 compare the estimated percentages of active adults at both the local and national levels subdivided for gender. For the year 2011, there is not data available for the North Ayrshire. As it is possible to see, women participate more to volunteering activities rather than men. The volunteering trends are different at North Ayrshire and Scottish scale; at Scotland level the about one in every four men (26%) and quite one in every three women (30%) have been providing unpaid help to organizations or groups in the last 12 months. In the North Ayrshire, the share of male/female volunteer fluctuate significantly: between 31% (2016) and 16% (2017 – 2018) for men and 37% (2017) and 18% (2018) for women. It is important to bear in mind that these are estimation on random samples, therefore the figures for the same aspect can vary from a year to another, notably in local area where the simple is small. Nevertheless, it is possible to comprehend that women are more likely to volunteer than men at both levels.

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65 Scottish Household Survey - Table 11.2: Whether provided unpaid help to organisations or groups in the last 12 months by gender and year (Scotland – North Ayrshire)
Gender is not the only element to take into account to understand the categories of the volunteers, as socio-economic categories – employment/retirement, household income, and living in deprived areas – seems to play a significant role at both local and national scale.

In Scotland, those who are employed contribute slightly more (28%) than retired population (25%) to the voluntary sector. This trend is confirmed at local scale: in North Ayrshire, the share of volunteers who have a work activity (31%) is higher than that of the retired (26%). Furthermore, a more marked inclination toward volunteering or an easier access of those activities seems to emerge at the local level: employed and retired people in North Ayrshire are more likely to provide unpaid help to organisations or groups than the equivalents at national scale.66

The net household income seems to affect participation levels at both the local and national levels: people living with household that can count on higher incomes are more likely to provided unpaid help to organisations or groups (35% Over GBP 30,000 income and 17% under GBP 15,000)67. This can be generally understood in relation to the fact they may need less to do a paid work. Nevertheless, a considerable percentage (21%) of people living in the 20% of most deprived areas of the local council provide unpaid help to

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67 Ibid.
organizations and groups demonstrating a willingness of solidarity and altruism despite the less privileged economic conditions. At the Scottish level the same data arrive at 16%\textsuperscript{68}.

To comprehend better the contribution of volunteering it is also important to understand the possible impact that these activities can have on their communities.

The national organization Volunteer Scotland provides and estimation of the numbers of hours and economic value generated by volunteers in the North Ayrshire based on data from the 2-year’s survey made in 2016-18\textsuperscript{69}. According to their estimation, around 930 adult people were active during this period generating 4.2 million hours of volunteering activities and a potential economic help of £63.8 million\textsuperscript{70}.

The most recent data concerning the types of organisations that people of North Ayrshire are more inclined to support with their volunteering help (see appendix for completed data). Volunteers in North Ayrshire have a marked inclination toward activities aimed at young people (31%) and children education (23%) as well as activities who have community activism as their core (22%). Physical and sport activities also attract an important share of volunteers (16%). Finally, organisation related to health issues, disability and wellbeing and those with a religious characterisation also attract about 15% and 14% of the interviewees.

Alongside the official activities in organizations and groups, the Scottish Household Survey evaluates also people’s inclination to be involved in informal volunteering. The share of male and female involved in volunteering activities are similar in the North Ayrshire (20% and 21%) and consistently below the Scottish level (34% and 27%). These informal activities of volunteering can vary from help neighbours with household chores to improve the local

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{69} https://www.volunteerscotland.net/for-organisations/research-and-evaluation/data-and-graphs/local-area-profiles/north-ayrshire/
\textsuperscript{70} Explanation of calculated hours volunteered and economic values:
https://www.volunteerscotland.net/media/1646821/calculation_of_economic_value.pdf
environment picking up litter (see appendix for complete data). The most common volunteering activities in the North Ayrshire are “Keeping in touch with someone who is at risk of being lonely (in person, telephoning or e-mailing)” (13%); Babysitting or looking after children (8%); “Doing shopping, collecting pension, collecting benefits or paying bills” (7%).

Economic dimension

This section provides key information about main economic features related to the employment and entrepreneurship in North Ayrshire. These figures are useful to comprehend potential challenges to the employment at local level and the local economy into which local and newcomers can find occupation or start-up their own businesses. All data refer to the general population, no recent data on migrants participation to the local economy at this scale were available.

Inclusion in the regional labour market: unemployment

As examine by Fraser of Allander Institute (2018), in the last two decades, the economic growth in North Ayshire has been minor compared to Scotland in general. The GVA per head in Scotland has grown from less than £15,000 in 1998 to £25,000 in 2016; meanwhile, in Northayrshire, the GVA per head moved from £11,000 in 1998 to £15,000 in 2016 (ibid.).
Furthermore, in analysing these data, the Fraser of Allander Institute (2018) consider two important elements. First, in the years between 2000 and 2016, this council areas had a lower density of job (ratio of total job and local population aged 16 – 64) with an estimate between 0.5 and 0.6. In the same period, Scotland had values between 0.7 and 0.8. This means a scarcity in job positions available in this area. In North Ayshire, unemployment is significantly higher than the Scottish average. In 2007, before the economical crisis, 6.4% of the North Ayshire population aged 16 or more was unemployed while only 4.7% of the Scottish one. Both at Scottish and local level there has been an evident peak of the share of people unemployed in the most critical years of the Great Recession. The peak was reached at Scottish level in 2010, when the unemployed were 8.2% – this share stayed mostly unchanged until 2012 (8.0%). At local level, the peak was reached only in 2013 when 13.5% of the population was unemployed, +6.2% compared with Scoland in general. Immediately after there is a consistent drop (8.1% in 2014) in this share followed by a steady decrease in the next years. Currently the unemployment rate is 5.3% much closer to the Scottish average that is 4.5% of the population aged 16+
Entrepreneurship

The North Ayrshire economy is mostly characterised by enterprises of small dimensions which generally employ less than 49 workers. Enterprises of this size represent the backbone of this local economy; indeed, the businesses of this size have grown from less than 3,000 in 2010 to more than 3,200 in 2019.

This means an increase in local entrepreneurship more able to serve a territory with a low population density spread on a wide area. Alongside, the medium and big size companies have remained the same amount from 2010 to 2019. Therefore, the total businesses have witnessed a growth thanks to small size enterprises: they passed from 3,200 in 2010 to 3,500 in 2019. Those data do not allow to understand the impact of Covid-19 crisis on the local firms.

Enterprises’ size is also related to the type of business. The North Ayrshire local economy has a consistent share of enterprises with 0 - 4 employees in the sectors of “Professional, scientific, and technical activities” (around 450), “Construction” (around 410), and “Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycle” (around 400). In the group of business with 5 - 9 employees, the three main categories are “Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycle” (around 150), “Accommodation and food service activities” (around 220), and “Other service activities” (less than 50).

Enterprises with bigger sizes do not differ significantly from the other groups. In the range 15 - 49 employees, the three main categories are “Wholesale and retail trade; repair of
motor vehicles and motorcycle” (around 50), “Accommodation and food service activities” (less than 50), and “Education, human health, and social work activities” (around 40). Those enterprises with more than 50 employees operate in the sectors of “Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycle” (around 25), “Education, human health, and social work activities” (around 20), and “Manufacturing” (Around 10). There is a low presence of secondary sector and even less of primary, which has less than 250 enterprises with 0 - 4 workers. The categories with the lowest presence of businesses on this territory are the “Information and communication”, “Financial and insurance activities”, and “Real estate activity”. These figures show how the North Ayrshire economy is mostly based on tertiary sectors, it is predominantly composed by services to the local population. This is not an economy where labour-intense or high-investment sectors have the main role (e.g. the manufacturing is very low). Generally, the Ayrshire has a small share of finance, information, and professional service activities compared to Scotland; this area mostly relies on primary and manufacturing industries along with small and medium size businesses in retail (Fraser of Allander Institute, 2018).
North Ayrshire economic activities have not witnessed a decrease and most of them have grown over the years 2010 to 2020. The main exception is the “Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycle” sector that has fall from more than 800 to 700 businesses in 10 years. As well, “Primary industries” and “Financial and insurance activities” have had a decrease of few tens of units. On the contrary, “Professional, scientific, and technical activities” have registered the most consistent increase from around 350 to 500 enterprises, followed by “Administrative and support service activities” from 2005 to
280 and “Manufacturing” from 210 to 260. “Transport and storage” along with “Other services” are the only two that have remained at the same level. It is relevant to underline that North Ayrshire is not grown in key sector as the finance, information, and professional service activities differently from the Scottish level where these have had an increase of 20% (Fraser of Allander Institute, 2018).

**Number of registered private businesses by sector in 2010 and 2020**

Graph 21 - Number of business sites of registered private sector businesses by Local Authority and sector in 2010 and 2020.
Conclusion

This report aimed at discussing key indicators aimed at building a socio-economic understanding of the North Ayrshire and in particular in those areas they will be studied through the participatory action-research.

We could understand the challenges in estimating the migrant population in North Ayrshire. The Scottish government projection have large confidence intervals (often as large as the data itself), so we used other approaches and we did not propose a general figure. This affects the possibility at local scale to organise adequate services for an unknown number/type of users.

We could appreciate that a large area of the North Ayrshire is considered deprived. In the recent years, the deprivation increased significantly with new areas of the North Ayrshire council and notably of Irvine and the Three Towns being ranked among the most deprived of Scotland. Deprivation was related in this a higher share of long term illness and less access to medical prescription for anxiety, depression or psychosis.

We could then appreciate the challenges in terms of health of the North Ayrshire population: 44% of the population lives with a long-term condition that describes as limiting their live. Obesity and cardio-vascular problems contributes significantly to this poor health. In general, North Ayrshire is among the very worst local authorities of Scotland in terms of poor health. This has effect on other spheres, like employment and mobility, dependency on services.

We could appreciate people participation in volunteering activities. We saw how this was dependent by gender, by being in work, and by the income of the household. So, we generate a portrait of most frequent volunteer as a women, still in work and living in a wealthy household. Volunteering has been recognised as a key for entering the labour market and more in general to integrate.
Finally, we could analyse the employment – and see notably the effect of the economic crisis on the employment rate (13% in 2013) and the positive trend (5%) in the most recent years – and the entrepreneurship based in North Ayrshire. We could see a prevalence of small and medium enterprises (less than 50 employees) and that their number increased of about 300 units in the last decade while the number of the enterprises of bigger size remain mostly unchanged. We also explored the local population who could not speak English (about 2000 people) as this was presented as a major challenge in the access to employment.

We could discuss about mobility in relation to access to services and we could appreciate how basic services are quickly reachable by car or by bus, nevertheless we could not analyse any more specialist services, like a health appointment at the hospital. We could see how people have a generally good perception of services and this is true also across deprived areas.

Bibliography


Scottish Government, (2020). Core and Harmonised Question


Appendix

Country of Birth of social renters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>North Ayrshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local health services</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local schools</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>72</td>
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</table>

Percentage of people very or fairly satisfied with the quality of public services delivered (local health services, local schools and public transport) in 20% most deprived areas by Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (Scotland and North Ayrshire, 2019). Source: Scottish Household Survey.
## Types of organizations or groups for which adults provided help in the last 12 months (North Ayrshire, 2019) Source: Scottish Household Survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of organizations or groups</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth / children</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s education and schools</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local community or neighbourhood</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical activity, Sport and exercise (coaching, organising or helping out)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, disability and wellbeing</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and belief</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies and recreation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and heritage</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal welfare</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups aimed at supporting older people</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Unions, justice and human rights</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency services, first aid and public safety</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental protection</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult guidance, advice and learning</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
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## Types of informal volunteering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of informal volunteering</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keeping in touch with someone who is at risk of being lonely (in person, telephoning or e-mailing)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babysitting or looking after children</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing shopping, collecting pension, collecting benefits or paying bills</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routine household chores eg cooking, cleaning, laundry, gardening</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing transport or accompanying someone away from home</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing advice or support with letters or forms or speaking with others on someone else behalf</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car or home maintenance or repairs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping with personal care (e.g. washing, dressing)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping someone else to improve a skill</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping to improve your local environment e.g. litter picking, but not as part of an organised activity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping someone else to be more active</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anything else</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Types of Informal Volunteering activity in the last 12 months (North Ayrshire, 2018).
UK: Outer Hebrides

Author(s): M.L. Caputo, M. Bianchi, S. Baglioni

Summary

- In 1998, 31,550 people lived on the Outer Hebrides; in 2019, 26,500 were registered as residents. These figures show the constant process of de-population.
- In 2019-20, the migration net estimation was negative.
- In 2011 Census, all non-UK born were 3% (795) of the Western Isle’s population.
- Since June 2011, 34 Syrian refugees were resettled on the Outer Hebrides.
- At the end of March 2021, 420 applications were submitted for the EU resettlement status.
- In 2016, the Private Sector House Conditions Survey found that 86% of private accommodation were under-occupied meaning that they had at least one bedroom surplus.
- In 2020, the share of vacant homes were 5.3% (approx. 788).
- In 2021, the Hebridean Housing Partnership manages 2224 social rented houses. The share of dwellings born outside the UK is 4%.
- Comparing travel times by car and public transport, the private vehicle can ensure autonomy and drastic reduction in average travel time. In many areas, there is an average drive time between 20 to 30 minutes to arrive at local services such as GP surgery, post office and retail.
- People’s level of satisfaction with local services is generally high. 81% for health services, 59% for local schools and 60% for public transport in 2019.
- Estimations show that people on the Outer Hebrides are generally more like to be in employment (unemployment rate was 3.7% in 2020).
- In 2018 and 2019, the portion of pupils who chose to learn Gaelic in primary schools was 59%.
Introduction

The MATILDE project aims to assess migrants’ socio-economic impact on European rural and mountain areas. The Work Package 5 in particular works to create a shared assessment of newcomers’ impact and local-based strategies for their integration. This working package is realised together with local partners and stakeholders involving them into a participatory process of research and evaluation. The main goal is to co-design proposals for implementing local-based solutions and projects to respond to partners and stakeholders’ challenges related to migrants’ socio-economic integrations.

This report is the first step made by the University of Parma research team to accomplish WP5 goals in the MATILDE case study region of the Outer Hebrides. The researchers have invited local stakeholders to participate in a Case Study Working Group (CSWG). Among them, about half were already involved in the previous work packages (WP3 and WP4) and half are new partners that have been engaged in this work package only. The research team co-leads the activities on the field with Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA), and notably with their Migration, population and diversity team. At the local level, the Outer Hebrides Council and members of local economy and third sector are active parts of this CSWG.

This document reports key data and information for the next step of the MATILDE research project, which will be a series of participatory research activities inspired by the “Community-based Participatory Action Research” paradigm. Each section presents an indicator selected by the CSWG to enable a deeper understanding of fundamental aspects of this territory and comprehend the relevance of migrations in these aspects. The main theme that leads the CSWG work is “Small numbers matter”; the idea is to develop a new holistic view on the impact of migration to the Western Islands for the sustainability of the local communities and is going to point those dynamics where even a micro-level change
can be significant (e.g. the arrival or departure of a family with children). The chosen indicators relate to the social, territorial, economic and cultural sphere.

What is known about the context from previous analysis is that the social dynamics of migrants’ inclusion and the economic role that newcomers have on communities on these islands (Caputo and Baglioni, 2021). Although the population seems to highly valuate the conservation of the local cultural heritage (e.g. Gaelic language widely spoken by many locals), the islanders seem to have also an inclusive approach towards newcomers recognising their contribution to their communities. This area is predominantly against Brexit, as demonstrated by the referendum 2016 results, nevertheless it seems to contribute to the difficulties to attract newcomers to the Western Isles and implement the local workforce and sustain services.

In this sense, this report will focus its attention on how small numbers of migrant can support the sustainability of Western Islands’ community by trying to fill the lack of demographic data on the migrant population by describing general trends and the few recent available data for EU migrants and refugees, by describing the sectors that constitute a challenge for attracting newcomers (e.g. housing, mobility, accessibility of services, language skills both in English and Gaelic) and those that can represent an incentive (like rich presence of job opportunities and of enterprises), and by providing an overview on key indicators on the conservation of the cultural local heritage (e.g. the pupils participation in Gaelic education).
Demography of the Western Isles

Population and migrations in/to the Western Isles

In this section, we will explore the general trends of the general population living in the Western Isles. According to the National Records of Scotland (NRS), the population in the Outer Hebrides experienced an important decrease since 1981. According to their estimates, in 1981 about 31,550 people lived in the Western Isles but the population decreased constantly until 2002 when the population was diminished of 5,200 people, about 1/6 of the initial population. While the population increased of about 1,350 people in 2011, the recent estimates portrait a new decrease. In 2019, according to the NRS, 26,500 were living in the Outer Hebrides in 2019. As regards the general migration trends to and out of the Outer Hebrides, between 2003 and 2019 in three moments the migration net was notably positive: in 2004-05 (270 persons), in 2009-10 (170 persons) and in 2016-17 (160 persons). The net migration of people in working age was notably positive in 2003 to 2005 (about 125 persons per year), in 2009-10 (86 persons) and in 2016-17 (53 persons). In the period between 2010 and 2016 the migration NET for the working age population remained always negative. In 2019-20, according to those estimates, the migration NET for all age groups was slightly
negative.

Graph 12 - NET Migration from/to the Western Isles by age between 2003 and 2020. Source: National Records of Scotland (NRS)

Distribution of the migrant population across the Outer Hebrides islands according to the 2011 census

In this section, we will explore the spatial distribution in the Outer Hebrides of the population born outside the United Kingdom. We will use for this purpose the last Census data (2011) as they are the only available. In 2011, all the non-UK born were 3% (795 persons) of the Western Isles' population (26,739 persons). The people born in a third country were 1.7% (447 persons) while 1.3% (348) were born in a country member of the European Union.

The EU nationals were representing the largest subgroup, 348 people, the majority of them (182 persons) were born in a country who was member of the EU before March 2001. Among them, people born in Germany were the most represented (83 persons). Among the
people born in an EU country that joined after March 2001\textsuperscript{71}, people born in Poland (55 persons) and Latvia (43 persons) were the most represented. Among the people born in a third country, 22\% was born in North America (100 persons), 18\% in Southern Asia (81 persons), 11\% in South and Eastern Africa (51 persons), about 11\% in Oceania (47 persons), and 9\% in South-East Asia (42 persons).

\textsuperscript{71} With the 2004 Enlargement the following countries joined the EU: Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. With the 2007 Enlargement: Bulgaria and Romania. With the 2013 Enlargement: Croatia.
Analysed at ward scale, in 2011 the non-UK born population was more represented in the areas of Stornoway South (162 persons, 4.3% of the local population) and North (125, 3.3%), in Mid Lewis (109, 3.2%), in Benbecula and North Uist (113 person, 3.8%). The EU born population was more important in Benbecula and North Uist (73 persons), while the people born in a third country were notably represented in Stornoway (South, 110 persons, and North, 74 persons). Always using 2011 Census data, it was also possible to explore the migrants’ data of arrival and the portion of young people among them. Migrants were defined again as people born outside the UK. Among all the people born outside the UK living in the Outer Hebrides, 22% were born in a EEA (European Economic Area) country and arrived within 10 years (such as since 2001) from the census while 19% arrived before 2001. Always among all the people born outside the UK living in the Outer Hebrides 21% arrived in the UK within 10 years from the census (since 2001) while 37% arrived before 2001. 1% was born in third country, aged 16 to 24 and arrived within the past two years.

Attractiveness of the region in the last decade

Unfortunately, the only data available after 2011 are estimations. The new Scottish Census will take place in 2022 (the delay of one year is due to the Covid-19 pandemic). To estimate the migrant population at local scale, the Office for National Statistics collects Local Area Migration Indicators that should enable the comparison of data published by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), National Records of Scotland (NRS), the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) and Patient Register Data Services (PRDS) to gain an indication of migration at a local level.
In the case of the Outer Hebrides, estimated figures for non-UK born population or non-British are not available or poorly reliable as those populations are too small to build reliable estimations. Nevertheless, the available indicators can help appreciate the current trends: migration flows and in particular long-term international migration, migrant national insurance number (NINO) registrations, births to non-UK born mothers and the very recent EU Settlement Status. Those data describe different groups of migrants, type of migration and their different immigration status (see figure 1) and none of them can provide a comprehensive picture of the migrant population.

Long-Term International Migration (LTIM) estimates the number of long-term migrants defined as someone who changes their country of usual residence for a period of at least 1 year. LTIM estimations are based on data from the International Passenger Survey (IPS) that collects information from passengers as they enter or leave the UK (White 2018). The Long-Term International Migration NET has been negative after 2010 until 2014, such as the outflows outnumbered the inflows. From 2014 to 2017 there is a small positive net

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Figure 2 Source Office for National Statistics, in White 2018, p. 10)
(always less than 20 persons). Since 2017, the balance between outflows and inflows is slightly negative (less than 10 persons).

LTIM needs to be compared with the Migrant National Insurance number (NINo) registrations. NINos are required by non-UK nationals for employment (including self-employment), benefit and tax credit purposes in the UK. The Migrant National Insurance number (NINo) registrations is a comprehensive measure of adult overseas nationals entering the UK and registering for a NINo irrespective of length of stay. The series includes short-term migrants but excludes migrants who do not register for a NINo (such as those studying or dependants). NINos follow a similar path than the inflows of the LTIM: from 2012 there is a decline in the arrival of newcomers and consequently less requests for NINo. After 2012, both international migrations and NINo registrations increase until 2017 with a peak of NINo registrations (75) in 2016-17 and in the same year of LTIM arrivals (72). Since 2017 a reduction in the arrival of international long-term migrants in the area is accompanied by a decreased number of NINo registrations.
A further indicator, “Births to mothers born outside the UK” allows to perceive the contribution of migrants to the maintain of the population through its natural grow. From 2010 to 2019, between 8 to 26 birth were from mothers born outside the UK. While all the non UK-born people were 3% in 2011, the births from mothers born outside the UK were 5.5% in 2011 and 8.5% in 2013, 10.9% in 2016 and 5% in 2019. Therefore, we can conclude that migrants contribute to the Outer Hebrides births in a proportionally more important way than natives: e.g. in 2011 (the last data that is not an estimation) migrants represented 3% of the population while they contributed to 5.5% of the births.
groups. Among those, the Home Office provide data regarding the number of persons resettled in the United Kingdom under the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme until June 2021. In the Outer Hebrides were resettled 34 Syrian refugees (Home Office, Immigration Statistics). Recent data are also available on EU migrants who applied for the EU Settlement Status. At the end of March 2021, 420\textsuperscript{72} applications were submitted by EU nationals living in the Outer Hebrides. Of them 50 were from minors (under 18 years old), 340 from people between 18 and 64 years old and 20 from people in pensioner age.

Among 420 those application, 90 were from Polish nationals (21\% of all those submitted); 90 from Latvians (21\%), 50 from Romanians (12\%), 40 from Germans (10\%), 20 were from French, Lithuanian, Netherlander and Spanish nationals (5\% each), finally 10 were from Bulgarians and Italians (2\% each). Of those application, 400 were processed and 250 granted settlement status, while 140 granted pre-settlement status (Data Source: Home Office). The applications were open until the end of June 2021, but the data on this last three months are not available yet.

Considering the number of the EUSS applications until March 2021, we can conclude that the number of EU nationals living in the Western Isles increased since 2011 of at least 70 people.

Access to services

Housing Scarcity

In this section, we consider the stock of private housing and the related problem of affordability of a private accommodation for newcomers. According to the local council (CNES 2017), in 2017 over 8 out of 10 households lived in privately owned or rented housing and most of the housing stock consists of larger homes with 3 or more bedrooms. As

\textsuperscript{72} Please note that all the following figures are rounded to the closest ten.
regards the tenure, according to the 2011 Census, 73% of the private housing stock was with owner-occupation, 18% was social rented, 7% was private rented and 3% other.

“The Outer Hebrides has a very unique stock profile with owner-occupation being the predominant tenure. The large percentage of owner-occupation (73.0%) is due to the crofting landholding system in the Islands where dwellings are single family units and have been in private ownership for many years” (ibid. p.32).

The local Private Sector House Condition Survey in 2016 found that there were 10,450 private households (such as households in the private sector) composed of 21,892 people, that means that the households were composed in average of 2.1 persons. Coherently 86% of those accommodations were under-occupied meaning that they had at least one bedroom surplus (44% were occupied by single pensioners), while only 1.7% had insufficient bedrooms to meet family needs and are overcrowded. Always according the Private Sector House Condition Survey, the largest share of owner-occupation 89% is in the crofting landholding system where dwellings are single family units. 11% were private rented.

The average age of the population was 48 years with 42.6% of household aged 65+. The 2020 Household Estimates released by the National Records of Scotland (NRS) estimated that 8.1% (approx. 1,192 houses) of the dwellings in the Outer Hebrides were vacant. They relevantly increased since 2011, when the vacant accommodations were 909. The share of vacant homes is the highest of all Scottish local authorities, the closest figure was registered in the Shetlands, where 7% of the dwelling were estimated being vacant.

As regards the second homes, according to the same source, in 2020 they were 5.3% (approx. 788 houses), their number decreased since 2011 when the vacant accommodations were 921. The share of second homes in the Outer Hebrides was the second highest of Scotland after Argyll and Bute. The long-term empty homes in the Outer Hebrides were 4.3% in 2020 (629 homes), their number increased significantly since 2011 (288). This is second highest rate of Scotland, after the Shetland Islands (5.2%). Always according to the
NRS estimates, in 2020 the average size of an household in the Outer Hebrides was 2.04 persons, with a decrease of 7.7% since 2010. The share of under-occupied accommodation, together with the high share of owner occupier tenure and of second homes seems to strongly reduce the availabilities of accommodations for rent on the market.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Airbnb</th>
<th>Hebrides Property Finder.com</th>
<th>Rightmove.com</th>
<th>Western-island-properties.Com</th>
<th>Onthe market.com</th>
<th>Prime Location.com</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barra</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Uist</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benbecula</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berneray</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isles of Lewis and Harris</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1 - Research of accommodation on specialised letting websites. Research conducted on September 6th 2021.*

The effects of Airbnb on the local real estate market has been examined predominantly in the urban contexts. As Todd et al. (2021) demonstrate in their study of London real estate market, the high density of Airbnb in certain areas can be associated to a moderate rise in local house prices. This is understood as the effect of the constant demand for new spaces associated with a reduction of the available accommodations.

In the case of the Outer Hebrides the Airbnb effect needs to be further explored. From the data collected, it surges that is could be related to the relatively small size of the households compared to the size of the available proprieties and fill the under-occupancy. Nevertheless, as many entire proprieties are available to let on Airbnb we can hypothesize that considering the general structure of the local housing, with a predominance of owner occupancy, Airbnb seems to contribute to the local housing scarcity. Its impact on the house prices and at local scale across the islands need to be further investigated.
Public and social housing

In the Outer Hebrides, in the late 1990 there were about 2,000 council houses, a figure that saw a strong decrease in the first years of the 2000s: the council houses were about 1,800ca in the period between 2003 and 2007. In 2007, the Hebridean Housing Partnership (HHP) started to manage the council stock. The social rented houses available in 2008 were quite 2,100, a number than increased to 2,200 in the very recent years.

In 2017, according to the Council “There are currently 2,211 social rented dwellings throughout the Islands which are managed and maintained by Hebridean Housing Partnership (HHP), the only mainstream social landlord in the Outer Hebrides. This sector is currently the main means of meeting affordable housing need in the Islands. Trust Housing Association (THA) own and manage the remaining 62 social housing units which are used for sheltered housing in Stornoway Town Centre. Stornoway HMA has the highest rate of social renting at over 21%, reflecting the fact that nearly half of all social rented properties are located in this area” (CNES 2017, Outer Hebrides Local Housing Strategy 2017-2022).

Stock Social Housing

Graph 6 - Public sector housing stock on the Outer Hebrides as at 31 March, 1998-2019. Source: Scottish Government, Annual Return of Local Authority Housing Stock and Hebridean Housing Partnership.

Regarding the households renting those accommodations, we could explore the share of migrant population who live in social housing. Three in every four households are
Scottish, while 19% are born in the rest of the UK, 4% in the rest of Europe and 1% in a Third Country. Compared with the others Scottish Local Authority, the Outer Hebrides are the fourth local authority for diversity of residents.

Country of Birth of social renters (random adult in household), 2013 to 2017, by local authority

Graph 7 - Country of Birth of social renters (random adult in household), 2013 to 2017, by local authority. Data source: Scottish Government

Considering the territorial subdivision of social housing, the area of Stornoway has the larger share of these accommodation (21%) as well as the largest demand for social housing (59% of the requests or 586 demands in 2017); recent report from HHP still confirms this trend\(^73\). The next largest areas of demand are Back/Tong in Lewis (5% of all applicants) and Tarbert in Harris (5%). Creagorry/Kileravagh in Benbecula had the next highest demand with 5% of all applicants.

\(^73\) HHP Report & Financial Statements For the Year Ended 31 March 2021
Mobility by car and public transport to essential services.

Mobility is a key indicator to comprehend the liveability of a place; the graphs in this section show the accessibility of various services by car and public services.

Graph 8 presents the average travel time by car to arrive at GPs, post offices, schools and retail shops. These are fundamental services for residents and indicators of whether a community is remote or not. The place with closest destinations is Stornoway – both East and West side - where all the categories of services are within 5 minutes of driving by car. This demonstrates how this area is populated with services fairly close to people who live there.

In most of the locations on the Outer Hebrides, services are relatively close to residents' houses (within 10 minutes driving by car); in Point it is necessary to drive averagely 15 minutes to arrive at a GP and retails, as well in Broadbay. In Harris, the value
raises to 17 minute for post office and retail. The highest values for average driving time by car are in North (33 minutes) and South Lewis (31 minutes) for retail meaning a considerable aspect of remoteness for those who live there for arriving at retails. It is important to consider that only this destination has long distance because for the other three the values are under 10 minutes driving by car; therefore, the remoteness is relatively.

Graph 9 reports the travel times by public transports on the Outer Hebrides; it is evident how the average times grow compared to those by car. Except for the area of Stornoway, which has values proximate to 5 minutes, post office in Barra and South Uist (14 minutes) and GP and post office in Northwest Lewis (14 minutes), all the other areas present times over the 20 minutes. Indeed, in many areas on the Outer Hebrides there is an average travel time between 20 and 30 minutes to arrive at the three destination under analysis. North and South Lewis also in this classification have the highest values for retail with 46 and 56 minutes to arrive at a retail shop. General consideration is that on the Outer Hebrides the private vehicle is a fundamental element for improving the personal liveability because along with the average travel times by public transport, it is necessary to consider also the

www.matilde-migration.eu
frequency of them. The private vehicle can ensure autonomy and a drastic reduction of travel times in many areas particularly for those who have the residency far away from towns and villages. This is a considerable aspect examining the migration phenomenon because it is rare that newcomers arrive with their own vehicle or immediately buy one (considering also that many of them are seasonal workers). Therefore they have to rely mostly on public transport and be less independent and connected with local services.

People’s Satisfaction with Local Public Services.

This section provides a general overview regarding levels of satisfaction and grade of appreciation that people on the Outer Hebrides have about local services as described by the Scottish Household Survey data.

Graph 10 - Percentage of people very or fairly satisfied with the quality of local health services, by year (Scotland and Outer Hebrides). Source: Scottish Household Survey.

The local health system (data for 2011 from the Outer Hebrides is not available) is generally well rated at Scottish level meaning an overall adequate service for the regional needs. Between 2014 and 2019 the local level the health services are generally more appreciated in the Western Isles than in Scotland in general.
Regarding education, in the Outer Hebrides local schools are increasingly less appreciated. In 2010 about 90% of the people interviewed were satisfied of the local schools, this number decreased dramatically until 2018 when only 53% expressed their satisfaction. A general negative trend regarding the satisfaction about local schools was registered in Scotland in general, nevertheless not as dramatic as the one registered at local scale. Regarding public transport at both regional and local level, the appreciation for the public transport experienced a decline. At the Scottish level, this decline was minor (-7%) and in 2019 about 68% of the population was satisfied of the public services. At the Outer Hebrides scale, the appreciation for the local public transport decreased from 82% satisfied in 2012 to 60% in 2019.
The Household survey also investigate the reasons of the appreciation of the public services or the challenges encountered by the users. Only one in every 10 interviewees asked to be more involved in the decisions about the public services. As well, only few people (16%) think their opinions can influence decisions on service provisions. This can be an indicator of distrust in the fact that the service providers take into consideration the local population’s feedback and views. About half of the interviewed people think that there is a good communication of the services (48%), two in every five people think that the service delivered is the best for the resources available (41%), that quality of services is high (39%), or the services address key issues (38%). Nevertheless, the interview population seems to have a good opinion of the providers’ ability to communicate performances (66%).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I want greater involvement</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can influence decisions</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good at listening</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressing key issues</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High quality services</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services designed for needs</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does its best with money</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good at communicating services</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good at communicating performance</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 - Percentage agreeing with various statements about local authority services and performances (Outer Hebrides, 2019). Source: Scottish Household Survey.

**Economic dimension**

**Inclusion in the regional labour market: unemployment**

This section provides key information about main economic features related to the employment and entrepreneurship in the Outer Hebrides. These figures are useful to comprehend work opportunities at local level for local and newcomers. No data are available on migrants’ participation as employees or entrepreneurs.

**Unemployment**

![Graph 13 – Unemployment rates among the population aged 16+ in the Outer Hebrides (orange) and Scotland (grey). Data Source: Office for National Statistics (ONS).](image-url)
Estimations show that people living on the Outer Hebrides are generally more likely to be in employment than those living in Scotland in general. A rise of unemployed people was registered in the most critical years of the Great Recession, reaching the highest point in 2009 when 9.2% of the people over 16yo living in those islands were unemployed. Immediately after the unemployment experienced a slow but consistent decline until 2019, where only 1.1% of the adult Western Isles population was unemployed. At the Scottish level the trend is similar; the curve of unemployment grows during the years of economic crisis (up to 8.2%) and then it steadily decreases until 2019 (3.5%). The 2020 Covid-19 recession brought a new increase in the unemployment rate that in the Western Isles reached 3.7% and at national scale 4.5% of the population aged 16 or more (Data Source: Office for National Statistics).

**Number of business sites of registered private sector businesses by sector**

Graph 14 – N. of business sites of registered private sector businesses by sector. Data Source: Office for National Statistics.

Regarding entrepreneurship, in the Outer Hebrides in 2020 were located 7.3% of all Scottish businesses – with an increase from 2010 of +0.3% – while they hosted only 0.5% of the Scottish population in the same year.
The most relevant sector for number of business were: the primary industries (375 enterprises); the wholesale and retail trade and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (175 enterprises); the professional, scientific and technical activities (125 enterprises).

From 2010, the number of businesses in the primary sector increased significantly (+85) as well as that of the professional, scientific and technical activities (+50) as well as the enterprises aimed at administrative and support service activities (+25), manufacturing (+15) real estate activities (+10), Accommodation and food service activities (+10). In the meanwhile the number of enterprises in key sectors for the sustainability of the local communities decreased. It is the case of the enterprises in the sectors of Wholesale and retail trade; Repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (-45), Education, human health and social work activities (-15), Construction (-10) and Transportation and storage (-10).

As regards the size of the enterprises, in 2020 1005 were employing four people or less (+55 comparing to 2010), 195 were employing five to nine people (+30), 75 were

Graph 15 - Enterprises by size (number of employees) in 2020 and 2010. Data Source: Office for National statistics.
employing 10-14 people (+20), 85 were employing 15-49 people (+10), 15 were employing 50+ employees (no change since 2010). Since 2010 we could appreciate an important increase in the number of micro enterprises (up to four employees) and of the small enterprises (less of 50 employees). The number of the other enterprises (more than 50 employees) was on the other hand unchanged. Among the micro enterprises, 34% was operating in the primary sector, 11% professional, scientific and technical activities, 9% wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles, and 8% construction. The small enterprises where notably operating in the sector of wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (21% of all enterprise between 5 and 49 employees) and of the accommodation and food service (18%); they were also significant in the sector of education, human health and social work activities (11%) and in the primary sector (10%). The medium or large enterprises (50+ employees) were notably operating in the fields of manufacturing (33%) and of construction (33%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A, B, D, E</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>K</th>
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<th>P, Q</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4 employees</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 employees</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 employees</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-49 employees</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+ employees</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 – Enterprises in North Ayrshire by number of employees in 2010 and 2020. Source: Scottish Government Business and Innovation Statistics

Civic participation and engagement: volunteering

Information in this section are derived from the Scottish Household Survey section “Volunteering”. Every year, this tool examines samples of Scottish population and presents an estimated picture of the Scottish society.
Volunteering represents a way to participate the social life of local communities and to get in touch with other locals being actively involved in various projects for the common interest. For this reason, it is interesting to examine various aspects of this sector and understand main features of volunteering activities in the Outer Hebrides.

Graph 17 - Whether provided unpaid help to organisations or groups in the last 12 months by female and year (Scotland and Outer Hebrides). Source: Scottish Household Survey.

Looking at graph 16 and 17, the clearest data is the higher level of engagement in volunteering activities in the Outer Hebrides (Data for 2011 from Outer Hebrides are not available). Both male and female lines have a marked inclination toward the altruist and
solidarity actions. While values for Scotland go between 24% and 27% for male and 28% and 31% for female, the percentage of the Outer Hebrides are consistently higher and show an involvement also around the 60% for male (2010) or even above for female (64% in 2012). Although values from the Western Islands show a more consistent involvement of people, it is notable how participation in volunteering activities has had a constant decrease from 2010 to 2019. This is more evident for male, the share of active volunteers in the sample from 2010 was 59% but the value for 2019 is 22%. Same dynamic for the female record which goes from the 55% in 2010, to the 64% in 2011, and then to 30% in 2019, this last one is the lowest point for this line in graph 2. These trends might represent a loss in local social capital which could have affected the general well-being of local communities. Generally, it is possible to see a more consistent participation by the Outer Hebrides but the Scottish value has remained stable over the years, differently from the percentage of people who live in the Western Islands which has drastically decreased.

On the Outer Hebrides, the shares of people economically active and with a job position involved in volunteering activities is slightly higher than those in permanent retirement at both level (28% and 25%)\textsuperscript{74}. It is evident how people with occupation in the Outer Hebrides have more inclination to be active member of the civil society and offer their time and effort to volunteering activities.

Another perspective on the phenomenon of volunteering on the Outer Hebrides is the household income of volunteers. The more the income grows the more the inclination for volunteering is marked. People with over GBP 30,000 income who volunteer are 30% on the Outer Hebrides while those who earn between GBP 15,001 - GBP 30,000 are 23%. Nevertheless, people in the lowest rank on the Outer Hebrides show a higher percentage of volunteering (22%) compared to the Scottish level (18%)\textsuperscript{75}.

\textsuperscript{74} Scottish Household Survey, 2019.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
As main formal volunteering activity\(^76\), the “Local community and neighbourhood” has the higher share of active people involved (31%); this means a considerable commitment towards the local communities and a sense of belonging. The second most common activity is the “Religion and belief” (28%) that can be translated in volunteering for the local parish, or mosque, or synagogue. This expresses a diffused religious sense and belief. Third “Youth and children” (20%), this can involve leisure time and socialization activities for kids and teenagers; being a rural area and having many communities in remote places, the volunteering in these activities can mean the commitment to offer good opportunities for young people to have constructive opportunities.

Generally, people on the Outer Hebrides are willing to give more of their time to volunteering activities. The shares of locals who spend “Between 1 and 5 hours” (40%), “6 to 10 hours” (21%), and “11 to 15 hours” (14%) a month in volunteering are sensibly higher than the Scottish level (respectively 34% - 17% - 7%).

On the Western Islands, people used to be less active in informal volunteering activities than the Scottish level (Male on the Outer Hebrides 29% in Scotland 34% - Female on the Outer Hebrides 28% in Scotland 37%). This can be explained with the consistent involvement in other forms of help and support to others (as examined above).

Considering data about the informal volunteering activities, it is possible to observe how these might respond to certain difficulties exposed in the previous sections. As explained above, the territory of the Outer Hebrides is characterised by considerable distances from certain services and, in general, a dimension of remoteness of many communities. These facts can explain why people who have devoted their time to informal volunteering have opted for certain activities rather than others. Exemplary, that domiciliary assistance for those who need support to take care of themselves is probably well covered by local services (only 2% volunteering for this activity), indeed the grade of satisfaction with health services is high (see section “People’s satisfaction of local services). Residents on the

\(^{76}\) Ibid.
Outer Hebrides have more concern on being closed to those who might suffer the risk to be lonely (19% indicated “Keeping in touch with someone who is at risk of being lonely (in person, telephoning or e-mailing)”). This is an important element in the analysis of remote communities where people might be more easily in the condition of social isolation than in other areas. The second most common form of informal volunteering activity is also related to the remoteness of certain areas of the Outer Hebrides (“Doing shopping, collecting pension, collecting benefits or paying bills” - 8%). As shown in the section “Mobility”, certain residents have to drive from 15 to 35 minutes to arrive at the closest retail shop or even travel more than 50 minutes by public transport. To arrive at a post office the time can be between 10 and 15 minutes by car and more than 15 minutes by public transport in certain areas. In line with this result, 5% of the respondents say that they give help by “providing transport or accompanying someone away from home”; these results also confirm the aspect of support other residents in overcoming the barriers of physical distances, which can be a considerable obstacle if it is not possible to move autonomously. The subsidiary support for other residents is also expressed through “Routine household chores e.g. cooking, cleaning, laundry, gardening” (8%); this indicates that local relationships of help and support can fill in the absence of public and private services that fulfil this kind of needs showing another aspect of the remoteness of these communities.

Cultural dimension

The Gaelic speakers distribution and the new generations of Gaelic speakers

According to 2011 Census, among the people aged 3 years and over, 53% had some skills in Gaelic – 8% understands but does not speak, read or write, 14% speaks but does not read or write Gaelic, 30% speaks, reads and writes Gaelic. 39% of the Outer Hebrides population had no skills in Gaelic. People living in Barra, Vatersay, Eriskay and South Uist
were more likely to speak Gaelic, 65% declared to have some skills and only 27% to have no skills at all. This is the case also for the northern part of Lewis – the ward of West Side & Ness. On the other side, the population of Stornoway and of the nearby Eye peninsula were less likely to speak Gaelic: only 45% in Stornoway North, 43% in Stornoway South and 44% in the Eye Peninsula declared to have some skills. About half of the Stornoway population aged 3 and over declared to do not have any skills at all in Stornoway, 46% in the Eye peninsula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>All people aged 3 and over</th>
<th>Understands but does not speak, read or write Gaelic</th>
<th>Speaks but does not read or write Gaelic</th>
<th>Speaks, reads and writes Gaelic</th>
<th>Speaks but does not read or write Gaelic</th>
<th>No skills in Gaelic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barra, Vatersay, Eriskay and South Uist</td>
<td>3061</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benbecula and North Uist</td>
<td>2862</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>985</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Side &amp; Ness</td>
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Table 5 - Language proficiency: English. All people aged 3 and over Source: National Records of Scotland – 2011 Census.

According to the CNES, in the recent years the choice of Gaelic Medium Education (GME) have proportionally increased among Early Learning and Childcare (ELC) and primary schools across the Western Isles. In the years between June 2014 and 2017 only about half of the children chose Gaelic. In 2018 and 2019, this portion increased to 59% and 58%. In 2019 there was a drop of 15% in Primary 1 GME enrolments corresponding to a four-pupil swing. Nevertheless, the overall primary percentage of primary pupils in Gaelic Medium Education has risen by 1.0%.
English skills among the UK-born population and migrants

Regarding English skills, according to the 2011 Census the proportion of people without any skills ranged from 1.5 in Barra, Vatersay, Eriskay and South Uist to 0.5 in Stornoway North. This population is mostly constituted of UK-born people – only 3 persons where born outside the UK (in a European non-EU country) – and we can assume they speak Gaelic. The population very limited skills (those who only understand English) was also mostly UK-born. Only in Stornoway (North and South), where the population with very limited English skills was 1.5%, the majority was UK-born: only five people among those who only understand English were from EU countries. In total, nine EU-born persons among those living in the Western Isles had very limited English skills and were only able to understand, 25 declared to possess other combination of skills in English. Among the population born in a third country, two people were only able to understand English and twenty people declared to possess other combination of skills.
Conclusion

This report focused its attention on how small numbers of migrants can support the sustainability of Western Islands’ communities by providing an overview on the existing demographic data. We could see how the population non-UK born population in 2011 represented a significant part of the local population (3%) and that the EU nationals were representing the largest subgroup, 348 people. While there are no available data after 2011, could appreciate from the analysis of the International Passenger Survey and other data provided by the Department of Work and Pension and by the Patient Register Data Services, that there has been a decline in the migrants’ arrival and migrant mother contribution to the local birth since 2017. This can be interpreted as a loss of attractiveness of those areas for international migrants, with a timeframe that coincide with that of the Brexit’s results. Nevertheless, analysing the application for the EU Settlement Status we could appreciated that in 2020, the EU nationals living in the Western Isles in 2020 were more than that in 2011.

Table 6 - Language proficiency: Gaelic. All people aged 3 and over Source: National Records of Scotland -2011 Census.
In terms of housing we could see how the social rented sector represent the only opportunity for affordable accommodation and is concentrated notably in Stornoway. This provides a strong asymmetry in term of access to this services across the Western Isles territory that is spread among more than 300km. We could also see how the rental market is strongly oriented at the tourism industry and how there are no advertise for general letting. Nevertheless, this need to be mitigated by the qualitative findings of the previous WPs and weighted on the importance of the mouth to mouth and personal networks in finding a rental accommodation. Further investigations need to be carried to understand notably the impact of the short-let on the availability of rental accommodation and on the house prices.

Regarding mobility, we could appreciate that the important challenges encountered in accessing basic services by car and by public transport notably in the remotest part of the main islands, while on small islands the time travel is reduced. Nevertheless, this analysis does not include more specialised services (e.g. Health services) or secondary schools.

Finally, we looked at the Housing Survey for the satisfaction of the local population vis-à-vis of the public services. We could appreciate a general decline in the appreciation of the public services by the respondents of the survey (280 people). Transport is particularly negatively valued by the people who responded to the survey that provides a further information on local mobility. Also, satisfaction about local education provisions encountered a sharp decline in the recent years. On the other hand, we could see that while the remoteness, the spread territory and the aging population constitute a huge challenge to the provision of health services, those are very positively valuated in the survey.

We could also appreciate how the local population is active in term of volunteering, participating to unpaid activities notably in support of the local community or neighbourhood, in religious based groups, in activities aimed at young people and children, education and cultural activities. We could see also how some of those activities allow to the fill the gap in the delivery of the services at local level (e.g. in terms of transport).
In terms of employment, we could appreciate how generally the Outer Hebrides population is more likely to be in employment than the Scottish one, however it seems more vulnerable to economic crises – as shown by the rise of unemployment during the Great Recession and the Covid-19 crises. Those crises did not stop the micro enterprises to grow in number, showing a rich humus of entrepreneurship in the islands.

Finally, the exploration on the language skills show that most non-English speakers or with very limited skills in 2011 Census were UK-born, showing the need for the Gaelic language to be used in local services. In 2011 people without any Gaelic skills were ranging between 27 and 50%. Gaelic is currently studied by progressively more pupils. No data have been found about migrant or second generations participation in Gaelic adult classes or in Gaelic Medium Education (GME).

Bibliography


www.matilde-migration.eu