



Miguel Benito

**Active Civic Participation
of Immigrants in
Sweden**

POLITIS – a European research project

Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe

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www.cordis.lu/citizens

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Abstract

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.

Table of contents

Part 1: Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation.....	6
1.1 Key events and demographic developments in the migration history of Sweden	6
1.2 General Statistical information.....	8
1.2.1 Labour Recruitment 1949-1965	11
1.2.2 1965-1994.....	11
1.2.3 1995-.....	11
1.2.3 Different kinds of permits	14
1.3 REFORMS 1965 – 2005	19
1.4 Institutional setting framing immigrant participation	21
1.4.1 The legal framework governing immigration, employment and social rights of immigrants.....	21
1.4.2 Basic civic and basic political rights (freedom of assembly, freedom of association)	21
1.4.3 Cultural and religious rights of immigrants	22
1.4.4 Specialised administrative bodies dealing with immigrant integration, advisory bodies and the local vote for immigrants	23
1.4.5 Membership in interest organisations	24
1.4.6 Membership in political parties.....	24
Part II: Review of research on active civic participation of immigrants.....	26
2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 Immigrants and minorities in the political process: empirical data	26
2.2.1 Participation in Trade Unions and Labour and employers interest organisations... 30	
2.3 Participation of immigrants and minorities in NGOs.....	31
2.3.1 Mapping structures and activity fields of migrant organisations	33
Part 3: Expert assessment.....	38
3.1 Main fields of civic activities	38
3.2 Differences by ethnic/nationality group.....	38
3.3 Other important issues.....	38
Bibliography.....	40
Annex: Mapping of research competences in Sweden.....	43

Part 1: Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation

1.1 Key events and demographic developments in the migration history of Sweden

Sweden used to be a country of immigration. During the Middle Ages, the city of Stockholm could have been more or less a German city where German was spoken and even the city council was run by German speaking persons.

In the last 150 years, Sweden was also characterized by emigration. Only from 1850 to 1930 emigrated about 1.2 million people from Sweden to America and some other countries in the world. This period in the Swedish history is called the period of the great Swedish emigration. Emigration from Sweden has nevertheless been numerically larger from 1940 to our days than in the period before. The difference is that the emigration which took place 1850-1930 comprised almost a fourth of the population of that time, a fourth which was not replaced by other groups, while the new emigration is not so large in proportion to the country's population of today and it is also replaced by immigrants from other countries.

1930 marks the new start of Sweden as a country of immigration, it is, the number of immigrants coming into the country is bigger than the number of emigrants leaving the country. 1930 marks also the start of groups of refugees coming to Sweden. There were not so many persons at the beginning. Sweden was one of the countries with restrictions to Jewish immigration. The government of Sweden requested from Germany that the passes of Jewish people should have a J on the passport. It was a way to check people before they crossed the border. During the Second World War there were not so many persons who immigrated to Sweden, except for refugees from Denmark, Norway and Finland. About 70 000 children, the so-called "war children" were brought from Finland to Sweden during the war. Many of them went back to Finland and came again to Sweden, when they realised that they no longer understood the Finnish language and got problems with their own families or there was no family to return to.

At the end of the Second World War there was a big group of refugees from the Baltic countries, especially Estonia. More than 30 000 persons came to Sweden. Many Balts did not reach the Swedish coast but died in the sea during their travel, as it happens today for immigrants from Africa coming to Europe. They were the first so called "boat refugees", before the Vietnamese during the 1980s or the Africans of today coming to the Spanish or Italian coast. The boats of Estonians coming to Sweden were often overcrowded.

Many Estonians moved further to the United States or Canada, as they feared for their lives even in Sweden. They remembered the deportations of Balts who had co-operated with Germany and for whom the Soviet Union asked the Swedish Government of help with the deportation. Even if they were not so many, it is still a wound in the Swedish immigration history. After the war Sweden received many Jews coming directly from the concentration camps in Germany, Poland and Hungary.

There have been many significant groups of refugees coming during different times to Sweden. A list of some of the groups can be read her:

* ca 121 000 Nordic refugees	At the end of the war in 1945, there were ca 70 000 Finnish children, 18 000 Danish citizens and 43 000 Norwegians in Sweden
* ca 30 000 Balts	During and after the war
* ca 45 000 refugees from concentration camps	Refugees came 1945-49 through the sc. Bernadotte- and UNRRA-actions and through private initiative
* ca 15 000 Hungarians	During the revolt 1956 and by political prosecutions during 1970-, 1980- and 1990-ies
* ca 6 000 Czechs and Slovaks	After the Prague spring and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, as well as in the 70s, 80s and 90s
* ca 20 000 Polish	During revolts and persecutions from the end of the 1960s, the military coup December 1981
* ca 77 000 Yugoslavs	during 1950s, 1960s and 1990s – Partly refugees, partly immigrant workers
* ca 5 000 Greeks	During the Junta period 1967-74
* ca 20 000 Kurds	From the beginning of the 1970s
* ca 20 000 Assyrians and Syrians	1972, 1975 and later
* ca 9 000 Vietnam Chinese	boat refugees at the end of 1970s
* ca 52 000 Iraqis	1980s 1990s and 2000s
* ca 40 000 Iranians	The Iranian Revolution 1979 and the war between Iran and Iraq 1980-1988
* ca 25 000 Chileans	After the military coup 1973
* ca 10 000 other Latin Americans	Political prosecutions in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay during the 1970s
* ca 11 000 Eritreans+	War in Eritrea since the end of the 1960s
* ca 13 000 Palestinians+	War in Lebanon
* ca 9 000 Somalis+	War in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya during the 1980- and 1990-ies

+ Immigrants in Sweden are always registered by citizenship. It means that when we write about ethnic groups or minorities from a country the figures are only tentative

This is the case of Eritreans before independence, who are registered as Ethiopians or Palestinians, who can be registered as stateless but also as Israelis, Jordanians, persons from Lebanon and so on. In the case of Somalis most of them are stateless as they can not get documents from the home country.

Source: Statens invandrarverk and Immigrant Institute. <http://www.immi.se/asyl/grupper.htm>

1.2 General Statistical information

We count today about a million immigrants in Sweden and around 800 000 persons born in Sweden with at least one parent born in other countries. The total population of Sweden is 8.9 million people at the end of 2004.¹ Therefore the immigrant population represents 11-12% of the total. Together with their children they represent 20% of the population. Nowadays, immigrants originate from all countries of the world.

Foreign born by region of origin in 2004

Region	Population
Nordic countries	279 160
European Union –other countries	99 357
Europe – other countries	250 516
Total Europe	629 033
Africa	62 339
North and Central America	26 040
South America	54 371
Asia	295 304
Oceania	3 405
Immigrants outside Europe	386 308
Soviet Union	7 104
Unknown country	479
Total immigrants	1 078 075
Total population in Sweden	8 975 670

Source: Statistik årsbok för Sverige 2005. Table 106 Statistical Central Office

¹ Statistisk årsbok för Sverige 2005. Table 106. Statitcal Central Office.

Immigrants and emigrants 1941-2004

Year	Immigrants	Of them - Swedish citizens*	Emigrants	Of them - Swedish citizens*
1941	..4254		..1101	
1942	..3053		...940	
1943	..6249		...687	
1944	13340		...549	
1945	21126		..8261	
1946	31422		..6915	
1947	31399		..6451	
1948	32935		..9784	
1949	23997		14174	
1950	27940		12860	
1951	31603		16580	
1952	26259		14998	
1953	19175		17480	
1954	20817		13822	
1955	30069		12675	
1956	28029		14737	
1957	33023		15071	
1958	22097		14247	
1959	19089		15607	
1960	26143		15138	
1961	29619		15019	
1962	25084		14928	
1963	26950		15340	
1964	38334	3401	15705	..4631
1965	49586	3058	15977	..4625
1966	46970	3096	19730	..5285
1967	29983	2908	19979	..5450
1968	35978	3126	23162	..5918
1969	64503	3728	20360	..5926
1970	77326	3794	28653	..7386
1971	42615	3899	39560	..8196
1972	29894	4251	41579	..8245
1973	29443	4561	40342	10085
1974	37430	5512	28352	..8252
1975	44133	6072	27249	..6843
1976	45492	5767	25522	..6810

1977	44005	5295	21078	..6218
1978	36187	4515	22168	..6542
1979	37025	4625	23467	..7146
1980	39426	4980	31066	..9065
1981	32272	4868	29440	..8641
1982	30381	5239	28381	..8465
1983	27495	5204	25269	..7883
1984	31486	5426	22825	..8215
1985	33127	5238	22036	..8022
1986	39487	5447	24495	..9143
1987	42666	5550	20673	..9044
1988	51092	6639	21461	..9614
1989	65866	6922	21484	..8338
1990	60048	6728	25196	..8957
1991	49731	5805	24745	..9734
1992	45348	5814	25726	15582
1993	61872	7038	29874	15039
1994	83598	8864	32661	16915
1995	45887	9808	33984	18573
1996	39895	10 577	33 884	19 425
1997	44 818	11 399	38 543	23 241
1998	49 391	13 690	38 518	24 381
1999	49 839	15 266	35 705	22 123
2000	58 659	16 030	34 091	21 515
2001	60 795	16 678	32 141	19 439
2002	64 087	16 484	33 009	18 813
2003	63 795	15 807	35 023	19 889
2004	62028	14448	36 586	20565
Total	2 455 665	297 557	1 407 063	468 179

*First from 1964 there is a distinction in the statistics about Swedish citizens as emigrants or immigrants.

Source: Statistical Central Office. Work by the Immigrant Institute.

From 1851 till 1940 (90 years) 1.4 million persons emigrated from Sweden. From 1941 till 2004 (64 years), also 1.4 million persons emigrated from Sweden. Since 1941, nearly 950 000 foreign citizens left Sweden and nearly 2.5 million came to Sweden. It means that near 40% of the immigrants returned to their home country or emigrated again to a third country. Immigrants who have become Swedish citizens emigrate as well, but there are no distinctions in the statistics.

1.2.1 Labour Recruitment 1949-1965

Shortly after the Second World War there was a shortage of people in the labour market. The employers together with the governmental employment office went to different countries in Europe, especially Italy and Yugoslavia and started to employ groups of workers who came to Sweden directly to a workplace. At the end of the fifties the number of countries was enlarged.

During the sixties the migrant population increased even without agreements between countries. Immigrants from Spain, Portugal and Turkey found their way to Sweden, partly coming through Germany where many of them had worked for some years.

One important issue in the Swedish immigration was the agreement of freedom of movement between the Nordic countries 1954. This resulted in a very large emigration from Finland to Sweden. There were almost half a million persons from Finland living in Sweden in the middle of the seventies. Nowadays the Finnish population comprises around 200 000 persons.

The enlargement of the European Union has so far not had the same impact on the population as the Nordic agreement.

1.2.2 1965-1994

The labour movement became more and more concerned about the exploitation of the migrant workers. In 1965 the government initiated a survey to find out how to inform immigrants about the Swedish society. This work resulted in very important changes also in how Sweden would cope with immigrant issues in the future. The Swedish Immigration Board was created in 1969. Restrictions on immigration were decided. The official version is that Sweden from 1965 has a “regulated immigration” with work permits before coming to Sweden. In reality it means “immigration stop”, as there are very few persons who can get a work permit before passing the frontier. This is why since 1970 a majority of the coming immigration population to Sweden is family members and refugees, as it is still possible to seek asylum after passing the borders.

1.2.3 1995 to the present

We face a new situation with a more restricted refugee policy. In 2004 it was a proposal to the parliament to even restrict the free movement of citizens from the new EU-countries, but the proposal was rejected. One year later it has been noticed that the number of immigrants of these countries have not increased considerably as the government feared.

Table: Population by country of birth

Country of birth	1970	1980	1990	2000	2004
Sweden	7 539 318	7 690 282	7 800 185	7 878 994	7 897 595
<i>Foreign-born</i> ^{1,2}	537 585	626 953	790 445	1 003 798	1 078 075
The <i>Nordic countries</i>	320 913	341 253	319 082	279 631	279 160
<i>Denmark</i>	39 152	43 501	43 931	38 190	40 921
<i>Finland</i>	235 453	251 342	217 636	195 447	189 341
<i>Iceland</i>	1 627	3 547	4 771	3 530	3 811
<i>Norway</i>	44 681	42 863	52 744	42 464	45 087
<i>Europe other than Nordic countries</i>	176 463	190 990	220 806	330 018	349 873
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	.	.	.	51 526	53 949
<i>Bulgaria</i>	722	913	1 933	3 508	3 825
<i>France</i>	2 487	3 166	3 844	5 602	6 155
<i>Greece</i>	11 835	15 153	13 171	10 851	10 853
<i>Italy</i>	7 268	6 062	5 989	6 337	6 584
<i>Yugoslavia/Serbia and Montenegro</i> ³	33 779	37 982	43 346	71 972	75 099
<i>Croatia</i>	.	.	.	5 229	5 726
<i>Netherlands</i>	2 916	3 077	3 543	4 532	5 150
<i>Poland</i>	10 851	19 967	35 631	40 123	41 608
<i>Portugal</i>	1 545	2 260	2 611	2 514	2 533
<i>Romania</i>	1 221	1 977	8 785	11 776	12 343
<i>Switzerland</i>	1 795	1 760	1 932	2 389	2 557
<i>Spain</i>	3 781	4 363	4 917	5 079	5 470
<i>United Kingdom</i>	5 378	8 243	11 378	14 602	16 428
<i>Former Czechoslovakia</i>	7 392	7 529	8 432	321	6 909
<i>Fed. Rep. of Germany</i> ⁴	41 793	38 696	36 558	38 155	40 217
<i>Hungary</i>	10 650	12 929	15 045	14 127	13 794
<i>Austria</i>	7 927	6 995	6 530	6 021	5 967
<i>Other Europe</i>	25 123	19 918	17 161	35 354	34 706
<i>Africa</i>	4 149	10 025	27 343	55 138	62 339
<i>Ethiopia</i>	346	1 797	10 027	11 907	11 281
<i>Morocco</i>	775	1 584	2 720	4 492	5 150

Somalia	16	100	1 441	13 082	14 809
<i>Other Africa</i>	3 012	6 544	13 155	25 657	31 099
<i>North America</i>	15 629	14 484	19 087	24 312	26 040
USA	12 646	11 980	13 001	14 413	15 143
<i>Other North America</i>	2 983	2 504	6 086	9 899	10 897
<i>South America</i>	2 300	17 206	44 230	50 853	54 371
Argentina	632	2 211	2 421	2 435	2 657
Bolivia	327	613	1 983	2 349	2 537
Chile	181	8 256	27 635	26 842	27 528
Uruguay	71	2 101	2 430	2 227	2 320
<i>Other South America</i>	1 089	4 025	9 761	17 000	19 329
<i>Asia</i>	9 841	45 112	150 487	253 024	295 304
<i>India</i>	907	4 452	9 054	11 110	12 349
Iran	411	3 348	40 084	51 101	53 241
<i>Lebanon</i>	240	2 170	15 986	20 038	20 811
<i>Syria</i>	100	1 606	5 874	14 162	15 692
<i>Turkey</i>	3 768	14 357	25 528	31 894	34 083
<i>Viet Nam</i>	10 898	11 771
<i>Other Asia</i>	4 415	19 179	53 961	113 821	147 357
<i>former USSR</i>	7 244	6 824	7 471	7 584	7 104
<i>Oceania</i>	558	962	1 866	2 981	3 405
<i>Unknown country</i>	488	97	73	257	479
<i>Foreign-born as per cent of all inhabitants</i>	6,7	7,5	9,2	11,3	12,0
<i>Total</i>	8 081 229	8 317 937	8 590 630	8 882 792	8 975 670

¹ 1970 according to FoB 1970.

² 1980 according to FoB 1980.

³ *Change of name due to an agreement ratified on 9 April 2002.*

⁴ 1970, 1980 and 1990 West Germany.

1.2.3 Different kinds of permits

Permanent residence permits

The normal way of residence in Sweden is getting permanent residence permit, which generally is for three years, and it is renewed automatically every three years.

People who marry to some person living in Sweden can not get a permanent residence permit until two years of residence in Sweden have passed. During that time they can get permits for six months and later on for one year. They may not divorce during this time. If they do, they lose the right to renew the residence permit and have to leave the country. This rule has created problems to women who are ill treated by their husbands and want to divorce. They were expelled from Sweden as their permit were not permanent.

The application for residence permits has to be done outside Sweden through the Swedish embassies or consulates. It is not allowed to come to Sweden and apply for residence permits here. Those who try this way lose automatically the right to search for a permit.

Relatives can also get residence permits but they have also to apply for residence while they live abroad, and they may not come to Sweden before the permit is granted. In general, only wife/husband and children under 18 years are accepted as relatives. Parents of adult immigrants can also get residence permit under special circumstances.

Work permit

Work permits are given automatically to those with residence permit. In practice, further work permits are only granted for temporary work as specialist or for asylum seekers after four months of being in Sweden, while they are waiting for a final decision of their asylum application.

For this second group the work permit does not mean so much, as the employers usually do not employ persons without the knowledge of the Swedish language, unless they have a specific demand, as the case is with specialists.

Asylum

Sweden claims to have a generous refugee policy. Nevertheless in the last six years the situation has changed drastically. From a country that welcomed refugees, Sweden turned into a country where the majority of asylum seekers does not get the refugee status they are asking for.

The asylum seekers can appeal against a negative decision of the Migration Board to an administrative board called "Utlänningsnämnden" (Aliens Appeals Board). If the decision there also is negative the asylum seekers are expelled from the country.

The Swedish Parliament criticised in 2001 the Aliens Appeals Board not to make decisions according to the law and requested the government to make a new law by which the Swedish administrative courts should take over the cases of appellation. In 2005, it was first possible to reach an agreement between the government and the parties supporting the government so that the cases of appellation are transferred from the Aliens Appeals Board to the Administrative Courts beginning with the year 2006.

In the last years, a new phenomenon has appeared in Sweden. It is the case of so called "apathetic children". Around 10 000 children have been waiting to get refugee status and many of them have got a negative decision not only once but maybe two or three times. They have been in Sweden for up to three or four years. Most of them come from the former

Yugoslavia or the former Soviet Republics and have seen persecution against their parents or relatives or witnessed torture. Around 150 of these children have developed a sickness which makes them apathetic. A government report was announced for the end of April 2005.

As a result of the changes in the practice of the asylum procedure during the last years, the acceptance rate of asylum seekers dropped to under 10% now. At the end of 2004, the Swedish Church started a campaign in favour of families with children who have been in Sweden for a long time. The 'apathetic children' are the first group the church and other humanitarian organisations ask the government to give residence permit for humanitarian reasons.

Table: Asylum applicants, rejections at border and persons granted residence permits as refugees or similar, by basis for residence permit

<i>Year</i>	<i>Asylum applicants</i>	<i>Asylum applicants rejected at border¹</i>	<i>Persons granted residence permits as refugees or similar</i>
1993	37 581	2 500	36 482
1994	18 640	4 700	44 875
1995	9 047	1 521	5 642
1996	5 753	920	4 832
1997	9 662	1 422	9 596
1998	12 844	2 515	8 193
1999	11 231	2 565	5 597
2000	16 303	2 572	10 546
2001	23 508	2 810	7 871
2002	33 016	6 536	7 840
2003	31 355	7 835	6 232
2004	23 161		3 399

¹ Expelled directly to home country of third country

Table: Persons granted residence permits as refugees or similar

By basis for residence permit

Year	Refuge quota	UN Convention	Conscientious objectors ³	"Quasi refugee" grounds ³	Humanitarian grounds ^{4,5}	Persons in need of protection
1993	937	1 025	2	4 000	30 518	.
1994	7 431	785	12	3 060	33 587	.
1995	1 956	148	1	1 401	2 136	.
1996	1 629	128	–	1 651	1 424	.
1997	1 180	1 310	.	.	6 367	739
1998	1 127	1 099	.	.	4 980	987
1999	546	678	.	.	3 559	814
2000	1 501	480	.	.	7 424	1 141
2001	1 281	304	.	.	5 458	828
2002	915	427	.	.	5 588	910
2003	886	655	.	.	4 134	557

³ Ceased to be basis for residence permit 1 January 1997

⁴ 1994: Of which 17 951 granted in accordance with the governmental decree of April 1994

⁵ 1995: Of which 614 granted in accordance with the governmental decree of April 1994

Source: Migrationsverket (1993–2000), Statistiska meddelanden, serie BE 65 (1996–2000);

SCB Statistiska meddelanden, serie BE 68 (www.scb.se, 2001–2003).

Since some years, Sweden perceives a problem with asylum seekers who come to Sweden without any personal documents that confirm their identity. The situation has been partly caused by the implementation practice of the authorities who doubted that asylum seekers were really persecuted when they had been able to get a passport and other documents from their government. The problem is that they are not trusted either, if they do not have any documents, as the Swedish authorities have no confirmation of their identity.

Today, Swedish authorities register that almost 85% of the asylum seekers lack documents. Many asylum seekers are told to throw their documents away before they cross the Swedish border so that they cannot be sent back to other European transit countries. This is partly a result of the Dublin Convention.

A very special situation was with refugees coming from Somalia, Eritrea or other countries of East Africa, where it was difficult to get documents at all. These persons could get residence permits while the war in Somalia or Eritrea was on, but not any longer.

There is a small group of families who have gone underground after receiving negative asylum applications, and their compliance has not been accepted. In the meantime their lawyers try to get a new positive answer to their appeal, which is only rarely granted.

Non-documented immigration

Furthermore, there is a new group of immigrants who do not seek work permit but work and stay illegally in Sweden. This group is also counted as non-documented even if they have documents about their identity. What they lack is a residence permit. Some of them have got work with faked documents. People especially from South and Central America are told to come to Sweden under false promises of work.

There is a small movement working to legalise their situation, but the government is not even interested in an official discussion, as it is not possible to know if these immigrants are living illegally in the country, as they are not registered. Humanitarian organisations believe that it can be about 10 000 persons in this situation. The experience we have in the Immigrant Institute about this situation is that there are very few persons living without permit in Sweden, and that their time in Sweden is also very short. They can work for some months but at the end the social control is so strict that they feel they have to leave the country.

Sweden is not free from trafficking either. A lot of work is being done to stop it without succeeding so far. There is an estimated of about 200 women who are exploited in this way, but there is no research about this phenomenon.

Citizenship

There are different ways of becoming Swedish citizen by naturalisation. Immigrants from the Nordic countries can become Swedish citizens after two years of residence. They only need to register in the national demographic register run by the tax authorities.

Persons with refugee status can become Swedish citizens after four years. They have to apply to the Swedish Migration Board. The application can take from some months to one year to be approved, sometimes more.

Other immigrants can apply for Swedish citizenship after five years of residence in Sweden. The price for the application is 1.500 Swedish crowns (more than 150 Euro).

A new law from 2003 makes it possible for children born in Sweden to get the Swedish citizenship more quickly if the parents want it. Children who became stateless in the past because their parents were also stateless are now registered as Swedish citizens.

In some cities there is a municipal ceremony in the eve or in the same 6th of June, the Swedish National Day, where those who have become citizens during the last 12 months are welcome as Swedes by the local authorities.

There was a condition of knowledge of the Swedish language for getting Swedish citizenship until the middle of the 1970s, but this condition disappeared with the new reforms taken after 1976, especially with the right to vote for foreign nationals. The Popular Party, which during many years personified the unconditional support for refugees, had nevertheless in its program 2002 a proposal of making the knowledge of Swedish compulsory for those willing to become Swedish citizens. The party almost doubled the votes 2002 thanks to this and similar proposals in relation to immigration policy, but their influence in the parliament is still marginal.

Statistically 50% of all foreign born become Swedish citizens after five years or more of residence. There is of course a big variation between naturalisation from one to another country of origin depending of the socio-political situation.

Table: Naturalisations by former nationality, 1997-2003

<i>Previous citizenship</i>	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Europe	13 822	24 364	19 630	22 042	14 635	17 178	14 909
<i>Denmark</i>	296	272	276	310	271	316	310
<i>Finland</i>	1 882	1 668	1 632	1 389	1 512	1 561	2 816
<i>Norway</i>	186	208	238	289	301	376	395
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i> <i>Yugoslavia/Serbia</i> and <i>Montenegro</i> ¹	2 550	10 860	11 348	12 591	4 241	4 064	3 090
<i>Croatia</i>	6 052	8 991	4 000	5 134	1 642	2 747	2 061
<i>Poland</i>	233	223	145	231	925	1 569	1 531
<i>Romania</i>	523	454	159	264	1 906	2 604	1 325
<i>Russia</i>	747	361	258	266	701	497	268
<i>Federal Republic of Germany</i>	174	255	372	410	621	626	642
<i>Other Europe</i>	118	111	180	154	198	243	209
	1 061	961	1 022	1 004	2 317	2 575	2 262
Africa	2 525	2 711	2 304	4 634	4 547	3 463	2 520
<i>Ethiopia</i>	995	635	350	343	331	293	222
<i>Somalia</i>	491	737	739	2 843	2 802	1 789	1 121
<i>Other Africa</i>	1 039	1 339	1 215	1 448	1 414	1 381	1 177
<i>North America</i>	422	391	529	436	779	1 107	781
<i>South America</i>	1 230	1 069	1 582	1 457	1 449	1 426	1 159
<i>Chile</i>	545	426	693	687	727	689	548
<i>Peru</i>	244	227	409	332	288	270	205
<i>Other South America</i>	441	416	480	438	434	467	406
<i>Asia</i>	9 187	16 225	12 196	12 669	13 305	13 163	11 812
<i>India</i>	207	194	203	173	192	142	120
<i>Iraq</i>	2 328	3 719	2 328	4 181	4 043	4 160	4 678
<i>Iran</i>	2 423	7 480	4 476	2 798	2 031	1 737	1 350
<i>China</i>	302	334	300	434	460	563	675
<i>Lebanon</i>	33	146	239	366	720	884	388
<i>Syria</i>	567	653	438	693	588	1 063	1 218
<i>Thailand</i>	343	336	492	525	454	606	443
<i>Turkey</i>	1 402	1 694	1 833	1 398	2 796	2 127	1 375
<i>Viet Nam</i>	601	716	719	580	573	441	330
<i>Other Asia</i>	981	953	1 168	1 521	1 448	1 440	1 235
<i>Oceania</i>	19	13	23	5	26	109	116
<i>former USSR</i>	151	89	–	–	–	–	–
<i>Other countries incl. stateless persons</i>	1 528	1 658	1 409	2 230	1 656	1 349	1 925
Total	28 884	46 520	37 673	43 473	36 397	37 795	33 222

¹ Change of name due to an agreement ratified on 9 April 2002.

Source: SCB Befolkningsstatistik (www.scb.se). Del 4

The list shows some of the countries from which more immigrants apply for Swedish citizenship. The interest to become Swedish citizen is very low for citizens from the Nordic countries or the European Union. For nationals of other countries it is more important.

It is believed that the number of persons applying for Swedish citizenship is going to increase in the future as it is allowed to get double citizenship since 2001.

1.3 REFORMS 1965 – 2005

To summarize, this table gives an overview over reforms in the field of immigration.

1965	All immigrants have the right to free courses in Swedish provided by the Swedish evening schools.
1996	The government appoints a working group on immigrant questions. Finnish-Swedish Council is created in order to improve the education of the Finnish minority.
1967	Immigration from outside the Nordic countries is regulated. Persons from other countries need work permit before coming to Sweden. The first municipal immigrant service opens in Stockholm A news weekly magazine run by a governmental foundation starts publication. The last number was published in 1998. There have been editions in English, French, Polish, Spanish, Czech, Turkish, Arabic and German.
1968	A new immigration policy is approved in the parliament. The decision of the Government that immigrants from outside the Nordic countries will need work permit before coming to Sweden is confirmed. New principles for the education of immigrant children at school are approved. The children get the right to learn their home language at least two hours per week. The municipalities get paid from the National School Board. A new immigrant investigation starts aimed to investigate the situation of immigrants and present proposal on the cultural and social adaptation of immigrants in the Swedish society.
1969	Reforms in the immigration law start to take place. The new Immigration Board is established.
1971	Socially handicapped Roma people from outside the Nordic countries are accepted to Sweden for the first time.
1972	Swedish for immigrants is improved and municipalities and organisations can get support for activities to engage immigrants in courses.
1973	Immigrant workers get the right to courses in Swedish for foreigners during working time paid by the employers, for a maximum of 240 hours. The Swedish public libraries get support to buy books in immigrant languages. The first Finnish People's University is established in Haparanda. Religious organisations with many immigrants get support in the same way as other churches outside the official Swedish church.

- 1975 The parliament decides on the new direction of the immigration policy after years of investigation. “Jämlikhet, valfrihet och samverkan” (Equality, freedom of choice and cooperation) are the three honour words for the new policy.
- During this and coming years the parliament decides about a long list of reforms:
- The Swedish Immigration Board gives support to immigrant organisations.
- Journals and magazines in other languages than Swedish can now get economic support either by the Swedish Immigration Board or the Swedish Cultural Board, depending of the journals orientation.
- 1976 Foreign citizens living in Sweden for more than three years get the right to vote in the local and regional elections, as well as in the elections to the Swedish Church (this last election depending of if they are or not members of the Swedish Church – for instance many Finnish citizens, for whom the Swedish Church does not differ from the official Finnish one.²).
- The parliament decides that immigrant children should have the right to follow courses in their mother tongue both in the pre-school and in the primary education from class 1 to class 9.
- The Swedish Radio and the Television Company start programs in immigrant languages, besides the Finnish, which was established some years before.
- 1984 The responsibility for refugees is transfered from the Employment Office to the Swedish Immigration Board. The parliament decides that the refugees should move to different cities around Sweden, instead of being concentrated in a few places. This was called the whole-country-strategy
- 1986 The 1st of July starts the new ethnic discrimination ombudsman. His/her work is to help immigrants in personal cases of discrimination due to their ethnic background.
- 1997 A new integration policy is approved in the parliament.
- The Swedish Immigration Board is divided in two different organisations, the Swedish Integration Board and the Swedish Immigration Board.
- 2000 The Swedish Immigration Board changes its name to Swedish Migration Board.
- 2001 The 1st of July is implemented the new law on Swedish citizenship, which allows double citizenship. It gives also children to stateless persons to become Swedish from birth.
- 2003 A new law on discrimination, which comprises all kinds of discrimination by ethnicity, religion, sexual preference or handicap.

² The Swedish Church is a protestant Lutheran church and was officially a part of the state. In 2000 the church separated from the state. The Finnish Church has its origins in the Swedish Church from the time there was a common kingdom for Sweden and Finland.

1.4 Institutional setting framing immigrant participation

Sweden was pioneer in the rights of immigrants to participate in the municipal elections. Since 1976 it has been allowed for immigrants residing in Sweden longer than three years to vote and to be elected. For vote in the Parliament is still required Swedish citizenship.

Some Swedish municipalities have also a dialog with immigrant organisations in so-called “immigrant councils”. As the municipalities are free to decide by themselves, the variation is very big between them. In some municipalities the “immigrant councils” have a consultative status as part of the municipality, while in others the immigrant council is an umbrella organisation for representatives from organisations in order to have a dialogue with the municipality and other parts of the society.

Most of the immigrant councils get economic support, as well as the immigrant organisations themselves. This is changing. The best time for immigrant organisations was during the 1970s. A big change took place in the middle of the 1980s when the immigration board took over the responsibility for refugees. Since then the refugees have been seen as a problem and the Swedish authorities have not had time to deal with immigrants already living in Sweden.

1.4.1 The legal framework governing immigration, employment and social rights of immigrants

From a very beginning it has been the aim of the legislators to give immigrants the same rights and responsibilities as to the Swedish population. The restriction to immigration is also aimed to ensure that the number of immigrants coming to Sweden is controlled.

This means that asylum seekers as soon as they get permission of residence get the same treatment as other immigrants, with a difference: the authorities have a programme for integration of refugees during their first three years, which does not apply to other immigrants.

Persons with temporary permission as married persons or students can not be granted social security or other rights before they get a permanent permit, for married persons normally after two years. It means that they depend of their husbands or wives as long as they do not qualify for social rights by themselves through own employment. The right of residence is not renewed in case they divorce before two years have passed.

Otherwise immigrants are not excluded from the non-contributory social rights, including family benefits, children allowance, housing benefits. The same treatment is given in the law to immigrants independently of country of origin as to Swedes.

1.4.2 Basic civic and basic political rights (freedom of assembly, freedom of association)

The Swedish constitution guaranties to everybody freedom of assembly and freedom of association, as well as freedom of speech.

There is no need for registration to start an association for whatever purpose. This applies even to immigrants, as the constitution does not mention them specifically. It is well known

that Sweden has been the refuge of many freedom fighters, as Bruno Kreisky during the Second World War. There are witnesses of some police control of people, but their freedom of movement was not restricted³.

In the beginning of the 1980s there was a special control of so called terrorists according to a much criticised law on terrorism, by which the accused persons did not know what they were charged for and no trial was possible. 9 persons of the Kurdish community were put in home arrest. It meant that they had to go to the police every week and that they could not leave their home city without permission. This lasted for a long period of years.

Equality and anti-discrimination provisions refer to all citizens independently of background or citizenship. Nevertheless due to discrimination patterns by different groups in the society the Discrimination ombudsman was created in 1986. The anti-discrimination law applied only to the discrimination in the labour market but had also impact on the civic behaviour.

1.4.3 Cultural and religious rights of immigrants

Many of the reforms of the 1970s were directed towards the improvement of the cultural rights of immigrants. With the creation of the National Cultural Board in 1974 followed the idea of supporting economically the activities by immigrants in their own language, as well as in Swedish. The rules for support have been changed many times. What it was possible to get support for in 1979 is not possible today. Publishing houses in immigrant languages could get support to publish books in their own language, especially in Kurdish, Spanish, Turkish and Persian.

Today after a new law on ethnic minority status adopted by the parliament in 2000 this applies to the ethnic minority groups accepted as such by a decision in the parliament. It has to be observed that the minority status applies to the language, not the country of origin. The languages accepted as minority languages are Sami, Finnish, Tornedalen Finnish, Yiddish and Roma languages⁴.

Cultural organisations can get governmental support through the National Cultural Board, as well as certain cultural journals published in immigrant languages.

During the seventies and eighties there was a spread support to cultural immigrant organisations by the Swedish municipalities. This is still so, but many municipalities have either diminished the total amount provided or more or less decided not to continue with the economic support, as a sort of misunderstanding of the concept of integration. For youth and children it is a large tradition of economic support, as well as for adult education in evening schools. Besides that there is a consensus that adults pay for their cultural or social organisations. The difference between immigrant organisations and Swedish organisations is that in the first group the whole family is involved very often, as an immigrant organisation deals with many different things and activities, while the Swedish organisation often deals with only a subject and the membership often is individual.

Immigrant children have had the possibility to study their mother language officially since 1977. It was partly possible thanks to the work by two Finnish researchers Tove Skutnabb-

³ Jändel (1998)

⁴ Regeringens proposition Nationella minoriteter i Sverige

Kangas and Pentti Toukoma. ⁵ Before 1977 it depended on the municipality where they lived, if the community was interested in the issue. Nevertheless it has been a change from 1990 not to support fully the idea of learning the mother language at school, partly because a debate of some leading immigrants against the teaching of the mother tongue at schools as it harmed integration according to them, partly because the schools saw an opportunity to save money. At the end of 2004 it is a hope that the mother language gains again prestige. The new school minister Ibrahim Baylan is himself an immigrant from the Assyrian community of Turkey.

Freedom of religion is adopted in the constitution. It means also that religious organisation independently of which religion has the right to exist and work in Sweden. When immigrants want to build a mosque or even a church from a not so well known Christian congregation there are very often protests from the local population. As there is freedom of religion the protests are mostly about the placement, environment and practical problems like parking or heavy traffic, even if there is well known that there are other reasons. There is not research about this issue, but a large amount of newspaper articles shows that this happens very often.

The Swedish Church has been state church until 2000 when the separation between the Swedish Church and the state was decided. There are still some privileges as the right to collect taxes and also the responsibility for the cemeteries for which all persons employed pay taxes independently of their religious believe.

There are co-operation committees between different religious denominations at the national level as well as in some regions. The government gives economic support through this committee. No difference is made between churches where the majority is Swedish and other religious groups run by immigrants. The existing discrimination applies more or less to the local people's refusal to let build mosques or other religious facilities.

1.4.4 Specialised administrative bodies dealing with immigrant integration, advisory bodies and the local vote for immigrants

One of the first municipal immigrant services was established in Stockholm in 1966. Very soon many other communities followed it. 120 out of 285 municipalities had some kind of immigrant service in the mid of 1980s.

In 1985 it became necessary to have a special service in the municipalities, regarding the fact that a new strategy of placing refugees all around Sweden started taking form. The immigrant services changed shape and became refugee reception.

A proposition, "Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden" (Sweden, the future and diversity) was sent to the Parliament and approved in 1997. This marks the end of the immigrant policy and the beginning of a new integration policy with focus on the whole population. Also the municipalities started to adjust their practices to the new integration policy and created integration bodies with a less concrete task than the immigrant service used to have.

The Swedish Immigration Board became two different organisations, one the Integration Board, with the task of working for integration in the society, and the other one with

⁵ Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukoma (1976) Teaching migrant children's mother tongue and learning the language of the host country in the context of the sociocultural situation of the migrant family

responsibility for immigration permits, assignment of refugee status and citizenship. It became also a division in the government with two ministers, one for integration as part of the Ministry of Culture, today moved to the ministry of Justice, and the other as minister of Migration, placed in the Foreign Office.

Advisory committees for immigrant organisations can be found both at the national level and at the local level. In the local level they depend to an extent on the willingness of the municipality. The advisory committees are more common in big cities as Uppsala, Helsingborg, Umeå, Borås, Lund, while the municipalities of Stockholm and Gothenburg have not succeeded in creating a platform for immigrant participation due to the big amount of immigrant organisations. Still, there has been a dialogue with the immigrant population and their representatives through meetings aimed at specific municipal questions.

At the national level the Swedish immigration board started 1972 to invite immigrants and their representatives to regular meetings. Likewise the first minister of immigration created 1976 an immigrant advisory body comprised of representatives of the national immigrant organisations. At the same time many of the reforms began to take form.

How these national advisory bodies have worked, the views of immigrant organisations and the results are now well studied by Osman Aytan, who presented a report 2004 to the minister of integration and continues making research on it⁶.

1.4.5 Membership in interest organisations

It has been normal to become member of a trade union from the very beginning of an employment. There has not been any difference between immigrants and the Swedish population in this question. Membership in trade unions was also important for immigrants as the employees' salaries have been decided centrally. The trade unions had also an important role in the welfare of the immigrants during some decades. In some cities the local trade union was the responsible for the immigrant service, not only for their members but also for all immigrants coming to the office.

It is only in the last fifteen years that the trade unions have lost their importance. As a result it has been also noticed that even many immigrants do not feel completely integrated inside the union. Some immigrants who are active in the trade unions have created an own network to discuss immigrant issues independently of the trade union. The network gets economic support from the unions, but their influence has to be noted as very little.

1.4.6 Membership in political parties

There is no restriction of membership in political parties for immigrants. Although immigrants are not affiliated to the same degree as natives, there is still a considerable level of participation at all organisational levels of the political parties. Some parties have even special sections only for immigrants in order to help them to participate in their own way. The social democratic party has many sections, each of them for a specific language or country group, mostly in Stockholm.

⁶ Aytan (2004), Kommunikation på olika villkor.

Another form of political activity is home country related. Immigrants establish Swedish sections of political parties that are active in their home countries. Many immigrants come to Sweden as refugees from dictatorships and therefore their work here is often aimed towards the home country in order to make changes in the country's politics. This is allowed by the Swedish law and even supported by the Swedish political parties to different extents.

Part II: Review of research on active civic participation of immigrants

2.1 Introduction

Research on civic participation of immigrants started with discussions whether it should be allowed to Jews to come to Sweden or not. In some groups the Swedes feared that immigrants should influence the society in a way that was not desired. The pioneer in this research is also the first professor on migration Tomas Hammar, from the University of Stockholm. His doctoral thesis “Sverige åt svenskarna” (Sweden for the Swedes)⁷ declares already in the title what all is about. This work has had an important impact in coming research.

Hammar continued his research on civic participation and was the first director of the Centrum for Immigration Research of the University of Stockholm. Among others, they surveyed immigrant participation in elections and prepared yearly migration reports (SOPEMI-reports for the OECD).

2.2 Immigrants and minorities in the political process: empirical data

The immigrants got the right to vote in municipal and regional elections since 1976. The first case of an immigrant as municipal commissioner, which is a kind of mayor, was a Spanish immigrant, who was commissioner during 1970-1979, also already before 1976 as he was Swedish citizen. During his third period 1976-1979, he was one of the two paid commissioners, in Haninge, a city south of Stockholm (Internet: <http://www.immi.se/kultur/authors/sydeuropeer/ramirez.htm>).

Immigrants who have become Swedish citizens can also vote for the parliament. In 1979 two immigrants succeeded in getting into parliament, one from Finland representing the Social Democratic Party and the other from Greece representing the Communist Party. This situation lasted for many years until 1988 where the number of parliamentarians of immigrant background increased. In the last election from 2002 were more than 25 immigrants out of 349 parliamentarians. The only party without immigrant representation in the Parliament is the Centre Party. Considering that immigrants make up to 12 percent of the population in Sweden, but only 6-7 percent if we only count those with right to vote to the parliament as Swedish citizens, then the representation today is fair as there are 7 percent immigrants in the parliament.

Immigrants are also represented in the national boards of the political parties to different extent, as well as in their youth or women organisations (see a list on internet

⁷ Hammar (1964) Sverige åt svenskarna

<http://www.immi.se/politik/> and “Invandrare i partistyrelser”. There is also a list of parliamentarians in ”Invandrare I Riksdagen”.)

The representation of immigrants in some municipalities is almost proportional to the number of immigrants. There is a large variation between municipalities.

Some surveys have been done, especially by the municipality of Gothenburg, which show that some groups are better represented than others. For instance the Iranians and Latin Americans participate to a greater extent in the elections but also in the political life, while immigrants from Finland are less motivated.

Also the second generation of immigrants is well represented, both in the Parliament and in the government. In the Swedish government there are today two ministers who are immigrants and three ministers belonging to the second generation, as well as one minister representing the old Finnish minority from the North.

In the last elections to the European Parliament 2004 one immigrant from a third country was elected as representative for the conservative party and six other immigrants were elected as deputy members for other parties, three of them for the Popular Party.

Foreign nationals' influence in the elections is very low, as their participation is also low. On the other hand there is no significant difference between the participation of the native Swedish population and immigrants who have become Swedish citizens. Most of the researchers have found that the longer the time of residence the higher is the participation of the immigrants in the society. Women have a higher participation than men do.

Table: Participation of Swedish and foreign citizens in the municipal elections

Year	Swedish %	Foreigners %	Difference %
1976	90,4	59,9	-32%
1979	89,0	52	-37
1982	89,6	50,6	-39
1985	87,8	46,8	-41
1988	84,0	41	-43
1991	84,3	38,7	-45
1994	84,4	38,4	-46
1998	78,6	34,5	-46
2002	77,9	34,4	-44,5

Source: Statistical Central Office. Internet: www.scb.se. Medborgarinflytande. Valundersökningar

Table Participation of foreign citizens in the municipal elections 2002

Some selected countries of origin in percent of electors

2002	Men	Women	Total
Total, foreign citizens	31,2	38,8	35,1
Bosnia and Hercegovina	32,9	30,8	31,8
Chile	44,4	48,6	46,3
Denmark	33,8	40,5	36,6
Finland	25,9	42,2	35,8
Iraq	26,9	36	31
Iran	29,7	30	29,8
Yugoslavia	13,3	19,1	15,8
Norway	36,8	40,2	38,5
Poland	17,4	28,2	25,2
Somalia	27,1	33,6	30,4
Great Britain and North Ireland	38,6	44,6	40,4
Turkey	29,3	40,4	35
Germany	46,9	47,5	47,2
USA	38,5	43,3	40,6

Source. Statistical Central Office. Statistical data base. <http://www.scb.se>

This table is the result of a selective survey and does not comprise the total population of immigrants for the countries named. The statistical rate of accuracy according to the SCB, who is responsible for the survey is 95%. The table shows also that the difference between women and men is very small, but that women, with the exception of Bosnians, vote more than men. A surprising result is that Finnish men vote to a lesser degree than women as well as Yugoslavs and Polish men. There is no research about this difference.

A survey issued by the government⁸ does not give an answer to the low participation of immigrants in the municipal elections

Tomas Hammar, Henry Bäck and Marita Soininen have made research about the immigrant participation in the elections and possible reasons for their low participation. Many reasons have been presented but it can not completely explain why there is such a big difference. All the researchers have found that there is no significant difference between native Swedes and naturalised Swedes. The differences in these groups are instead more about their social status⁹.

⁸ Vem röstar och varför? (2003). Ds 2003:54

⁹ Bäck & Soininen (1996), Invandrarna, demokratin och samhället.

Hammar (1979), Det första invandrarvalet.

Hammar (1977), "The first immigrant election".

There are two main explanations that the researchers think have more importance than others:

The first one is that foreign citizens can only vote in local and regional elections. In the Swedish election system all the elections, local, regional and national, are on the same day. It may create some kind of confusion for newcomers, especially as much of the political discussions are about national issues.

The other explanation is that immigrants have the right to vote only after three years of residence. Some politicians want to have a shorter period in order to engage immigrants as soon as possible. On the other hand the first three years of residence are very crucial in the lives of refugees as it is very difficult for them to get a job and establish in society.

There is some research about the political participation and preferences of different immigrant groups. It is assumed that immigrants from Chile and Latin America vote for the left parties, while refugees from the East European countries vote for the conservatives or right wing.

Kommundemokratikommittén, a governmental commission in charge of viewing how democracy works at the local level, has in 2001 presented a report “Att vara med på riktigt”, in which the committee analyses different reasons why immigrants vote with a lower rate than the native population. The report deals with different ways of civic participation, as engagement in political parties. The conclusions of the committee are that it is very important how the new immigrants are accepted in the community. A good reception is the key against the marginalisation many immigrants feel. But it is not enough that practical things such as lodgement and school for children can be arranged smoothly. More important is that the parents are engaged in the election of school, or place of residence. When everything is arranged by others the immigrants themselves become passive and marginalised.

The committee finds that information on society is also important to be participant and not marginalised. Here is proposed that the political parties and the society try to meet a group of people indirectly through persons from the same group. Another idea is to have more immigrants as a pattern in the political parties and in the political practical life.

One practical proposal is the withdrawing of the rule of been registered in Sweden for at least three years before voting for the first time. The Committee was appointed by the government in order to find out for which purpose Swedish citizenship was needed, and it is the most exhaustive overview on the legislation in this issue. The Commission found that exigency on Swedish citizenship in many cases was a remaining of old legislation without any meaning nowadays.

The Committee on Communal Democracy proposes that the right to vote and be elected begins with the registration of residence permit. The committee believes that more work has to be done but gives no advice other than the political parties have to work more together in order to be in contact with the immigrant population, especially in the suburbs of the cities¹⁰.

The government initiated in the autumn of 2000 a larger research program called “Integrationspolitiska maktutredning” (Investigation of power for political integration).

The task of this investigation was given to researchers at the University of Uppsala. Their task was to analyse the power and influence in different parts of the society in an integrational perspective. The investigation was supposed to go about such areas as the educational system, the labour market, the political system etc. Some reports have been published, but not so

¹⁰ Att vara med på riktigt, p.237.

much concerning active immigrant participation in the society. In the report “Engagemang, mångfald och integration” (Engagement, diversity and integration) different researchers explain their results in this area. Magnus Dahlstedt¹¹ has found out that much of the discussion on integration has been about getting more immigrants in the political parties and in decision positions as the community council, parliament and so on. His results show that the society remains monocultural as long as the elected immigrants do not participate in the social life of the groups they intend to represent. Carl Dahlström and Ulrika Möller¹² have found that the general policy followed by the state from 1976 to 2002 has been to help immigrants to learn about the Swedish society and how to vote, instead of making immigrants engaged in politics or making general campaigns for the vote in general, also for the Swedish population.

The Swedish Immigration Board published a report after the second election in 1979¹³ which conclusions do not differ very much from Dahlström and Möller. The results of the internal investigation undertaken to find out if the project on vote had been successful or not are summarized in following points:

- 1) The lower participation of immigrants did not depend on the information given, as it was more and broader distributed than in 1976.
- 2) The immigrants were not noticed as much by the Swedish parties or society.
- 3) A harder climate for immigrants between 1976 and 1979.
- 4) New immigrants coming from new countries more different from Sweden than before, and
- 5) The fact that more immigrants apply for Swedish citizenship.

The work initiated by the new research group was not finished before a couple of researchers with immigrant background, professor Masoud Kamali and docent Paulina de los Reyes, left the group and complained that the immigrant perspective was not sufficiently represented in the research of the group. They pointed out that structural discrimination exists as well within the research group as in society in general.

The minister of integration Mona Sahlin decided in the autumn of 2004 to give professor Masoud Kamali the leadership of a new research commission that started working in 2005.

2.3 Participation in Trade Unions and Labour and employers interest organisations

The participation of immigrants in trade unions has not been questioned. Therefore there is not so much research about immigrants' participation in the unions.

Only a few researchers are working closely on these issues.

Wuokko Knocke has made research during many years in the Centrum of Research on Working Life (Arbetslivscentrum), especially on immigrant women and youth. Her results

¹¹ Engagemang, mångfald och integration, pp. 49-86.

¹² Engagemang, pp. 149-171.

¹³ Statens invandrarverk, Rösträttsprojektet 1979.

show that there is difference in treatment depending on the cultural background¹⁴. Discrimination appears often in a subtle way and it is difficult to cope with it.

Tendencies to ethnic differentiation and grouping in the trade unions have been found by the sociologists Diana Mulinari and Anders Neergaard¹⁵. They show that immigrants active in the trade unions are more or less marginalized and that immigrant questions are difficult to be integrated in the unions' activities.

2.4 Participation of immigrants and minorities in NGOs

All the immigrant groups founded own organisations from the very beginning. In Sweden there is freedom of organisation for everybody without the interference of the state. An organisation does not even need to register to exist as a juridical body. The registration made is more or less for the payment of taxes in case the organisation pays salaries or for getting bank accounts and so on.

Many of the local immigrant organisations participate in some national network or umbrella organisation of immigrants from the same country or the same cultural background. However, on average only 20 percent of the population are members of immigrant organisations.

There is not much research about the internal work of the organisations. Their roll in society is nevertheless analysed by some researchers. Henry Bäck writes in "Invandrarnas riksorganisationer"¹⁶ about the interrelation between the organisations and the Swedish authorities, specially the Swedish Migration Board and the Department in charge of immigrant affairs. It has to be kept in mind that many of the immigrant organisations at the national level were created with the direct encouragement and support of the Swedish authorities. Bäck found big differences between the roll organisations play in contact with society which could be explained by the size of the organisation and the social status of the group, as well as the difference between refugee organisations and those whose members were labour migrants.

Bäck has continued together with other researchers of the Centrum for Immigration Research in Stockholm to analyse organisations of different groups of immigrants, specially the Yugoslavs and the Finnish. Their results are that the organisations play an important roll for their members but their participation in the Swedish civic society is very low¹⁷.

Another important researcher in this area is Aleksandra Ålund, professor in Umeå and later in Linköping. One of her work together with Carl-Ulrik Schierup has been an important milestone in the society's view upon immigrant groups¹⁸. Their analysis of the acculturation of the Yugoslav community to the requests of the Swedish society has had an impact in the

¹⁴ Knocke (1981) *Invandrare möter facket*.

¹⁵ *Den nya arbetarklassen*.

¹⁶ Bäck (1983) *Invandrarnas riksorganisationer*.

¹⁷ Jaakkola, *Sverigefinländarnas etniska organisationer*.

¹⁸ Schierup & Ålund (1986), *Will they still be dancing?*

new approach to immigrants groups from authorities and other Swedish organisations. They found out that the Yugoslav organisations very soon understood what the society wanted of them. This has been in some way negative as their roll has been to keep the culture of the sending country, even when this culture has changed and have very little contact with the host society. Therefore the authorities try now to find a more dynamic and progressive way of supporting the activities of immigrant organisations.

In a new report "Föreningsliv, makt och integration" (Ds 2004:49) from the research group on integration politics and power it is pointed out that Swedish organisations as unions, sport and tenants organisations do very little for the integration of immigrants. The researchers part from the idea of citizen as participant in the social life. Those who are not participants are not integrated. Immigrants have two choices: they can participate in immigrant organisations or in Swedish ones. In both cases the immigrants can be integrated provided that the immigrant organisations are accepted in the society or that their participation in the Swedish organisations is not only passive.

According to the researchers there are two common points of view which the researchers found wrong. The one is that immigrant organisations are supposed to lack internal democracy. The research of Pär Zetterberg¹⁹ shows this is not the case. The other point of view is that the organisations are supposed to be very much dependent on the community. The study of Abbas Emami²⁰ does not support this view. He finds that an organisation can be very free independently of the amount of economic support it gets from the community.

Other researchers in the report found nevertheless that the immigrant organisations do not have the possibility to co-operate with Swedish ones to the same degree that is used between the Swedish organisations themselves. Mostly of the co-operation of the immigrant organisations is for instance with evening schools, by the fact that the evening schools get and give economic support for cultural activities and function partly as administrative organs.

In the report Osman Aytar²¹ summarizes his research on the roll immigrant organisations play in contact with the Swedish authorities. He studies the roll of immigrant organisations in consultative bodies and discusses five positions, two against and three in favour of consultative bodies. It is brought forward against consultative bodies that immigrants can get too much influence and at the same time, that they can prevent or hinder political participation in the normal political life. On the other hand, consultative bodies are said to be an alternative to the voting right, to be a useful channel to create opinion on immigrants and the first step to political rights. Aytar finds in his interviews with many of the persons involved, both immigrants and civil servants, that two of the positive arguments are no longer important as the right to vote already exists and practically all the political rights are shared by all groups in society. More important in his work is that he found that the communication between immigrants and authorities was asymmetric, it is, that the conditions for dialogue were not the same between authorities and immigrants and not even between immigrants themselves.

Gunnar Myrberg²² studies how the participation of immigrants in other organisations influences the political life. He finds a strong relation between engagement and participation in different kinds of civic organisations, and politics.

¹⁹ Föreningsliv, makt och integration, pp. 231-260.

²⁰ Föreningsliv, makt och integration, pp. 163-196.

²¹ Föreningsliv, makt och integration, pp. 65-98.

²² Föreningsliv, makt och integration, pp. 197-230.

Bo Bengtsson²³ summarizes the research done on participation of immigrants in the trade unions, tenant organisations and in sport. The results are very different. While there are not so many immigrants in tenant organisations he finds more in the trade unions, even if there is a tendency of segregation between groups.

2.5 Mapping structures and activity fields of migrant organisations

The Swedish Immigration Board has published some reports on the immigrant organisations at the national level.

In 2003 a larger investigation of the immigrant organisations in all the Nordic countries was published by the Nordic Council. The research was an overview of the actual situation of the organisations with no special focus.

The participation of immigrants in the Swedish NGOs has been very low until recently. A change has taken place from the beginning of the 1990s. The appearance of new networks in the Swedish cultural and political life and the effects of globalisation have made that more and more immigrants nowadays participate in the Swedish movements. For the immigrant organisations there is a contradiction to work for integration of their members into the Swedish organisations as they loose members and influence that way. On the other hand it is also problematic if the immigrant organisations work only inside them selves. This is why they are now searching new ways of participation. The outcomes of this struggle have not yet shown up.

Number of migrant's organisations

The Immigrant Institute follows continuously the number of organisations through registration in a catalogue made public through the internet. While in 1983 there were around 900 local organisations the number of organisations 2005 are more than 2,500. A list of organisations can be found in <http://www.immi.se/sweden/>.

A couple of surveys have been done by the Immigrant Institute about their activities, one of the surveys during the 1980s and the other for only two years ago. Unfortunately the rate of responses is too low to make definite conclusions.

Mainly, immigrant organisations are built by nationality or language. Some organisations are international. Besides, there is a division of organisations in different groups: women, youth, cultural, religious.

An important feature is that a common language not always is enough. Both Kurds and Iranians have for instance three national organisations each. Before them Spaniards, Greeks and Finnish faced the same division along with their political sympathies.

Inge Dahlstedt²⁴ has for the Nordic Council written a presentation of immigrant organisations in Sweden, their amount, members, different kinds and their roll for the integration of immigrants.

²³ Föreningsliv, makt och integration, pp. 343-360.

²⁴ Invandrersorganisationer i Norden, pp.27-94.

Table: Organisations with financial support by the Swedish Integration Board

	Nr of members	Local org.
Afrosvenskarnas Riksförbund	2285	15
Albanska Riksförbundet	8351	19
Armeniska Riksförbundet	1634	11
Assyriska Riksförbundet	8696	28
Bangladesh Riksförening i Sverige	2318	11
Bosnien och Hercegovinas Kvinnoriksförbund i Sverige	6035	41
Etiopisk Riksförening i Sverige	1255	6
Immigranternas Centraförbund	6596	25
Immigranternas Riksförbund	2573	21
Internationella Kvinnoförbundet	1693	17
Irakiska Riksförbundet i Sverige	7100	54
Iranska flyktingars riksförbund i Sverige	2580	33
Iranska Riksförbundet i Sverige	7340	79
Italienska Riksförbundet	3384	17
Kurdiska Föreningars Råd i Sverige	4220	20
Kurdiska Riksförbundet	7672	40
Kurdiska Unionens Riksförbund	2346	47
RIFFI	1652	26
Riksförbundet för etiopier i Sverige	1542	14
Riksförbundet Polska föreningar i Sverige	1542	14
Serbernas Riksförbund	7721	34
Serbiska Riksförbundet i Sverige	12738	33
Somaliska Riksförbundet	6050	55
Syrianska Riksförbundet i Sverige	20144	27
Syriska Riksförbundet	1055	5
Turkiska Riksförbundet	9967	26
Ungerska Riksförbundet	5523	34
Bosniska Hercegovinska Riksförbundet i Sverige	15068	102
Bolivianska Riksförbundet	1448	22
Chilenska Riksförbundet	1480	16
Förenade Bangladesh Riksförbund	2006	
Estniska Kommittén	1164	
Portugisiska Riksförbundet	1641	9
Gaston Lobos Riksförbund	1104	12
Grekiska Riksförbundet i Sverige	6881	27
Lettiska Hjälpkommittén	1042	6
Kroatiska Riksförbundet	4267	27
Makedonska Riksförbundet	3608	16
Polska Kongressen	2573	23
Slovenska Riksförbundet	1094	11
Spanska Riksförbundet	1527	5
Sverigeesternas förbund	2075	7

Bosnisk-svenska kvinnoförbundet	2172	24
Iransk-svensk Solidaritetsförbund	2418	10
Finlandssvenskarnas riksförbund i Sverige	3469	29
Sveriges ingermanländska riksförbund	1421	11
Svensk Makedoniska ungdomsförbundet	1268	8
Riksförbundet Banja Luka i Sverige	1012	5
Iranska Föreningars Riksförening	1768	17
Västafrikanska Riksförbundet i Sverige	572	5
Albanska föreningars union i Sverige	3850	36
Irakiska Flyktingarnas förbundet i Sverige	1195	6
Somaliland Riksförbundet i Sverige	1820	33
Sudanesiska Riksförbundet i Sverige	1035	6
Azerbajdzjiska riksförbundet	1234	16
Syrianska Assyriska Riksförbundet i Sverige	1678	6
Svensk Turkiska riksförbundet	3599	14
Total	219501	1630

Source: Integration board, January 2005.

There are also other organisations representing groups which have minority status in Sweden. They get support directly from the government. The most important is the National organisation of Finns in Sweden (Sverigefinska riksförbundet), with 23 700 members and 136 local organisations. The other groups are Föreningen Resandefolkets Riksorganisation, Judiska Centralrådet i Sverige, Resande Romers Riksförening, Resandefolket Romanoa Riksförbund, Riksförbundet Roma International, Romernas Riksförbund, Romernas Riksförbund f d Nordiska Zigenarrådet, Sametinget and Svenska Tornedalingars Riksförbund representing Roma people, Jewish people or Finns from Tornedalen (in the north of Sweden) besides the Sami population.

2.6 Integration research and civic participation of migrants

There are few comprehensive surveys on integration and its consequences. Karin Borevi has done research about the meaning of integration and its political consequences²⁵. In her dissertation 2002 she argues that the liberal welfare state includes a fundamental logic of integration, viewing the attainment of social equality between different categories in society as a main condition for social integration. The problem arrives when we have a multicultural society. Can equal access to certain socio-economic standards be sufficient, or does cultural diversity call for other measures in order to fulfil the aim of equality and integration? She finds a divergence between the aims of the Swedish society and the measures applied until now.

Borevi analyses the process of integration in the 1970s, where the notion of immigrants and minorities coincide, while in the 1980s was a tendency to diminish the role of culture and in the 1990s started a criticism against a policy which divided immigrants and Swedes. The new

²⁵ Borevi, Karin (2002) Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturella samhället

idea was integration without marking any group in society. To be citizen shall not be dependent of the person's ethno cultural belonging.

Another researcher, Saeid Abbasian²⁶, analyses the differences in integration between Iranians, Chileans and Turkish immigrants in Gothenburg, with special emphasis to the Iranians integration. The author's own hypothesis is that the starting of own companies is not necessarily a good integration strategy for all Iranians who are outside the ordinary labour market. The secondary purpose of his research is to describe and analyse residential patterns for persons with Iranian, Turkish, and Chilean origin in Gothenburg. These patterns are used as indicators for the degree of integration in society.

A governmental agency The Commission on Metropolitan Areas has also studied the patterns of segregation in the big cities. The agency has analysed 24 boroughs in different parts of Sweden, where most of the population are immigrants. It has been a big issue as to which extent the integration of immigrants depends of the proportion of immigrants in the same area. Information on their work is available at <http://www.storstad.gov.se/english/index.htm> (visited 2005-04-20).

A recent dissertation by Magnus Dahlstedt²⁷ shows the lack of representation of immigrants in many of the institutions in society, but also the problematic situation of what representation means. His conclusion is that only representation does not change the immigrants' situation. More important is that the needs of immigrant groups can be treated by persons from the majority society, who accept that society is no longer monocultural but diverse. The focus on percentual representation has to be changed to focus of what is achieved by those who are elected or responsible. Another aspect is that integration has to be seen as something which is not exclusive of immigrants, but of the whole society. Dahlstedt shows that the political discussion is one but reality another.

A special emphasis in Sweden has been made in the integration of people in the suburbs of the great cities. Twenty four areas have been the receptors of a big amount of money in order to break the segregation pattern. At the beginning there were eight cities involved during 1995 and 1998, to continue until 2002 with twenty four suburbs. One emphasis was the civic participation of immigrants in all parts of the work in the suburb. A summarization of the results is given in the report from the Integration Board "På rätt väg?" from 2002. Their conclusions are that only engagement in the suburbs does not help to break segregation. Some factors have had more influence, as co-operation, even if the report has found that it is not always required co-operation from the people for which the activities are aimed. Democracy at different levels was not enough prepared as to be effective.

2.7 Examples of Immigrants active in public life

Immigrants can be seen in high positions of the society. I have chosen the following examples because they are particularly well known.

²⁶ Abbasian, Saeid (2000) Bosättningsmönster, eget företagande och integration : en studie av iraniernas integration i Göteborg

²⁷ Dahlstedt (2005) Reserverad demokrati.

Jerzy Einhorn,

Born 1925 in Poland of Jewish ancestry. He escaped from a concentration camp and after some years came to Sweden together with whom should be his wife and also prominent person in research on cancer, Nina Einhorn. He was the director of Radiumhemmet (hospital for cancer patients) for more than thirty years, before he later in life became parliamentarian for the Christian Democratic Party. His life is told in his autobiography “Utvald att leva – minnen” (Selected to Live – memories).

Laila Freivalds

Born 1942 in Riga, Lethonia. She came with her parents as a refugee at the end of the second world war. She is today the chief of the foreign office and before that she has also been minister of justice since 1988, with some years outside the government. She has been respected for her professionalism, as she came into the government not as politician but by her work as jurist.

Rudolf Meidner,

Born in Germany, has been economist in the trade unions. He came with the revolutionary idea of creating employees' funds in order to get to the industry risk capital and at the same time give the employees more to say in the industry. The capital was built up during a decade, but with the change in government by the right wing parties in the 1990s, the funds were dismantled. The money accumulated is now partly used for research funds, partly for funds to cultural organisations and programs and partly for pensions.

Part 3: Expert assessment

3.1 Main fields of civic activities

There are two main fields on research, which are well studied, even if the conclusions are not always very useful. The one field is the political participation by the vote in the elections. Despite many interviews it is very little known why foreign citizens vote to a lesser degree and what kind of measures can improve their vote.

The other field is the participation in immigrant organisations. It is also well known how organisations work and which relation they have with the society. It has also been found that there is a dialog between authorities and immigrant organisations but very little between other organisations in society and immigrants. Here is a lack on research which should need to know more why and how it could be changed.

3.2 Differences by ethnic/nationality group

There is not so much research on the differences between groups unless regarding their integration in general. When we talk about political participation here are statistical differences between citizens from Chile and Finland, but the explanations of why is this differences are not well under build and need more research.

3.3 Other important issues

During many years the Swedish immigration policy has been accepted unanimously by all the political parties. This tradition ended some years after the Swedish Immigration Board took over the responsibility for refugees and started the whole-Sweden-strategy. At the very beginning of this strategy it seemed that all the municipalities accepted to get refugees in their communities. Later on some municipalities started to see refugees as a problem instead of a resource.

From an idea of assimilation in the 1960s the Swedish society moved very fast in the 1970s to the idea of accepting cultural diversity and a large reform program was initiated. The reform programs ended more or less in the middle of the 1980s and in some cases society moved back to previous periods. At the end of 1990s a new politic of integration was formulated as well as in many other European countries. Still now there is disagreement of what integration means. In the doctoral dissertation of Magnus Dahlstedt “Reserverad demokrati” can be found the beginning of a new thinking in which integration means that all the groups can exist side by side but also co-operate without giving up their roll.

If there was an agreement at the political level on the immigration policy during a large amount of years this has slowly changed and now nobody speaks about consensus in matters of immigration. While the conservatives and the popular party are open for labour immigration again, after more than 35 years of immigration stop from outside the Nordic countries or 12 years from outside the European Union, the other parties are still restrictive and want to accept only refugee immigration and relatives. The strategy today is to make agreements inside the European Union also in order to reduce immigration of asylum seekers to a minimum.

All the political parties have some immigrant groups inside the party. We can see a tendency to give the immigrant groups free hands to formulate an integration policy, in opposition to the general idea that integration has to be a co-operative work of the whole society, it is all the members in the party in this case. This creates tensions between immigrant groups themselves, who see that some proposals by other immigrant groups are against their own interests but without getting something back in form of more influence for instance. In February 2005 the integration group of the Popular Party mostly composed of immigrants proposed that immigrants who get two or more years of imprisonment shall be expelled from the country. In the elections of 2002 the same party proposed that immigrants who wanted to become Swedish citizens should prove that they can speak Swedish. This and other proposals doubled the number of voters.

It has been a discussion on low political representation by immigrants. At the same time it has been also a movement on who are immigrants and who are not. Very soon some people started to talk on low representation of non-Nordic immigrants, later on non-European immigrants. The problem has been that even these names are used differently from time to time and from opinion maker to opinion maker. When it is talked about non-European immigrants it doesn't generally comprise immigrants from the United States, Canada, Australia and other similar countries, but citizens from Bosnia, Albania and other not so well known European countries. It means that the concept of Europe is more ethnic than it was expected to be and it is not an agreement of which ethnicities can be included in this concept.

There is a movement from ethnic immigrant organisations to another kind of networks by interests, especially a new movement for combating racism. This kind of networks have not yet found their form. At the same time the immigrant organisations are facing an economic crisis as the support by the society is diminishing on behalf of the new movements, some of them initiated by the government itself, also this a new phenomenon.

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Annex: Mapping of research competences in Sweden

Almost all the universities in Sweden have a centrum specialized in research on migration.

For analysis of political participation of immigrants as well as for the natural Swedish population there is an established research group at the University of Gothenburg, Department of Political Sciences. They perform analysis of electors' behaviour during and after every election.

Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, Göteborgs universitet

Box 711, 405 30 Göteborg, tel: 031-773 1000

Here is a list of other universities and institutions in which there is a specialized centrum of research on migration:

BORÅS

Immigrant-institutet

Katrinédalsgatan 43,

504 51 Borås

tel 033-13 60 70

fax 033-13 60 75

E-mail: migrant@immi.se

Mainly general research on migration with documentation as speciality.

GÖTEBORG

Göteborgs Universitet (KIM)

Centrum för Kulturkontakt och Internationell Migration

Brogatan 4,

413 01 Göteborg

tel 031-773 11 80

E-mail: Aake.Sander@kim.gu.se

Special orientation on religious research, repatriation, language and intercultural relation

MALMÖ

Malmö Högskola

IMER

Citadellsvägen 9, 205 06 Malmö

tel: 040-665 7230, 0708-65 53 91

E-mail: Bjorn.Fryklund@mah.se

NORRKÖPING

Linköpings universitet

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Ethnological approach. The research team is responsible for a project Partnership for multiethnic inclusion, in which they have published a certain amount of reports. Responsible for Tema Etnicitet is professor Aleksandra Ålund.

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Research on racism, attitudes with special focus on youth attitudes. Follow-up of surveys from the 1960s to nowadays.

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A large variation of research themes, with some emphasis in conflict resolution, holocaust and political participation.