



# **Active Civic Participation of Immigrants in Europe**

## **Overview**

This paper contains a collection of summaries as provided by the authors of the country reports. It serves as a general overview and helps the reader to select papers of specific interest.

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All abstracts are also included in the individual country reports.

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# Austria

Karin Sohler and Albert Kraler

Although Austria has a long history of immigration, migration is largely associated with “guest worker migration” that started in the early 1960s and the “new immigration” of Eastern European, African and Asian migrants that began in the late 1980s. At the time of the 2001 census, Austria had a foreign population of about 711,000 or 8.9% of the total population, and a foreign born population of just over 1,000,000 or 12.5%.

Immigrants from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia, which were the major sources for labour recruitment, still form the majority of immigrants, making up more than two thirds of the total foreign population at the time of the census. However, as a result of the “new immigration” from other European, mostly Eastern European countries as well as from Africa and South Eastern and Central Asia, and, to some extent, Latin America and the Caribbean, the immigrant population is increasingly diversifying. Since the mid-1990s, the number of naturalizations, in particular of Turkish migrants, who have one of the highest naturalization rates among individual immigrant groups, is rapidly rising, thus also rapidly increasing the number of Austrian citizens with a migrant background. The growing share of Austrian citizens with an immigrant background also led to a visible increase of the interest shown by political parties vis-à-vis Austrians of immigrant origin as potential voters, most evident in the most recent election for the Vienna city council.

Until the early 1990s, Austria designed its migration policy exclusively on the basis of economic considerations, while the government left the determination of migration levels largely to the “social-partners”, comprising organized labour and institutionalized business interests. The changing patterns of migration and the large inflows that resulted from the break-up of Yugoslavia and the fall of the Iron Curtain, as well as rising numbers of asylum applications from third world countries, the transformation of the Austrian political system as a result of the erosion of the dominance of the traditional ruling parties and the increasing politicisation of immigration policy, however, led the government to adopt a major reform of immigration legislation in the early 1990s whose major objective it was to restrict immigration and to drastically reduce immigration levels. Among others, the reform introduced annual immigration quotas, which have been applied ever since. The reform also led to massive deterioration of the situation of long-term migrants. The 1997 reform of the Aliens Act addressed these deficiencies to some degree, by introducing the principle of “consolidation of residence”, that is, increasing residential security (protection from expulsion) for long-term third country nationals. Access to the labour market, however, remained decoupled from immigration legislation until the reform of immigration legislation in 2002. The latter introduced the so-called residence certificate which gives unrestricted access to employment for long-term third country nationals. The 2002 reform, however, also massively expanded the scope for temporary labour migration. In contrast to “guest-workers” who were equally regarded as temporary migrants, however, new temporary migrants are permanently excluded from “denizenship”, the secure status long-term migrants enjoy, as well as citizenship. In addition, mandatory integration courses were introduced and labour immigration limited to highly skilled migrants.

Apart from basic political rights as freedom of association and freedom of assembly, third country nationals have no formal political rights. An attempt to introduce the local vote for third country nationals in Vienna was ruled unconstitutional by the Constitutional court, a decision that is unlikely to be reversed by Parliament. Hitherto, third country nationals were also excluded from standing for elections in works councils at the shop floor level and in the

elections for the statutory interest representative bodies, the Chamber of Labour and the Chamber of Commerce. The European Commission has repeatedly criticized Austria for its practice. In response to a recent judgement of the European Court of Justice, the passive vote in works councils and chamber elections will finally be introduced. Similarly, third country nationals are excluded from standing for elections in the statutory student representative bodies, but also the vote for citizens of the European Economic Area has only belatedly been introduced.

The denial of the right to stand for election has arguably had a tremendous effect on patterns of political socialization of immigrants. While works council are formally independent from trade unions, holding office as a works councillor has traditionally been a major entry gate into the trade union hierarchy. In addition, both trade union activists and delegates of the statutory chambers have been a traditional source of recruitment for political parties. Surveys, on the other hand, have shown that migrants are keen for political representation, in particular in regard to the work place and wider forms of industry representation in the form of the statutory Chamber of Labour and the Chamber of Commerce.

As a result of the exclusion from formal channels of political participation, studies of immigrant participation have been rare, while mainstream empirical political research continues to focus on patterns of political participation, voting behaviour and political preferences of Austrian nationals. The continuously rising numbers of naturalizations, however, has markedly expanded the pool of voters with an immigrant background. As a result, interest into migrant political participation has recently been growing.

Similarly, however, wider patterns of civic participation of migrants have been largely neglected by mainstream social science research. There is, however, a growing body of specialized research focusing on immigrant civic participation. The bulk of the work focuses on associational patterns of immigrants, with several comprehensive mapping studies having been published recently. Although existing research indicates generally lower rates of civic participation of immigrants than is the case for Austrians, with participation rates of foreign nationals being lowest, the existing studies also suggest that immigrants tend to engage more in informal networks than in formal associations and generally show a high willingness to engage in civic or indeed, political participation.

In general, however, research on immigrant civic participation is still in its infancy. The majority of studies published so far are case studies and limit themselves to describing patterns of participation, whereas they only partially provide causal explanations for the patterns of civic participation found among immigrants. Thus, the existing research on civic participation has several limitations, including the lack of comparative and theory guided research, and the descriptive nature of much of the literature. The application of network analysis, social capital approaches and research on transnational dimensions of immigrant participation rank among the most promising avenues for future research.

## **Belgium**

Hassan Bousetta, Sonia Gsir and Dirk Jacobs

This report provides a state of the art of existing research on active civic participation of immigrants in Belgium. The report is divided in three parts. The first is an overview of the

general condition of Belgium as an immigration country. The history of migration movements in the post-war era is presented alongside a description of the current foreign population in the country. Being a linguistically divided country, the report explains how this cleavage has been central in defining two divergent types of attitudes and reaction to the inflow and settlement of immigrants. While the Flemish speaking community has pursued a multiculturalist policy influenced by Dutch and anglo-american ideas, the French speaking community has opted for a less specific approach more in line with French republican assimilationism. The point is however that, in comparison to other European immigration countries, both the Flemish and French speaking communities have started devising immigrant policies quite belatedly. Until 1989 and the first electoral breakthrough of the extreme-right in Flanders, the political establishment at the national federal level had turned a blind eye to this issue, assuming that immigration was a temporary phenomenon.

The second part of the report looks more specifically at the notion of active civic participation by providing a review of existing academic research. The reports looks at the various facets of active civic participation and takes a broad view on the subject. Considering the increasing involvement of immigrants in electoral politics, a large discussion is provided on the issue of political participation. A special account is given to the local election of October 2000 which saw a remarkable breakthrough of immigrant politicians in Brussels. This development has been facilitated, among others, by the very broad opening of the nationality legislation. On both these aspects (i.e. nationality laws and political representation of immigrants), Belgium has become an exceptional, and quite advanced, case in Europe.

There are however a number of other areas where immigrants have been actively involved in Belgian public life. Since the seventies, immigrants have the right to vote and stand as candidates in so-called social elections (i.e. for worker councils). No specific research has been achieved on the extent of immigrant participation in workers participatory institutions, but it is generally considered to be important. The model of voting rights in private companies has served since it was put in place as an example to extend to the arena of local politics. Trade unions, for instance, have pleaded for the local enfranchisement of immigrant workers since the seventies. This has resulted only in 2004 in a decision to allow non European citizens to participate (only as voters and not as candidates).

Among younger waves of immigration, especially among those originating from the Muslim world, Islam is becoming the language through which participation is increasingly sought. A review is proposed of the rise of Islamic parties in Brussels and Antwerp and a discussion is proposed of the peculiar relationship established by the Belgian State with a number of institutionnaly recognised religions (including Islam). Belgium has indeed implemented a unique system allowing Muslims to select their representatives before the State through a nation-wide general election.

As in many other immigration countries, participation through voluntary associations remains an important avenue of public and civic involvement. The report discusses the results of a large survey in Brussels based on a representative sample of Moroccans, Turks and low educated Belgians. Several important findings are presented concerning the relationship between associational membership and political involvement.

By way of conclusion, we propose in the final part of the report an expert assessment on the knowledge produced by Belgian academic research on the notion of active civic participation.

# Cyprus

Nicos Trimikliniotis

This Report examines the issue of civic participation of migrants in Cyprus by locating their legal status, their social position and general level of participation in the civic and NGO sector of society and their (lack of) involvement in the local government sector.

Immigration policy in Cyprus was largely formulated in the 1990s, when the government decided to abandon the restrictive policies followed until then and allow more migrant workers into the country in order to meet labour shortages. This change of policy meant that Cyprus was almost overnight transformed, from a country that traditionally exported migrants to all corners of the earth, to a net recipient of migrants from all over the globe. Today, the total number of resident non-Cypriots is estimated to a total of about 80,000, representing approximately 10% of the total population which resides in the south of the island. Most of these are migrant workers whose main areas of employment are: domestic workers, service industry (tourism, trade), manufacturing industry, agriculture and construction. It is estimated that there are between 10,000-30,000 undocumented migrant workers. These include persons from Eastern Europe (Bulgarians, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Moldavians and others), south east Asia (particularly women, mainly from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan), China and Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Iran etc).

The policy assumption for the employment of migrant workers formulated in 1990s was that their stay was to be short-term, temporary and restricted to specific sectors. Although the actual developments of the past decade reversed this presumption, a number of institutional devices, designed with those goals in mind, have persisted and little thought has been given by policy-makers on how to encourage civic participation of migrants and help develop a sense of belonging to the Cypriot society. Only very recently did the debate on multiculturalism begin, but this is still at an infancy stage and is more geared towards *acceptance* and *tolerance* rather than *civic participation* which, as a concept, is located at a stage several steps ahead from tolerance.

The specific historical setting of Cyprus has been dominated by the ethnic relations between the two constitutionally recognised communities, the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots, as well as the role which foreign forces have played in the Cyprus conflict, something also reflected in the research agenda and bibliography on Cyprus. The result is an almost total neglect in initiating studies on other subjects such as migrant rights and civic participation, as the research agenda is subsumed in the 'national question'. Recently some studies and NGOs have begun to raise the issues of equal participation and involvement of migrant communities in institutions of Cypriot society, but these are still at an infancy level.

Overall, the situation in Cyprus on the level of civic participation of migrants can be described as rather disappointing. There are institutional barriers such as 'restrictive conditions' that prohibit political participation in elections (restrictions in voting, standing for office), unless full citizenship is granted. There are no formal prohibitions of membership in parties and organisations, rights for self-organisation and public rallies, although this has not caused migrant workers to participate in trade unions en mass. Formal rights guaranteed under the Constitution and the European Convention on Human Rights are generally respected. Nevertheless migrants face, on the whole, a hostile environment and racial discrimination in society and an unsympathetic immigration regime based on controlling, but ultimately failing to control the growth of migration.

So far, the main focus of migrant support and solidarity NGOs has been to protect the basic rights of migrants. As such, 'encouraging conditions' for migrants' civic participation such as foreigners/ immigrant committees, quotas and subsidies to ethnic organisations have not been discussed yet at any level, with the exception of two immigrant support organizations who try to encourage immigrant participation within their ranks.

There are however some encouraging signs related to the processes of interaction with European NGOs and via the influence of practices in other European countries. In the run up to Cyprus's accession to the EU and in the period that follows, the rather weak sector of NGOs and civic organisations begun to be more actively engaged in awareness raising and campaigning on migrant rights, a development which may partly be explained from the increased availability of funding for these organisations. In addition, some mainstream organisations, such as large trade unions, have begun to actively engage with the problems of migrant workers and new research and development projects are beginning to yield some results.

## **Czech Republic**

Jan Černík

This report examines the issue of civic and political participation of immigrants in the Czech Republic by describing and analysing the processes of ethnic community formation and by locating structural opportunities for their participation on democratic process.

In the early 1990's the Czech Republic along with other countries of Central and Eastern Europe became part of a buffer zone of international migration. The turbulent developments of migration in the Czech Republic which have become visible since the beginning of the 1990s created a need to draft and implement immigration policy and regulative and control mechanisms. Democratisation and liberalisation of political and economic relations brought about relatively free movement of persons. In a rather short period of time, especially in the mid-1990s, when the migration legislation and practice were extremely liberal and the economic relations favoured immigration, many foreigners came to the Czech Republic to work. The underlying approach of policy-makers in this period was marked by a preference for short-term, temporary migration of workers into specific segments of the economy. Recently, the Czech Republic has increasingly become a target country for immigration rather than a country of transit migration as it was during 1990s. This development generates a need to create a comprehensive policy of integration of foreigners. Social inclusion of immigrants has become one of the main issues of migration in the Czech Republic.

The total number of foreigners legally residing in the Czech Republic is 252.120 (in 30.6.2003), which is approximately 2,5% of the total figure of population of the Czech Republic. One third of these are foreigners living in the Czech Republic on the basis of family reunification; two thirds are typical economic migrants. Estimates of figures of illegal immigrants are vary between 100.000 and 200.000 individuals. The largest groups of immigrants are citizens of Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam, Poland, and Russia. Statistical figures of immigrants from countries of the Balkans or Caucasus regions are also visible, as well as from Belarus, Moldavian, the United Kingdom, USA and Germany.

The issues of social inclusion and consequently civic participation are highlighted in the case of the Roma people in the Czech Republic. They are excluded and segregated in many areas of social life and problems have been aggravated by immigration of Roma people from Slovakia. As a result a high degree of attention and concern is directed to the inclusion of

Roma people, which is sometimes non-systemic and entangled with issues regarding other disadvantaged groups. Another result is a lack of research directed specifically on civic participation of immigrants and only recently results from some research projects targeting social inclusion of immigrants on a more general level have become available.

Despite the considerable development in creating superstructural elements (legislation, administrative practice, government initiatives) on the central level of the state administration regarding the integration of foreigners, the implementation of declared policy has been characterized by considerable shortcomings. Civic participation of foreigners is lacking in practice although it has been declared as one of the aims of official state policy and conceptual documents of the Czech Republic such as the right to vote at the level of municipality administration. The fundamental limitation to the participation of immigrants is a lack of institutional setting for the voicing of integration issues at the local and regional levels. Immigrants can theoretically promote their interests only at the central level of public administration. De facto, concerns of foreigners have been defended by proxy by sympathetic NGOs and religious societies. On the individual level is remarkable participation of immigrants on life of the schools, which are attended by their children.

Policy makers are aware of the necessity of encouraging civic and political participation of immigrants and developing a sense of their belonging to the Czech society. Real obstacles to the implementation of this awareness lie in the lack of political will of representatives of the Czech Republic to promote civic rights of non-citizens which are commonly seen as undeserving.

## **Denmark**

Marco Goli and Shahamak Rezaei

Issues related to integration of immigrants have been widely discussed in Denmark since the beginning of 1970s. But the new millennium was the climax of the mutual acquisition between polarized coalitions in the Danish public and politics regarding the responsibility for what has been addressed as “the failure of integration policy.”

After winning the governmental power in 2001, the new Liberal – Conservative coalition introduced a fundamentally different attitude to migration and integration that includes fundamental changes of Danish policy. The new policy has already created many institutional and administrative changes and has probably the greatest impact on immigrants’ participation in civic and other areas. It seems that the scope, the content and the intensity of the debate as well as the overall discursive structure and institutional setting are changing.

Describing the state of art on immigrant population, the pattern and variation of their participation and the areas of focus in the political, academic and public debate in the country, this national report attempts to provide some perspectives on the future scenarios of immigrant participation in Denmark.

Apart from the empirical description of the state of art, and a review of the most important literature on immigrant’s participation, this national report includes considerations such as formal institutional setting framing or hindering immigrant’ participation, the changing opportunity structure, that makes equal and substantial participation to a daily practice of democracy, and the impact of the dominant discourse and institutional practice on the scope and the pattern of immigrants’ participation.

Based on the study this country report will present a rather cautious conclusion (or a hypothesis): Growing religious identification among immigrants and attachment to religious organisations and associations as well as development of the so called “parallel Society” during recent years seems to reduce immigrants’ overall participation in democratic processes. Such a hypothesis is supported by Putnam’s studies (1993) on diffusion of democratic participation and the role of religion. The empirical challenge would be to find out whether the new Danish policy on migration and integration together with the dominant discourse in Danish media and public debate leaves the religious and ethnic identification and participation as an attractive mode of civic and political participation among immigrants. Variation of representation among different immigrant groups indicates a possible connection: The most active immigrants in politics measured by representation at local and national level and in media are individuals who can contribute, be it in constructive or polemic manners, to discussions on Islam. That excludes certain immigrant groups with no or little religious affiliation. Danish policy of contradiction (that is formal openness and substantial closure) leaves the ground open for non-democratic forces.

## **Estonia**

Mikko Lagerspetz

The present immigrant population in Estonia is almost in its entirety a result of Estonia’s occupation by the Soviet Union during the Second World War. After having held the status of a Soviet Republic for more than fifty years, Estonia re-gained its independence in August 1991. After that, the citizenship status of the inhabitants was defined according to whether they or their parents or grandparents had been citizens of the independent Estonia (1918-1940). In this way, the Soviet-time settlers and their descendants were defined as non-citizens, i.e., as immigrants. The naturalization procedure requires five years residence and passing of an exam in Estonian language, except for children born of stateless parents in Estonia. The number of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship now residing in Estonia is around 270,000, which corresponds to a share of 20% of a total population of 1.37 million. During the 1990s and 2000s, no large immigration to Estonia has taken place, and according to the 2000 housing and population census, the total number of immigrants from outside the former Soviet Union was less than two thousand people. Accordingly, a majority of the immigrant population is Russian speaking and has lived in the country for fifteen years or more. A great majority of all non-citizens hold permanent residence permits, and do in most respects enjoy the same rights as the citizens of Estonia. On the labour market, non-citizens seem to be in a more awkward position than the citizens, and the ethnic Estonians have, in turn, a more favourable position than the naturalised citizens. This can, however, not be attributed to any discriminatory policies, but is an effect of several different economic and social factors.

Non-citizens cannot vote in national elections. Those who have resided in the area of the same municipality during a period of five years or more have the right to vote in local elections, but are not eligible themselves. Non-citizens may not be members of any political party; however, there are many examples of naturalised citizens active in party politics both on the local and national levels. Despite the relatively large number of people with immigrant background, the parties claiming to represent them have not been able to play any key role in institutional politics. In fact, all Russian-speaking members of the Parliament and most of them in local councils have been elected from other parties than the Russian speaking ones. At the same time, several pieces of survey research point at lower voting activity and lower trust in

political institutions among the minorities than among ethnic Estonians. Everybody has the right to participate in the activities of trade unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), irrespective of his or her citizenship. Trade union membership is, in fact, more common among ethnic and immigrant minorities. However, both population surveys and surveys of registered NGOs indicate, that Russian speakers are less frequently members in other kinds of NGOs than ethnic Estonians. There seems however to exist great differences between minorities with reference to their degree of organisation.

The Estonian government policies towards immigrants and immigration are mainly focused on the integration of the Soviet-time settlers to the new society, which is now dominated by the Estonian language and in which Russian speakers consist a minority. The need to develop a future oriented migration policy has been acknowledged rather recently, partly as an effect of the country's EU membership from May 2004. The same can be said about the scholarly literature discussing immigrants and immigration: the main concern of researchers hitherto has been the political and social-psychological relationships between ethnic Estonians and the Russophone minorities, while the new immigrants from outside the former Soviet Union have not received much attention.

## **Finland**

Silvain Sagne, Sanna Saksela and Niklas Wilhelmsson

Finland has traditionally been a country of migration. During the 1960s and 1970s a lot of people migrated from the country. Traditionally Finnish migration policies have been restrictive and the number of immigrants has been low. The immigrants now amount to approximately 3 % of the population. The immigrant groups in Finland are generally small and heterogeneous, which makes it hard for them to get organized. Finland has been faced with increased immigration since the beginning of the 1990s and this development will probably continue in the future. As many other West European countries, Finland is going to suffer from an ageing population and will consequently need more foreign labour force. The Finnish government has already taken action to manage the immigration issue by softening the immigration laws and adopting a comprehensive integration law. Immigrant inclusion is made easier by laws governing the rights for immigrants to participate at the municipal level.

The civic participation of immigrants in Finland is generally low but is on the increase. In recent years immigrant advisory boards have been established both at the state and at the municipal level, in order to improve both the formal and informal participation of immigrants in the policy making processes. This should also be seen as a reciprocal development between the local authorities and the immigrants themselves. It has been shown that co-operation projects and immigrants' participation in the planning of immigrant issues at the advisory boards are important and efficient ways to improve the inclusion of immigrants in the Finnish society.

Further significant forms of civic participation are the associational activities of immigrants. Today there are approximately six hundred immigrant organizations, of which most have been established during the 1990s. A majority of the immigrant organizations are located in the capital region and in the other big cities where most of the immigrants live. Immigrant organizations are still weakly organized due to their short existence and have weak resources. The organizational life plays an important role both for the collective identity of immigrants and the integration of immigrants into the Finnish society. The co-operation between

authorities and immigrant associations is still in an evolving stage. In the future more effort is needed in order to include immigrants into the Finnish society.

The political participation of immigrants in Finland is low, which resembles a lack of political integration. Electoral participation among immigrants in Finland is lower than in the other Nordic countries, although there are great variations between different immigrant groups. Immigrant groups in Finland are generally too small and too heterogeneous to be able to organize effectively politically. The lack of organizations, information and resources seems to explain the low levels of electoral participation. The main parties have only recently shown some interest in recruiting immigrant candidates. The number of immigrant candidates has therefore increased and immigrant and minority issues have become more salient.

## France

Ulrike Schuerkens

One out of five residents in France have at least one foreign grandparent. In 1993, young people born in France have obtained the possibility to choose French citizenship by a declaration before the mayor, abandoned in 1998, so that at their majority young immigrants born in France can now obtain French nationality without a formal procedure. The access to French nationality has been opened to everybody who has spent five years in the country. Thus more and more immigrants born in France have obtained at their majority the French nationality.

Compared to other countries of the European Union, there was a hiatus in France between the rights of foreigners in the enterprises and the rights to represent and to participate in public life. Foreigners do not have civic rights, such as voting, before their naturalisation. In France, local migrant councils have been introduced in the 1980s, which have received an only consultative role and their competencies have been limited to municipal interests. Nevertheless, these councils have the advantage to associate migrants to political decision processes in the country of immigration and to familiarise the national population with the idea of the participation of foreigners in political life. But there have been other forms of expression open to immigrants in France: consultative local rights, the expression in enterprises, and the participation in associations, wild strikes, qualified by some as "an extra-parliamentary opposition". Obtaining the right to vote for immigrants is blocked in France due to reasons linking citizenship, nationality and territory. Because of the fact that immigrants have not the right to vote in local elections (except recently EU-nationals), and do not constitute a political influential group, immigration has been used as a challenge in the local political discourse.

In 1981, immigrants received the right to associate under the same terms than French nationals, as it was expressed in the law of 1901. These laws went in the direction of a greater equality between foreigners and French nationals. The associative movement gave immigrants the possibility to exercise the political right to associate. However, the French law does not exclude every possibility for foreigners to exercise certain public activities, such as the participation in the constitution of public elective organism. They are voters and can be elected by parent associations in schools, at social security schemes and they can be electors for the constitution of certain courts, such as the tribunals of rural leases and they can be members of industrial tribunals, but they cannot be elected. Moreover, foreign students have the right to vote in universities.

According to our overview, immigrants often engage in cultural associations in France. Some group members from Arab and Asian origins are also engaged in religious associations. Those from Arab origin who have become naturalised French citizens are rather active in political parties, that consider these people as a guarantee for a France without problems caused by Muslim fundamentalists. Political elites of African and Asian origins are rather seldom, even if one hears from time to time from a mayor of African origin in some small French villages.

## Germany

Norbert Cyrus

The current German government declares participation and non-discrimination of immigrants to be an important policy target. The available research literature shows however that this target is still not yet fully realized. Germany is a country of constant and large movements of immigration. For the purpose of this research the term “immigrant” refers to all foreign born persons regardless of citizenship. Accordingly, the report deals with third-country nationals, citizens of EU-Member states and ethnic Germans that immigrate into Germany as ‘late repatriates’. Besides the accepted and institutional embedded influx of ethnic Germans, foreign nationals enter mainly as family members or refugees. But German society and policy only reluctantly accept immigration of foreign nationals. Foreign immigrants are socially more excluded than German immigrants. In the public discourse, mainly foreign immigrants are blamed for these shortcomings: their cultural otherness (religion) and their reluctance to acquire the necessary language and professional skills are declared to be the main reason for failed integration.

However, the juridical framework guarantees equal right to foreign nationals that possess secure residence status – apart from active and passive voting rights and some further special regulations. Public authorities launched programmes on federal, state and local level in order to promote integration and participation of immigrants with a focus on ethnic Germans. Only recently foreign immigrants became included in special programmes that aim at enhancing immigrant participation.

Civic participation of immigrants is meanwhile a relevant issue in the general debate on immigration and integration in Germany. Several studies – some of them commissioned by public authorities – examine aspects of civic participation. The main focus is on the impact of immigrant associations on integration. The research field is however not participation of *immigrants* – that would include ethnic Germans – but of foreign nationals. By this focus naturalized immigrants are omitted while foreign nationals born in Germany are included. Accordingly, in order to get information on active civic participation of immigrants the research findings require a closer re-evaluation.

First generation immigrants seem to participate in immigrant associations as well as in German institutions. But the level of formal membership in German institutions is lower compared to the native population and does hardly go beyond passive membership. Immigrants hardly hold honorary offices or paid or unpaid posts in German associations. Until now, immigrants are absent or sharply underrepresented in leading positions in institutions of the host country. A notable exception is the participation in foreigners’ advisory boards. Here, representatives of immigrants associations actively participate and serve as link between immigrant associations and German institutions.

The main field of active civic participation are immigrant associations. The main fields of activities are cultural and leisure time clubs, sport clubs and religious associations. Due to the neglect of informal associations the level of active participation is probably underestimated. The focus of activities differ between national groups: In the group of immigrants from Turkey the share of religious associations is higher. Among immigrants from former Yugoslavia the share of humanitarian associations is higher, and among refugees from Africa more political campaign groups or unregistered exile parties can be found.

Research is mainly concerned with the effects immigrant associations have for integration of the individual and the group. Less attention is devoted to the examination of the circumstances and trajectories of active civic participation of immigrants. The available studies indicate that an interplay of individual characteristics (educational level, language abilities, individual personality, length of stay that relates to orientation on home or host country) and the participation opportunity structure (legal framework, institutional opportunities, supportive programmes) influence scope and targets of active civic participation.

The engagement in immigrant associations is met with suspicion (in the case of religious or ethnic associations), or lip service about the importance of such activities is paid without an adequate material assistance. But currently the issue of immigrants' participation and the question how to promote active civic engagement of immigrants gains relevance. A recent survey indicates that immigrants' motivations for active engagement are similar to those of German activists.

## **Greece**

Ruby Gropas and Anna Triandafyllidou

Greece's immigrant population, including aliens and co-ethnic returnees such as Pontic Greeks and ethnic Greek Albanians, reaches just over one million people. This represents about 9% of the total resident population, a strikingly high percentage for a country that until only twenty years ago was a migration sender rather than host.

On the one hand, immigration policy in Greece was quick to develop in terms of putting into practice stricter border controls and other enforcement measures. On the other hand, the Greek governments were much slower in designing and implementing a more comprehensive policy framework that includes the regularisation of undocumented aliens, and that aims toward the integration of this population across all sectors and areas of the host country.

Approximately three quarters of the immigrant population currently has legal status (work and stay permits). It is interesting to note that most immigrants have entered Greece illegally and have survived in the country 'without papers' for (frequently consecutive) periods ranging from a few months to several years. The prolonged undocumented status of many migrants, and the policy vacuum that lasted for over a decade has not facilitated active civic participation on the part of immigrants in Greek public life. Nonetheless, several immigrant associations and NGOs led by Greeks have gradually emerged over the past fifteen years and have gained noteworthy visibility in the media. Overall, the media has been inclined to privilege the perpetuation of negative prejudices and only recently have there been initiatives or measures targeting xenophobic attitudes and perceptions of Greeks towards foreigners,

aiming to promote tolerance, cultural pluralism and to bring forward the positive aspects of migration.

Immigrant activism in mainstream associations like trade unions or political parties is barely existent. The main reasons for the lack of civic activism include the insecure legal status of many immigrant workers, their mistrust towards the Greek state (which has been very ambivalent in the implementation of regularisation and other immigrant policies), their lack of time and resources to devote to activities other than paid work.

As a last note, scientific literature on the matter is extremely scarce.

## Hungary

Endre Sik

Focusing mostly on the Hungarian sociological literature and on statistics our report summarizes the sociological characteristics of migration and the civic participation of migrants in contemporary Hungary.

Concerning the conditions of immigrant participation, key events and demographic developments (e.g. the small number of immigrants compared to other EU countries, and the dominance of ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries), major migration-related issues of the public discourse (xenophobia and Diaspora politics), as well as the institutional setting of immigration and civic participation are described.

Although immigrant civic participation could not be identified as a major political or social issue in contemporary Hungary, articles in relation to this issue (mainly relying on structured interviews conducted with immigrants, and in a very few cases also use press content analysis, national NGO registers or survey techniques) have been collected and briefly summarized in the paper with special attention to the two largest immigrant groups: the ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries and the Chinese.

Preserving culture and maintaining cultural or national identity as well as religious activities formulate the main field of civic participation: almost every immigrant community discussed in the literature had an organization of these kinds. Other types of activities are pursued by special immigrant communities depending on the special needs and capacities of the relevant groups: powerful political activism in form of lobby groups is typical of the Chinese community; economic associations for mutual aid or interest representation appeared among Transylvanian Hungarians and the Chinese; human rights associations are established or maintained mainly by African immigrants.

Chinese formulate the most active group of the migrants in the civic society; however their impact upon the host society is minimal, that is activities are more or less restricted to their own community.

The same is true in case of the two largest refugee groups, i.e. the Africans and Afghans. In both cases the chance of civic activity is very low since other network forms, cultural and career patterns dominate the groups.

Apart from small groups of intellectuals, the largest group of immigrants, i.e. ethnic Hungarians from the neighboring non-EU countries seem to be inactive in the civil society.

Compared to the level of civic activity of the majority the migrants' activity is significantly lower.

The relation between migrant and majority organizations is relevant only on the field of refugee integration. A few but visible refugee self-help groups – mostly with the help of the Hungarian branch of UNHCR – play some role in the integration of the small number of refugees in Hungary. However, this role is restricted mostly to some cultural activities. Although articles discussing the present situation were not available, several papers published in the early and late 1990s revealed some examples of a close relationship between certain migrant and mainstream society organizations.

The most relevant issues of the field to be dealt with, also the major research gaps, are identified as the lack of relations between the Chinese community and civil organizations of the majority society, and the role of quasi-diasporic situation of ethnic Hungarian migrants in restricting their civic activism.

## **Ireland**

Abel Ugba

Mass in-migration is a relatively new phenomenon in Ireland. Until the beginning of the 1990s, Ireland was a country of continuous and sometimes massive emigrations. But even at the height of mass emigrations, migrants and minority ethnic groups were present in the country. Most migrants that came to Ireland before the mass in-migration of the last decade were mostly temporary or non-permanent high-skilled workers and university teachers from the United Kingdom and North America. The mass in-migration that started in the mid-1990s has, however, resulted in dramatic changes on Ireland's cultural and demographic landscapes. According to the 2002 census, approximately six percent of Ireland's 3.9m population said they were not Irish and another 1.3% was only part-Irish.

Public and academic discourse of immigrant civic participation has been muted in Ireland because, among other reasons, mass in-migration and the large-scale presence of immigrants are recent phenomena. In this report it is argued that the reluctance, mostly at official level, to acknowledge Ireland as a major immigration destination has contributed to the silence on issues relating to immigrant civic participation. Consequently there is a dearth of research and publications on immigrant civic participation in Ireland. The majority of academic and popular publications relate mainly to general immigration and immigrant issues and, of late, integration and inclusion measures.

Despite the dearth of literature, immigrant groups and individuals have been active in many facets of civic engagements, even in the days of low in-migration. Experiential knowledge and mass media reports suggest that civic activism by immigrants has increased in the last few years and this is often attributed to the dramatic increases in the numbers of immigrants. This report challenges such a mono-causal explanation and states that other factors such as increased mobilisation and education and the specific immigration experiences of particular groups have contributed to the recent rise in civic activism among immigrants in Ireland. Many immigrants are engaged in civic activism because they want to effect a change, challenge a law or policy they considered unjust, attract social and material support for self-development or simply out of boredom.

This report also demonstrates that active participation in civic activities is not evenly spread among the different immigrant and minority ethnic groups in Ireland. The paths to civic activism for many individuals and groups are as different as their socio-cultural backgrounds and the kinds of activities they are involved in. For some immigrants, civic activism in Ireland is a continuation of life in the old country, but for others it is a rough and uncharted path, which their immigration experience and circumstances have forced them to tread. Particular groups appear to be more active in particular fields. The Filipinos have taken the lead in fighting for better rights for immigrant workers in the medical fields, Africans are active in the religious sphere and in the anti-racism movements while the Chinese, though a large and fast-growing group, are largely absent on many fronts.

There is also anecdotal evidence to suggest that some numerically bigger groups appear to be more active on many fronts simultaneously than the smaller ones. Nigerians are a good example in this regard. They have set up more churches than other groups, championed the anti-racism struggles and made far greater foray into electoral politics than most groups. It is simplistic and intellectually naive to attribute the achievements of a group like the Nigerians simply to numerical strength. After all, the Chinese are equally a large, and perhaps the fastest-growing non-EU, group in Ireland. While they are beginning to make their mark in the economic sphere, their presence on the civic landscape is noticeable by their absence. A report like this one, which is the first attempt to articulate a critical overview of the entire immigrant civic participation landscape in Ireland, will necessarily raise more questions than it answers. It will take time and concerted research to answer the questions and to validate the many hypotheses contained in this report.

## Italy

Ankica Kosic and Anna Triandafyllidou

Just like other countries in Southern Europe, Italy has, in the course of less than two decades rapidly and unexpectedly changed from a country of emigration into one of immigration. Italy has witnessed a steady increase in the number of foreign nationals during the period between 1986 and 2002. On 1 January 2004, there were an estimated 2.6 million foreigners present in Italy, who account for approximately 4.2% of the total resident population. Most of these immigrants are young people (aged between 20 and 40 years) who emigrated mainly for economic reasons. Already in 2001, more than half (about 59%) of the immigrant population had lived in Italy for more than five years. Acquisition of Italian citizenship, given the difficulties posed by the law currently in force, is still infrequent, with a high rejection rate.

Immigration towards Italy did not begin in a period of reconstruction and economic development, as it did in North-Western European nations, but rather during time of a severe economic crisis, characterized, among others, by growing unemployment. Italy has developed a piecemeal approach to immigration, lacking until recently of a comprehensive and consistent policy framework. Several regularisation programmes were enacted since the late 1980s (five times in sixteen years: 1986, 1990, 1996, 1998 and 2002), allowing the legalisation of more than 2 million immigrants. Nevertheless, these ‘amnesties’ did not solve the problem of undocumented migration. The 2002 regularisation brought to the fore a large number (700,000 approx) of undocumented migrants working as care providers, domestic helpers and manufacture workers.

The first comprehensive law on migration was law 40/1998 (the Single text - *Testo Unico*) which regulated not only immigration control but also immigrant integration. This law was more recently modified by law 189/2002 (the so-called Bossi-Fini Law) which introduced small changes in relation to asylum, as well as modified the work/stay permit system in use.

Italy, because of her geographical position, is highly exposed to penetration by illegal immigrants from the South and from the East. Moreover, Italy as other southern EU countries, has a widespread informal economy that appears to be a prime determinant for illegal migration. Combating undocumented immigration and the trafficking of human beings is a priority both in terms of security and foreign policy, a priority to which public opinion is also sensitive. During the last two decades, the Italian mass media have promoted a negative and highly stereotyped image of immigrants. The main criticism against the media is the tendency to transmit alarmist information on immigration. News reports have been linking immigration and undocumented (clandestine) entry to Italy, transforming all immigrants into 'illegal' 'criminals' 'threats' in the 'common imaginary'.

Several NGOs, trade unions and charitable organisations have been active since the 1980s providing assistance to undocumented immigrants who wished to obtain legal status. To facilitate contacts, these organisations encouraged the civic participation of immigrants and their involvement in representative bodies. Furthermore, these organisations provided support to immigrant associations. Immigrant participation in trade unions, voluntary organisations and immigrants associations ensures their access to what is called 'intermediate political rights'. From an institutional perspective, civic and political participation remains mostly the realm of Italian citizens and naturalised immigrants.

This paper gives an overview on the arguments relevant for immigrant civic participation. The paper is divided in two parts. The first part concerns the conditions for immigrant civic participation in Italy: (1) key events and demographic developments in the migration history of country; (2) public discourse on migration (i.e., the current public discussion on migration related issues and the major topics that receive media attention); (3) institutional setting framing immigrant participation (the current major legal and institutional conditions that are important for immigrants civic participation, trying to differentiate between restrictive and encouraging conditions). The second part of the paper concerns an overview of the literature on active civic participation of third country immigrants in Italy. In the annex we provide for a mapping of the research competencies on immigrant civic participation and immigration in general.

## **Latvia**

Inese Supule

According to the analysis of the migration history in Latvia the biggest immigration flows to Latvia were in Soviet time. As the main migratory flows during the years 1951-1990 were with nearest Soviet Republics, particularly Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, as a result of the immigration was the decrease of the percentage of ethnic Latvians from 77% in 1935 to 52% in 1989 and increase of percentage of Russians, Belarussians and Ukrainians. Since 1991 net migration in Latvia is negative: in average more people leave Latvia than arrive. The main long-term migratory flows still are to and from CIS countries, with which the local people have kept family relations, acquaintances and do not face language problems.

The statistics about resident population of Latvia by citizenship shows that 78% of all residents in Latvia are citizens of Latvia, and 21% are non-citizens of Latvia. The group of

non-citizens comprises the people who immigrated in Latvia during the Soviet time and their descendants: according to legislation of Latvia former USSR citizens who did not have Latvian or any other citizenship, in 1995 received the status of Latvian non-citizens. People who have citizenship of other countries and live in Latvia are termed as foreigners. Altogether the number of foreigners is very small (about 1,4%), including 1% of residents who are citizens of Russian Federation, and about 0,4% who are citizens of other countries. Due to the peculiarities of immigration history and legislative system in Latvia, the main focus of this study is on the civic participation of non-citizens.

Since the beginning of the naturalisation process in 1995 up until the beginning of 2004, the number of non-citizens has decreased, down from more than 29% to 20.8%. Non-citizens have no right to vote in parliamentary and local elections, and referenda, they also have no right to be a founder or a member of political parties. Consequently one-fifth of members of the society have a limited right to participate in the process of decision-making and feel rather alienated from the state.

On another hand during the last years a lot of effort has been done to encourage non-citizens to become citizens of Latvia. According to the Citizenship Law (1994, amendments in 1998) to become citizens of Latvia they have to pass naturalisation procedure. During the last years this procedure has been simplified several times. Besides since the establishment of the Secretariat of the Minister for Special Assignments for Society Integration Affairs minority organizations in Latvia have better chances and more grant opportunities than other organizations have.

Altogether the studies on third sector in Latvia indicate that NGOs in Latvia are rather small in terms of membership. Their financial resources and capacity tend to be notably restricted, therefore their potential to mobilize segments of society is rather weak. About 20% of all inhabitants have a membership in any voluntary organization. Members of other nationalities and non-citizens are slightly less involved in NGOs than ethnic Latvians. The reason why the participation rate among non-citizens is lower than among citizens can be sought in the alienation between the elite of state power and the inhabitants. According to the survey data the main fields of civic activities that immigrants, namely, non-citizens in Latvia, engage do not differ significantly from those of citizens.

The studies on political participation reveal that currently one can observe an increase of disenchantment with conventional political participation in Latvia. During the last two years Russian speaking minorities (Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians) have been very active in different street protest actions. In 2000 politicized Russian speaking NGOs consolidated mutually for counteraction against language policy implemented in the state. In 2004 in Riga and other cities in Latvia, there were a number of protests actions by minority representatives, aimed against the changes which were planned for the minority education system in September 2004. This signalize about an increasing gap between the Russian speaking community and the state as the political elite.

## **Lithuania**

Rita Zukauskienė

The migration situation in Lithuania differs from most of other Central-East European countries. Until the late 1980s, international migration in Lithuania was both intensive and stable. Since the end of World War II, Lithuania underwent rapid and baseless, large-scale industrialisation, urbanisation and colonisation, related to the fact that in 1940 the Soviet

Union occupied and annexed Lithuania. The migration of labour force formed the ethnic groups of the immigrants of the first generation. At that time, there were almost no migration relations with other foreign countries.

However, since 1989, as a result of political, social and economic changes in Lithuania, the migration situation started to change, with some migration flows even reversing their direction. Up to now, Lithuania has a negative migration balance. This trend has been prevailing in Lithuania for several years. The current flows of immigrants to Lithuania mainly consist of the following three categories of arriving persons: returning citizens (i.e., Lithuanians whose arrival is unlimited), reunion of family members (limited, although the priority is given to their arrivals) and migration on business (the number is not high). The majority of immigrants come from Russia and the CIS countries.

The number of illegal transit migrants and refugees are relatively low. Although initially none of the transit migrants intended to stay in Lithuania or find work in the country, some of them eventually try to seek refugee status with the intention of staying in Lithuania. The law provides for the granting of asylum and refugee status in accordance with the provisions of the U.N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol.

There is a legal and institutional framework at national level for putting into effect the principle of equal treatment and combating discrimination on the basis of racial and ethnic origin in Lithuania. The legal framework consists of the Constitution, the laws, Lithuania's obligations under international treaties, and explanations of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania. Ethnic minorities receive fair treatment in Lithuania. Both citizens and permanent residents are equally supported by the state. Equal social benefits, health and social insurance, pensions, loans, subsidies for the education of children, maternity leave, and employment opportunities are equally available to all. Social, political, economic changes that took place ten years ago have influenced the situation of all ethnic groups (including both majority and minority groups) when choosing their strategies of acting in social sphere, adapting themselves to new requirements (citizenship, civic loyalty, knowledge of the state language, value changes, participation in the newly formed bodies, e.g. the private or non-governmental sector) in a more active or passive way or avoiding adaptation (emigration, segregation, life in closed communities).

Existence of the non-governmental sector is directly related to the development of civil society. The first NGOs (public organisations, associations, support and charity foundations, communities, religious or church organisations) of ethnic groups were founded in 1991-1992. Mostly, these organisations were established on the basis of one ethnicity. All nationalities are represented by NGOs, and their activities and cultural programmes are supported and funded by the Department of Ethnic Minorities and Emigrants under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, and other NGO supporting budgetary foundations. Most NGOs restrict their activities on the grounds of interests and needs of a separate ethnic group, which leads to a relatively closed nature of ideology and activities of organisations focused on cultivation of ethnic consciousness, ethnic patriotism through organisation of cultural events that are traditional in their form and contents and addressed to quite passive elderly groups.

The government Department of National Minorities and Émigrés, established to deal with national minority affairs, implemented programs such as "Encouragement of the Cultural Activities of the National Minority Communities", "The Roma Integration into Lithuania's Society," "The Social Development of Eastern Lithuania", and "The Formation and Implementation of the Policy on National Relations and Contacts of the State with Émigrés."

It could be concluded that the international migration is far from being a homogeneous process and that the migration flows that affect Lithuania are undergoing different transformations.

The lack of new inflows of immigrants in Lithuania (numbers of immigrants still are very low) resulted in non-visible civic participation. From the review of the little existing material, studies and non-academic sources it appears that the main fields of civic participation are ethnic association and participation in legal and illegal labour market. Immigrants who arrived to Lithuania during the Soviet period currently are naturalized and consider themselves as Lithuanian citizens. Their civic participation is taking place in religious associations, in NOGs on ethnic basis, also as in political parties.

## **Luxembourg**

Serge Kollwelter

In Luxembourg, with its high percentage of foreign national inhabitants, civic participation of immigrants is evidently an important issue. The issue of civic participation is even more important as the proportion of foreigners is continually growing and the Luxembourgian population is ageing. Hence, the electorate is becoming less representative of the actual active population. Against this background it is illuminating that it is nearly impossible to get information on civic active participation of immigrants in Luxembourg.

Consequently, this paper has encountered two major difficulties. First, the political discourse and policies concerning foreigners in Luxembourg focuses on the largest groups, i.e. European citizens, or more precisely, those of Portuguese nationality. Currently, about 38 % of the population in Luxembourg is of foreign nationality, mainly of EU-member states. Second, the number of citizens from non-EU countries is small and they often figure only under the category of 'other' in statistics. The economic and labour market situation is characterised by a particular feature of the labour force composition: only one third of the labour force is of Luxembourgian nationality, while one third consists of immigrant workers with a permanent residence status and one third are commuters, coming from adjacent countries and entering Luxembourg daily or weekly.

During the last three decades the debate on immigration and integration of immigrants gained little relevance in Luxembourg. Only recently immigration issues became politically more important as a consequence of the immigration of asylum seekers and refugees, mainly from Bosnia and Africa, public attempts to deport them and the protest of immigrant organizations against this. A general regularization programme in 2001 delivered a regular status to some irregular immigrants without much public attention.

The considerations of active civic participation of immigrants in public focussed on the right to vote on a communal level. However, the demands to accept immigrants in local elections which arose for the first time in the early 1980s have not been satisfied. On the contrary, the Luxembourgian government even managed – with reference to the high share of immigrants - to get a derogation of the European directive that stipulated the participation of immigrants from EU-member states in European and local elections. Thus, the government referred to this high proportion of foreigners to justify its policy of excluding immigrants. As a substitute for participation in elections Communal Consultative Committees were introduced. Only after the treaties of Maastricht, immigrants from EU-member states acquired the right to vote. Non EU citizens will be allowed to participate in local elections for the first time in 2005. However, the participation rate will be rather low due to an implementation procedure that requires that every immigrant who wants to participate in local elections has to register with the competent authorities 18 months before the election. This registration procedure for the electoral lists presents a further 'natural' obstacle. As the electoral lists for the communal

elections of October 2005 have already been closed, a slight progress with regards to the numbers of registered foreigners can be noted.

The public debate on the right to vote on a communal level has been reconstructed through studies and reports and by analysing the proceedings of 138 non-Luxembourgian candidates who stood for office at the first communal elections that were open to foreign candidates from EU-member states (1999).

The participation rate of immigrants in Luxembourgian associations is rather low. The membership rate of immigrants in political parties is low and they do not hold party or public offices. Whereas the various trade unions count numerous foreigners among their members, there are only few foreign nationals registered with political parties. With a few exceptions, immigrant NGOs are not really visible for the public opinion, their political aims are not that much known. Immigrant associations are mainly concerned with the organisation of cultural events. Only a few associations deal with political issues. In particular associations of refugees from Yugoslavia and Africa organise public protest against deportation and discrimination. Hitherto, immigration remained a rather neglected subject in the academia and society in Luxembourg.

## **Malta**

Katia Amore

Malta has been a country of emigration for many decades and, only since 2002, after the increasing inflow of immigrants, it has begun to realise its switch into a country of immigration.

The political approach to immigration is generally quite protectionist and mostly based on the very same observation that led so many Maltese to emigrate in the past, that is the fact that Malta is a small densely populated country with limited resources and, therefore, no space for newcomers. So far, within the country, the issue of immigration has been seen as a question of border control, both when discussing about it in relation to the issue of accession to the EU and when discussing about the illegal immigration phenomenon.

In the first part, this report provides an overview of the key events that have marked the history of migration in Malta and indicates the main topics prevailing in the current public debate on the subject. It indicates the general views that Malta is a transit country and the vast majority of migrants hope to reach other European countries rather than settle in the Islands. It also includes relevant statistical information on migration and the foreign population in the Maltese Islands.

Part two of the report, presents an analysis of the results of a state of the art review on immigration and immigrants' civic participation in Malta. Moreover, since the result of the survey of possible existing literature on the subject showed a complete lack of academic studies, the rest of the report is mainly based on grey literature, media reports and the findings of fieldwork conducted in Malta in October 2004. During the fieldwork government officials, researchers and journalists were interviewed. The report indicates some of the main immigrant groups settled in Malta and, on the basis of the available information, draws a profile of each community and describes their activities.

In the conclusions, it indicates possible future research development and alerts against the possible risks of limiting research to the topical issues of illegal immigration and border control.

A list of all library catalogues and databases consulted is provided in Annex 2, together with a list of institutions contacted in Malta and the details of the people interviewed for the research.

## **Netherlands**

Jessika ter Wal

The current Dutch migrant population is characterised by a growing number of descendants of immigrants from former recruitment countries and post-colonial minorities, and a new migration based on motives of family reunification, asylum and in particular family formation. First generation immigrants, or 'foreign-born', compose 10% of the Dutch population; another 9% is formed by descendants of immigrants or 'second generation migrants', i.e. who have at least one foreign-born parent. The largest groups are those of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Indonesian origin.

While in preceding decades a multicultural and equal opportunity policy has been followed, and policies have been targeted at specific ethnic minority groups, since the 1990s the policy is focused on general integration programmes. This has affected also the funding system for migrant organisations, support to migrants' civic activities, and consultations with migrant organisations in various councils and support structures. In some situations, this has led to difficulties for migrant organisations to continue their activities and be taken serious by local authorities. Recently in several cities the migrant advisory boards have been discontinued.

Since 1985, active and passive voting rights in municipal elections are conceded to foreign residents who have legally resided in the Netherlands for a minimum of five consecutive years. In national elections only naturalised citizens can vote and be voted for. Representation of migrants in local councils and national politics is gradually increasing, but overall is not yet reflecting the proportions in the general population. Electoral participation of migrants is lower than for the majority population, and in some cities, in particular Amsterdam, participation has dropped in the last elections of 2002. Political participation among the main ethnic communities has been a frequent object of study, and is often related to density of community organisation networks, their functions and cohesiveness, and the levels of political trust within the different communities.

The literature, which recently has taken into account also the position of less numerous ethnic groups, clearly indicates that there is not one form of migrant participation, but many different realities, for example even among the different (Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and refugee) Muslim communities in the Netherlands. The configuration of migrant organisations and their activities have been affected not only by changing policy conditions, and subsidies, but also by changing needs of the communities themselves, different forms of homeland vs. Dutch society orientations, different forms of intervention by homeland political organisations in the structure of in particular religious organisations, different degrees of mobilisation for vs. disaffection with Dutch politics, and not least hostility towards foreigners and Islam in the general public debate.

With the change in generations, different types of self-organisation and mobilisation of identities have emerged among the young descendants, influenced by the possibilities for debate offered by the Dutch public sphere, and also by the use of modern communication technologies. These initiatives include on the one hand the assertive intervention in the public debate by organisations of successful young professionals and students, aimed at the affirmation of positive role models. On the other, they include the mobilisation of radical fringes among young urban descendants who defend 'fundamentalist' lifestyles and norms, and show an exclusive interest in the revalorisation of homeland identities. The various forms of active civic participation vs. exclusion/disaffection of migrant youth need to be researched further.

## Poland

Krystyna Iglicka

The year of 1989 marks an equally turning point in the migration process in Poland. Profound political, legal and institutional changes in the country brought about, inter alia, opening borders and abolition of limits on movement. Along with political, social and economic transition, which occurred in the Central and Eastern European region after 1989, the mechanisms and patterns of migration have also changed. Although Poland is still a country of emigration, it has recently experienced an inflow of asylum seekers, movement of transit migrants and permanent immigration both from the East and the West. Indeed, a new ethnic diversity and creation of a new ethnic consciousness can now be observed. However, as far as the active civic participation of immigrants i.e. activities by political parties or socio-cultural associations or other organisations of immigrants and non-EU citizens in Poland are concerned, the situation is rather dramatic.

Currently there are no structures enabling migrants to influence political decisions at any level. There are no consultative bodies, nor immigrants' parties. The question of voting rights at local level for (non-EU) immigrants is not on the political agenda of any party. There is not even any public debate on the subject. The existing immigrants groups are still too weak and too new on the Polish soil to create organisations, parties or associations focused on political activities, local committees or migrant lobby organisations. They mainly concentrate on possibilities to improve the social and economic conditions of their existence in Poland. New immigrants groups now in the process of formation in Poland (such as Ukrainians and Armenians) tend to bind with their ethnic group living in Poland for centuries. So far almost any new immigrants structures have been created only within or by the organisations set up by the old ethnic minorities. The only exception here is the Vietnamese community.

Therefore, civic participation of immigrants or minorities is examined in Polish literature and research from the point of view of the revival of ethnic consciousness in 1989 of old 'ethnic minorities' living in Poland for centuries mainly, and from the point on view of social and economic situation of immigrants who have started to arrive into Poland since the beginning of 1990s only. There are no other sources materials as grey literature or media reports on this issue. As far as the association of 'old' national minorities are concerned, they form a mosaic in terms of forms, sizes and activities, but a socio-cultural association is the basic form of their organisation. The registered 'old' minority organisations encompass religious associations, scout and youth organisations, cultural foundations, and organisations representing interests of certain professional groups within the minorities. New associations of the 'old' minorities, that have started to mushrooming after 1989 have led to the public airing of minorities' interests and have given minorities a chance to act on an open public

forum. The possibility to establish an institutional structure by minorities was both symbolic and constituted a substantial change in the status of ethnic minorities in Poland.

## Portugal

Rosana Albuquerque and Ana Texeira

Portugal's historical past strongly influences the composition of the country's immigrant population. The main third-country foreign nationals in Portugal originate traditionally from Portuguese-speaking African countries (namely Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea Bissau, and S. Tomé e Príncipe) and Brazil. In 2001, a newly created immigrant status entitled "permanence" authorization uncovered a quantitative and a qualitative change in the structure of immigrant population in Portugal. First, there was a quantitative jump from 223.602 foreigners in 2001 to 364.203 regularized foreigners in 2003. Secondly, there was a substantial qualitative shift in the composition of immigrants. The majority of the new immigrants began coming from Eastern European countries, such as Ukraine, Moldavia, Romania, and the Russian Federation. Thus, European countries outside the E.U. zone now rank second (after African countries) in their contribution of individuals to the stocks of immigrant population in Portugal.

The differences between the new and traditional immigration flows are visible in the geographical distribution of immigrants and in their insertion into the labour market. While the traditional flows would congregate around the metropolitan area of Lisbon and in the Algarve, the new migratory flows tend to be more geographically dispersed and present in less urbanized areas of Portugal. In terms of insertion in the labour market, although the construction sector is still the most important industry for immigrant labour, Eastern European workers may also be found in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors.

The institutional conditions that encourage immigrants' civic participation are divided at three different levels: the state, the local, and the civil society levels. At the state level, the High Commissioner for Migrations and Ethnic Minorities is the main organizational structure along with a set of interrelated initiatives operating under specific regulatory frameworks, which act as mediators between state officials and the Portuguese civil society, and more specifically, immigrant communities. At the local level, some municipalities created consultative councils and municipal departments aiming at encouraging the participation and representation of interests from immigrant groups and association in local policies. In the civil society sphere, the main actors in Portugal spurring immigrants civic participation are immigrant associations, mainstream associations directed toward immigration topics, and unions. The legal conditions framing immigrants' access to social housing, education, health, and social security in Portugal are also considered to be positive. Conditions restricting immigrants' civic participation are mainly normative and include the Portuguese nationality law, the regulations shaping the political participation of immigrants, namely in what concerns their right to vote, and employment regulations restricting immigrants' access to public administration positions.

Part II of the report focuses on the active civic participation of third country immigrants.

First, reasons for the lack of research on this issue in Portugal are explained. On the one hand, the recent immigration history and the more urgent needs regarding school and economic integration kept this issue out of the research spotlight. On the other hand, it was just in the

beginning of the 1990s that immigrants took the very first steps toward collective mobilisation. Secondly, the literature review of Portuguese bibliography covers research on third country immigrants' associative movement, research on local authorities' policies and discussion about ethnic politics and political mobilisation of immigrants in Portugal.

As political mobilisation of these groups has been made mainly through ethnic and/or migrant organisations, a brief history of immigrants' associative movement is given. Immigrant associations develop multiple roles, covering the social, the cultural, the economic and the political domains. Political claiming for the regularisation of illegal immigrants has been a permanent and important field of intervention since the mid-1990s. Research results reveal the complex relations between ethnic mobilisation and the set of legal and institutional frameworks developed by local and national governmental authorities targeted to the incorporation of minority groups. Case studies on the Oeiras district and on the Amadora district are then presented.

Conclusions underline that the most active immigrant groups are those from Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, since these groups have constituted a higher number of ethnic associations, give priority to political claiming and present a more politicised discourse.

Reflecting on the future of research on civic participation of third country immigrants in Portugal, the authors state that it would be interesting and relevant to compare the Portuguese situation with those of other European countries, with an older immigration history, and analyse how the Portuguese immigrants' associative movement will be affected by a changing legal framework and the emergence of new opportunities within the set of structures regarding the political participation of minority groups.

## **Slovakia**

Boris Divinsky

In the presented Country Report for Slovakia, we have tried to assess the active civic participation of foreigners. This issue has never been evaluated yet in the country and the issues of international migration as a whole are still little examined. Thus the specific question of civic participation has to be seen on the background of this fact.

The first part of the Report analyses development in immigration, State migration policy, attitudes to migrants and basic conditions to their stay in Slovakia. At the beginning of the 1990's, migration trends in Slovakia started to radically alter. Slovakia began to transform from an emigration country into an immigration one. A set of fundamentally new phenomena appeared in Slovakia and practically found relevant actors in the country unprepared. The Report demonstrates that the country has been witnessing a shocking and unexpected growth of especially asylum seekers and illegal migrants in the recent years. Their ratio to the number of native inhabitants belongs to the highest one in Europe. On the contrary, the category of foreigners with a stay permit (temporary or permanent) – accounting for over 22,000 persons and thus the most numerous group of non-natives – represents only 0.4% of the total population in the country and faces stagnation.

In the next part, the State migration policy of Slovakia is evaluated. First, previous policy being in force until the beginning of 2005 is described. Its origin dates back to 1993, therefore it was rather insufficient and little coinciding with the recent situation in the country. From the institutional and integration aspects, a specialised authority dealing with the matters of foreigners as well as adequate integration policies for them is extremely missing in the

country. Then, the freshly approved Conception of migration policy of the Slovak Republic in its general version is characterised more in detail outlining its positives and negatives. At the end of this part, some essential ideas to improve the quality of the Conception - being further developed by respective Ministries by June 2005 - are provided.

Another text section is focused on the concrete current fundamental legal norms regulating the matters of entry, stay and departure of foreigners as well as asylum matters in the country. The content of both laws is shortly depicted, the typologies of main categories of foreigners with a permit to stay and persons in the asylum procedure are defined and impacts of both laws on the active civic participation of foreigners presented.

As further shown, just a little attention has been paid to immigration hitherto. And it concerns particularly the issue of the active civic participation of immigrants. As indicated in the Report, public opinion in the country is mostly unfavourable to migrants; there are obvious forms of at least xenophobia against migrants, sometimes multiplied by their social exclusion or discrimination. The working of the media in this area is insufficient, incompetent and superficial. Questions of immigration are not considered important and attractive; the topic is seen as marginal. Politicians in Slovakia deal with immigration matters only exceptionally.

Therefore, the most discussed topics in the public with relation to immigration are formed by such as the rising flows and numbers of asylum applicants, the apprehension of illegal migrants, the smuggling and trafficking of migrants, the protection of the eastern Slovak border, developments in European migration or asylum policies and immigrants in the EU. On the other side, topics as the successful integration of foreigners into society, their everyday life and problems, fight against discrimination and racism, activities of foreigners' associations, activities of NGO's and IGO's in this field etc. are sensibly neglected or absent in Slovakia, including that of their active civic participation.

The overall setting in view of foreigners in Slovakia may be defined as medium-developed; is ensured by a complex of various laws, mostly harmonised with those in the EU over the recent period. The rights of foreigners are thus guaranteed but just to a certain degree. The rights to liberty, privacy, conscience, religion and faith, the freedom of expression, the right to petition, assemble, associate, membership in organisations are not restricted, but the electoral right into the national parliament is not granted. In some groups of immigrants (illegal migrants, asylum seekers), the free movement of persons, membership in political parties and the right to work are partly limited or even prohibited at all. The Report shows the respective state in all groups of foreigners in a synoptic table. Accordingly, there still may be found reserves to improve the situation in the country.

The second part of the Report first briefly evaluates the general level of civic participation in Slovak society emphasising its developed state. Then the Report analyses literature sources on the active civic participation of foreigners and brings examples of most prominent foreigners' associations and their members in Slovakia.

This part is not so extensive and rich in data as expected. The reasons rest on a fact that due to a short history of international migration and a minimum of institutions dealing with particular topics of the process, the number of experts focusing on the topic is quite scanty. As was proved, there exists only one large scientific output (book) on migration in Slovakia, not specially examining the question of civic participation. It is symptomatic that it was written even in English as no domestic institution was interested in supporting research resulting in a Slovak publication. Only now another book on impacts of international migration on society in the country is being prepared in Slovak. Studies in Slovak are limited in number too (merely one) and not directly referring to the civic participation of foreigners.

The number of immigrants' associations in Slovakia is modestly on increase. Activities of 6 of them were characterised in detail (Association of Afghans, Islamic Foundation, General Association of Muslim Students, Association PLOP Slovakia-Association of Portuguese speaking third-world countries, Association of Russians, Cultural Association of the Bulgarians and their Friends) and their representatives named. However, it has to be stressed that they are basically not too known in the public, only within their narrower or wider surrounding and organisation itself. Besides, several further foreigners' organisations should operate in the country but they are either enclosed with few official relations to the public or not functional for various reasons at present. In connection with these associations, though legally there are not obstacles for them, much greater support from the State and self-government is needed and expected for the future.

The third part of the Report provides a concluding picture on civic activities of foreigners in Slovakia. The part summarises the main fields of activities of immigrants' associations (dominantly having ethnic-cultural nature, merely one association is exactly of a religious character). A more active civic participation will probably be another step. Then, the most active ethnic groups in the country are identified and other questions answered. The fact that the relative degree of active civic participation of immigrants is in Slovakia much lower than that of the majority population suggests that the position of foreigners in society is actually less stable, with more restrictions, less support and also the level of their self-awareness is less expressed at present.

In this context, the Report mentions the issues of particular interest, which for Slovakia means: next development of State migration policy, allocation of more financial means from the budget, realisation of institutional transformations, information and education of the public, correct assessment of international migration, deeper international cooperation within European structures with emphasis on the active civic participation of aliens.

Migration research in general is not performed on a regular, deep and comprehensive basis, is not institutionalised and is done rather to particular, one-shot order. That is why just a few research workers started to carry out this kind of research partly and merely one person full-time. Relevant authorities should therefore judge priorities and find the necessary amount of money to create a basic framework for the research of migration and to support it in Slovakia much more intensively.

The Annex to the Report brings lists of research institutions dealing with the relevant topic, which is in the case of the Slovak Republic not only the active civic participation of immigrants, but migration issues as a whole. As indicated, it is not easy to identify leading universities, university departments or research institutes and scholars in the field of immigration, not to say about the civic participation of foreigners. In contrast, research in the field of civic participation in the country is well developed, represented and quite successful.

## **Slovenia**

Svetlozar Andreev

This literature review aims at presenting the actual state of affairs of active civic participation of immigrants in Slovenia. After the collapse of both Communism and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, Slovenia emerged as an independent state, which was soon to embark upon regional integration in the EU. Currently a member of the latter organisation (since 1 May, 2004), Slovenia presents one of the most interesting cases of migration control

and management not only in post-communist Eastern Europe, but also among the current EU member states.

Migration policy in Slovenia is a relatively recent development. Before the 1950s it used to be predominantly a country of emigration. During the 1960s and 70s, the picture gradually changed: new migrants from the East and South (mainly from the other Yugoslav republics) settled in Slovenia, while Slovenians still continued to (im)migrate as “guest workers” to the wealthy West. During the late 1980s and especially during the 1990s, with the intensification of ethnic conflicts across Yugoslavia, many new minorities came to Slovenia. Situated on important “migration routes” from East to West and North to South, Slovenia started to attract immigrants from Third World countries as well. Initially, the influx of sizeable migrant groups, representing as much as 10 percent of the entire Slovenian population, was perceived as a clear threat to national identity. The young democratic institutions, civil society and the media were not always adequately prepared or did not have any previous experience of dealing with migration problems. Coping with “migration challenges” during the last decade or so was more an experience of “learning by doing” for all actors involved in matters of migration and citizenship.

Regarding active civic participation of immigrants, as well as the related research literature and various other publications, the situation is still far from clear. Nevertheless, the first signs of active civic involvement are present, especially in the large Slovenian cities and among the “old migrants” from the former Yugoslav republics, such as the Serbs, the Bosnians and the Croats. The media and the NGO community have also taken a pro-active stance not only to defend the immigrants’ rights, but also to give them a voice in public life. Last, but not least, with the entry of Slovenia in the EU, some groups of foreign nationals have been granted new political and social rights, i.e. of participating in local elections and governance, as well as to buy property, reside, work and collect social benefits in the country.

## Spain

Carmen Gonzalez-Enriquez

The research on the civic participation of the immigrants in Spain is very recent and there are still many aspects of the matter to be explored. This is in consonance with the youthfulness of the immigration in Spain: immigration only became socially visible in the mid-nineties and half the immigrants in Spain have lived here for less than two years. The first important paper on the subject dates from 1999 (Veredas 1999) and the first quantitative study which was non-regional in scope is currently being carried out (Morales, González and Sánchez, 2004). Given the lack of research, there are very few things that we can affirm with reliability regarding the civic participation of immigrants in Spain. We do not know what “the main fields of civic activities that immigrants engage in” are as there are no quantitative studies with surveys done on immigrants which enable us to answer this question. The majority of the immigrants in Spain are still in very precarious situations as they have been in the country for too short a period of time and this hinders any kind of civic participation. Probably belonging to a Church (Islamic, Catholic, Orthodox, Adventist) is the only “civic” activity which is common among immigrants. The few studies which exist and have been summarized here are focused on the immigrants’ associations. Therefore, we can speak of the activities of these associations, but not the activities of the immigrants in general. With regard to the associations, their main field of activity, as can be deduced from the studies, is social

assistance given to the immigrants, which materializes in legal aid for obtaining “papers”, and all types of assistance such as finding a room, finding a job, connecting with the social and charity services, etc. In the second place, the other large area of activity are the claims filed generally against the Central Administration and the demands for new regularization processes and modifications to the legislation on aliens. In third place are the activities related to leisure and the maintenance of the customs of the culture of origin.

When the immigrants’ associations are compared against each other depending on their national origins, there is only a clear difference in favour of the Senegalese. This group has been highlighted in several studies as especially active in the formation of associations, which tend to be explained by the intense associative and communal life in Senegal. There are no other noteworthy differences among the associations due to national origin. Although ATIME, the main Moroccan immigrants’ association in Spain is also the main association of immigrants in general, its pre-eminence may be due to two factors unrelated to its national idiosyncrasy: the immigration of Moroccan workers is the oldest type of economic immigration in Spain and for many years this was the most numerous community. It may be surprising that the associations of Ecuadorians, who are now the most important national group among immigrants, has received little qualitative attention, but we must take into account the fact that immigration is growing and changing in its composition at a very fast pace in Spain. Probably if Sonia Veredas, the main Spanish expert on the matter, had written her doctoral thesis on the subject four years later, she would have dealt with the Ecuadorians instead of the Peruvians who are now a minor group.

Neither can we reply reliably to the question, “What is the relation between engagement in ethnic or migrant organisations compared to mainstream society organisations?”, as there are no quantitative studies among immigrants and the autochthonous population to provide us with the required information. However, we could suggest the hypothesis that the type of engagement in both types of associations is different given their differing functions: the basically assistential nature of the immigrants’ associations at the present time and the autochthonous associations which are involved mainly in making claims, providing non-basic or leisure services. To sum up, it could be said that many immigrants can feel the necessity to joint an association, especially when they have just arrived in the country and are in difficult situations, while for the autochthonous population life is perfectly possible without belonging to any type of association.

There are signs that the immigrants tend to associate more than the autochthonous population in Spain, which is one of the European countries with the lowest rates of political association (Morales, 2004). However, this cannot lead to the deduction that the immigrants will contribute a revitalising of the associative fabric as, until now and as shown by the studies which have been described, the main function of these associations is assistance, which implies that the reason for associating may vanish when the situation of need disappears. Furthermore, as was stated above, we lack information of the participation of immigrants in types of civic activities other than belonging to their own associations. We also do not know how the social differences between immigrants as regards education, occupation, level of income, gender, age and period of time in the country affect the patterns of civic participation.

# Sweden

Miguel Benito

There are in Sweden today a million immigrants and around 800 000 persons born in Sweden with parents born in other countries. The total population of Sweden is 8.9 million people at the end of 2004. The immigrant population represents 11-12% of the total population. Together with their children they represent 20% of the population. Near 40% of all immigrants who came to Sweden during the last 60 years have returned to their home country or emigrated to a third country. While most immigrants came from European countries in the 50s and 60s nowadays the immigrants represent all the countries of the world.

The first immigration law was from 1913. Immigration from the Nordic countries has been free from 1954 and the Finnish population is still the biggest one. Immigration has been free since 1992 from the EEA (European Economic Area) countries. Since 2004, citizens from the new EU countries can also move freely into Sweden if they find a job. Labour immigration was stimulated at the end of the 40s and during the 50s and part of the 60s. It was stopped more or less at the end of 1969 by pressure of the trade unions and by the creation of the Swedish Immigration Board.

Since then the main immigration to Sweden is either refugees or relatives to persons living already in Sweden, families to immigrants and refugees of married persons.

A reform policy started from 1965 and culminated during the 70s. Some of the reforms are the right to vote in local and regional elections (first year was 1976), the right to study Swedish for immigrants for 240 hours and paid by the employers, the right for children to study the mother tongue in school and subsidies to immigrant and cultural organisations, as well as journals and magazines by and for immigrants. Some of the reforms have been substantially changed during the last years.

In the second part of the survey there are some key issues about civic participation of immigrants. Since the very beginning it has been allowed to have own immigrant organisations. In some communities they have influenced the communities through consultative bodies. At the national level the immigrant organisations have had a continuous dialogue with the authorities. On the other hand the contact with other institutions of the host society has been more sporadic.

The right to vote in the local and regional elections as well as in referendums has been granted to immigrants being registered in Sweden for more than three years through a decision in the parliament in 1975 and the first election took place in 1976. The degree of participation has nevertheless being lower for every new election, from almost 60 percent in 1976 to 35 percent in 2002. There are different opinions as to the reason of this decrease. There is no major difference between immigrants who have become Swedish citizens and the Swedish natural population. The small differences can be explained mostly by social status.

The participation of immigrants in important parts of the civic society is considered low. At the same time it is shown that immigrants who have become Swedish citizens have a higher rate of participation, mostly because their longer time of residence. A considerable amount of immigrants, around half the population, stay in Sweden for some years to come back to their home country or to a third country.

The research has been concentrated to study the political representation of immigrants at different levels in proportion to the population as a total. It has been noticed that the

representation is fair, but there is a gap between representation and participation, which is related to segregation and ethnification in some parts of the society.

## United Kingdom

Franck Düvell

The United Kingdom has a long history of immigration dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which turned into mass immigration during the post-war years. Migration patterns are shaped through the UK's colonial past and its persisting links with the Commonwealth of Nations. Until today, the overwhelming majority of immigrants are from countries, which have historical, cultural, lingual and/or economic relations with the UK.

The migrant (foreign born) population represents 7.9 per cent of the entire population (4,6 million; plus an unknown number of in-country born 'black and Asian British'), 9 per cent in England and 19 per cent in London where they are concentrated. 54 ethnic or national groups larger than 10.000 individuals have been identified and the UK is more diverse than ever. In demographic terms, the UK appears unique in Europe as it shows a considerable population growth of 2,9 per cent between 1991-2001, caused by natural increase and increasingly by immigration. Since 1993, the UK also shows a positive immigration balance of nearly 1 million individuals, whilst in earlier decades emigration usually outnumbered immigration. The quality of available statistics is, however, confusing and dissatisfying.

Most present immigration is temporary (students, workers), but permanent settlement is steadily increasing since the late 1990s. Whilst most cases fall in the 'dependants' category, refugees dominate the category of 'acceptances in its own right'. Work permit holders or other employees only represent 3.5 per cent of all settlement acceptances. About half of immigrant and ethnic minority population have UK citizenship; in the last decade about 800.000 immigrants have been naturalized, with an increasing tendency.

Because of the laissez faire approach to settlement, influenced by labour and housing market mechanisms and by processes of discrimination, immigrants tend to form geographical clusters and develop ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities.

The media debate on immigration is dominated by illegal immigration and asylum, and more recently with loopholes in the immigration control system and a related so-called 'immigration crisis'. The previously powerful concept of a positive perception of economic migration is put at stake. But the debate seems to indicate an up-date of the traditional trade off, this time signalling: liberal migration policies require firm controls.

The legal and institutional framework is characterised by an efficient racial equality and anti-discrimination legislation, the Racial Equality act, and a strong tradition of civil rights underscored by the new Human Rights act. Since 2000, the government is increasing its efforts to encourage strong and active communities and to raise the participation of people in the voluntary sector. Regional schemes particular target ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities.

These, throughout immigration history and all countries of origin have created a rich landscape of immigrant and ethnic minority social and political organisations, respectively participation in mainstream organisations. These correspond with an equally rich ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee media landscape. Regarding the post-war period, civic

activities have usually been identified as a response to discrimination and racism, and the social and political exclusion that accompanies that. The organisations have either been designed as self-help organisations or as campaigning, protest, and political organisations, and often they have been both. Civic participation is a concept not much applied to the activities of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the UK. Instead the concepts used are integration, communities, community organisations (COs) and voluntary activities. These are inter-linked, as the widely held approach is that part of the integration process for immigrants is gaining the ability to create robust communities, not coined by community organisations but equally representing the preconditions for setting up community organisations through which immigrants empower themselves and influence policy processes. Also used are the concepts of Black (meaning Afro-Caribbean, African and Asian) and, more recently, Black and minority ethnic (BME) organisations.

The tip of the iceberg of immigrant active civic participation are twelve Members of Parliament and 662 local Councillors. Very visible, and raising considerable public attention are refugee community activities, unrest in detention centres and in particular anti-deportation and migration control related protests. In recent years, settlement and integration issues have gained relevance. The single most important issue, however, mobilising the UK's ethnic minority and immigrant communities has been police racism and judicial discrimination, namely the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993. A years long campaign of black community organisation, after gaining considerable attention and influence, resulted in the Home Minister to call a public inquiry in 1997. The Stephen Lawrence Enquiry, corresponding with ongoing 'black' community civic activity, and coinciding with a series of violent upheavals of Black and Asian people in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley in 2001, recognised considerable institutional discrimination in all public services (McPherson, 1999). The report led to a reform of the Race Relations act in 2000 and triggered a wide array of integration efforts.

Establishing the state of the art of research in ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee civic participation brings to light, that although there is a satisfying list of publications covering the early years from the 1950s to the 1980s, there are surprisingly few publications on recent developments. In particular the gender perspective seems to be weak, but also research on smaller communities is rare.

With respect to mapping the field of active individuals, scholars and research institutions, it must be emphasised, that because of the very dense landscape of ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities and a respectively high number of active and known spokespersons and activists, corresponding with a diverse landscape of research institutions, the examples or names mentioned can only be taken as exemplary, standing for many further, equally relevant institutions or individuals.