

# Welcome to Sweden

*The possibility for immigrants to participate in the Swedish welfare state*



Sanne de Wit – s4023870

April 29, 2015

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Human Geography

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Picture:

Raúl Carrasco Novoa – Carnival Hammarkullen 2014



## Preface

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Hereby I would like to present my master thesis of the master Human Geography: Globalization, Migration and Development. This research was conducted in one year, of which I stayed in Göteborg (Sweden) for four months. During the process I learned a lot and my interest for the subject of migration did increase even more. I am very grateful for the things I learned and would like to take this opportunity to thank the people who helped me.

The four months in Göteborg were sometimes challenging, often educational and mostly very nice. I look back to this period with a big smile on my face. In Göteborg I got to know lots of interesting people who helped me with my research, but also helped me developing myself on an academic and personal level. First of all, I would like to thank my colleagues at The Center of Urban Studies for their willingness to hire me as their intern. In particular I would like to thank Anders Törnquist for his advice, patience and time. I am really grateful that you were able to “not let me drown” in the lots of information around the subject of immigration in Sweden, but helped me to keep on track and finding the right angles for my thesis. Thereby I would like to thank my supervisor Lothar Smith because of his critical view and constructive criticism, which motivated me to improve my thesis.

Also, I would sincerely like to thank the interviewees who helped conduct my research by making time for me and bringing me in contact with other interviewees. I am very thankful they all talked this openly about their experiences and give me insight in the current issues of immigration in Swedish society.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues at the CUS and especially Raul Carrasco Novoa for the informal chats, joint lunches and the beautiful cover picture he provided. I also want to thank my parents and boyfriend. I will never forget the most amazing surprise for my birthday, when you showed up in Göteborg while I did not have a clue. Along with them I would like to thank my sister, brother-in-law and friends for motivating me, providing new perspectives, listening to my grumbling and reminding me that it was OK to take some time off once in a while. Finally, I also think about the new friends I made in Göteborg, who made my period abroad not only interesting, but also lots of fun.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

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It can be argued that Sweden has the most tolerant immigration policy in Europe. This policy fits the assumed Swedish ideal to be a country that aspires multiculturalism (Åkesson, 2011, p. 219). The start of the multicultural perspective in Swedish policy can be traced back to the 1975 constitution, which legitimizes the efforts of religious and ethnic minorities to preserve their culture. As a result Sweden made a radical shift from a model of Swedishization – with a focus on the assimilation of the immigrants – to a multicultural model – which allows ethnical and cultural diversity (Runblom, 1994, p. 624). Moreover, in the 1970s, the nature of immigration changed in two ways. First, labor migration came to a halt and instead refugees began to arrive and family reunification grew significantly. Second, before the 1970s immigrants mainly used to come from European countries – like the former USSR, but since then more people from Latin American countries and later on from Asia and Africa began to arrive (Yalcin, 2013, p. 255). During this period Swedish authorities and public opinion makers emphasized that Sweden had officially become a country of immigration. Along with this the focus on assimilation of immigrants and minorities changed towards the toleration of multiple cultures living side by side. With the slogan of ‘equality, freedom of choice and partnership’, Sweden considered itself to be a multicultural society and is also named as such by other countries (Åkesson, 2011, p. 218-219). However, during the 1980s the multicultural ideal was already criticized, and as a result a new law was installed in 1997. This law backed away from the multiculturalist perspective and focused more on integration. Borevi (2002) states the discourse has moved from a position of a multicultural policy towards the position of civic assimilation (p. 327).

The focus on multiculturalism reduced over time, which had consequences for the Swedish society as a whole. In this context I refer to the Swedish society not only in relation to the Swedish born population, but to the complete structure of the Swedish welfare system, institutions, organizations, civil society and the people who relate to these. During the last decade Sweden seems to move away from the multicultural ideal, with an increasing focus on integration of the immigrant. This decreasing tolerance towards various cultures finds resonance in both Swedish policies as in the ‘non-immigrant population’. In this research there will be referred to this group of non-migrants as ‘the Swedish majority population’. Contrary, Swedish minority population will be named ‘immigrants’, meaning: people with a foreign origin, or people of which both parents are of foreign origin (Goteborg.se, 2014). One has to be aware that these are not ideal labels, because they imply a natural unity of the non-immigrant population in Sweden. Of course there will be multiple differences within this Swedish majority population, for example in religion, political belief and economic status and even in their attitude

towards the immigrant population. This latter factor is connected to the content in which someone values the nation, city or even neighborhood one lives in and the thereby related cultural habits, norms and values. Some inhabitants may be willing to share this with ‘others’ – meaning immigrants in its broadest context, for instance: foreigners, people from another region, city or even neighborhood – and may be even labeled as ‘other’ themselves, regardless of their status as native Swede. Yet, others may feel strongly connected with their living area and have the idea that incoming immigrants will threaten the cultural heritage of this area. Furthermore, you can state that many immigrants will be considered to be native Swedes by both the majority population as by themselves, even if they are not, because in fact their forefathers come from other countries, for instance Finland or Norway. In this case they are naturalized, because their foreign origin is not visible any more – both in appearance and cultural habits. Finally, many (exotic) migrants will claim that they also see themselves as members of the Swedish population since they are born in Sweden or live there for lots of years, but instead the majority population will still label them as immigrants. Still, the term Swedish majority population can be considered as the best way to refer to the non-immigrant population in Sweden, since it indicates a clear distinction between those whom are seen as ‘one of the Swedish’ and those who are seen as ‘others’.

Obviously, the immigrant population is affected the most by the above-mentioned change from multiculturalism to integration. To reveal this impact it is important to create an understanding of the perception of the immigrants on their position in Swedish society, and of their experience of the Swedish society towards immigrants. Therefore questions can be raised as: do they feel welcomed in Sweden or do they experience a feeling of exclusion? This question can be related to the concept of segregation. Although Sweden is seen as a welcoming country for immigrants, some say it is also a very segregated country (Andersson, 2006, p. 790).

The most visible form of segregation is residential segregation, meaning that people with a certain ethnical background, class or economic status live together in a certain area of the city or country. This research will mainly focus on the ethnic component of segregation, and therefore the so called ‘immigration neighborhoods’. Besides residential segregation one can speak of social segregation. People can experience social exclusion regardless the neighborhood they live in. Nevertheless, ethnicity, class or economic status can also determine this form of segregation. This aspect of segregation becomes more visible on for example the labor market or on the networks of immigrants. Both concepts of segregation will have a central role in this research.

## **1.1 Societal relevance**

Since the 1990s the issue of segregation is high on the Swedish political agenda. Equality is one of the most important Swedish values. Nevertheless, segregation undermines this value by creating social differences by class, race and/or ethnicity. Related to segregation are problems regarding economic and social exclusion and therefore inequality in Sweden seems to grow (Andersson, 2006, p. 790; 2013, p. 165). According to Castles and Miller (2009) “a crucial question is how immigrants and their descendants can become part of receiving societies and nations. A second question is how the state and civil society can and should facilitate this” (p. 245). These are important questions, and in order to provide a good answer the perception of immigrants in the Swedish society is of paramount importance.

In this research the importance of a bottom-up approach is emphasized, since the immigrants personally experience(d) this process of integration. To create a comprehensive image of the experiences of immigrants, immigrants from different origins are interviewed. This probably results in a more diverse picture, since the experiences of those immigrants are based on their own (cultural) context. Additionally, great importance is attached to the experiences of immigrants who arrived since the big immigration wave of the 1970s, meaning the historical context of the immigrant plays a central role in this research. The contribution of immigrants of different generations – 1980 to 1990, 1990 to 2000, 2000 to now – will be important, because of two main reasons. Firstly, studying different time periods will make comparison possible. By comparison you can expose differences in the Swedish immigration laws and policies and in the attitudes of Swedish society towards facets of immigration. Focusing on various contexts of integration, as related to the different generations – see Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 – will point out the bottlenecks and positive sides of the several processes of integration. These pro and cons can be used to compose a template in order to create new immigration laws and policies. This will help to create a better image of what is needed in order to achieve successful integration of immigrants in Swedish society. Secondly, one can state that the generations of immigrants who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s live in Sweden for such a number of years that they had the time to become integrated. The level of integration is generally measured by one's language skills, education, job, income and housing. For example, Andersson (2013) stresses that there “is a strong correlation between residential segregation and different measures of social integration” (p. 711). The issue of residential segregation will be discussed in Chapter 6. Ethnical segregation in Sweden is generally explained by the assumption that immigrants are not well integrated in the labor market and that their lack of job opportunities and income force them to live in the less expensive immigrant neighborhoods (Andersson, 2006, p. 794). In Chapter 8 this assumption is

examined by asking immigrants of the different generations to give their perspective on those issues.

## **1.2 Scientific relevance**

Sweden is seen as a country that aspires multiculturalism, in which equality is one of the most important values, which will be further explained in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8. The Swedish welfare model embodies this value by the creation of a universalist model. This means all citizens have to financially contribute by their own means and everyone has the right to several basic living standards, like decent housing, education and healthcare (Chapter 5). However, it is argued that in fact there is a lot of (ethnic) inequality in society (Åkesson, 2011, p. 219-220). This discrepancy is of importance in the discussions about immigration and the role of the welfare state. Questions relating to the Scandinavian welfare model have “been predominantly conducted from a majority perspective” (Heith, 2012, p. 161; Hübinette, 2012, p. 53). In other words, there is a lack of research on the perspective of the minority population. This research will therefore centralize the perspective of immigrants. This bottom-up approach of providing insight in visions and experiences of immigrants towards issues of integration, multiculturalism and segregation is therefore one of the scientific contributions of this research. It is hypothesized that the visions and experiences of the immigrants divergent. This might create a complex image of the possibilities for immigrations to participate in society.

It is important to reveal this complexity by combining the theories discussed in Chapter 2 with the concepts of integration, multiculturalism and segregation. The theory of othering will have a central role in this research, and will be related first to the theory of the national and transnational perspective (discussed in section 2.3) and secondly to the theory of cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism (discussed in section 2.5). Most studies focus primarily on either the theory of national and transnational perspective or the one of cultural assimilation. It will be argued that the combination of those theories, by both relating them to the theory of othering, is needed to create a comprehensive image of all aspects of the accessibility of a society as an immigrant. The national and transnational perspectives expose that structuralism plays an important role in the approach towards issues of immigration, which influence both the attitude of the majority population and of the immigrants. From the perspective of Swedish society someone’s attitude depends on their vision of the function of the nation. Here a reference is made to the distinction between the nationalist perspective – which perceives the nation as a bounded society that cannot be renounced – and the transnational perspective – acknowledging the possibility to ‘belong’ to two or more countries. From the perspective of immigrants one’s experiences depends on one’s (cultural embedded) norms, values and habits. In line with these

explanations, it is to be argued that one's attitude towards integration, multiculturalism and segregation depends on a person's context. The theory of cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism focuses on the practical concerns of integration, multiculturalism and segregation. The idea that both the majority population and immigrants are held responsible for successful integration is directly related to one's actions. Returning to the relation with the national and transnational perspectives, the way a person acts is defined by a person's attitude and thus contextually determined.

Finally, in this thesis the disciplines history and social geography will be combined. Some of the authors do give an overview of the historical processes of immigration policies of the Swedish state since the 1950s. Still, the empirical research is mainly focused on the current situation in the Swedish welfare state, not referring to the developments of the last fifty years. Furthermore, Byström and Frohnert (2013) state that causes related to immigration, immigrants and refugees in Sweden in the period of the second half of the twentieth century have rarely been studied from a historical perspective. Additionally they state "in fields such as working life history and the welfare state, Swedish historians have tended to neglect ethnicity as an important factor" (p. 230). It is evident that there is a lack of research, taken into account the historical process regarding the relation between immigrants and the Swedish welfare state. It is useful to examine how Sweden has developed in the field of immigration, during the last fifty years and if Sweden meets its ideal of a multicultural society with equal opportunities for all. This will therefore be the central theme of this research.

### **1.3 Research aim and questions**

The aim of this research is to create a better understanding of the position of immigrants in Swedish society, from the perspective of different generations of immigrants since the 1980s till now. In this research the concepts multiculturalism and segregation will have a central position, since they are very important in the current Swedish integration debate. Moreover, three levels in which immigrants can experience struggles in finding their position in Swedish society are distinguished. At first, attention is paid to the macro-level, related to the more general structures of the city like the different residential areas. Secondly, the micro-level will be discussed, referring to the personal experiences of the immigrants about their position in Swedish society. Finally, this research focuses on the overall discussion of issues concerning immigration in Sweden. In general the historical development will be of importance.

The central question in this research is:

*How do immigrants in Sweden experience the extent of possibilities to participate in Swedish society?*

To answer this research question three sub questions are formulated, which can help to answer the main question. Connected, the answers to the sub questions will lead to an overall answer on the research question.

The sub questions in this research are the following:

1. *How do ethnical differences correspond with the spatial planning of Göteborg?*
2. *What do immigrants experience as most important factors that facilitate or either discourage becoming part of Swedish society, and has this changed over time?*
3. *In what way do immigrants experience equality or inequality between themselves and the Swedish majority population, and has this changed over time?*

This thesis is constructed with these questions in mind, based on the theories discussed in Chapter 2. As a start the more general theories of nationalism and the state and methodological nationalism are described. Those theories can be seen as frame of the conducted research. Following, Attention is paid to three other theories, namely: national and transnational perspective, othering, and cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism. Later in this paper, those theories will be connected to the issues of integration, multiculturalism and segregation. Finally, in the section of the conceptual framework, those theories will be combined and it will be discussed in which way they are of importance to the issues named above.

The methodology for this research is set out in Chapter 3, giving an overview of the methods used for this research. Here will be explained why the qualitative approach is the most appropriate for this research. Additionally, the choice of location and the internship organization are shortly introduced. This chapter will end with a reflection on this research, explaining the main challenges and reflecting on what can be done different in the future.

In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 the necessary background information is provided before going into the empirical chapters. Chapter 4 will give an overview of the immigration patterns and relation policies in Sweden since the middle of the twentieth century. The aim of this chapter is to provide a context in which the discussions of the empirical chapters can be placed. Following, Chapter 5 will shortly picture the main characteristics of the Swedish welfare state. The welfare model does have such a significant role in Sweden that it influences issues of integration, multiculturalism and segregation, which will be discussed in the following three empirical chapters.



Chapter 6 will focus on special segregation in Göteborg, based on ethnical differences, as referred to in sub question 1. Therefore, this chapter can be described as macro-level analysis, providing an overview of how immigrants are to be situated in Göteborg. The results in this chapter are based on a three-way approach. First, statistical data was used in order to create a clear overview of the ethnic composition of the city of Göteborg. Secondly, both the literature as additional statistical data was used to point out some issues relating to ethnical segregation of Göteborg.

Chapter 7 gives a deeper insight in the personal experiences of immigrants when it comes to issues relating to sub question 2 and sub question 3. This focus on the micro-level makes the interviews the most important source in this chapter. Additionally, a literature study is conducted to complete the results. Both the historical and cultural context of the interviewees play an important role in this chapter, aiming to compare issues relating to the Swedish generous immigration policy, multiculturalism, integration and ethnic discrimination.

Chapter 8 aims to set out a more broad discussion around the issues of the generous immigration policy, multiculturalism, integration and ethnic discrimination in Sweden. In this chapter sub question 2 and sub question 3 serve again as guiding questions. The literature study can be typified as the most important source, supplemented by quotes from the interviewees that will fortify the arguments made through the discussion.

Finally, the findings of this research will be set out in a concluding chapter. In Chapter 9 the results of this research will be related with the aim to make concluding pronouncements, which can be used both as reference for policymaking and future research.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

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In the following chapter the focus will be on several theories concerning international immigration. Firstly, the relating concepts of nationalism and the state, and secondly methodological nationalism will be explained. These concepts provide necessary background information and will function as a starting point for this research. In the section 3 the national and transnational perspective of migration will be set out. Both are interlinked with ideas of migration, othering and integration, which will be described in the section 4. Finally I will pay attention to the theories of cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism. These theories will function as a guideline for this thesis, and thereby form the basis for the conceptual framework.

### **2.1 Nationalism and the state**

The idea of a nation has a long history, but appears a distinct form according to time and place. There always have been populations who see themselves as different or superior to other populations. This feeling is based on the idea of a common ethnicity, heritage or fate and can be called 'national identity' or 'national community'. The national community is mainly seen as a group of "people who share common origins and history as indicated by their shared culture, language and identity" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 306). Hagendoorn and Pepels (2000) stress the importance of culture for the creation of a national community, followed by language and education. Culture makes that the individual becomes part of a social structure, instead of staying a self-contained actor. It is necessary for the full participation of all citizens. Language and education are tools to spread this common culture (p. 12-13). This projected culture leads to the idea of belonging to a community, because it creates a feeling of familiarity with 'the others' who also share these feelings of belonging (Anderson, 1983, p. 50-52). Nationalism can both refer to the longing for an own nation-state, which does not (yet) exist, or to the existing nation-state, for which the people have certain sentimental feelings (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 4). Nations therefore are fundamentally different than states.

The idea of the state is not as old as the idea of the nation. The state is only seen as "a sovereign system of government within a particular territory". They point out that a state "can be seen as neutral playing ground for different interest groups", and thus it is different than a nation, which is more connected to the feeling of belonging and identity (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 306). The state however is linked to ethnical and cultural superstructures. The ideal is that the state covers precisely one nation, since this is related to 'the feeling of belonging' and thus makes it more likely that the population will stay loyal to the state. That is why states

stimulate the idea of a national identity. Nevertheless, homogenous nation-states are quite rare. States do not necessary fit nations, but can reach across many peoples. A good example is the Sámi population living in Norway, Sweden and Finland (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 4-5, 16).

In short, the state functions as an organizational structure, because the nation goes beyond this by providing a feeling of belonging to a certain territory, group of people and culture and therefore exist on the idea of an imagined community. By creating or maintaining a state, the dominant role of the national majority will be exposed. An effective way to homogenize this national majority is by differentiating themselves from 'the others', which can be both minority groups living in the same nation (like immigrants) or other nationalities which have their own nation (like for example neighboring countries). This means for example that when an immigrant gets his or her permission to stay he or she will be part of the state – by de facto citizenship – but at the same time they do not have to share the feeling of 'belonging' – what is determined by moral citizenship (see section 2.5). 'The others' can be stereotyped and used in nationalistic propaganda by highlighting the differences between 'us' and 'them' (Anderson, 1983, p. 48-58; Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 19).

Nevertheless, the differentiation between 'us' and 'them' can be described as an imagination of the appearances of differences. In this sense all (modern) nation-states are inseparably linked to the existence of imagined communities. The imagination is both the cause and the effect of the development of the nation-states. People tend to see their own groups as more homogeneous and behold larger differences between their national group and 'the other' that might be the case in reality (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 21). Nevertheless, Anderson (1983) states the nation is a 'imagined community', because it is simply impossible to know or meet all members of the nation and so the feeling of unity is imagined (p. 48-58). Still the nation creates the idea of communality and provides feelings of security, identity and cultural belonging (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 307), what can be linked to the longing for an own nation-state. Also, once a nation-state is formed it divides a certain group of people from 'others' by borders, rights and territories, what stimulates the idea of 'us' and 'them' and so the maintenance of an imagined community.

This still does not mean that all people living in a state form automatically an imagined community. One state can give home to several imagined communities or one imagined community can be separated by one or more national borders (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 5). Important to realize is that an imagined community is not the same as an actual lived community. An imagined community is a collection of memories, which are reconstructed after certain events, and which are often idealized (Peterson, 2010, p. 121). Continuing on these ideas Ang (2006) introduces the city as concrete realities, which do not have borders that can be

controlled, since the policies and laws about immigration generally happen at the national level. Nevertheless, the consequences of immigration become most visible in cities (p. 32-33).

## **2.2 Methodological nationalism**

Because multiculturalism in the Swedish welfare is the central theme of this research it is important to pay attention to the concept of methodological nationalism. This concept relates to this study in two ways. First, this research will focus on Sweden and Swedish society as if it is a naturally given entity to study (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 304) and second, because immigrants and the multicultural society are in a way always linked to the idea of the nation.

Methodological nationalism can be defined as “the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 302). This can be related to the notion of embedded statism, which assumes that the definition of states as time-space entities is unproblematic (Gamble, 1996, p. 1934). In most studies, the focus is on nations as natural entities, without giving much thought to the reason why we focus on the territory inside these specific boundaries. Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) describe this bounded territory as “container of the national society, which encompasses culture, polity, an economy and a bounded social group” (p. 307). In methodological nationalism the nation is seen as a naturally defined territory, which covers a homogeneous population bounded by the same culture, norms and values (Gustafson, 2005, p. 6). The creation of an imagined homogeneous entity is a way to legitimize the enforcement of control over a certain place, by a certain group of people (Houtum & Naerssen, 2002, p. 126).

Relating to the formation of a multicultural society and policy, the nation can be seen as a necessary space-time entity. Brochmann and Hagelund (2012) give four reasons to support this statement. The nation in relation to immigration is seen as the receiver of the new arrivals, as having the ability to protect the refugees, as responsible unit when human rights are violated and as policy executor for the acceptance of the newly arrived immigrant in society (p.19).

## **2.3 National and transnational perspective on migration**

In migration studies two different perspectives can be distinguished, namely the national or classical perspective and the transnational perspective. The first is based on ‘sendentarism’, a concept constructed by Malkki (1992, p. 31-33). Sendentarism refers to the idea that people feel connected with their own nation in such a way that it stimulates them to be immobile. This relates to the historical meaning of the nation as ‘unique sovereign people’ unit where membership is defined by blood, and therefore it is impossible to become a member of a

different nation. International migration in this sense is seen as exceptional and even problematic exception to the rule that people have the feeling to belong only to one specific nation (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 18; Gustafson, 2005, p. 6-7; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 309). According to the theory such an abnormality will occur as one time event and assimilation of the immigrant in the 'new' society is particularly important. "Migrants are expected to settle permanently in the receiving country and transfer their sense of belonging and allegiance from their country of origin to their new home country" (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 245-249). Immigrants are expected to renounce their cultural, social and linguistic characteristics, which do not fit the characteristics of the majority of the new nation (Castles & Miller, 1998, p. 247). The national perspective on migration converges with the concept of methodological nationalism. Proponents of the national perspective claim, "transnational migrants remain loyal to another state whose citizens they are and whose sovereign they belong, as long as they are not absorbed into the national body through assimilation and naturalization" (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 309). According to the national perspective immigrants are not seen as enrichment for the nation, but as a threat, for example when it comes to economic opportunities – immigrants taking our jobs – or the right of access to the welfare system – immigrants can be seen as abusers of the facilities of the welfare state (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 8). Therefore they have to assimilate, and a multicultural society with tolerance towards different ethnicities and cultures is not seen as an option.

Contrary to the national perspective, the transnational perspective can be defined. This perspective "understands migration as an ongoing process that involves continuing mobility and relationships across national borders" (Gustafson, 2005, p. 8). This can be explained by the historical understanding of the nation as 'a sovereign people' where nationality is decided by birth or choice, and thus the membership of a nation is flexible and open for all individuals (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 4-5). The transnational perspective entails that it is possible to generate emotional bonds with two or even more places and nations. This stimulates a persisting relationship of the migrant with both the sending and the receiving country. Thereby it is considered possible to have multicultural societies, where more cultures live together in one society and also influence each other. In line with this theory international mobility is not defined as abnormality, but rather as something that has to be stimulated, because transnational ties can be potentially beneficial for both the countries and the migrant. (Gustafson, 2005, p. 7-8) One can state that the transnational perspective regards a multicultural society as an ideal society. The different ethnicities and cultures are mainly seen as contributors to the society, rather than a threat and thus should be preserved.

In some multicultural societies immigrants are mainly seen as people "suspended between two cultures, in danger of becoming a culture-less flock lost between two immovable

objects named cultures” (Åkesson, 2011, p. 232). While the Swedish political ideal claims for a multicultural society with mixed ethnicities and cultures, in practice Swedish society does not support the preservation of the immigrants’ roots when it comes to integration (Åkesson, 2011, p. 232). The claim to be a multicultural society along with the practice of adhering the national perspective seems ambivalent. A paradox of the Swedish multicultural ideal is that the aim of preserving cultural diversity is in contradiction with the perception of equality. Equality seems to refer to (cultural) sameness, while the policy claims to preserve cultural diversity (Eastmond, 2011, p. 292). Moreover “ethnic and cultural differences are understood as the inherent and inescapable characteristics of groups”, and thus equity cannot be reached. In the empirical chapters the aim is to show that there is not such a strict distinction between the national and transnational perspective, but that reality is more diffuse. For instance, Sweden can aim to preserve a transnational perspective, but in fact also act according to norms of the national perspective.

## **2.4 Integration of ‘the other’**

A national identity is created and maintained by constantly comparison to outsiders or ‘the other’. This way of creating national identity can be defined as ‘othering’. Historically, theories of the superiority of the white race were dominant. As for now these theories made place for these “notions of normality” (Heith, 2012, p. 160-161) names it. This maintains that the majority population is presented as the norm and will be compared with ‘the others’ who do not meet these characteristics of normality. Still, some state that forms of racism, following from the colonial heritage of the superiority of the white race, are present in modern Western societies. This racism shows for example in the use of language where some colonial or racist words and expressions are being normalized (Hübinette, 2012, p. 43). Heith (2012) states that “whiteness has functioned as a norm that had been so pervasive in society that white people never needed to acknowledge or name it” (p. 160).

Returning to the theory of othering, comparing oneself with ‘the others’ gives us a meaning of who we are, but too many ‘others’ can be confusing and can give the feeling that our identity is being threatened. The fear of ‘the other’ seems to increase in this ‘age of globalization’ (Olwig, 2011, p. 187). Like Newman (2006) states, the increasing globalization creates the fear that the world will become deterritorialized and therefore disordered (p. 143). When national borders will disappear, we lose our safe space of national identity and cultural comfort. Accordingly, immigrants can be seen as threat to the national society. These ‘outsiders’ are perceived as different from the majority of the population, either in a cultural, religious or ethnical way. They can be seen as actors who will disturb the homogeneous culture of the

community, for example by bringing their own, different culture into the national space of solidarity (Houtum & Naerssen, 2002, p. 130). In addition, it can be argued that there is a difference in the magnitude of the threat of 'the other', since some 'outsiders' are more like the majority population than 'others', as will be explained in Chapter 8. In line with this theory there can be stated that "immigrants destroy the isomorphism between people and solidarity group" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 310), but that the level of threat depends of the cultural context of the immigrant. For instance, immigrants from the Netherlands would be seen as less threatening, because they are seen as white people with the similar western norms and values, based on the Christian heritage. This in contrast to people from Somalia whom cultural and religious norms and values are very different from the Swedish and whom are more notable in appearance. Another assumed danger of immigrants is that they represent the fragility of the nation. This anxiety can be explained in the sense that a migrant leaves its own nation and enters a new one. They break with the idea that people only belong to one specific nation and also disrupt the homogeneous community of their new nation (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 309-310). In other words, immigrants show that a nation does not automatically present a homogenous community and that there is no such thing as national belonging.

A way to make this threat less visible is by aiming to fully integrate immigrants in the majority society. Joppke and Morawska (2003) state that this idea of integration rest upon the believe "of a society composed of domestic individuals and groups, which are 'integrated' normatively by a consensus and organizationally by a state" (p. 3). Such a society is only a utopia, and does only exist in the imagination of people, not in reality. Modern society can also be explained in a different way, namely as a variety of autonomous systems or fields. As an individual you relate to these systems and fields in specific respects, never in their totality. Continuing on this statement one can say that every individual is always included and excluded at the same time, as they are included to certain respects in specific systems. On the other side this means that individuals are also excluded from other systems, and are therefore never totally included in the whole of the society. Immigrants are no different in this respect according to Joppke and Morawska (2003, p. 3). Referring back to the above-described example: the Dutch immigrant seems to be integrated in more of those systems of Swedish society than the Somali immigrant. This does not mean that the latter is not integrated at all. In general all immigrants are automatically integrated in some of the systems of society, because of similarities with other individuals (like for instance they are part of the system of unemployed/employed, high educated/low educated, etc.). In this sense they are always assimilated, at least in some respects, and therefore you can state that "the non-integrated immigrant is a structural impossibility" (Joppke & Morawska, 2003, p. 3-4). In Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, I will go deeper into this by questioning if integration is even possible. Furthermore, Joppke and Morawska (2003)



introduce their idea of post-nationalism, in which national citizenship has become partly irrelevant when it comes to integration of immigrants. Following from the transnational discourse, integration of immigrants follows more and more from the idea of global human rights, what makes integration as a person more relevant than integration as a citizen (p. 16).

## **2.5 Cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism**

Cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism have become central concepts when it comes to integration. Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) refer to these two concepts as ‘the double helix’, as both can relate to either immigrants or natives. Regarding the first concept citizenship is seen as the most effective way to govern a population (p. 697-698). Citizenship can be divided into two categories: formal citizenship and moral citizenship. Formal citizenship makes immigrants juridical members of the state and therefore gives them civic, political, social and cultural rights and duties. Formal citizenship is mainly seen as only the beginning of the integration process. Sweden is seen as country in which it is relatively easy to receive a formal citizenship status. More important when it comes to integration into society is moral citizenship. Moral citizenship refers to the ideas of what constitute a good citizen and how a good citizen should behave. It corresponds with our image of the dominant norms and values of the society. Natives are supposed to create the community and thus determine the norms and values of society. Immigrants on the other hand have to integrate in this community that is more or less already created and which consist of these clear norms and values (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010, p. 697-698). When it comes to moral citizenship norms and values can be seen as nationalized forms of behavior. They create the idea that society is a homogeneous, perfectly bounded entity (Favell, 2008, p. 136) in which immigrants are outsiders who do not share these similarities. For example, lots of second-generation immigrants do have the status of a formal citizen, but are not considered as integrated into society when it comes to moral citizenship (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010, p. 704). “Citizenship thereby changes from a right to be different to a duty to be similar, i.e. assimilated” (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010, p. 704). This research will primarily focus on this aspect of assimilation, relating to the question: in what extent do immigrants experience the pressure to become morally assimilated?

The second concept described by Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) is neo-liberalism, which refers to active citizenship. “Neo-liberalism constitutes a form of governing individuals based on the metaphor of the market, which incites various ‘bourgeois virtues’ in interacting individuals and eventually leads these individuals to govern themselves” (p. 698-699). According to the neo-liberal perspective citizens are expected to participate in and contribute to society. Individuals have to become responsible for public tasks. Moreover, it is assumed that

citizens, state and civil society will cooperate. In relation to integration this means that the society has the responsibility to help solve problems concerning the integration of foreigners and help immigrants to become part of this society (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010, p. 700-701). From the perspective of the immigrant this means that newcomers are expected to actively take part in society. In Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 the experiences of the immigrants about the responsibility of both the majority population as the immigrants will be discussed. This issue relates to Marshall's citizenship theory, which claims that citizen-rights can be divided in civil rights, political rights and social rights. He considers the last one as most important and links this to the role of the welfare state in promoting equality and integration in society. Successful integration can only be achieved when there is a certain degree of social equality between different categories in the population (Borevi, 2002, p. 321).

One can state that the expectation of cultural assimilation combined with a neo-liberal way of governing presents a paradox, because it makes intervention of the state a necessary component to transform immigrants in good citizens, of whom is expected to contribute to the society as free individuals (Eastmond, 2011, p. 291).

## **2.6 Conceptual Framework**

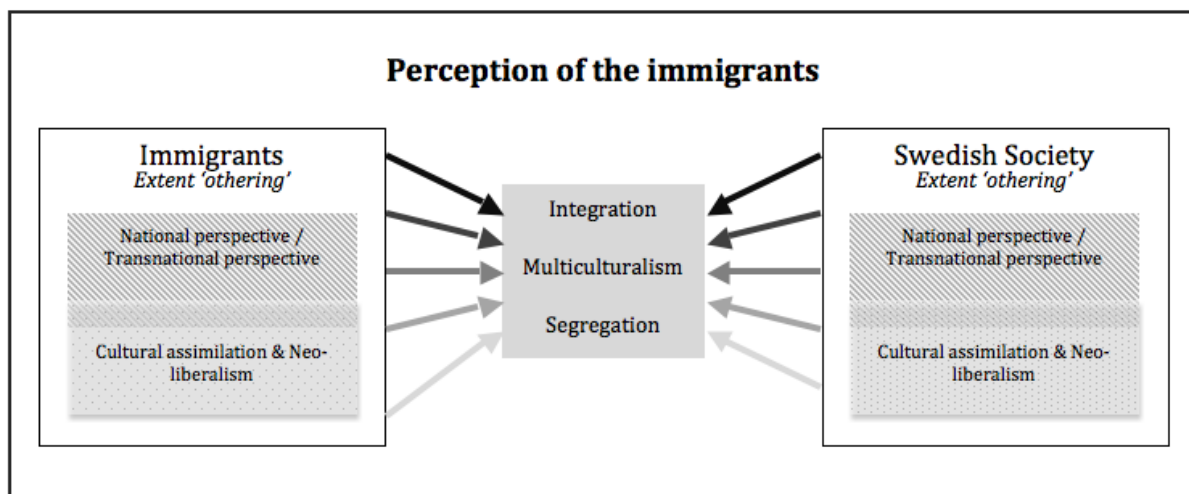
Out of the theories of cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism I have created the following conceptual framework (Figure 1). This thesis will discuss and question the concepts integration, multiculturalism and segregation by involving the perception of immigrants on those issues. As shown in the framework, the perception of immigrants thus plays a central role.

In this thesis the theory of othering will be linked to the theories of the national and transnational perspective, cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism. I assume that the vision on the national and transnational perspectives in combination with cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism actually determines the way in which 'the others' are seen. Following, this idea of othering is of importance to picture what the concepts of integration, multiculturalism and segregation actually entail.

In the framework I made a distinction in the way immigrants affect the concepts of integration, multiculturalism and segregation and the way Swedish society does. Firstly, the national and transnational perspectives are structural in nature. This structural perception creates a context in which the norms and values are created and maintained, and this influences the issues related to cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism (section 2.5). While the above relates to the structural side of those concepts, neo-liberalism and cultural assimilation can be seen in a more practical light. As discussed in section 2.5, neo-liberalism can shortly be defined as the importance of active-citizenship. Thus, this strongly relates to the behavior of society and

immigrants in relation to integration, multiculturalism and segregation. Concerning the national and transnational perspective, one's behavior is a manifestation of one's context. Therefore you can argue that neo-liberalism is in a way related to the extent in which society behaved by the norms of the national perspective or the transnational perspective. This is illustrated by the two different boxes that are not separated, but flow into each other, since the theory of national and transnational perspective do indeed strongly influences the ones of cultural assimilation and neo-liberalism. Additionally, I would like to argue that by applying those theories on the concepts of integration, multiculturalism and segregation, one would see that those theories are never absolute. One mainly speaks of a certain level of othering, balancing between the ideas of the national and transnational perspective. From both the box of the immigrants and the box of the Swedish society, five arrows are pointed towards the concepts of integration, immigration and segregation. This connection is made, since the theories named in those boxes influence the processes of integration, multiculturalism and segregation. For example from the side of the immigrant, the extent of moral citizenship influences to what extent someone is willing to integrate in society. Regarding Swedish society the willingness to stimulate integration of immigrants into society, as can be connected to the theory of neo-liberalism, influences the processes of integration, multiculturalism and segregation. The choice to pick arrows in different shades of grey illustrates that the immigrants and Swedish society are no homogeneous groups.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework



## Chapter 3: Methodology

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In the next chapter I will discuss the choices concerning the research methodology, which functioned as a guideline throughout all of this research. To collect sufficient information for this study a focus will be laid on a two-way research approach. Firstly, and most central in this research is the fieldwork. I have conducted in Göteborg, Sweden, by interviewing immigrants about their experiences of opportunities to participate in Swedish society. Secondly, the aim of the literature study was to complement the fieldwork and to set a frame. Additionally, being in Göteborg helped me to experience daily life in Sweden. The Center of Urban Studies provided the opportunity to get in contact with immigrants living in Göteborg, and gave me access to the University library, which helped me with my literature study. Some of the choices concerning my research methodology did change during the process of this research, either by choice or by necessity, but in general it is tried to stay close to the premade methodology.

### **3.1 Fieldwork**

As stated before, the purpose of this fieldwork was to gain insight in the experiences of immigrants in Swedish society. Therefore, the aim of this research is to understand the processes of integration, multiculturalism and segregation in Sweden through the eyes of immigrants. This research therefore contains a bottom-up approach, since it does not intent to look at the immigration from either a theoretical or political angle. This research approach can be named a phenomenological approach. An important aspect of the phenomenological approach is that it seeks to create an in-dept notion by focusing on detailed descriptions of the experiences (Denscombe, 2003, p. 4, 95-98). With this in mind the fieldwork research is based on qualitative data, because this is the best approach to create an in-depth notion of the experiences of the immigrants in Sweden. Nonetheless, it can occur that some questions are better answered in a quantitative way – for example questions providing general information as age, year of arrival – so I took this into account as well.

Besides, this research can be defined as case-study research, of which the aim is to provide a detailed image of a specific case, namely non-European immigrants in Sweden (Denscombe, 2003, p. 54). Because the time and recourses for this thesis were limited I decided to make the case even more specific and focus particularly on non-European immigrants in Göteborg. The choice for Göteborg will be explained shortly in section 3.4 and more extensive in Chapter 6. Here it is important to mention that the choice to only focus on one particular city was due to the limited time and resources that is available for writing a thesis. It would have

been more comprehensive to take into account several cities of different population sizes. People in big cities as Stockholm or Göteborg might deal with issues of immigration very differently than people in smaller cities as Gälve or Torsby. Therefore the perceived possibilities to participate in Swedish society may also be influenced by the place where one lives. It is aimed to structure the research in such a way that it can be applied on each city in Sweden, or maybe even on any city in a multicultural society (Denscombe, 2003, p. 58).

Since this research is about the different time periods in the Swedish history of migration in order to make comparison possible, it was needed to specify three different periods (or cases). The three different cases that were taken into account were non-European immigrants in Göteborg who arrived between 1980 to 1990, 1990 to 2000, and after 2000. This the rather small-scale focus on the periods made it possible to describe, explain and compare the experiences of immigrants (Denscombe, 2003, p. 57).

### 3.1.1 Unit of analyses

In the 1970s the arrival of non-European refugees characterized a new phase of immigration in Sweden (Chapter 4). Before, most immigrants arriving in Sweden originated from European countries and therefore did have similarities with the Swedish majority population on a cultural, religious or even ethnic level. This made them relatively easy to integrate. The influx of non-European immigrants, with their unfamiliar cultural and religious habits and different appearance increased the visibility of immigrant in Sweden. Also, due to the economic crisis in the 1970s economic immigrants were no longer allowed to come to Sweden. From then on only refugees were permitted to stay in Sweden and welcoming new immigrants was therefore no longer seen as beneficial but rather as duty. Because of the above mentioned two reasons, I decided to choose non-European refugees as unit of analysis for this research.

### *Ethnicity*

Table 1 shows the five largest immigrant groups in Sweden in comparison to Göteborg in the year of 2010. The Finnish are the largest immigrant group in Sweden, followed by the Iraqis, Yugoslavs, Bosnians, and finally the Iranians. Therefore Iraqis form the number one non-European immigrant group in Sweden. However, this does not correspond with the situation in Göteborg. Here the Iranians are the largest immigration group with a number of 10.983 persons (Goteborg.se, 2014). Because of this, Iranian immigrants seem to be most suitable as unit of analyses in this thesis. Nevertheless, this research aims to give an *overall* overview of the perception of non-European refugees about the possibilities to participate in Swedish society. To prevent ‘colored’ conclusions due to a focus on one specific ethnicity it is decided to extent the unit of analyses. The wish to not specify the unit of analyses on the country of origin, made me

include immigrants from: Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Bolivia and Uruguay. In this perspective the research can be seen as quite broad and therefore it functions as a starting point for future studies.

Table 1: The five largest immigrant groups living in Sweden and Göteborg by country of origin in the year of 2010 (source: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014)

Country of origin	Number of immigrants in Sweden	% of immigrants in Sweden	Number of immigrants in Göteborg	% of immigrants in Göteborg
Finland	169.521	12,2%	7.299	6,3%
Iraq	121.761	8,8%	10.930	9,5%
Yugoslavia	70.819	5,1%	6.743	5,9%
Bosnia	70.253	5,1%	6.535	5,7%
Iran	62.120	4,5%	10.983	9,5%
Other countries	890.455	64,3%	72.523	63,1%
<i>Total immigrant population</i>	<i>1.384.929</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>115.013</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 2: Population in Sweden by country of birth from 1980 to 2010 (source: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014)

	1980	1990	2000	2010
Iran	3.348	40.084	51.101	62.120
Iraq	-	10.528	49.372	121.761
Afghanistan	-	-	4.287	14.420
Somalia	100	1.441	13.082	37.846
Bolivia	613	1.983	2.349	3.762
Uruguay	2.101	2.430	2.227	2.247
<i>Total foreign born</i>	<i>626.953</i>	<i>790.445</i>	<i>1.003.798</i>	<i>1.384.929</i>
<i>Total Swedish population</i>	<i>8.317.937</i>	<i>8.590.630</i>	<i>888.272</i>	<i>9.415.570</i>

Table 2 gives an overview of the unit of analyses of this research. The first column shows the six immigrant groups, which are central in this research. The following four columns display the number of those immigrant groups living in Sweden in a particular time period. Those immigrant groups are not randomly chosen, but the selection is based on information conducted from the literature. Here it was described that the period since the 1970s can roughly be divided into three phases, namely:

1. The late 1970s and early 1980s
2. The late 1980s and early 1990s
3. The late 1990s and early 2010s

The first phase (ca. 1970-1980) is characterized by an influx of Latin American refugees. In this thesis, one of the respondents is from Uruguay and the other from Bolivia. In general people from Latin America were typified as the ‘first non-European group’ arriving in Sweden. These immigrants were mainly political refugees who fled from the dictatorships in their countries (Byström & Frohnert, 2013, p. 229). As for Uruguay, the country was under military rule from 1973 to 1985. During this period, the community had to suffer under enormous political suppression, illustrated by the fact that “Uruguay had the highest concentration of political prisoners in the world” (Sondrol, 1992, p. 187; Loveman, 1998, p. 505). In the first column of Table 2 – year 1980 – you can see that the number of Uruguayan immigrants was quite high in comparison to other immigrant groups. In this period Uruguayan immigrants form the second largest immigration group, but this position changed due to increasing immigrant groups from Iraq, Somalia and Bolivia. In Bolivia, a political turbulent period started with the Bolivian revolution in 1952 (Arganaras, 1992, p. 44). During the Banzerato period (1971-1978) – named after the Bolivian leader General Hugo Banzer – thousands Bolivians were arrested. Many were killed, tortured or imprisoned. Lots of refugees escaped to other countries, including Sweden (Kohl et al., 2011, p. 94-95). The number of Bolivian immigrants in Sweden increased significantly between the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980 their number was not that high, but it more than doubled in the period up and until 1990, followed by a rather smaller, but sustained increase in the period between 2000 and 2010.

During the second phase (ca. 1980-1990) mainly refugees from Iran and Iraq arrived in Sweden. Sweden hosts one of the largest Iranian immigrant groups in Europe. Only in France, Germany and the United Kingdom are living more immigrants who originate from Iran (Graham & Khosravi, 1997, p. 166). As a result of the war between Iran and Iraq (1980 to 1988) approximately 7.000 Iranians were arriving in Sweden every year since the mid-1980s (Runblom, 1994, p. 634; Byström & Frohnert, 2013, p. 228; Graham & Khosravi, 1997, p. 116). This corresponds with the numbers in Table 2, showing that Iranian immigrants have been most present in Sweden from 1980 to 2000. Concluding from the fact that Iranian immigrants are one of the main immigrant groups in Sweden since the 1980s one can say that most of them interchanged their status of ‘exile’ for the status of ‘integration’. Recognizing their status in Sweden has become more permanent made them in many ways increasingly involved in Swedish society and as well share similarities in some respects (Graham & Khosravi, 1997, p. 117-118). Continuing with the group of Iraqis immigrants Table 2 shows that the number of this



immigrant group more than doubled both between 1990 and 2000 and later on between 2000 and 2010. Due to this enormous increase Iraqis immigrants exceed the amount of Iranian immigrants, meaning Iraqis are the largest non-European immigrant group in Sweden in the year 2010. However this big increase, the number of Iraqis immigrants in 1990s and 2000s is still lower than the number Iranian immigrants, what makes them the second largest immigrant group in these periods. Continuously, there is no a number presented of the 1980s, likely because the Iraqis were not yet that present during this period.

Finally, mainly Somali refugees arrived during the last period (ca. 1990-2010). The Somali cover a large majority of immigrants who came from Africa to Sweden (Byström & Frohnert, 2013, p. 229). In Table 2 you can see this big increase since the 1980s, because after this period the number of Somali immigrants more than doubled every ten years. As argued by Johansson, Somali refugees are generally portrayed in an “unfavorable light”. This group is seen as most difficult to integrate: they lack schooling, have most difficulties finding a job, and manifest their religion in both appearance and behavior. Refugees from Afghanistan began to arrive more recently, as illustrated in Table 2. They are the world largest refugee population. Since the invasion of the Soviet Union the situation in the country is instable on a political, economic and social level. Most of the Afghan refugees fled to Iran and Pakistan, some went to other countries (Tober, 2007, p. 133).

### ***Social and economic status***

Because the ethnic diversity of the unit of analysis, it is important to prevent the unit from becoming too broad by determining other specifications. First of all, the expectation of staying in Sweden is an important factor for examining the perspective of immigrants on their possibilities to participate in Swedish society. In other words, I will interview immigrants, who are in a situation of integration. This is important, since immigrants who expect to stay most likely feel the necessary of striving towards a position in society where they can participate.

In this research only first generation immigrants will be interviewed. One can argue that the perception of second-generation immigrants is also very valuable, but including them will make the research way to extensive, as will be further explained in section 3.5. For this research it is explicitly chosen to interview first generation immigrants from the three different time periods, what will make it possible to compare the situations of the last three decades, with reckoning factors as ethnical, cultural and probably religious differences, which can have an important role in the process of integration in society. For example, it can be expected that refugees who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s meanwhile learned the Swedish language, got a job, own a house and probably even got educated. Meeting these components, it can be expected that they equally participate in Swedish society as the Swedish majority population. This group

can clearly explain us the bottlenecks in becoming part of society and can answer the question if they feel they are able to fully participate in society. By comparing the immigrants of this one time period it can be analyzed if factors as ethnicity, culture and religion play a role in the extent in which they can participate in society. Refugees arriving some decades later in the 2000s, are maybe still learning the language or did not finish their education. Therefore it can be assumed they are still in the process of integrating in society, what makes it harder for them to fully participate even if they try to fit in. Nevertheless, those immigrants can show the current difficulties they experience in becoming part of society – what can be compared with integration process of the immigrants of the first two generations.

Other aspects that are taken into account are education and current employment status. All of the interviewees are highly educated or are still following education. This is chosen with the idea that all interviewees are/were likely to be able to find employment and be self-sufficient. Nevertheless, not all respondents have a job. The focus on these elements is chosen, since it allows different perspectives on ones perceived participation in society. Immigrants who are unemployed might feel less included than immigrants who are employed.

### **3.1.2 Conducting and analyzing data**

In total twelve interviews were held with non-European immigrants living in Göteborg. Six of the interviewees – so half of the total – came originally from Iran, complimented by immigrants from Uruguay, Bolivia, Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan. Most of the interviewees were female (8 females to 4 males). The group is divided in three periods – 1980 to 1990, 1990 to 2000 and after 2000. The majority of the interviewees arrived in the first period, and the minority arrived during the 1990s. This historical approach makes comparison possible in three ways. Firstly, between the interviewees of one group, comparing their personal experiences regarding the perceived ability to participate in Swedish society. This can create a more complete image, by taking into account the multiple realities, since the interviewees may experience things differently in their personal context as immigrants (Denscombe, 2003, p. 97). Secondly, it makes comparison possible between the groups representing different time periods, in which the immigrants can describe the situation during their time of arrival. Finally, by this approach one can compare the experiences of immigrants in relation the different generations. The different generations can show that people can personally develop themselves, what may lead them to see things in a different light. I will take those three angles into account in the empirical chapters.

Table 3: Group of interviewees by country of origin, year of arrival, age and sex

Period	Country of origin	Year of arrival	Age	Age at arrival	Sex
<b>1980-1990</b>					
	Uruguayan	1981	62	29	Female
	Iranian	1984	53	23	Male
	Somali	1986	49	21	Male
	Iranian	1987	67	31	Female
	Iranian	1988	52	26	Female
<b>1990-2000</b>					
	Iranian	1990	59	35	Male
	Iranian	1991	54	31	Female
	Bolivian	1998	45	29	Female
<b>2000-now</b>					
	Somali	2005	18	11	Female
	Iranian	2007	38	31	Female
	Iraqis	2007	20	13	Female
	Afghan	2010	21	16	Male

All of the interviews were conducted on an individual bases and lasted about one hour. The interviews were semi structured, meaning that the questionnaires were prepared beforehand (represented in annex 1, annex 2 and annex 3), but that it was allowed to deviate from these questions and ask further questions as respond to the answers given by the interviewee. This created room for the interviewees to refer to subjects they perceived as important for this research (Bryman, 2012, p. 213; Denscombe, 2003, p. 186). Still there were some questions, which were asked in all cases, since the issues raised in these questions have a very central role in this research. For each group a specific questionnaire was designed, which related to the time of arrival of the interviewee. For example, in the first questionnaire – covering the period between 1980 and 1990 – questions were included referring to the multicultural policy, which was in force from 1975 to 1997.

The data conducted from the interviews were analyzed by the method of coding. The analysis was not conducted through an analyzing program like Atlas.ti or Nvivo. Instead I created my own system in Word. In this system, five nodes were defined: spatial segregation, historical context, access to society, personal experience and positioning immigrants. To highlight the right quotes, each node was divided into several of words (i.e. codes). Every node, and the corresponding codes, was assigned a specific color. The colors functioned as a tool to easily analyze the interviewees, since they highlighted which section of the interview could be related to a certain node. Shortly said, this system of colors indicated the most suitable quotes

for the empirical chapters. After defining which sections could be used in the empirical chapters, I created a table for each interview. In the left column the nodes were presented, and in the right column the quotes relating to those nodes. Those tables functioned as comprehensive overviews, showing which quotes showed either similarities or contradictions. It also showed which quotes were to be related to which theories and concepts. As final step, the empirical chapters were written, of which the quotes functioned as base.

### **3.2 Literature study**

As a start of the research, several scientifically theories were studied and set out the ones that are related to the debate of integration, multiculturalism and segregation, since these are the central concepts in this study. Following background reading was provided, concerning the history of immigration in Sweden and the Swedish welfare state from the second half of the nineteenth century till now. The outline of the historical background is of importance to create a broader context in which I can situate the perception of the immigrants who came to Sweden during this period. These chapters can be used as reference point, not this much as analytical chapters. In Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 I returned to the concepts explained in the theoretical framework, and specified them to the case of Sweden. These chapters are therefore based both on literature study and the findings from the fieldwork. Related articles from newspapers are also used in these chapters. Newspaper articles about immigration in Sweden were quite present during the period of the research, since this is a currently much discussed issue (even in the Dutch newspapers). This can be explained by the large flow of Syrian refugees going to Sweden, and getting permit to stay. Another relating topic was the Swedish election of the state parliament, in which the issue of immigration was a highly debated topic (Trouw, 2014).

The first part of the literature study was conducted in the Netherlands before I went to Sweden. These readings mainly gave me a general insight in the way Sweden was situated in the European context when it came to immigration issues. It also gave me a clear idea of which theories were of importance in relation to this research. In extension I continued the literature study in Sweden. In this phase the research became more concrete, from where I could deepen it with both more specific literature and the fieldwork.

### **3.3 Observations**

Besides the focus on literature study and fieldwork, observations also influenced this research. For example, the Center of Urban Studies is located in Hammarkullen, one of the suburbs of

Göteborg. The vast majority of people living in here have an immigrant background. The streets are dominated by 'exotic' looking people and you will rarely meet a native Swede. Therefore this can be characterized as one of the ethnic neighborhoods where some Swedish people have never been, as referred to in Chapter 6. Some even emphasizes that they never go there because Hammarkullen is a dangerous neighborhood, with people wearing guns or aiming to rob you. From my experience this is an exaggeration, since I never felt unsafe being there.

Hammarkullen is not the only 'ethnic segregated' neighborhood, so are Angered, Bishopsgården and Bergen. I visited all of these areas to get a complete image of the differences between the neighborhoods in the city – in comparison with the more rich parts. Since some of the interviewees lived in Angered, I have been there several times to interview them. None of the interviews were held at the home of the interviewees. Instead, some of them invited me to their work, or we met in the community center of Angered.

I also visited the high school situated in Angered. Here the ethnic segregation was very visible. During my visit I participated in two classes where I only saw one 'Swedish looking' (white, blond, blue eyed) student. This seemed to confirm the described image of Angered as an immigrant neighborhood.

### **3.4 Choice of location**

This research tries to analyze the opportunities for immigrants to participate in the Swedish society. Therefore I focused on a single-sided approach collecting data only in Göteborg (Gielis, 2011, p. 257). In this sense the choice to situate this research on such one specific location have to be clarified. Sweden as a location was deliberately chosen for this research, since this is such an exceptional and interesting country in relation to other multicultural countries, like set out in Chapter 1 and will further complement in section 3.1.1. Although I think the theories and methods of my research can be used in several cities in Sweden, Göteborg was chosen as a case study. The choice to go to Göteborg for the fieldwork partly depended on the opportunity to do my internship at the Center of Urban Studies, which is situated in Göteborg. This center functions as a research center focusing on issues as ethnic segregation and is connected to both the University of Göteborg and Chalmers University. In the city of Göteborg ethnic segregation is quite present. An example of how this segregation becomes visual is that many 'immigrant neighborhoods' are very distanced from the city. Some call Göteborg 'the most segregated city of Sweden'. Therefore Göteborg will be used as a case to get a better insight in the issue of ethnic segregation in Sweden, both when it comes to spatial planning as the (perceived) social exclusion of immigrants from society (Bråmås, 2008, p. 104).

### 3.4.1 Sweden

The introduction of this thesis consist of a short overview of the historical background of Swedish immigration, relating to the explanation why Sweden is an interesting case when it comes to multiculturalism and integration. Additionally, Chapter 4 will go deeper into the Swedish history on migration. This is why I will not get into these questions again in this chapter of methodology. However, there are still some statistics that have not been named and which will be of importance to complete the background information necessary for this research.

Currently 9.716.962 inhabitants are living in Sweden (Statistika Centralbyrån, 2014). Table 4 gives an overview of the inhabitant number in Sweden from 1980 till 2010 in comparison to the number of immigrants living in Sweden during this period. This is equally the period this research covers. The table shows the number of immigrants living in Sweden has more than doubled – increase of 757.979 – during the last 30 years. More concrete, the number of immigrants living in Sweden increased with 121%. The overall population has also grown, with 1.097.663, what means an increase of 13,7%. This makes the increase of immigrants much more significant than the increase of the general population. This logically leads to an increase of visibility of the immigrants in Sweden. Especially when you take into account that the table only includes the first generation of immigrants. The second – and maybe even third – generation could also be considered as immigrants according to the Swedish majority population. These numbers do not show, however, where the immigrants come from, what also influences the visibility. For example, Finns who are integrated in the Swedish society might become invisible, because they do not have visible characteristics, which would typify them as immigrants. Still, like I will explain more in Chapter 6, there is a significant increase of immigrants are from non-European origin.

Table 4: Number of inhabitants compared to the number of immigrants in Sweden (source: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014)

	1980	1990	2000	2010
<b>Total of inhabitants in Sweden</b>	8.317.937	8.590.630	8.882.792	9.415.570
<b>Immigrants in numbers</b>	626.953	790.445	1.003.798	1.384.929
<b>Immigrants in %</b>	7,5%	9,2%	11,3%	14,7%

“The share of respondents agreeing that there are too many foreigners in the country has steadily increased, from 52% in 1993 to 63% in 2009, and the support for immigrants’ right to freedom of religion has remained stable since 1993, hovering around 40%” (Borevi, 2012, p. 12). Continuing on this statement you can say the Swedish population did not become less or more tolerant towards the immigrants already living in Sweden. Still they did become less welcoming

towards new incoming immigrants, since more people consider too many foreigners living in Sweden.

### **3.5 Reflection**

During the research process, some of the intended ideas had to be changed, which will be explained and reflected on in this section. As referred to in section 3.1, interviewing immigrants living in different cities would give a more comprehensive image of the perception of immigrants, instead focusing on only one city. Nevertheless, focusing on more cities in the context of this research would mean that the research would stay rather superficial, only highlighting a few angles of the experiences of immigrants on the possibility to participate in Swedish society. That is why it is decided to focus on Göteborg as a case study. It is therefore not possible to draw any conclusions based on this research about the whole of the Swedish society. It rather should function as a starting point for further research about the possibility to become part of the welfare state as an immigrant, based on a bottom-up approach.

In the research proposal it was intended to both interview first- and second-generation immigrants living in Göteborg. Nevertheless, during the preparations for the empirical research I realized this was too much regarding the extent of the research. To create a clear focal point it was necessary to either choose to focus on the different generations or the different time periods. The aim to centralize the historical component and connect this to the case of non-European immigrants in Sweden made the focus on different time periods most convenient. As explained in Chapter 4 most non-European immigrants started to arrive since the 1970s, creating an image of Sweden as rather 'young' country of immigration. In this research it is intended to look at the development of Sweden as rather inexperienced country of multiculturalism to a more experienced one. Therefore I choose to focus on only the first generation immigrants with the aim to provide an in-dept notion on their perspective on the different time periods and the development of Sweden as multicultural country.

For finding interviewees, the so-called 'snowball sampling' was used to reach people to interview. Snowball sampling refers to the situation where the participants lead you to potentially new participants (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). Due to this method it was not specifically hard to reach people. The main problem with finding participants was that people assumed they were not suitable as interviewee. A significant number of addressed persons did not respond at all to my messages or told me their English was not sufficient enough. The main challenge was therefore to gain their confidence and explain that they could contribute to the research in any case. In this process of finding respondents, I decided to expand my unit of analyses. In advance my idea was to only interview Iranian immigrants, eventually people from other countries were



interviewed as well. Though, it was to be prevented choosing the interviewees randomly, therefore I concentrated my unit of analyses on people from Latin America, Somalia, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, since each of these ethnicities appeared to represent an immigrant group of a particular time period, namely: immigrants from Latin America mainly arrived in the period 1980 to 1990, immigrants from Iran and Iraq mainly arrived in the period 1990 to 2000 and finally immigrants from Somalia and Afghanistan mainly arrived in the period 2000 to now. A positive aspect of the ethnic multiplicity of the unit of analyzes was that it actually corresponds with the aim of this research to give an *overall* image of the perception of immigrants about their access to Swedish society. Still, even by expanding the unit of analyses, the number of interviewees was less than I hoped it would be. The aim was to interview at least five immigrants of each period, but this goal was not achieved.

By expanding the unit of analyses I had to be aware that the interviewees had different ethnical, cultural and religious backgrounds. Those different discourses had to be taken into account while analyzing the data and generalization of the perception of the individual interviewees had to be prevented. Also, by analyzing the data I had to take into account the possibility to romanticize the historical context. With this I mean that interviewees could represent a more beautiful vision on the past. Because of those two reasons I always had to be critical while conducting the interviews and analyze the data.

Regarding the problem of the language barrier, I was not able to speak or understand Swedish. After defining the research topic I only had two months before my departure. Not enough time was left to learn the Swedish language, and therefore I had to do the interviews in English. First I was under the assumption that this would not be a problem, since the general idea of the people living in Sweden is that they speak English quite well. Nevertheless, once in Göteborg it turned out to be different. A lot of immigrants were not able to speak English, or they did not feel comfortable speaking English. This was the main reason why it was hard for me to find enough interviewees. This language barrier is something I will take into account next time. Speaking the language – in this case Swedish – will make it much easier to find participants to interview. Next, it might lead to more profound answers to the questions. However, all of the interviewees gave very comprehensive answers, what gave me the impression that neither the language barrier nor distrust kept them from sharing their experiences with me.

### **Summary**

In this chapter I have tried to clearly explain the ideas behind the choices for the methodology of this research. The choices regarding the fieldwork are widely discussed, pointing out the qualitative approach of this research since the aim is to create an in-dept notion of the perspective of immigrants on the possibilities to participate in society. The historical component

has a central role in this research. The choice of the unit of analyses is therefore based on this and divided into three categories, each linked to a different period: 1980 to 1990, 1990 to 2000 and after 2000. It was challenging to find enough respondents, even after extending the unit of analysis by broadening the ethnic component. To prevent that the conclusions for this research became superficial, the choice was made to focus on the specific case of first generation immigrants living in Göteborg.

## Chapter 4: Immigration and the Swedish state since the 1950s

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Sweden is an interesting case study since it seems to be slightly different than the other so presumed multicultural countries, like the Netherlands or Canada (Olwig, 2011, p. 182; Holgersson et al., 2010, p. 18). Despite some counter-arguments, emphasizing that there have always been a constant influx of immigrants (Westin, 2000, p. 171-173; Andersson et al., 2014, p. 714), Sweden is generally seen as rather young or even inexperienced immigration country, which developed its immigration policy only during the last fifty years. In this chapter the Swedish immigration pattern and immigration policies of the second half of the twentieth century will be shortly explained. The aim of this chapter is to provide a historical background, which one can use as reference point for the rest of this research. In section 4.1, immigration in Sweden in the second half of the twentieth century will be discussed. In the section 2 a short overview will be given of the political processes regarding immigration since the 1950s.

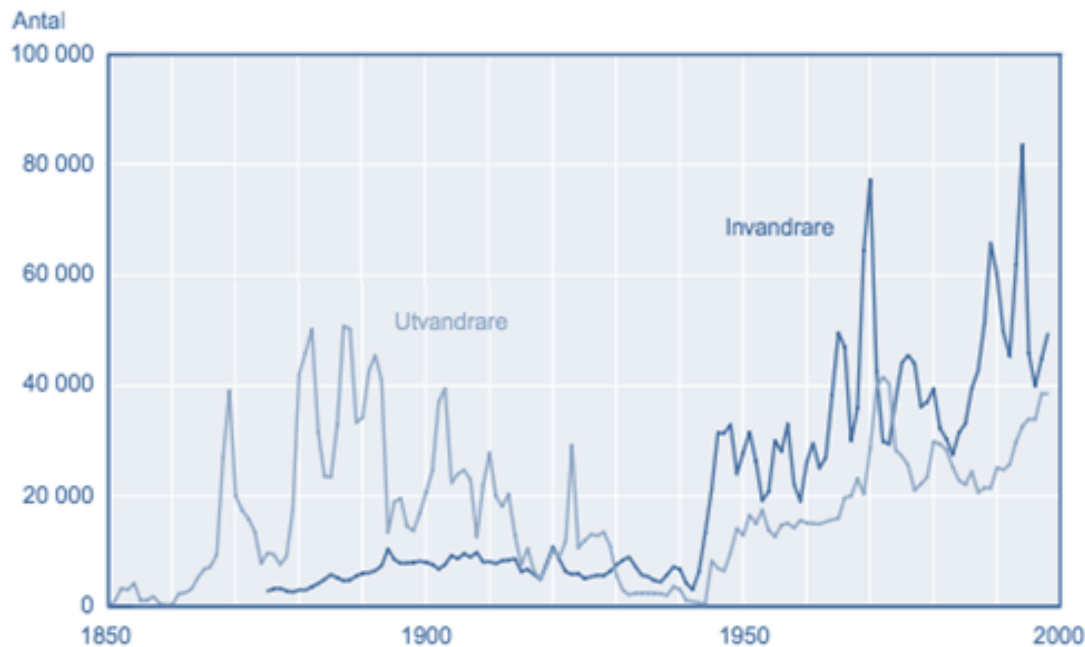
### **4.1 Sweden as a country of immigration?**

Due to the enormous increase of incoming migrants in the 1960s, immigration was seen as a fairly new phenomenon, which only started since then (Holgersson et al., 2010, p. 18). Although there is a widespread belief that Sweden was a culturally and ethnically homogeneous country until the post-WWII immigration set in, the actual situation was more complex. “Over the centuries, there has been a small, but constant in-migration to Sweden” (Westin, 2000, p. 171-173), and Sweden “has been at the top of the European list in terms of immigration entrances per capita for several decades” (Andersson et al., 2014, p. 714). Figure 2 shows this continued immigration already since the 1870s.

The figure also shows the 1930s as a unique period in Swedish history. For the first time the number of immigrants coming to Sweden rose above the number of emigrants leaving Sweden. In general from this pre-war period onwards the number of immigrants continued to increase. During the post war period – since the 1950s – the character of immigration changes, since Sweden became a county of net immigration. In the 1970s the influx of Non-European immigrants increased significantly – from less than 10% in the period of 1945 to 1972 to an average of 40% after 1972 – and therefore immigrants became more visible (Andersson, 2006, p. 789; Andersson et al., 2014, p. 714; Borevi, 2012, p. 2-3). The increasing influx of immigrants and the emergence of the oil crisis in the 1970s led to a halt of labor immigration. From now on the immigration pattern of Sweden was mainly characterized by refugees and family

reunification. This changed in 2008 when the government again allowed labor migration (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 8-9).

Figure 2: The number of emigrants and immigrants in Sweden in the period 1850-1988 (source: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014)



During the largest immigration wave, which can be situated between 1993 and 1994, 103,000 individuals migrated to Sweden in comparison to the ca. 400,000 immigrants between 1985 and 1994. During this period of 'the big immigration wave', Sweden was in an economic crisis. It were mainly the immigrants who were affected by the high unemployment rate. As a result of the rising number of unemployed citizens, the social costs of the state rose and socially and economically depressed communities emerged (Andersson, 1996, p. 3-4; Andersson, 1999, p. 605; Andersson, 2006, p. 789; Peterson, 2010, p. 121).

This high level of unemployment did affect all parts of the country, but became most visible in the neighborhoods built during the period of the Million Dwellings Program. The Million Dwellings Program was introduced in the 1964. The aim of the program was to build one million houses in ten years (Andersson, 1999, p. 604). Björnberg (2010) refers to these Million Dwelling areas as 'satellite cities', as they were mainly build at the margins of the city, and therefore distanced from the center and all its recourses. During the building of these areas some worried that these satellite cities would mainly attract the poor and thus would become segregated modern slums. Björnberg gives three reasons why these worries seem to be legitimate. Firstly, he refers to the overproduction of housing between 1972 and 1973, what made these neighborhoods accessible for newly arrived immigrants. Secondly, the media

created a 'black picture' of these neighborhoods, which made it less inviting for native/white inhabitants. And thirdly, the lack of recourses made these neighborhoods less attractive (p. 201). Nowadays residents of these houses are still mainly immigrants (Sernhede, 2010, p. 217) and therefore one can say the segregation problem is still present.

## **4.2 Policies concerning immigration**

### **4.2.1 The start of a multicultural political climate: 1960-1980**

In post war Sweden issues concerning immigration became more and more important. The UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR) was ratified by Sweden in 1954. Since the CRSR forms the foundation of the Swedish refugee policy, what means "that Sweden is obliged to examine every asylum application it receives, and must provide asylum to those who are refugees according to the Convention" (Johansson, 2013, p. 274-275). Of the incoming refugees and other immigrant groups was expected that they would assimilate into Swedish society. During the second half of the 1960s the number of immigrants almost doubled. In addition, while immigrants in the 1950s came mainly from the Nordic countries, in the 1960s an increasing number of immigrants from Southern Europe and the Balkans arrived. Due to the increasing immigration and the shift from assimilation to integration, concerns rose about the emergence of social and economic exclusion of ethnic minority groups. This concern led to the declaration of 1968. From now on immigrants were officially included in the welfare system like any other citizen in Sweden (Borevi, 2012, p. 3, 37). Another result was that politicians assumed immigration had to be limited. Instead of allowing new immigrants to come to Sweden the resources had to be saved to invest in the social and economic conditions of the already arrived immigrants (Byström & Frohnert, 2013, p. 227).

The oil crisis of 1972 led to high numbers of unemployment. As reaction Sweden did not longer accept labor immigrants. From now on labor immigration was altered firstly by family reunification, followed by a large influx of refugees (Johansson, 2013, p. 239). Compared to its neighboring countries Denmark and Norway, Sweden did have a very liberal attitude towards transnational marriages and family reunification of the labor migrants of the 1970s (Olwig, 2011, p 183-184). Refugees formed the second group of incoming immigrants. The increasing inflow of refugees meant that from now on the Swedish government had to take human rights principles into consideration, and that it could not only adjust the immigration policy on the availability of employment (Borevi, 2012, p. 35, 39). In the first years of the 1970s the state mainly saw immigrants as a specific category with specific needs. This entailed the risk of stigmatization of this specific group. Borevi (2012) explains that "'immigrants' differ in an interesting way from other target group categories as for example children or disabled, since

immigrants are related to questions about legitimacy, relating to issues as 'belonging to the nation' and 'the right of citizenship' (p. 29).

In the mid 1970s the workline principle was established. This means that immigrants got a work permit almost directly after arriving in Sweden. Immigrants who found an adequate job could be eligible for a residence permit. The aim of the workline principle can be connected to the Swedish ideal to provide jobs for all (Borevi, 2012, p. 4). Also, the immigrant and minority policy was introduced during this period. This policy announced a break with the previous aim of assimilation of the immigrants by changing towards a multicultural ideology. "In 1975, multiculturalism became an important element in the Swedish Model of welfare state politics, and an official immigration policy was declared" (Johansson, 2013, p. 243-244). From now immigrants and minorities were to be stimulated by the state to maintain their minority cultures, but nevertheless did not gain the equal rights as the Swedish majority population. The concepts of equality, freedom of choice and partnership formed the core of this policy (Borevi, 2012, p. 54; Åkesson, 2011, p. 218). Equality referred to both accomplishing a certain social-economic standard and achieving similar conditions with regard to cultural rights. Freedom of choice meant that the immigrant had the right to choose to maintain either his or her own culture or take part in the Swedish majority culture. The state had the responsibility to help immigrants maintain their culture when they wanted to. With the last objective of partnership was meant "partnership between immigrant and minority groups and the majority population". Minority groups were perceived as equal parties in society, with equal rights and equal access to participate actively in the Swedish civic life. Contrary, the Swedish majority population was encouraged to increase their knowledge of the immigrants and minority groups in Sweden, to create a better understanding (Borevi, 2012, p. 40-42). In general "immigrants were promised active state support to retain their own language, develop their own cultural activities and maintain contact within their original country in the same way as the majority population is able to preserve and develop its language and its cultural traditions" (Borevi, 2012, p. 4). The aim of introducing this policy was to create more equality between different social classes and stimulate the immigrant's integration into Swedish society (Borevi, 2013, p. 149). Examples of measures emphasizing equality were: "voting rights in municipal elections for resident non-citizens, mother tongue classes in schools, special information services for immigrant groups, and economic support to ethnically based associations" (Åkesson, 2011, 218-219). In comparison to the rest of Europe, Sweden was very early in introducing this multicultural policy regarding immigrants. This multicultural policy was therefore seen as progressive and fits the wish of Sweden to be a pioneer (Borevi, 2012, p. 28; Joppke & Morawska, 2003, p. 13).

While the immigrant and minority policy intended to create equality, another effect of the policy has to be mentioned. Like Borevi (2012) states, the desire to create universalism and

the focus on multiculturalism created a contradiction, because multiculturalism lays the focus on the recognition of the differences between the minority groups and the Swedish majority population and is thus in contradiction with universalism (p. 44).

#### **4.2.2 Withdrawal from multiculturalism: 1980-1990**

Only a few years after the introduction of the multicultural and minority policy, critiques rose about the failure of the policy. In general the critiques stated that “efforts to promote the solidarity of individuals within their ethnic group (ethos) could clash with the overall civic community (demos)” (Borevi, 2012, p. 55). Following these critiques a new immigration bill was introduced in 1986. In this bill the government explained that the policy was never meant to stimulate the formation of ethnic minorities in Swedish society. They continued that the intention of the policy was to meet the needs of the individuals, not to create differentiation in society. This bill emphasized a change of the previous policy of the 1960s, and was a first step towards the integration policy of 1997. Nevertheless at this point it was represented as continuity of the multicultural ideal of 1975 (Borevi, 2012, p. 56).

Three years later, on December 13<sup>th</sup>, 1989 asylum was refused to refugees by the Social Democratic government. This so-called ‘Lucia decision’ was the first step in the strengthening of the Swedish refugee policy. The refusal was explained as consequence of the lack of welfare resources, as for example housing. Others imply that the Lucia decision had to indicate the will and capability of the Swedish government to limit immigration. A third way the decision could be interpreted was that it had to show asylum seekers that Sweden was not as welcoming as before, and additionally show that the Swedish government would not allow immigration to have negative consequences on the Swedish welfare policy (Borevi, 2012, p. 49-50). Regardless the message the government wanted to send, the decision meant that from now on only refugees who met the CRSR’s criteria or were in special need of protection were able to get asylum (Johansson, 2013, p. 277).

#### **4.2.3 Installment of the integration policy: 1990-2000**

During the 1990s Sweden went through a deep economic crisis. Nevertheless the flow of incoming immigrants did not decline. One of emerging problems during this period was the social exclusion of immigrants, which was seen as a result of residential segregation. This led to the introduction of the big city policy, which focused both on creating economic growth and on the integration of immigrants. This policy for development and justice was a policy specifically for Swedish metropolitan areas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Andersson, 2006, p. 790). The economic crisis had an enormous impact on the Swedish attitude towards immigrants too. Johansson (2013) even states that since the 1990s “security and migration policy were more closely linked

than it had been in the past” (p. 282). Subsequently, he argues that immigrants were more and more seen as security threat on both a national and international level (Johansson, 2013, p. 282). As a consequence of the increasing amount of unemployment the workline principle was weakened. With this change the government hoped to gain more control on the incoming flow of immigrants searching for work (Borevi, 2012, p. 31).

In 1994 a new bill was introduced which laid the focus on equal share and equal contribution to the welfare state. From now on the government tried to change the reception of immigrants, by letting them contribute to society (for example: immigrants living in refugee centers had to do cleaning tasks or got language training). Another goal of the government was to encourage asylum seekers in finding housing outside of the system of refugee centers and to take individual responsibility for their own lives (Borevi, 2012, p. 65-67). Still the number of unemployment among the immigrant remained considerable. Dependency on the welfare resources and a lack of language or other required skills were highlighted as main reasons of unemployment regarding the government committee for refugees and immigrants.

In 1995 Sweden entered the European Union (Andersson, 2006, p. 789). One year later a new migration policy was installed. This migration policy had to increase the governmental control on immigration flows. This new policy laid the focus on temporary resident permits, what made it harder to get a permanent residence permit. Additionally, support was given to those who voluntary decided to return home (Borevi, 2012, p. 63). In 1997 the new integration policy was established. The basis for this integration policy was already laid in the 1980s, following the changing visions towards immigrants and minority groups in Sweden. The most important difference with the policy of 1975 was that that the new policy of 1997 concerned all parts of Swedish society. In the government bill of 1997 is written that the new policy implies “a broader concept of Swedishness as to give all in the population the change to identify themselves with Sweden and experience a sense of national solidarity” (Borevi, 2013, p. 114). From now on immigrants were not considered as a specific group that needed to be integrated in Swedish society, but the whole of the Swedish society – regardless of background – was responsible and had to take part in this process of integration (Åkesson, 2011, p. 219). Furthermore, the new policy consisted “that there would not be any policy measures specifically aimed at ‘immigrants’, except during their first two years in the country” (Borevi, 2012, p. 67-68). In other words, one could only confirm the status of ‘immigrant’ temporarily. This was a reaction on the fact that many immigrants who lived in Sweden for several years still were forced to confirm to the label of ‘immigrant’ (Borevi, 2012, p. 69). Related to this was the development of a state financed introduction program for newly arrived immigrants. The introduction contains for example Swedish language courses (Eastmond, 2011, p. 281).



#### **4.2.4 Preventing social exclusion: 2000-now**

Increasing immigration rates of the last decades led to the development of Sweden as a multicultural country. This had an impact on the character of social inequality, as it has become more related to social and economic exclusion of ethnic minority groups (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 1). The prevention of social exclusion became an important goal for the Swedish government since the turn of the millennium.

Influenced by the European Union, Sweden introduced the civic integration policy in 2000. This policy focuses on the idea that immigrants have to integrate more fully into society. Therefore the immigrant had to meet certain integration requirements in order to gain access to various rights. Furthermore, a new demand towards immigrants was introduced, which contained that new immigrants have to be economically self-supportive in order to gain family reunification. According to Borevi (2002; 2012) the introduction of this demand was a move towards the broader European trend of achieving certain duties in order to gain certain rights (p. 327; p. 5-8, 11).

The right of dual citizenship was introduced with the new Swedish citizenship law of 2001, which made it possible to obtain dual or even multiple citizenship statuses (Gustafson, 2005, p. 5; Joppke & Morawska, 2003, p. 18). Next the discrimination act was introduced in 2008, which prohibited direct discrimination, indirect discrimination and sexual harassment and provided instructions to discriminate illegal acts'. The aim of the act is "to promote equal rights and opportunities regardless of sex, transgender identity, ethnicity, religion, disability, sexual orientation and age" (Alexander, 2010, p. 224-225). In the same year the government returned to a more liberal approach in accepting labor immigration. From the 1970s Sweden only accepted refugees, but with this new rule a temporary work permit could be given to all immigrants, what made Sweden more accessible to immigrants (Borevi, 2012, p. 76-77).

Till now, Sweden did not require any obligations when it came to family reunification, but in April 2010 such a requirement was introduced. From now on the person living in Sweden must be able to show that he or she is economically self-supportive and that he or she has adequate housing for both her/himself and the family member. A few months later greater emphasis was laid on the introduction period of newly arrived immigrants. Additionally, the right to social benefits could be reduced a consequence of the unwillingness to participate. Still it is not required to pass this integration test to get a residence permit (Borevi, 2012, p. 8-9, 75).

#### ***Summary***

With my eye on the empirical chapters, it can be concluded that immigration as such is not a very recent phenomenon in Sweden, but that during the second half of the twentieth century the type of immigration changed, what made immigrants only more visible. The introduction of the

multicultural policy in 1975 seemed to highlight the differences between immigrants and the majority population even more. This, together with the growing flow of immigrants, resulted in an increase of social exclusion of the minority population in the following years. Questioning if the Swedish society has become more or less welcoming over the last decades, this chapter seems to illustrate that Sweden still have to find its way in how to handle the scope and appearance of immigration. Now, social exclusion is still seen as a common problem. An expression of this is residential segregation, what will be discussed in Chapter 6. The integration policy of 1997 can be seen as reaction to the growing inequality; now immigrants had to assimilate in the social sphere it was aimed to decrease differentiation. Still, it is not completely clear in exactly which aspects immigrants had to assimilate and to which regard they could maintain their own cultural habits. Therefore the experiences of immigrants in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 give more insight in this issue. An important aspect of the integration policy was the neo-liberal approach, according to which both immigrants and the majority population were responsible for successful integration. Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 will focus on the experiences of immigrants of this process of integration, on to what extend they themselves feel responsible and on in what way the Swedish majority population either took or takes responsibility. Overall, the issue of social inequality will have a central role in those empirical chapters, since equality was one of the core concepts of the multicultural policy and is still seen as one of the most important values in Swedish society.

## Chapter 5: The Swedish welfare model

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One of the most important elements for the strengthening of Sweden as a national state was the introduction of the welfare model. The introduction of the term 'folkheim' (i.e. peoples home) is an expression of the aim towards homogenization of the Swedish society during the twentieth century (Heith, 2012, p. 161). Currently, the Swedish welfare system is seen as something that needs to be protected from outsiders who are not entitled to use the social benefits. Some Swedes perceive immigrants as threat and refer to them as 'abusers of the social welfare'. Despite these negative assumptions towards immigrants in the Swedish Welfare state, Johansson (2013) states that immigrants were of essential importance in the facilitation of the welfare state during the post-war period. Immigrants came to Sweden as workers in this period of economic expansion and therefore had a big impact on the expansion of the Swedish economy (p. 235). The welfare state in general is too extensive to discuss in this thesis. Therefore this research will particularly focus on the Swedish welfare state. However the Swedish welfare model has numerous similarities with the welfare system of Denmark and Norway, which all can be referred to as Nordic welfare states or the Scandinavian welfare states. These terms will therefore be used in this chapter.

### **5.1 Origin of the welfare state**

The introduction of the welfare system changed the meaning of the functions a state should have. The fundament of this new concept was laid in Europe during the 1930s and became more developed in time. Each country underwent its own process of formation, resulting in various forms of the welfare state. The welfare system in the Scandinavian countries can be characterized as social democratic regime-types, called after its founding party: the social democrats. They are based on the Beveridge principle. This contains universal rights of citizenship, which is not related to ones work performance or position on the labor market. The main goal of the introduction of the welfare system was to prevent poverty by the provision of a series of basis of social rights, rather than the emancipation of workers from market dependency. Additionally, the Scandinavian welfare states strive for the highest equality standards (Andersson, 1999, p. 33-34).

In the late 1960s the Scandinavian welfare states became 'serving states'. This means they concentrated on services for family needs, like education and healthcare (Esping-Anderson, 1999, p. 78-79). The introduction of social rights meant that from now on citizens had individual obligations to the state, for instance paying taxes (Borevi, 2012, p. 30). The emphasis on the idea

that social services are a 'right' for all citizens stimulated individual independence. This can be explained in the sense that the state interferes in the role of the family and the market and therefore makes the individual less dependent of those. Nevertheless, one has to be aware that some central benefits – for instance pensions or sickness – are still based on individual earnings, confirming the guarantee of preserving the standard of living of each individual (Andersen, 1984, p. 115; Andersson, 1999, p. 78-79; Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 5-6).

## **5.2 What entails a Scandinavian welfare model?**

Brochmann and Hagelund (2012) give the following definition of the Scandinavian welfare state: "the public bodies that, via administrative, economic and legal regulations, seek to guarantee individuals and families security regarding income, life, health and welfare throughout their lives" (p. 18). The interference of the state works de-commodifying, meaning "the degree to which individuals, or families, can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 37). The term de-commodification emanates from the word commodification, which refers to one's increasing dependency on the market. In the age of industrialization – starting at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the working class became more and more dependent on the market: the market provided wage, and wage was essential for survival. In this sense the life of the workers became dependent on the demand and supply of the labor market. That is why one can state that workers became commodified. "De-commodification occurs when a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 21). In this sense de-commodification is about reducing one's dependency on the market, by institutionalizing social rights as childbearing, education and leisure subsidies. Since, it was the workers who were in the position of commodification, their struggle to become de-commodified became the guiding principle of the labor-movement policy (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 44-47).

### **5.2.1 Universalism**

Social-democratic welfare states like Norway, Denmark and Sweden are generally known as states striving towards universalism and collective contribution, which both function as instruments to achieve the highest equality standard possible. The welfare policy concerns the entire population and not only certain (needing) groups (Esping-Andersson, 1990, p. 46-47; Esping-Andersson, 1999, p. 5). "The government and social partners try to achieve this socio-economic goal [of equality] via progressive taxation combined with several benefit schemes" (Willems & van Asselt, 2007, p. 13). In other words, all citizens have the same right to basic social security benefits and services – like facilitating work, education and health care –

regardless their position in society. Also, one aims to equally distribute the income of citizens. At the same time, collective contribution refers to the idea that in order to reach this equality all have to contribute by their own means. Therefore the amount of taxes paid is directly related to one's income: the more you earn, the relatively more taxes you pay. This universal model entails the importance of public trust and social solidarity, because everyone needs to contribute based on their means and everyone has access to benefits based on their needs. It is important but challenging to find the right balance in selective measures – which only serve the need – and universal measures – to keep everyone willing to contribute (Borevi, 2012, p. 28-29).

According to Brochmann and Hagelund (2012) you cannot speak of universal welfare schemes, but “about degrees of universality and different forms of universality” (p. 5, 7). In relation to immigrants and social assistance they illustrate this statement with the following example: “this [i.e. social assistance] is universal in the sense that the circle of people who can apply for such support is very broad, but not so universal in the sense that it is actually awarded on assessment and the amounts conferred vary considerably” (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p.6).

### **5.2.2 Employment**

Besides the values of universalism and collective contribution, the Swedish government strives for full employment (Willems & van Asselt, 2007, p. 8-9). This aim of full employment was translated to the active labor-market policy, an idea developed by Gosta Rehn and Rudolf Meidner. The Rehn-Meidner model “advocated an active labor market policy, a wage policy of solidarity and a restrictive macroeconomic policy to combine full employment with fair wages, price stability and high economic growth” (Erixon, 2010, p. 677). This policy was constructed in the post war period as a reaction on the growing discontent regarding the Swedish economic policy (Erixon, 2010, p. 678). Full employment is a very important value of the Swedish welfare state, because the rate of employment decides the feasibility of the welfare system. Employment finances welfare on the one hand and reduces public spending on the other. Additionally, employment is seen as most sufficient tool to combat poverty and increase equality. According to Esping-Andersen (1990) the combination of the following three principles makes the welfare system sustainable: “1) the improvement and expansion of social, health, and educational services; 2) maximum employment-participation, especially for women; and 3) sustained full employment” (p. 22). The last two relate to the idea of fusing welfare and work. On the one hand it is important that most people see the ability to work as a ‘right’. “The right to work has equal status to the right of income protection” (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 27). In the Scandinavian welfare policies one refers to this aim as ‘productivism’, which means the maximization of the potential productivity of the citizens. This entails the guarantee that all citizens in the country

get the necessary resources and opportunities to work (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 5; Esping-Anderson, 2002, p. ix; Esping-Anderson, 1999, p. 79-80). On the other hand it is important that only a small number of people rely on the benefits. Social problems like unemployment and sickness must be minimized, because the state has to finance this through taxes. Esping-Andersen (1990) refers to this as the “maximization of the tax-base” (p. 222-223). When lots of people are unable to work, the working population would not earn enough to finance this high number of unemployed. Either way, taxes need to increase or social benefits need to decrease. This will make the welfare state less sustainable.

### **5.3 Immigrants and the Swedish welfare system**

Concerning this research it is important to ask the question: how does immigrants fit into the Swedish welfare system? Lots of immigrants in Sweden are entitled to use the welfare services, because this entitlement only depends their status of citizenship and is independent of one's (past) labor market position or contributions to the state. Easy access to the welfare services is one of the reasons that make Sweden such an attractive country for immigrants from developing countries, especially for the less skilled (Andersen, 1984, p. 115; Andersson 1999, p. 78-79; Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 5-6; Willems, 2007, p. 94-95). A common used phrase in Sweden is therefore: “immigrants live on social benefits” (Hagendoorn & Pepels, 2000, p. 8). Like referred to in Chapter 4, it seems true that there is a higher unemployment rate under the immigrants in Sweden compared to the native Swedes. Stated by Runblom (1994) “there is a tendency toward a new class society in Sweden with the non-Europeans forming a largely unemployed underclass” (p. 634). Nevertheless, it can be argued that the high unemployment among immigrants cannot be explained as a lack of willingness to find work. One of the reasons for the high unemployment rate among immigrants is the existence of cultural differences, what makes it hard for immigrants to find a job and adapt to the labor market. “There has been a practical and essential understanding that immigrants, with their ‘cultural baggage’ and customs, need to be educated, informed, and integrated into the ‘Swedish way of doing things’” (Johansson, 2013, p. 245, 276). This citation shows that the idea that immigrants need to be integrated in the Swedish society to access the labor market seems to be the norm. According to Willems (2007) this fast labor market integration is currently lacking. Firstly, replacement rates indicate that there is no place for the unskilled, what most immigrants are. Secondly, high minimum wage levels make it is hard to find jobs for low skilled immigrants, because there productivity-level is not high enough. Thirdly, language barriers hinder the communication on the work floor, excluding immigrants as qualified for the job (p. 95).

Another reason for the high number of unemployed immigrants is discrimination. In the 1960s “there was a tendency to label immigrants as ‘social problems’, ‘a marginal group’, ‘different’, or ‘poorly integrated into society’, and in need of societal help to be able to ‘adapt’ and function within the structures of Swedish society” (Johansson, 2013, p. 245). It is also stated that trade unions generalized immigrants with different backgrounds. Immigrants were perceived as belonging to the same social class and sharing the same rights and interest (Johansson, 2013, p. 235). Some state that these views still dominate the perception towards immigrants. Johansson states it is important to keep in mind that immigrants were not the only group typified by these assumed characteristics. Married women, elderly and disabled were associated with the same stereotypes (Johansson, 2013, p. 245). In the early 1990s a period of firm discussions started about the interference of the government when it comes to labor market discrimination. As reaction a law was introduced by the non-Socialist coalition, prohibiting ethnic labor market discrimination (Westin, 2000, p. 176).

### ***Summary***

The above-explained aspects of the Swedish welfare state can be related to the empirical chapters in the following way. The aim of the Swedish welfare state is to generate the highest equality standards possible, by making them less dependent of the market through the provision of basic rights by the state. Still, the ideal of equality seems not (yet) to be reached, since social class differences are still in force. Immigrants can be currently point to as ‘underclass’, because of the high level of unemployment and dependency on social benefits. The Swedish welfare model is based on the idea of equal contribution and equal gain, referred to as universalism and collective contribution. In this sense it is a system of giving – by those who work and contribute to the welfare of the state directly or indirectly – and taking – by those who use social rights when needed, like education, healthcare or unemployment benefits. In this chapter the aim for full employment was explained, since this makes the welfare state sustainable. The ‘right’ to have a job – as explained in section 5.2 – seems not this easy to maintain. Immigrants have more problems in finding a job than the majority population. Unemployment among immigrants will be discusses in Chapter 6, applying it on the case of the Swedish city, Göteborg. In this chapter, several of reasons for the high unemployment rate among immigrants are named, like: cultural differences, unskilled workers, language barriers and discrimination. Chapter 8 will set out the experiences of immigrants in finding a job. It seems likely that, mainly for newly arrived immigrants the issue of a language barrier is of importance when it comes to finding a job. For employed immigrants, who live in Sweden for quite some time it is more likely discrimination will be the main factor for the difficulty of getting employed.

## Chapter 6: The ethnic composition of Göteborg

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Like explained in Chapter 4, the influx of immigrants to Sweden have increased significantly over the last century that has influenced the Swedish majority population in many ways. In particular the increasing number of non-European immigrants has affected Swedish society. Currently Sweden counts more than hundred citizenship groups, which is a relative high number in comparison to other European countries. The increasing number of non-European immigrants made differences in culture, religion and appearance more significant (Runblom, 1994, p. 625). This can be strongly related to the ongoing debate in Sweden about the increasing ethnical segregation. In this chapter I will go into these issues of segregation due to ethnical and cultural differences, with a particular focus on the situation in Göteborg.

### **6.1 Situating Göteborg in Sweden**

Göteborg has been the second largest city in Sweden since the 1980 and currently has an inhabitant number of 847.073 (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014). Displayed in Table 5 are the five largest cities in Sweden in comparison to the country in general, in the year 2010. The table aims to give an overview of the immigrant population of each city, showing the context in which the city of Göteborg has to be placed. The first column shows the total number of inhabitants and the second column the total number of immigrants. The third column presents the percentage of immigrants in relation to the total of inhabitants in the different cities (the first row refers to the country) and the last column the percentage of immigrants of the total of immigrants living in the country.

Table 5: Number of inhabitants compared to the number of immigrants in the five biggest cities of Sweden in 2010  
(source: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014)

	Number of inhabitants	Number of immigrants	% immigrants of total inhabitants in the country/city	% immigrants of total immigrants in Sweden
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>9.415.570</i>	<i>1.384.929</i>	<i>14,7%</i>	-
<b>Stockholm</b>	847.073	187.585	22,1%	13,5%
<b>Göteborg</b>	513.751	115.013	22,4%	8,3%
<b>Malmö</b>	298.963	90.349	30,2%	6,5%
<b>Uppsala</b>	197.787	32.419	16,4%	2,3%
<b>Västerås</b>	137.207	24.731	18,0%	1,8%



Göteborg is the second largest city of Sweden and has the second largest number of immigrants. Nevertheless, the percentage immigrants in comparison of the total number of inhabitants in Göteborg (22,4%) is larger than in Stockholm (22,1%). Outstanding is the percentage of immigrants living in Malmö, which is significantly higher than in other cities, namely 30,2%. This high percentage of immigrants makes that Malmö is known as ‘city of immigration’. This can be explained by the fact that Malmö is situated directly on the border with Denmark, and so quite a number of the immigrants are from Denmark – and even travel in-between Copenhagen and Malmö on a daily basis. The high percentage can thus partly be explained by the relatively high number of Danish immigrants (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2013). Nevertheless, Danish immigrants lack the difference in appearance. Also, their cultural and ethnical habits are very close to the Swedish ones. This makes them less likely to be labeled as ‘immigrant’ – at least in the negative context of the word.

Since the change of the immigration pattern in Sweden in the 1970s, immigration has become more visible in Sweden. Most striking was the difference in appearance of those non-European immigrants, since most of them have darker hair or skin colors. Besides, the cultural difference between the majority and minority population began to grow. This made assimilation of these new groups of immigrants more difficult than assimilation of European immigrants. Especially since the immigrants did not keep all of their cultural habits to themselves – in their private spheres – but also expressed them in the public spheres, for instance women who are wearing headscarves (Borevi, 2012, p. 2-3). This increased visibility of ethnical differences made immigration a more discussed issue, relating it to problems as: intolerance, discrimination and segregation.

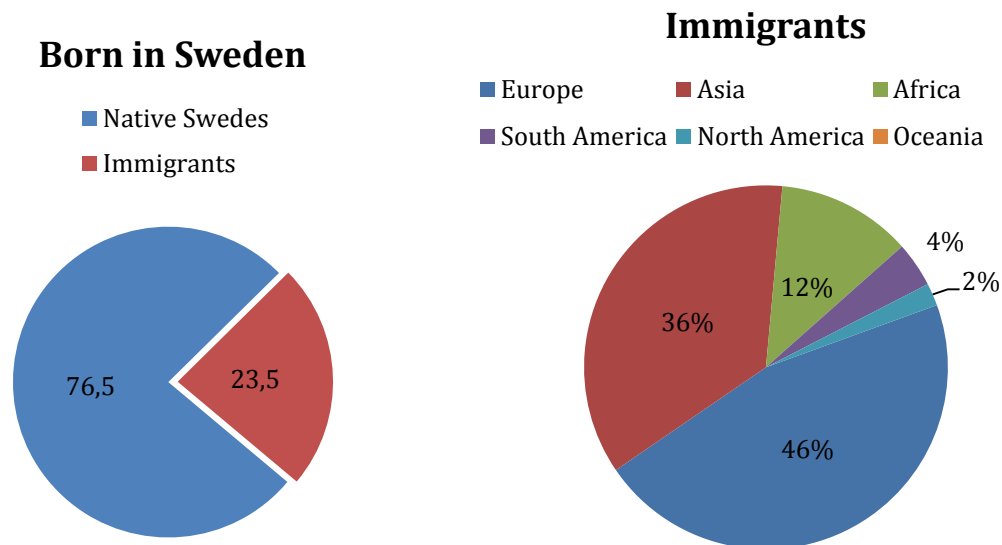
Being in Sweden and talking to the people living there, learned that the general assumption was that there is a big gap between the predominantly Swedish population living on the countryside – especially in the north – and the mixed population living in the cities – which are mainly situated in the southern part of Sweden. Table 5 (column 3) displays that the general percentage of immigrants living in Sweden is lower than the percentage of immigrants in each of the cities. This strengthens the idea that the immigrants mainly live in the cities. Nevertheless, if you sum up the percentages of the last column the result is 32,4%. This means less than half of the immigrants live in the five largest cities. Following you can argue that the immigrants are scattered across the country. An explanation for this can be that the asylum seekers in first instance are placed in the smaller villages – mainly in the north of the country, for instance in the province Jämtland – since these parts of Sweden are sparsely populated (Volkskrant, 2014). Only once the immigrants get the permission to stay in Sweden and as a consequence get free choice where to live, they mostly move to the bigger cities. The main reason is the general assumption that there is more work in the cities. Another reason is that more immigrants are

living in the city, and people prefer to live with others from their country of origin. As explained in section 6.2, the longing to live with people with the same immigrant background is also reflected in the ethnic composition of the cities themselves.

## **6.2 A city of one hundred eighty-two cultures**

Bråmås (2008) states that “the ethnic composition of Göteborg reflects that of the immigrant population in Sweden very well” (p. 104), what makes the city convenient as case study. In 2013 23.5% of the people living in Göteborg can be defined as an immigrant (Figure 3), resulting in a number of 125.095 immigrants. The majority of immigrants are of European origin (46%), followed by people from Asia (36%). Iranian immigrants form the largest non-European immigrant group in the city, making up almost 2% of the population (Ahlgren et al., 2010, 1079). In total Göteborg harbors hundred eighty-two different cultures, and one out of five people does have a foreign nationality (Goteborg.se, 2014).

Figure 3: The percentage of immigrants living in Göteborg per region in 2013 (source: Goteborg.se, 2014)



The above numbers picture Göteborg as a multicultural city. However, this only seems to be a utopia. Göteborg is referred to as the most segregated city in Sweden and ethnic residential segregation is still increasing (Bråmås, 2008, p. 104). Sernhede (2010) states “the city is more and more characterized by people living in different worlds” (p. 104), meaning there are huge ethnic and economic differences between the neighborhoods in the city. This increasing ethnical segregation and the question how this can be prevailed, is a much-discussed topic in Sweden, but still no answers are found (Andersson, 2013, p. 165). It is to argue that social classes have been replaced by class differences based on ethnicity (Andersson, 1999, p. 607). As will be

discussed in Chapter 7, numbers regarding the high unemployment, low level of education and poor economic status of people living in the so called ‘immigration neighborhoods’ seem to emphasize this statement.

In Göteborg, the majority of the immigrants live in the neighborhoods Angered, Östra Göteborg and Västra Hisingen (Table 5). Most of those immigrant neighborhoods are the result of the Million Dwellings Program (section 4.1) (Andersson, 2013, p. 165; Andersson & Bråmås, 2004, p. 518). In general immigrant neighborhoods in Sweden (and thus Göteborg) are highly multiethnic. Contrasting to other European countries like Germany or the Netherlands, the immigrant neighborhoods in Sweden are seldom dominated by only one ethnicity (Andersson, 2013, 166; Andersson & Bråmås, 2004, p. 518). Andersson (2013) illustrates this by saying that there are almost no neighborhoods in which more than 10% of the population originates from a certain ethnic background. In the immigrant neighborhoods in Göteborg all Somali, Iranian, Iraqis and multiple other ethnic groups live side by side. In this sense you can only speak of two segregated groups: the Swedish majority population and the immigrant population (p. 165; Bråmås, 2008, p. 115; Andersson et al., 2014, p. 714).

### **6.3 The danger of the suburbs**

Angered is seen as the most segregated neighborhood in Göteborg – followed by neighborhoods like Östra Göteborg and Västra Hisingen – both because of the very distanced location and because of the high number of immigrants living there. As shown on Map 1, Angered is one of the most distanced suburbs of Göteborg, situated at the Northeastern margin of the city. Going from the city center to Angered center takes thirty minutes by tram, what is quite long for such a relatively small city as Göteborg. From there only busses go into the rest of the neighborhood. Only the islands of Västra Göteborg are even more distanced from the city center, only to reach by ferry. Nevertheless, the situation of the people living on those islands is very different, since most of the houses on the islands function as summer residences. Therefore it is to argue that the islands cannot be labeled as segregated area’s in the meaning of the word as used in this chapter. As is clear in Table 5, half of the residents living in Angered (49,2%) are immigrants and therefore it can most likely be characterized as a so called ‘immigrant neighborhood’.

Map 1: Göteborg divided by areas (source: Goteborg.se, 2014)



Andersson (2013) refers to neighborhoods as Angered as ‘distressed areas’, since these kinds of neighborhoods in Sweden are characterized by a low amount of facilities shops, parks or restaurants (p. 156). He continues by stating that those distanced and immigrant dense areas are highly unattractive for people to visit and especially to live (Andersson, 2007, p. 166; Andersson & Bråmås, 2004, p. 519). As a consequence most of the Swedish majority population living in Göteborg have never been in Angered and would probably never go there. Their image of Angered – and the people living there – is mainly based on stories in the media or prevailing idea’s about the area, which are hardly very positive. Some assume there is a lot of criminality in those neighborhoods and that it is therefore very dangerous to go there. Instead, they avoid going there, what will mean there image of the neighborhood will never be adjusted to the real situation – that it is actually a very nice neighborhood, with some shops, lots of green and kind

people. The spatial placement of ‘the other’ – immigrants – in those areas with bad reputations has a lot of influence on the how the Swedish majority population sees them. When people live in a bad neighborhood, they could eventually be seen as bad person. If so, special placement does create a form of stereotyping of ‘the other’ in a negative kind of way (Sernhede, 2010, p. 220). In this context immigrants living in the suburbs are stereotyped as problems.

The creation of a negative image – or even a criminal image – of the immigrants can be seen in relation to the theory of Newman (2006, p. 143) (Chapter 2). In Sweden “the negative image of immigrants can be linked to the fear of the increasing globalization that many Scandinavian view as a threat against the national welfare state” (p. 146). On the contrary Westin (2000) states that nationalism in Sweden has never been strong. Swedes do seem more connected to their local and regional cultures than to a national one (p 167). Therefore you can argue that ‘the other’ is not seen as threat to the nation, but more as threat to the local community of Göteborg. In this theory immigrants are seen as outsiders, who disturb the homogeneous culture of the community and therefore it is favorable that they live together in their own, distanced, immigrant neighborhoods. This way they cannot influence the norms and values in the ‘Swedish neighborhoods’, what will generate a kind of safety feeling for the majority population. Still, it is to argue that labeling these neighborhoods as ‘distressed areas’ is not without a reason. Andersson and Bråmås (2004) state that the problems in areas like Angered, Östra Göteborg and Västra Hisingen are very much the same. He refers to issues as physical decay, low demand and high turnover rates, management problems, declining services, social and economic problems among the residents, including high levels of unemployment, high levels of benefit dependency, poverty, conflicts, crime, drug abuse, etc. (p. 518). The numbers in Table 5 seem to support this statement, by showing high numbers of unemployment, low numbers of highly educated persons and an average low income.

#### **6.4 Segregation in numbers**

Table 6 gives an overview of the neighborhoods in Göteborg, categorized by density of immigrants per area in relation to the average income, the average percentage of unemployment and the average percentage of residents with higher education. The table shows that there is a relation between the percentage of residents with an immigrant status in a certain neighborhood, and the other variables. To illustrate this more clearly Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6 are created, followed by an overview of all data in Figure 7. It is important to keep in mind that this data is not complete enough to draw any conclusions. It is important to note that the data is not complete enough to draw any definite conclusions. Those figures are first of all created to give a general impression of the differences between the social and economic welfare

in relation to the ethnic origin of the population in those neighborhoods. They can illustrate the reasons of concerns about ethnical segregation in Göteborg.

Table 6: Overview of numbers related to issues of segregation 2013 (source: Göteborgsbladet 2013)

	Total of inhabitants in numbers	% of immigrants	Average income in Krona	% of unemployed	% high educated people
<i>Göteborg</i>	533.260	23,1%	254.800kr	7,1%	32,9%
Angered	49.920	49,2%	177.000kr	14,2%	14,5%
Östra Göteborg	46.231	41,4%	178.500kr	12,0%	20,3%
Västra Hisingen	52.496	25,2%	258.300kr	8,6%	23,1%
Norra Hisingen	48.225	23,7%	250.900kr	6,8%	20,4%
Lundby	46.059	21,4%	251.700kr	6,3%	31,5%
Centrum	59.071	17,2%	269.300kr	4,4%	46,8%
Askim-Frölunda-Högsbo	56.498	17,0%	278.300kr	5,9%	35,0%
Västra Göteborg	52.110	15,0%	314.900kr	5,5%	35,4%
Majorna-Linne	63.126	13,4%	268.600kr	5,3%	45,1%
Örgryte-Härlanda	57.915	0,7%	273 300kr	4,6%	41,9%

Figure 4 confirms that there is a relation between the density of immigrants per neighborhood and the average income of this neighborhood. Striking is that the average income in the immigrant neighborhoods Angered and Östra Göteborg is very much below the average income in Göteborg. When you look at the area of Lundby, the figure also shows that the percentage of immigrants per neighborhood gets below the average percentage of immigrants in Göteborg and that the average income increases significantly to a 120% in Västra Göteborg – followed by a decrease, but still remaining above the average income. According to this table people living in immigrant dense neighborhoods are more likely to have a low income, what can be connected to the assumption that they probably have lower income jobs and might even be unemployed.

Figure 4: The percentage of immigrants and average income per neighborhood, compared to the average percentage in Göteborg in 2013 (source: Göteborgsbladet 2013)

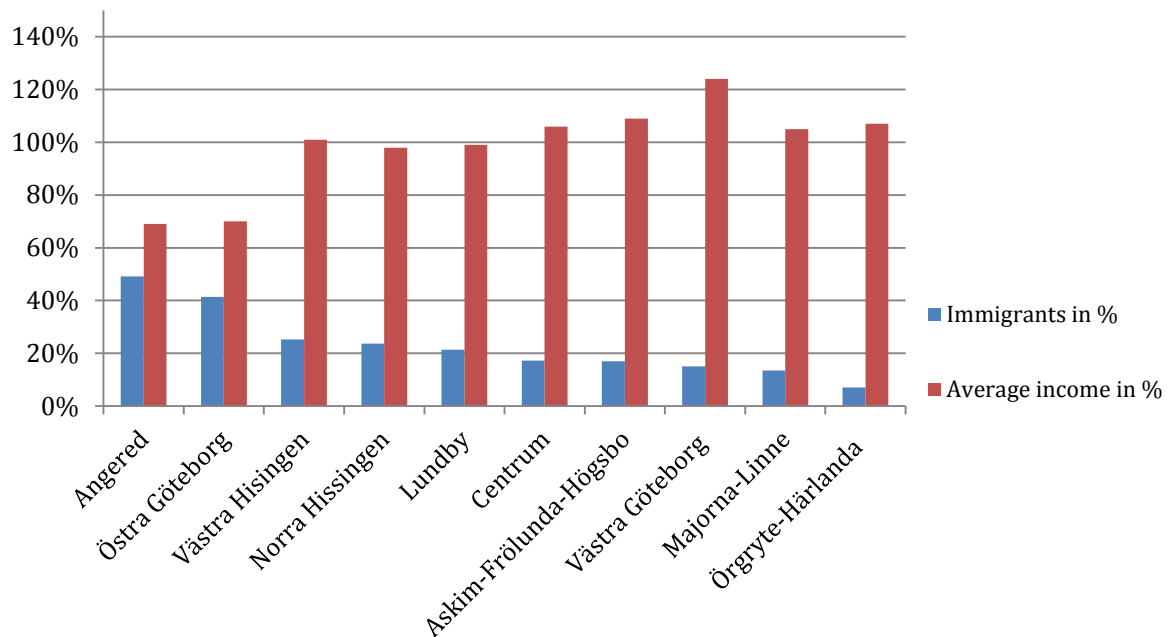


Figure 5 shows the percentage of immigrants and unemployment per neighborhood. The percentage of unemployed is quite constant, with only a peak in the areas of Angered, Östra Göteborg and Västra Hisingen – between 14,2% and 8,6% as compared to the average of 7,1%. Since these neighborhoods are known as immigrant neighborhoods, it is to be concluded that the ethnical minority population has higher rates of unemployment than the Swedish population as a whole. The logical derivation of this is that this figure corresponds with the income division in Figure 4, and can thus partly explain the low income in these neighborhoods. This also explains the idea that immigrants live on social benefits (Gustafsson, 2013, p. 126; Andersson, 1996, p. 3).

Figure 5: The percentage of immigrants and unemployment per neighborhood, compared to the average percentage in Göteborg in 2013 (source: Göteborgsbladet 2013)

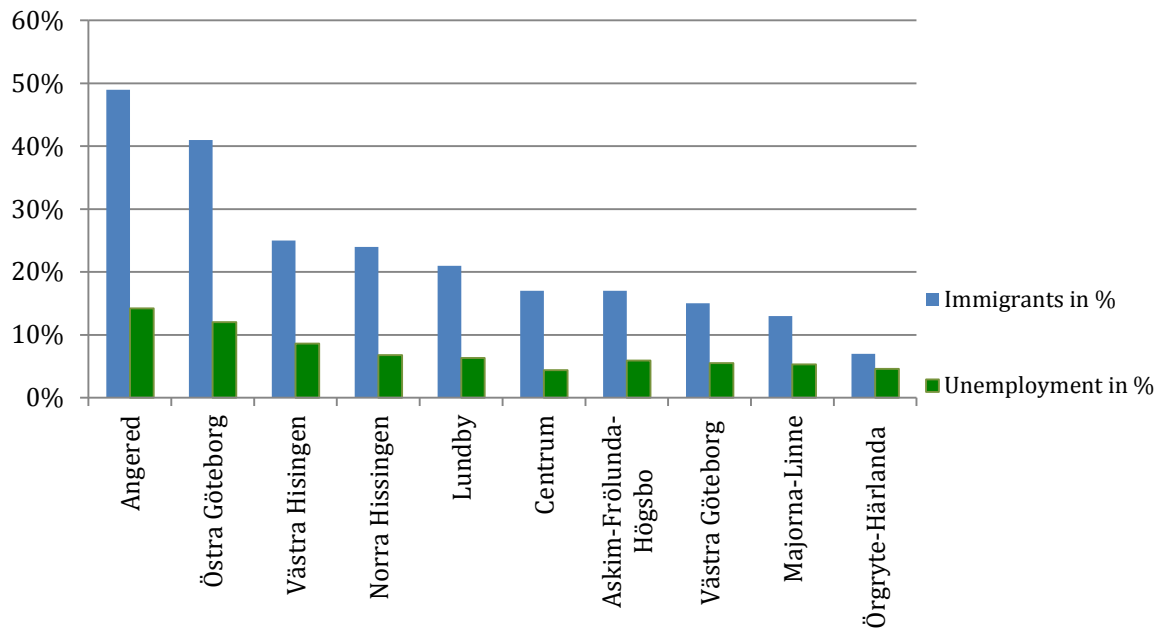
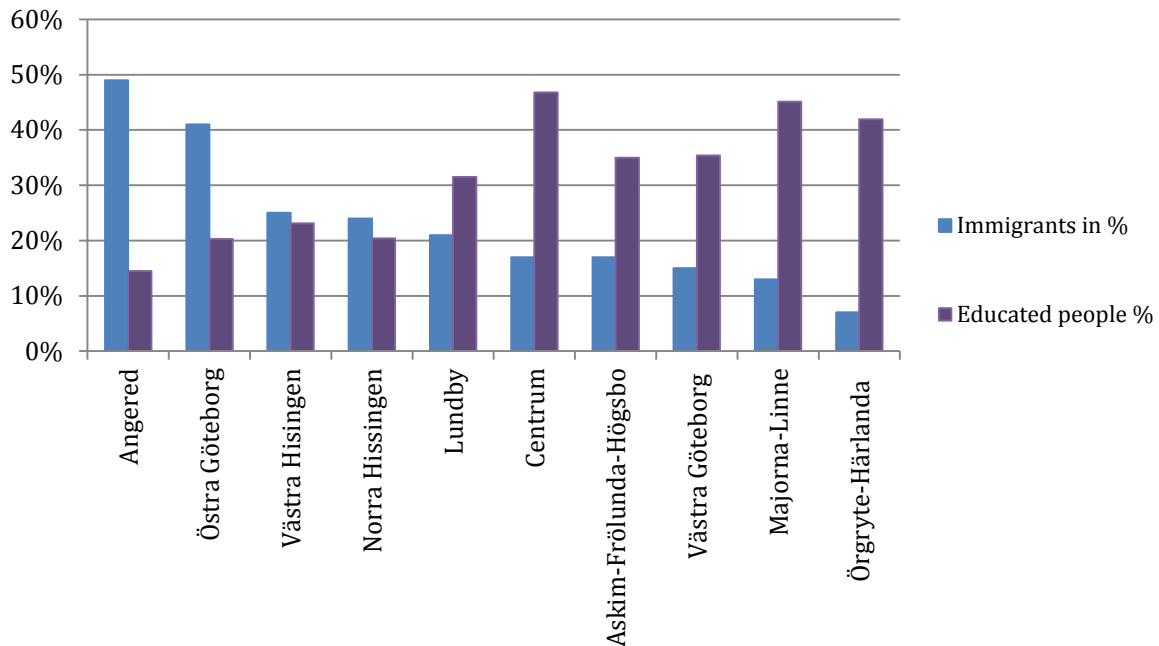


Figure 6 focuses on the percentage of immigrants in relation to the percentage of educated people in these neighborhoods. When comparing the neighborhoods of Norra Hisingen, Lundby and Centrum, you see that the percentage of immigrants decreases with 6,5%. Thereby the percentage of educated more than doubles. After this big shift the percentage of educated remains above and the number of immigrants stays below the average rate. This suggests a negative relation between the level of education and the percentage of immigrants in a neighborhood. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasize that this is not a given, because the data is not complete enough to draw firm conclusions. It can be true that the generation immigrants who came with their parents to Sweden is now studying at the University, and are therefore not taken into account in this figure. Here I would like to emphasize that those figures do not include the component of age. Involving the component of age or the number of immigrants in high school or university can be of relevance in those figures. Yet, it is chosen not to, because this is a very specialized component of all facets relating to migration, and the aim of this research is to give an general overview of issues immigrants cope with and especially there perception on these issues.

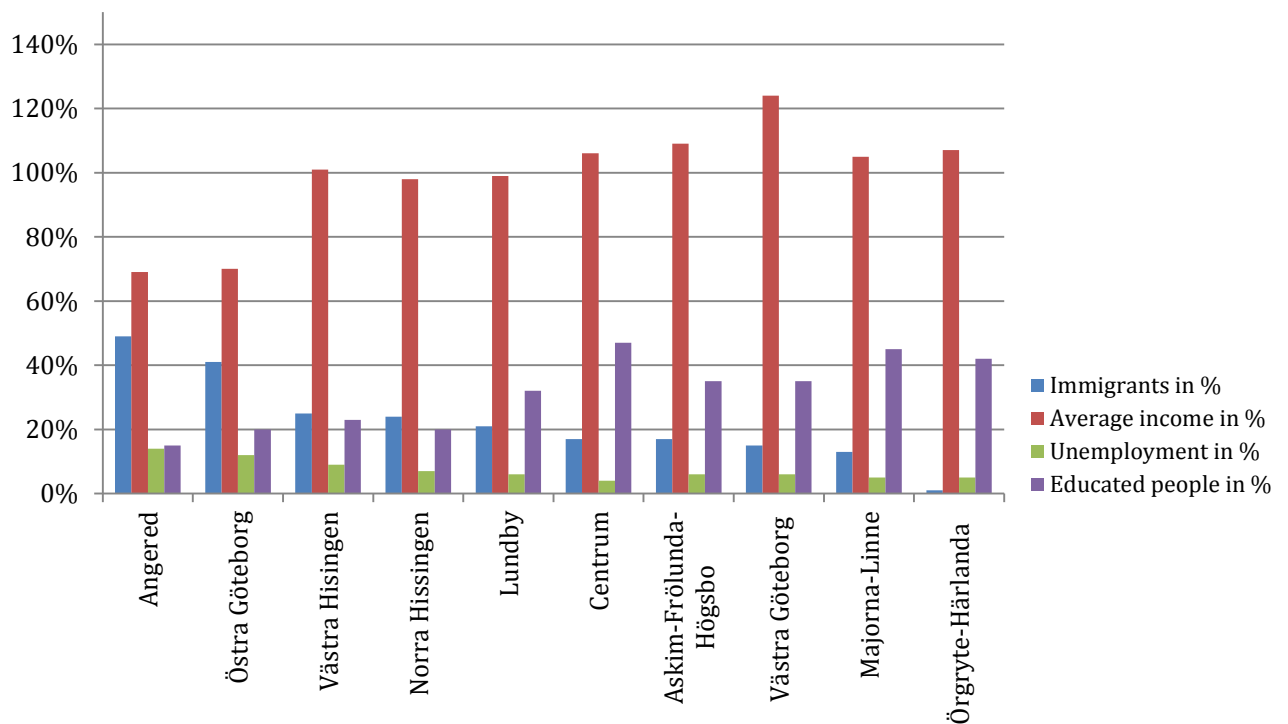


Figure 6: The percentage of immigrants and level of education per neighborhood, compared to the average percentage in Göteborg in 2013 (source: Göteborgsbladet 2013)



Bringing all the numbers together in Figure 7, one can conclude that there is a relation between the immigrant density of a neighborhood and the level of income, unemployment and education.

Figure 7: The percentage of immigrants, average income, unemployment and level of education per neighborhood, compared to the average percentage in Göteborg in 2013 (source: Göteborgsbladet 2013)



Andersson (2007) gives an explanation for the results in Figure 7. He states the high unattractiveness of the immigrant neighborhoods – due to the distanced location and lack of facilities. This stimulates a high turnover rate, meaning there is a constant influx of recently arrived immigrants, replacing immigrants who are economically relative successful and who can afford better living conditions in a presumed ‘better’ neighborhood (p. 166). In this sense one speaks of ‘the spatial assimilation thesis’ meaning that “upward social mobility among minorities translates into residential integration” (Andersson, 2013, p. 165-166). Andersson (2007) therefore calls these neighborhoods “transit areas, or ports of entry” (p. 166; Andersson & Bråmås, 2004, p. 519; Andersson, 2013, p. 165-166). This high turnover-rate is both the cause and the effect of the unattractiveness of an area. On the one side, the lack of facilities, weak community links and insecurity lead to a high turnover-rate. On the other side, as a consequence of the high turnover-rate, there is no strong community base to create a stable and attractive residential area (Andersson & Bråmås, 2004, p. 519). This statement explains for example the higher unemployment and lower income in these neighborhoods, since shortly arrived immigrants generally do not have a job, since they still have to learn the language or re-educate.

### ***Summary***

This chapter shows that ethnical segregation is strongly present in Göteborg. It is to assume that the segregation of Göteborg is not primarily based on ethnicity, but mainly on one’s social economic status. Newly arrived immigrants generally do not have a job and therefore are dependent of social benefits provided by the state. This makes they cannot afford expensive housing and come to live in the so called ‘immigrant neighborhoods’. Following this argumentation, it is to say that immigrants who have a job (and therefore a higher income) move to the ‘white neighborhoods’. This is called the spatial assimilation thesis. In line with this one can ask the question if residential integration also means social and economic integration? More than half of the respondents in this research live in a ‘Swedish neighborhood’ and therefore meet the description of the spatial assimilation thesis. In Chapter 7 the perception of immigrants on opportunities to participate in Swedish society will be set out. Are the immigrants who arrived here during the 1980s in a different social, economic and residential position than the immigrants who arrived more recently? Chapter 8 will focus more on the broader issues of immigration in Sweden. Since the Swedish ideal maintains multiculturalism and the policy focuses on integration, how can the increasing segregation be explained?

## Chapter 7: Perceptions on Swedish society

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Sweden is proud to present itself as an open and welcoming country for immigrants. In the year of 2014 circa 1.538 refugees came to Sweden each week, resulting in a total of circa 80.000. On the other hand, there is currently a lot of attention for the decrease of tolerance towards immigrants, showing in the rise of the political party Sverigedemokraterna. But if the Swedish society really became this intolerant why do so many immigrants still go there in the hope they can start a new life? This chapter will focus on the perception of immigrants on Swedish society as regards to their personal experiences.

### 7.1 The reception of immigrants in Swedish society

The big immigration wave to Sweden started in the 1950s when mainly labor migrants were attracted to this 'new country of immigration'. Some years later, in the 1970s, Sweden coped with a big economic crisis, which made labor migration unnecessary. Since, Sweden is still a tolerant country when it comes to immigration of refugees. The interviewees in this research arrived in Sweden since the 1980s and are all refugees. One of the central questions of the interview was: what was your first impression of Sweden and did you feel welcome? The purpose of this question is to make a comparison possible between the different time periods. Firstly, Ali and Geraare both remember that the Swedish government warmly welcomed them after they just arrived in the period of the 1980s.

Ali is 53 years old and an Iranian refugee. He arrived in Sweden in 1984 when he was 23 years old. By then he had only finished high school, but in Sweden he continued his education and eventually graduated as graphic designer. After graduation he started his own company for advertisements. Recently he had to close his company, because of personal health problems what makes him eligible for the sickness benefit provided by the state. He is living in Angered.

*"Yes during that time it was very nice! I must say, I never imagined that they [Swedish government] can do...they gave us so much: clothing, things for the house, everything. Everything was new, it was not second-hand, but everything was new. I got a very good impression."*

– Ali

*"I felt welcomed the first day. [...] I could live in a five stars hotel for two years, eat, sleep, do whatever I wanted, go out and sit in every library, in the social center, downtown, go to a discotheque every night. No one stopped me and said: "you cannot go there. You are sitting there only to wait for your decision". That is why I felt the first day I came here I was welcome."*

– Geraare

Geraare is a Somalian refugee. He is 49 years old and arrived in Sweden in 1987 when he was 27. In Sweden he graduated for his masters in economic administration. He does have a job and lives with his family in Angered.

This very positive impression is something all of the interviewees who arrived between 1980 and 1990 experienced. They were welcomed with open arms and everything they needed

was taken care of: housing, food and even pocket money for extra expenses. Refugee camps did not yet exist during that time. Ali for example, had to stay in a skiing resort, which was used to shelter refugees. Most of the other immigrants had to stay in a hotel. Also, all of the interviewees got assistance in getting a residence permit, finding permanent housing and starting with education in order to find a good job in the future. Therefore it is to be concluded that the first impression of immigrants in the 1980s was very positive.

Rasoul was born in Iran and came to Sweden in 1990, when he was 24. He was a qualified primary school teacher before he came here. In Sweden he started studying at university and got his PHD philosophical education. He did have several jobs in his life and currently he is working for the cultural section of the municipality of Göteborg. He lives with his family in the neighborhood Majorna-

A few years later – during the 1990s – Rasoul had a quite different experience.

*“It was strange for me because I did not want to share the room with anybody, but I had to share it with several people, maybe four or five. [...] People like me coming from a prosecuted situation, and to share a room with people you do not know... I did not feel secure in that situation.”*

– Rasoul

Rasoul describes the refugee camp where he was placed. The refugee camp was likely already a more common phenomenon in this period. Rasoul continues by explaining that the people working at the refugee camp only helped him by getting permission to stay in Sweden. He did not get any assistance in finding housing, education or a job. He did not even know about the possibility to follow a Swedish language course.

*“I could have a better start at the beginning, but I had no idea that there was help available. [...] Nobody did inform me and I had no idea about my rights. I was so grateful that I could get a safe place to live. There was no prosecution here and it was safe: that was enough for me at that level. But when I look back and see I could get that kind of help, it could have been much easier for me to start.”*

– Rasoul

Both Vanda's and Patricia's situation were different, since they already had their husbands living in Sweden. They did not have to stay in a refugee camp and they were more informed about the

help they could get from the Swedish state. Vanda remembers she got help in determine the right education to increase her possibilities on the labor market, since all (non-European) immigrants who come to Sweden – regardless of their previously achieved education level – have to get a Swedish degree if they want to qualify for a job.

*“After I passed Swedish for Foreigners (SFI), I went to an unemployment office like this and they send me to study more Swedish at high school level. That was a very good course and it allowed me enter the university and complete my higher education studies faster. Meantime I sent my university degree to the VHS, an organization that evaluates your foreign education in Sweden. Then I studied economy again at Örebro University.”*

– Vanda

In general she does have good memories of her first period in Sweden.

*“I felt that I was very welcome in Sweden. First, because I could speak English; and second, every organization I went to treated me well. It seemed at my university education opened many doors for me.”*

– Vanda

Vanda (54) was born in Iran. She came to Sweden in 1991, when she was 33. In her home country she only finished high school. She went to London to continue her education in university. Once in Sweden she had to re-educate. In her life she did have several jobs and currently she is working at the Swedish unemployment office. She lives with her husband and children in Västra

The contrasting experiences of Vanda and Rasoul are likely to be influenced by the fact that Vanda’s husband already lived in Sweden, while Rasoul was on his own. Vanda thus had a stronger established network in Sweden, what made her start in

this new country easier. This corresponds with the idea that it is important for newly arrived immigrants that they are placed in a network of people with the same cultural background. This would create a safe haven what will have a positive impact on the integration process. However, this also involves the risk that if the networks are organized in the wrong way, it can lead to segregation instead of assimilation. This emerged in Sweden when the immigration policy made room for economic support for immigrant associations. As a result more ethnic determined associations and organizations based on mixed identities became less common. This way the state actually facilitated ethnical segregation (Åkesson, 2011, p. 217-219).

Hamid, who arrived after 2000 and was in the same position as Rasoul by having no family or friends in Sweden once he arrived felt very welcomed in the first instance.

*“At the first time the immigration institutions were great. They helped me. [...] They [the police] called someone and then there came a man and woman in a car and they took me to a house where there were lots of people like me: immigrants.”*

– Hamid

He explains the Swedish institutions did help him very well and therefore his experience does not correspond with the experience of Rasoul. An explanation for this can be that Hamid arrived twenty year later than Rasoul. In

Hamid is a 21 old Afghan refugee. He came to Sweden quite recently in 2010, when he was 16. He lives in the neighborhood of Angered. Currently he is still in high school, but after graduation he wants to go to university to study politics or economics.

the 1990s, refugee camps were a fairly new phenomenon. The unpleasant experience of Rasoul can be clarified by assuming that it was not a lack of good intentions from the Swedish institutions to welcome immigrants in a good way, but rather the lack of experience with refugees. The idea that the provision of information towards the immigrants was not sufficient is underscored by Geraare.

*“During that time [1980s] it was very difficult to get information about how you could survive in Sweden, how you could get what were you have right to, what you do not have as rights. That was the problem.”*

– Geraare

He continues by explaining that it became better.

*“But now, they do give you what you have right to and tell you what you do not have right to. They give you information of the offices and information of the society.”*

– Geraare

The provision of information by the Swedish institutions about ones rights and opportunities seems to be improved over the last decades. This view of Geraare corresponds with the experiences of the last generation interviewed immigrants, as explained by Martina.

Martina (age 20) is a refugee from Iraq. As a 13 year old she came with her parents to Sweden in 2007. Currently she is in high school and she aspires to go to the College of Policing after graduation. She lives together with her parents in the neighborhood Angered.

*“When I just arrived in Sweden everyone was so nice to me and they used to say to me: “we should take care of you. You do not know this, and this, and this, and our job is to welcome you like it is your home, because you do not have a home anymore”.”*

– Martina

All respondents who arrived after 2000 agreed that they did receive good guidance in applying for a Swedish language course and education. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the reception of immigrants in the previous periods was bad at all. In general the interviewees felt very welcomed and experienced good guidance by finding their new way into Swedish society, due to the generosity of the Swedish society. Though, the way newly arrived immigrants are received had become more institutionalized over the previous years.

## **7.2 Finding your way in Swedish society**

After their first contact with the Swedish society through the institutions or social workers, the immigrants all had to find their own way in society. After being welcomed, learning the language and finding housing, it was due to the immigrants themselves to take steps towards becoming part of Swedish society. They had to become aware of the norms, values and culture of their new country and adapt to those – at least to some extent. The other way around, the increasing visibility of immigrants was quite new for the Swedish majority population. Haydee, Feresheth and Geraare explain that during the 1980s, immigration from non-European countries was still a quite rare phenomenon.

Haydee, is a 62 year old woman. She fled from the war in Uruguay and arrived in Sweden in 1981, when she was 29 year old. She was already educated when she arrived in Sweden and had to follow some supplementary education in her field of study. After she finished she did not have any trouble finding a job. She lives together with her husband in the city area Lundby.

*“If I travelled by bus [at the time she arrived; 1981] I was the only with dark hair. [...] We were the only one in the bus, the train, or the shop, but they did not look at me in a bad way. I do not remember that.”*

– Haydee

*“In the city that I came to live they never saw a foreigner for example. Now it is more accepted, but still there is much more the country can do.”*

– Feresheth

*"You can understand it is very difficult to make integration possible from the bottom-up so quickly.*

*[...] It is very difficult to understand other cultures."*

– Geraare

These quotes illustrate that immigration was perceived as quite new since immigrants did come from more distanced countries and became more noticeable (Chapter 4). One can imagine that Swedish society had to find its way in how to react on this. In addition, characterizing for the

Feresheth is a 52 Iranian woman, who came to Sweden as refugee in 1988. When she arrived she was 25 years old and already graduated from high school in Iran. Nevertheless, she started her Swedish education at a gymnasium school for adults and continued at university. Now she is working as study counsellor at the University of Göteborg. She lives with her family in the city center.

1970s was the shift from assimilation to multiculturalism, allowing immigrants to maintain (some of) their own cultural habits. When Farangis arrived in Sweden in 1987, she experienced Swedish society as very open and welcoming.

*"The next heaven was at school. It was beautiful. When you are in art school, all the people are young; all the teachers are open to you. They love you; it is another world. [...] You smell the grass and drink and everybody love each other and this has nothing to do with how it is outside school."*

– Farangis

Farangis is 67 and was born in Iran. She came as a refugee to Sweden. By that time she was 38 and pregnant of her second son. She graduated from art school in Göteborg. Most of her life she worked as an artist and to complete her income she worked in a nursing home for elderly people. She is divorced and lives on her own in the neighborhood Örgryte-Härlanda.

Joppke and Morawska (2003) characterize today's Sweden still as country of official multiculturalism (p. 10). This corresponds with the self-image of Sweden as an open country for all – regardless of one's ethnicity or cultural background. Nonetheless, in Farangis experience the current Swedish society is not open at all.

*"They [Swedish people] think you try very hard to integrate yourself and they have the appreciation, but nothing more. They do not want to be your friend; they do not open the doors. You still have to fight and break the door."*

– Farangis

Those quotes clarify the different experiences of the situations she was in. In the first example she was in school where everyone was young and open to others. This illustrates the feeling that, in school everyone was assumed to be part of society, regardless of one's background, but that she later realized that this was not at all like society. In the latter example she says that people might



appreciate your aim to become part of the society, but that they will never open-up. In what she calls 'the real world' you have to fight to overcome every boundary to prove your right on becoming part of society.

Eastmond (2011) describes the contradiction that Swedish society expects migrants to fully integrate, but at the same time assume they can never become really Swedish (p. 292). Geraare does not agree, in his experience Swedish people are very open, kind and respectful people.

*"I feel I am a part of the Swedish society very much."*

– Geraare

In accordance with Eastmond, the other respondents feel they will never become a full member of Swedish society.

*"Maybe Swedish people do not think I am Swedish, but I think this is my country. Ok, I am born in another country, but this is also my country. It gave me education and everything that I need. There is a Swedish party Sverigedemokraterna, they only want Swedish people living here. Immigrants must leave the country; they do not want other people. For them I am an immigrant. I know I am an immigrant, but when I think for myself, I think "this is not like I see it"."*

– Hamid

Hamid shows the contradiction between his own feelings about his identity and his assumption of the way Swedish people see him. In contradiction to Hamid, Feresheth explains she does not feel Swedish, because the society does not let you be.

*"But if I feel Swedish? No. The society also does not let you be. All the time you are reminded...every situation that you are not Swedish."*

– Feresheth

Haydee explains it is more complex than this.

*"I am not Swedish. I am Uruguayan living here and this is not going to change. The first years I was here I was thinking all the time: "when I am going to work hard then I am going to find friends and I am going to find my way here". I got Swedish friends, I went with them to parties and we had a very good time. I thought I have to work very hard and try to understand. But then I understood:*

*no, it is impossible. Not only because they are different to me, and they do not open doors, but also because I feel different.”*

– Haydee

She illustrates that unless she tried hard, Swedish people would never consider her to become Swedish. Time and experience were needed to acknowledge this. Hamid and Feresheth both say that the Swedish people would never see them as part of Swedish society, but Haydee remarks that not only the Swedish people can be held responsible, since she herself kept having the feeling that she was different. Those two quotes show a difference between the generations. Hamid – of the youngest generation – expresses that he is Swedish, because he lives here, use the facilities provided by the state and aim to work for a ‘better future’ in his new country. Nevertheless, he thinks the Swedish majority population does not see it like this. Feresheth – of the second generation – implies she does not feel Swedish what is to blame on the Swedish

Patricia came to Sweden when she was 30, in 1998. Now she is 45 and lives with her children and husband in the centre of the city. She was educated as a journalist in Bolivia, which is her home country. Coming to Sweden she had to follow supplementary education and now she is unemployed. Though she is working on a project for herself about gender studies.

society. Haydee – of the oldest generation – describes that time has learned they will never become Swedish because of their roots, regardless the question if they are part of society.

Patricia thinks society has become less welcoming to immigrants and that it is now harder to become part of society than it was in the 1990s.

*“Yes, I have seen a lot of change. When I came in Sweden it was not that hard to be a part of the society as an immigrant, but now I think it is really, really hard and I arrived here just sixteen years ago. [...] It is like: Sweden was this country who welcomed immigrants and it became a society that is not welcoming, but even fears people who are coming.”*

– Patricia

Here she does not only mention society has become less welcoming, but she even states society fears the new arriving immigrants. This relates to the fear of ‘the other’ (Chapter 2). Almost ten years later, Martina experiences the same.

*“I can tell you that everything is different; do you know why? Because there are coming a lot of people from different countries to Sweden, and some of them participate in criminal activities. Some of them do good things, like study, have a good job and things like this, but some of them they do not. If you are going to ask a Swedish person how they feel about this right now, they will tell you: “we just want them to move out of Sweden.” It is only because of that. Everything has changed,*

*and the criminality increased. For me it is like uh...everything before was so easy, but now it is so hard to get contact with Swedish people.”*

– Martina

According to Martina, it is not only about the attitude of the Swedish society, but more about the criminal behavior of some of the immigrants. They set the tone of how all the immigrants are stereotyped, which makes it more difficult for the immigrants with good intentions to integrate.

### **7.3 Network of opportunities**

Sweden is generally considered as having a long-standing tradition of multiculturalism and today still has the most tolerant migration policy of Europe (Johansson, 2013, p. 270; Volkskrant, 2014). This image is considered something to be proud of and can be used to portrait Sweden as a neutral, advanced, open and generous country to the rest of the world (Hübinette, 2012, p. 52). The Swedish migration specialist Lisa Pelling explains that Swedish society sees it as a moral obligation to help those immigrants who have been through so much and paid a lot of money make it to their final destination: Sweden (Trouw, 2014). From the perspective of immigrants the Swedish welfare state is generally seen as attractive place to live, because of state provided free education, free healthcare and social security.

#### **7.3.1 Education**

Especially the youngest generation respondents see Sweden as a ‘country of opportunities’. Martina refers to Sweden as a country that gave her lots of chances to make something of her future.

*“I do like Sweden now a lot, and I think Sweden gave me much chances, so now I am just taking it and I am trying to do something for my future.”*

– Martina

Hamid specifically choose to go to Sweden because of free education, something that is not always available in other European countries.

*“From the beginning I knew I want to study something. I wanted to go to high school and to university. In France, Italy and Greece there are not that many possibilities for immigrants to follow education. Some people told I had to go to Sweden and I asked why. They told me everyone could get education in Sweden, everyone could study.”*

– Hamid

Additionally, Sauda explains she also very much appreciates the opportunity to follow free education in Sweden. She thinks some people do not see how many chances the Swedish state provides to its citizens.

*“Yea, I like the school system, because everything is free here. [...] I did not really focused on that before, but when I went to Somalia I had to pay money every month, and you realize how much you actually have here. So, they actually give a lot of opportunities to people, but we do not see that.”*

– Sauda

All Martina, Hamid and Sauda refer to the opportunities they get in Sweden. In the interviews it became clear that concerning the availability of opportunities, they all compared their current life in Sweden with their life in their home countries. Sweden is seen as country, which can provide them a secure, peaceful and successful future, what is in sharp contrast with the insecurity they experienced in their home countries. Also, they see education as main opportunity for a better future. Martina first points out it would be hard for her to find a job this summer, just because she is an immigrant.

Sauda (18) arrived in Sweden for the first time in 2006, when she was 11. She returned to Somalia for one year to live with her mother who is still in Somalia. Nevertheless, she came back to continue education in Sweden. In Göteborg she lives together with her aunt in the neighborhood Angered. She aspires to go to university, but is not sure what she wants to study.

*“It is also hard for me, only because I have black hair, and this summer I am not going to do anything. I will just sit home. I have to work, because I do not take any money from the Swedish government. [...] So I do have to work to make money for myself. Yes, and when I am will ask people for a job, because of this they will tell me: “No, I am sorry”.”*

– Martina

But answering to the question if she was afraid that it would be hard for her to find a job after she graduates she states.

*“When I will be finished with college, and high school, it is going to be easy for me to get a job, only because of my education. But right now it is hard for me, only because I am not finished with high school.”*

– Martina

Here Martina explicitly states that education is of primary importance to find a job. She even states ‘it will be easy for her to find a job’. Hamid and Sauda agree with her expecting that education will open the doors towards the labor market.

In general, the respondents in of the two older generations have a less optimistic view of their opportunities in Sweden. They do recognize that their position in Sweden is in most aspects better than their position in their home country. Nevertheless, they also express their discontent regarding their disadvantaged position in comparison to the Swedish majority population. In their experiences it is harder to find a job if you are an immigrant.

*“I studied a lot of years in university and here in Sweden, but she is Swedish – and I adore her, she is one of my best friends – but she got a job after just a few months and I did not.”*

– Patricia

This quote illustrates that it is more difficult to find a job if you are an immigrant, even if you have a university degree.

Following those quotes it is to be concluded that education is perceived by the youngest immigrants as one of the most important opportunities provided by the state. It is described as tool to increase your possibilities in the future. Still, some of the older immigrants think education alone does not seem to be sufficient. Underlying on this statement is the idea that everyone – so both immigrants as Swedes – do get the opportunity to follow education. Once you are graduated, you maybe have increased your opportunities in comparison to your own previous situation, but you did not necessarily increase them in comparison to the Swedish majority population. This is due to the fact that Swedish people benefit from the combination of being educated and having social capital, while educated immigrants lack social capital.

### **7.3.2 Employment**

The problem of finding a job is something that is also experienced by Soubabeh, who also has a university degree. All of the other respondents have a job or were employed for most of their lives, before their retirement. Patricia explains that it is very hard for immigrants to enter the labor market because of several reasons.

*“No, I am just looking for a job. It is really hard, it is really hard. [...] you have to go through different borders to get there. The first one is of course the language; you have to speak Swedish very well. You also have to know the mentality and that is really hard, because there is no communication between different groups in society, so you have to just come up with it. This is missing in the process to become part of the society, but the first and the worst thing in Sweden is that Sweden is one of the few countries in Europe that does not allow academic immigrants to continue with their carriers. It is so simple as that. The other one is your name of course. If I would be married to a Swedish person, I increased my possibilities, because I will be Patricia Eriksson-Martinez. So of course that gives me my ethnicity.”*

– Patricia

Here Patricia also points towards the problem of insufficient integration, but not as a cause of poor social and economic circumstances. Firstly, she implies that the demands for finding a job are actually too high, since “you have to go through different borders to get there”. Secondly, she notices that the guidance from the Swedish society is not sufficient, because “there is no communication between different groups in society”. Her statement implies that it actually is impossible to meet the requirements of integration according to Swedish society, because it is impossible to know the requirements of society if they are not shared with you.

Most of the respondents stated that knowledge of the Swedish language is of primary importance for sufficient integration in the labor market. Eleven out of twelve of the respondents explained that if you do not speak Swedish, you would not be able to find a job.

*“Language is very important. In Sweden you cannot get a job by just speaking English, and I was not so keen in English either. It is very important to talk Swedish and want to talk Swedish.”*

– Feresheth

Rasoul is the only respondent who did not agree on the primary importance of language. According to him there is something more important than speaking the language or having a university degree.

*“People are making a big affair of language, but it is not about language. I know people who are talking fluently Swedish and English and other languages, but have no job and also people who have a job, but have no language at all. So it is not about languages, it is about jobs, about the opportunities to recourses.”*

– Rasoul

He continues:

*“Actually I should have some kind of academic job or a research position, but it is too hard to find such a position. [...] My own idea was that I had to educate myself to be successful here, because if you are educated you have more chances to come in and to have a better job, but it seems a good exam is not enough. You need more than that, and this ‘more than that’ is a network and so called social capital; you have to know people in the right positions and have the right kind of relationships with people.”*

– Rasoul

He talks about the lack of facilities for ethnic minorities, what is according to him the most important reason for the disadvantaged position of immigrants in Sweden. Rasoul states that connections with people in the right positions offer more opportunities than knowledge of the language or the level of education. Following his explanation, having the right network is of primary importance. A network of family, friends, colleagues and other relations cannot only help you in finding a job, but it can give you access to more possibilities in society. This is called social capital, a concept that is generally integrated in everyone's lives, but which most immigrants leave behind if they move to another country. Ali also refers to this lack of social capital.

*“For immigrants it is very hard, it is harder. Swedish people have their contacts; they have their friends, they have their father and mother. It is their home country.”*

– Ali

Referring back to the phrase of Rasoul, he says he should have a higher job position according to his level of education. The difficulty to find a job in line with your qualifications is a problem more of the respondents did refer to, like Soudabeh.

*“I do not have a job. If someone offers me a good job, of course I will start. [...] If people get a good job, it is through their network: family, old friends, recommendation. It is not that easy.”*

– Soudabeh

Soudabeh came from Iran to Sweden in 2007, when she was 31. Now she is 38 and finished her Swedish and re-education courses. She is unemployed. Nevertheless, she is doing research projects by herself, to stay occupied. Together with her son and husband she lives in the neighborhood Majorna-Linné.

This quote shows she is very willing to start working. Still, she is unemployed, because she did not get any offers for a *good* job. In her interview she explains that Arbetsförmedlingen did offer her

employment, for example in an elderly center. She refused since she is afraid this would lower her opportunities to find a job she is qualified for. A similar problem, named by Farangis, is that immigrants most often earn less than native Swedes who are in the same position. Because of these reasons, immigrants are often placed for a dilemma: refusing a job out of the ideology that immigrants have to be offered equal opportunities than the Swedish majority population, risking to stay unemployed, or accepting the lower position or lower salary with the risk that you will contribute to the maintenance of the disadvantaged position of immigrants.

### 7.3.3 Integrating through employment

In the context of integration and unemployment Andersson (2006) refers to the concept of 'structural subordination', meaning that "according to the official Swedish standpoint, socioeconomic factors are also decisive for explaining segregation by race and ethnicity. This segregation is seen as consequence of the idea that immigrants are in general poorly integrated in the labor market" (p. 794). This idea of poor integration of immigrants into the Swedish labor market causes Swedish immigrants to be regularly seen as abusers of the welfare system, because they largely depend on the income safety net provided by the state. However access to this income safety is only provided if the person in question did have a previous job. Of course, immigrants who just arrived in Sweden lack this history of employment and become therefore dependent on the lowest income safety net: social assistance (Gustafsson, 2013, p. 126). Because of their low income they cannot afford expensive housing and are forced to live in the cheapest so-called immigrant neighborhoods. This together with the fact that they are unemployed generally makes that those immigrants are in no way connected to the Swedish society, not mentioning part of it. Relating to this, Andersson (1999) argues that ethnicity does not seem to be the basis of segregation in Sweden. Instead he states that economic and social factors are the main reason, but those have become more and more connected to someone's ethnical background. The fact that mainly the immigrants suffer from poor economic and social circumstances can be perceived as the result of insufficient integration, which makes it impossible for them to enter the labor market (p. 607).

The other way around, the difficulty for immigrants to access the labor market makes it harder for them to integrate in the Swedish society, since employment is often seen as important factor to stimulate integration. Like Vanda explains, through employment immigrants come in contact with native Swedes, but also with the Swedish norms, values, laws and rights.

*"It [getting a job] is very important, I mean, the first thing that is very important is that you become self-sufficient. [...] And of course you meet Swedish people at work and get connected. You become a part of their lives. They become a part of your life. This is how you solve problems of*



*mixed cultural societies and discriminations. We meet Swedish people here every day at work. Our colleagues, we talk with each other during the breaks and lunch. We hear how they live and we tell them about our traditions, culture, and food. This is how we become closer to each other.”*

– Vanda

Nevertheless, if you – as an immigrant – have a job it does not mean that you automatically become part of the Swedish society (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010, p. 705). This is confirmed by the experiences of Haydee.

*“Almost the only contact I have with the Swedish society it by my colleagues from work. I have no [Swedish] friends.”*

– Haydee

The quote of Haydee shows two angles. She first notices that her job and colleagues are her *only* connection with Swedish society, so it seems like an important factor in becoming integrated. Continually, the quote shows that her job or colleagues did not really connect her to Swedish society, because having Swedish colleagues did not lead to making Swedish friends. This implies she still feels like an outsider.

#### **7.4 Sverigedemokraterna: moving away from tolerance and generosity**

The positive image of Sweden as a leading country with a generous immigration policy seems to be declining. An indicator for this change is the rise of the political party Sverigedemokraterna, which entered the Swedish Parliament for the first time in 2010. Sverigedemokraterna is generally known for having xenophobic ideas and an anti-immigration agenda. “This party objects to non-European refugee immigration on ethnic and cultural grounds; wants to repatriate all non-European immigrants; and wants to convert the national board of immigration to a board of emigration/repatriation/expulsion” (Westin, 2000, p. 177). Patricia explains what she thinks of this standpoint of the Sverigedemokraterna.

*“I just laugh when I hear that the Sverigedemokraterna say that all the people that are not Swedish have to leave; who is Swedish and who is not Swedish? I live one third of my live in Sweden, so I became really Swedish [...]. My children are more Swedish than Bolivian.”*

– Patricia

Due to this party, the debate on immigration was a central issue during the most recent elections in 2014. Some state that the rise of Sverigedemokraterna came as a shock for Sweden, which aims to be a tolerant country. Still the majority seems to be strongly against the viewpoint of this anti-immigration party, seen for example by the protest each time Jimmie Åkesson, the leader of the party, gives a speech. Nevertheless, not all of Swedish society seems to back away from these xenophobic ideas of Sverigedemokraterna, because they got 13% of the votes during the last elections in September 2014. This is a significant increase and makes them the third largest party of the country (Åkesson, 2011, p. 220; Johansson, 2013, p. 270; Trouw, 2014; Volkskrant, 2014).

*“We have the Sverigedemokraterna and people are voting for them. That is why they are growing. Those who vote for them are not for immigration. That is enough; I do not have to tell you more.”*  
– Vanda

Vanda continues:

*“If you look at this party; this party is a good sign of how the society is changed. The attitude of society is changed, because the people are voting for this party and there has to be something behind this.”*  
– Vanda

Hübinette (2012) connects this change in attitude to the concept of ‘white melancholy’ meaning the grief about the fact that the Swedish population is less white and Christian as it was before (p. 53). This ‘white melancholy’ needs to be placed in the context of the fear of ‘the other’. It is interesting to examine what is behind this change of attitude, like Vanda says. How it is possible that such a xenophobic party raises regardless this anti-racist norm that has become so important in Sweden? Patricia explains why she thinks expressing xenophobic ideas has become more tolerated.

*“It shows [racism, discrimination and xenophobia] more and more every day. When I came Swedish people would never call you things openly or immigrants would never be attacked in the streets, because it was political incorrect and it was of course against the law. Maybe they were racist, but they were not openly racist. Now there are so many people whom are openly racist. So I do not think that the number of people has increased, there are no more racist, there are more possibilities in the society to be openly racists.”*  
– Patricia

Johansson's (2013) explanation corresponds with the thoughts of Patricia, by saying that "broad overarching political consensus on immigrant policy largely protected immigrants from open outbursts of populist racism" (p. 244; Andersson, 1996, p. 3). The previously existing norm of avoiding concepts of race, ethnicity and post-colonialism – in order to show that those are not of any importance, since everyone is welcomed and perceived equal in Sweden – has changed. According to those explanations, possibilities increased to re-introduce those concepts even in a negative context. On this issue there is a general consensus under all of the respondents. All pointed out that it had become more common in Sweden to express disregard about the influx of large numbers of refugees.

The increasing amount of votes for the Sverigedemokraterna shows growing discontent regarding immigration (policies) from the Swedish majority population. It is argued that this unhappiness is mainly based on the idea that lots of immigrants live on social benefits provided by the welfare state (Andersson, 1996, p. 3; Gustafsson, 2013, p. 126). The idea that immigrants are only attracted by the Swedish welfare system, without contributing to the state can be labeled as 'cultural anxiety' (Eastmond, 2011, p. 279; Olwig, 2011, p. 183-184)

Farangis thinks the criticism on the incoming flow of immigrants is not something static, but connected to someone's needs to certain facilities.

*"Now the younger generation grew up with the children of the foreigners. They went to the same school; they grew up together. My son has Swedish friends. They have nothing against my son, they met me and in all these things they cannot be against us. But the same people – when they will be over forty or fifty – they will be against us, because they need more services and security. Therefore they will be against us. Young people do like each other, they love each other."*

– Farangis

Soudabeh partly agrees with Farangis, but she even goes beyond the idea that people only feel threatened in the provision of facilities.

*"Most of the people who like the Sverigedemokraterna are from the oldest generation. They are mainly not very educated people and very traditional. [...] Sweden was a very safe, little country, so when the foreigners came, they came from all around the world with other cultures."*

– Soudabeh

Here she states that immigrants are seen as a threat to the perceived safeness of the Swedish country. Again, this can be related to the fear for 'the other'. Immigrants are seen as disturbers of

the (imagined) peaceful and homogeneous majority population. Still, one can ask the question if those immigrants really are this different.

### ***Summary***

Most immigrants felt welcomed by the Swedish institutions in the period just after their arrival. The first generation mainly memorized the good facilities, like housing, guidance in getting a permit and even pocket money. Nevertheless, they remember that the provision of information about ones rights and opportunities was not sufficient yet. As explained by the last generation, this has improved. Additionally, immigrants experience difficulties to equally participate in Swedish society, due to three main reasons. Firstly, they explain the absence of social capital they can rely on. Secondly, they experience a lack of interaction between the Swedish majority population and the immigrants. Thirdly, the immigrants share a feeling of discrimination. The experienced discrimination is not in all cases described as direct discrimination, but indirect discrimination is more common. Nevertheless, immigrants experience the attitude of the Swedish society has become more divided. Swedish majority population seems to get more used to the presence of immigrants, but they also became more critical towards issues of immigration. There is more room to express ones discontent regarding the Swedish immigration policy. In the following chapter the policies of multiculturalism and integration will be discussed, placing the experience of the immigrants in a broader perspective.

## Chapter 8: Positioning immigrants in Swedish society

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In the statement of government policy in 2010 the Swedish Prime Minister presented Sweden as an open and tolerant country, by saying: “One of the most Swedish things we have is our tradition of openness to the rest of the world. Generations of people who have fled persecution and poverty have been given a chance to start a new life in Sweden. They have enriched our country, made us wiser, and given us a more developed society. They contribute to our prosperity. Without this openness, Sweden would have been a poorer country” (Johansson, 2013, p. 270). In this statement the Swedish Prime Minister explicitly states that immigrants made Swedish society a richer and more developed. This implies that Sweden not only very much welcomes the immigrant, but also includes them in the society and lets them contribute to, and take advantage of the prosperity of the country. In this chapter the position of immigrants in Swedish society will be discussed while taking into account their own perception of their position and possibilities in society.

### **8.1 The Swedish ideal of multiculturalism**

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Swedish immigrant policy of 1975 changed the assimilation model into the multicultural model. According to this model immigrants have a right to maintain a distinctive ‘culture’ and also, contemporaneously, have the same rights and status as the majority population (Åkesson, 201, p. 218). The multicultural policy replaced the obligation to assimilate, since immigrants were allowed to maintain some of their own cultural habits. This implied that traditional citizenship – referring to shared language, culture, norms and values – became less important and the feeling of belonging to a nation decreased. Immigrants therefore were no longer obligated to feel connected to only one nation and allowed immigrants to primarily feel like transnational citizens (Joppke & Marawska, 2003, p. 1).

Multiculturalism can be defined as a position of neutral recognition and respect among the different social groups without assimilation. It generates a state of tolerance towards different ethnic groups, cultures, religions and languages. Short said, “it refers to an ideal situation of peaceful coexistence between individuals or groups of diverse origin” (Runblom, 1994, p. 624). It is important to notice the difference between multiculturalism and multicultural, because the last refers to the characteristic of a society. “A multicultural society consists of persons with affiliations to different cultures”. Therefore it is not given that a multicultural society aspires multiculturalism (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 10).

*“Sweden, Germany or the Netherlands are already multicultural. It is not a choice; it is reality. People with different origins and different cultures are already there. [...] But to do something with it, something positive for people, to make all these people equal, to recognize their equal rights – and not just at the theoretical level, but rather in practice – is a job that all countries should do.”*

– Rasoul

Rasoul refers to the division between ‘de facto multiculturalism’ and ‘official multiculturalism’. De facto multiculturalism derives from the norms and values of a liberal state, as public neutrality, non-discrimination and protection of individual rights. It is seen as the balance between ‘extreme differentialism’ and ‘extreme assimilationism’, in which people from different ethnicities can live side by side without experiencing suppression from the state. Official multiculturalism goes beyond the idea of just accepting immigrants, by rather protecting and recognizing them as specific ethnic groups. One can question if official multiculturalism is even possible, because a state can never be culturally neutral (Joppke & Marawska, 2003, p. 2, 9). If the state aspires official multiculturalism, it should give immigrants certain exceptional rights, which might not be in line with the law of the state. An example is the value of equality between man and woman. This is considered as one of the most important value in Swedish society, but is at odds with the values of certain groups of immigrants not allowing woman to receive education or to get a job. This example shows how difficult it is to achieve official multiculturalism. A state always has to face the dilemma of staying close to its own norms and values and providing immigrants specific rights to express their cultural habits. It is also to be stated that once one leaves its home country, you implicitly decide to leave your own culture behind and replace it for the cultural habits of your new country. It seems that official multiculturalism in all its complexity is very difficult to apply and therefore it has been more often criticized (Joppke & Morawska, 2003, p. 8-11).

In Swedish perspective multiculturalism is seen as an “ideology of equality, freedom of choice and partnership”. It emphasizes the right to maintain cultural differences while enjoying the benefits of the welfare society on a part with the majority population” (Olwig, 2011, p. 183). The multiculturalism policy (1975) assumed both the acceptance of cultural difference by the majority group and the securing of equal rights for minorities by the state. The policy was introduced as reaction the assimilation model that was dominant in the former period (Chapter 4). The idea beyond the multicultural policy was that everyone had the right to maintain their individual culture (at least part of it). This made the cultural aspect of immigration more visible in the 1980s and brought the Swedish society in contact with the cultural habits of the immigrants. Farangis shared her good memories of the first years after her arrival, which was during the period that the multicultural policy was still in force.

*“They moved me to commune in Torsby – that is north. [...] The people they were very nice. I think that the best Swedish people live in Torsby. They were so nice! I mean everybody – your neighbor, the persons who were working in the shops – everybody was so open. They used to come to your door and give you special bread and ask you for eggs and potatoes, things like that. [...] Only four thousand people living in the town and they all very much liked foreigners. They were open, people very much opened the doors and they very much accepted you.”*

– Farangis

Nevertheless, she thinks this open and welcoming society she entered did change very rapidly.

*“In the beginning [in ca. 1987] it was really different and my chance was that I was one of the first ones, so I made my connection with the people. They already accepted me for who I am and even later, if they changed, they changed to the others, but I was accepted. I think later they had lots of problems like fighting in the towns and young people beat the immigrants, so the attitude changed in about eight years. I think it became very, very bad, but then it was like paradise.”*

– Farangis

This phrase clarifies that the situation in Torsby changed when more immigrants came to live there. It is stated that this changing attitude towards immigrants was due to the multicultural policy, which enlarged the ethnical and cultural differences between the groups (Åkesson, 2011, p. 218-219; Borevi, 2002, p. 321-326). The concern of ethnic differentiation due to the multicultural policy became increasingly recognized in the 1980s. Arguing that some immigrants had troubles adapting to Swedish society – especially on a linguistic, religious and cultural level – raised a discussion about the cultural rights of minority groups in the Swedish society. Additionally, negative stereotyping of immigrants increased (Johansson, 2013, p. 274; Borevi, 2012, p. 327). Concerns underlying these critiques focused towards three issues. Firstly, there were concerns about an increasing division between immigrant groups and the Swedish majority population. Secondly, the freedom of immigrants to maintain their own culture was a concern, since some cultural aspects were in contradiction with Swedish general norms and values. Thirdly, there was a struggle to find the right balance between providing equality and freedom for the individual, upon the aim to fulfill collective interests and goals. This rising criticism was not something that was personally experienced by all of the immigrants.

*“Those days we had fewer foreigners in the country and less people in general. I did not feel any burden to the society and was treated kindly by different organizations, for example the unemployment office.”*

– Vanda

Nevertheless, the increasing concerns about the position of immigrants in society led to the questioning of the viability of official multiculturalism. The critiques in the 1980s formed the start towards the integration policy of 1997. This was the beginning of a new period in which all immigrants were expected to integrate in Swedish society (Åkesson, 2011, p. 218-219; Borevi, 2002, p. 321-326; Joppke & Morawska, 2003, 8-11).

## **8.2 The shift towards integration**

The change from multiculturalism towards integration was officially intended by the introduction of the integration policy of in 1997. Integration refers to the ability “to conform to social norms and cultural values defined in the dominant discourse as basic to proper citizenship” (Olwig, 2011, p. 180). This understanding of integration influenced the notion of who belongs and who does not belong to society and which expectations immigrants have to fulfill to become adequate members of society (Olwig, 2011, p. 180). In this sense we are speaking of moral integration which is connected to ‘the feeling of belonging’ as explained in Chapter 2. “In a Europe of nation states, to integrate means to naturalize, to go native. Immigrants – foreign nationals changing country – thus experience the pressures and opportunities of settlement and integrations as a process of renationalization” (Favell, 2008, p. 137). This can be connected to the national perspective where immigrants are seen as threat, because they disturb the homogeneous culture of the community (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 310). In this perspective it is important that the immigrants need to become ‘moral citizens’. When they assimilate it would become less obvious that immigrants are outsiders or ‘others’, because they became in a way part of ‘us’.

The above explanation of integration seems to have lots of similarities with assimilation. An important difference is that when it comes to assimilation, one expects minority groups to adjust completely into the new society, regardless their background. Integration gives immigrants the opportunity to preserve their culture and their roots, as long as they assimilate in the socio-economic sphere (Åkesson, 2011, p. 217-218). A society is generally seen as bounded community organized by the state, in which everyone shares the same norms and values. Integration therefore seems to imply that the immigrant has to become part of an already existing, homogeneous society. As explained in Chapter 2, such a society does not exist; it can



only be imagined. A society is rather “a multiplicity of autonomous and interdependent ‘fields’ or ‘systems’, which engage actors only in specific respects, never in their totality” (Joppke & Morawska, 2003, p. 3). This suggests that no individual can ever become fully integrated. One can only integrate in some of the systems or fields existing in society. In this context, integration is not fixed but variable, because someone who is part of a specific field or system – for instance the system of the unemployed – can leave this and enter another one – as the system of the employed. This relates to the idea of Houtum and Naerssen (2002); “migration involves a constant processes of re-invention and self-re-definition”, all identities are constructions of “a social process of continuous re-writing of the self” (p. 134). Even collective cultural discourses and (political) institutions face a constant process of transformation. Short said, integration is a moving subject, because the ideas and discourses of a society constantly change. That is why it can be argued that integration of immigrants can never be achieved (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p. 195).

### 8.2.1 Meeting the expectations of society

Åkesson (2011) states the existing assumption in Sweden is that “immigrants have much to learn, are outsiders, and will never become Swedish. The ‘background’ always defines a person’s belonging in the multicultural landscape” (p. 221-222). This explains the idea of the national perspective on migration, according to which an immigrant can never be connected to more than one nation. The national perspective on immigration emphasizes that an immigrant is expected to assimilate completely to the new country (Gustafson, 2005, p. 6-7; Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 309). Although the policy of 1997 is named *integration* policy, even complete assimilation does not seem enough to become part of Swedish society. This example of Farangis shows that second generation immigrants, who are born and raised in Sweden – and therefore can be considered as Swedish – still have to cope with the similar struggles of acceptance like their parents.

*“I have a son who was born here. He is a very charming, beautiful man. Educated from Chalmers and everything. But three years ago he moved to Switzerland. His reason was: that they treat him like a stranger in Sweden, even if he is born here and he speaks better Swedish – because he is very clever – they still treat me like a stranger.”*

– Farangis

This corresponds with the explanation of Åkesson, who states that immigrants – even the second generation – will always stay connected the nation of origin, what makes that the

integration policy of Sweden can be considered as impossible to accomplish. Patricia also thinks integration cannot be achieved.

*“I have a point of view; I do not believe in integration. Integration is like; this is the society, and we integrate ‘plop’, but you are still in your own bubble, you are inside of society, but you are still in your bubble.”*

– Patricia

Following this quote, it seems very challenging to find the right balance between the rights and duties of the individual and in relation to the interest and goals of the collective. This again raises the questions as encountered with official multiculturalism. How and when does an immigrant fulfill the expectations of society, without losing his or her own culture and roots? A much heard critique is that immigrants do not adapt to their new society, but according to the integration policy it is allowed that they keep at least part of their cultural habits. The danger is that immigrants remain in their own bubble, and will never take part in society. Nevertheless, if immigrants would disassociate themselves from their culture and roots in order to meet the expectations of the majority population, you rather have to speak of assimilation. It becomes clear that the line between integration and assimilation is very thin. Also, it is hard to find the right balance between (Borevi, 2002, p. 321).

### **8.2.2 Working towards integration**

An important difference between the multicultural policy of 1975 and the integration policy of 1997 was that the first essentially focused towards immigrants, while the latter broadened its measures within all sectors of society in a neo-liberal way of active citizenship. This meant that everyone in Sweden, also the Swedish majority population, was held responsible for the successful integration of minorities into society (Åkesson, 2011, p. 219). According to Geraare, integration is something that is very much stimulated by the Swedish society.

*“Every day there comes a new idea in supporting the people, stimulating the people, integrating the people. How the Swedish people try to stimulate integration of foreigners in the Swedish society.”*

– Geraare

This does not correspond with the opinion of Feresheth. According to her there is much more to be done when it comes to facilitating integration.

*“Integrating, they talk much more about integrating instead of doing something for it, and talk much more about segregation instead of really doing something about these problems in the field. [...] It is not about the integration of the individuals, but about the interest the government have to give the opportunity to integrate in reality. Not in dreams and in words, but really do something.”*

– Feresheth

Additionally, Soudabeh explains that integration in Sweden is a very vague concept.

*“When Swedish people or politicians talk about integration it is very vague and somehow it is not clear what integration is: who must integrate with whom? It is not clear, it is fake, it is not realistic. It is just an idea; an utopia.”*

– Soudabeh

In correspondence with the idea of Joppke & Morawska (2013, p. 3) Soudabeh mentions that there is no such thing as a homogeneous Swedish population and therefore she asks the question: “who must integrate with whom?”. Also, both quotes show that integration in Sweden is a rather undetermined ideal. There is no clearness about how integration should be achieved in practice, and thus it is still a very abstract and idealistic concept. Feresheth and Soudabeh undermine the aim of the policy by stating that the aim towards integration is only expressed in words, not in practice. Therefore you cannot speak of a neo-liberal approach of citizenship, since not all citizens do feel responsible for the process of integration of immigrants.

Important to mention is that the central values of the multicultural policy – equality, freedom of choice and partnership – in a certain way affected the integration policy, since immigrants were no longer seen as collective immigrant group that had to become Swedish. Rather, they were seen as individuals who needed to be able to adopt those ‘Swedish tools’ which could help them to become part of Swedish society (Joppke & Morawska, 2003, p. 14).

*“We should change ourselves and behave like the society’s norm. There is never any effort from the other side: there is no difference for Swedish people between Iran and Iraq. Which language are we speaking? Everyone who has dark hair is Arab. No there are lots of people who have dark hair. No one tries because their center is Sweden. [...] It is always like: they [the immigrants] should try to understand.”*

– Soudabeh

Following this quote and according to the dominant idea of integration, society exists out of two categories: the Swedish majority population and immigrants. While members of the Swedish majority population are seen as individual, rational actors, immigrants are supposed to be passive reproducers of their static traditions. This way the immigrants are perceived as homogeneous category ruled by their culture, unable to make individual decisions (Alinia, 2010, p. 194). Alinia (2010) writes: “I was transformed into an immigrant” when I arrived in Sweden. This meant that to other people I was now a history-less being, one of many in the faceless mass called ‘immigrants’ whose unwelcome presence had to be dealt with (p. 194).

### **8.3 A stratified society**

In order to prove themselves, immigrants generally have to show twice as much effort than native Swedes. Additionally it is assumed that there is even a distinction between non-Western immigrants and Western immigrants. Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) notice that the first group is mainly “associated with economic failure”, contrary to the Western immigrants who are “associated with economic success” (p. 705). Looking at the quotes, one can state that immigrants are not just associated with economic failure, but that more components play an important role in their disadvantaged position. Immigrants are stereotyped as less educated, less rational, and less modernized persons, which is related to the idea that they are a traditional, conservative homogeneous group led by their culture (section 8.2.2).

*“Then I went to Swedish courses. That was the worst thing because I was very conscious about discrimination and the way people talk about you. [...] They treated us as people who cannot read and write, but I was educated I was familiar with literature. They tried to teach us: “this is Don Quixote”. I knew that all my live, I illustrated Don Quixote. I said: “yes I know it” and I tried to show this, but they did not like it, they got afraid. Then I knew that the teacher did not read the whole book, just some parts. So I was too much for them, they had some norm in the frame of women-refugees-immigrants. I was much bigger.”*

– Soudabeh

Soudabeh tells she felt discriminated, since she was judged by the label of ‘immigrant’ – which is in this case connected to the idea that immigrants are less educated – instead of by her individual strengths. Patricia clarifies this idea by her experience that native Swedes – and all people for that matter – are tempted to approach people who look like themselves, for example when it comes to finding a job.

*“It is about feelings, it is a hundred percent about feelings: you just think, you just have the feeling that this person is going to be ok. [...] you will get just the person who is like you. It will be a white, Swedish person with the same age as the most of the persons in the group.”*

– Patricia

According to Patricia people tempt to hire someone like themselves, which can be marked as a reason that there is such a high rate of unemployment among the immigrant population. The idea that individuals incline to seek people just like themselves can be related to the concept of othering. A prominent notion is that a society functions best when it is a homogeneous society, where individuals share more or less the same ideas regarding issues of education, political preference, democratic values and religion. In this context immigrants are seen as a threat towards this standardization, since they might have other norms and values and thus are ‘others’ (Johansson, 2013, p. 245, 272). The following comment of Rasoul shows that the diversity in Sweden increases.

*“So all in all society has become much better. Partly because people with an immigrant origin, or people who know them who have a position of power, and people can identify with them. I myself can identify whenever people call here and they have not that advance level of language. I can directly recognize my own experience and ask them to talk to me instead, so I can talk with them what he or she wants to do. At that time it was much more difficult, because there were not many of that people. Because of that I think that kind of representations are necessary in each workplace. Just to have that kind of experiences.”*

– Rasoul

He describes that the increasing number of immigrants living in the country makes it easier for new arrived immigrants to find their place in society, since they can identify with them. This seems to relate to the statement made by Patricia, that recognition makes someone more prepared to help the other.

Interesting to notice is that the immigrant population is, of course, not a homogeneous group that shares the same norms and values. Continuing on this statement one can imagine there is a kind of stratification of the phenomenon of othering, meaning some immigrants share more similarities with the native population what makes them more easily disassociated from the concept of ‘the other’. An expression of the stratification of othering is the categorization of immigrants by cultural similarities and differences, for instance based on religion.

*“Because we are Syrian from Iraq, we do think different than Muslims who live there. I mean, our thoughts about culture and everything is more like the Swedish.”*

– Martina

Stratification of ‘the other’ implies that some immigrants get more opportunities than others, since they are seen as more equal to the Swedes. Thus the extent in which one can participate in society depends on different ethnic or cultural levels, which determines how different you are from society. This confirms the statement of Schinkel & van Houdt (2010) that Western immigrants are more easily seen as member of the Swedish majority population (p. 705).

#### **8.4 Talking about discrimination**

As discussed in section 7.3, immigrants get fewer opportunities than native Swedes. In this context you can speak of ethnic discrimination. Vanda confirms that discrimination in Sweden still exists.

*“If somebody asks me if there is discrimination in society, I usually say this: if there was not, you would not have laws against it. [...] These discrimination laws have been introduced recently in Sweden. We did not have any antidiscrimination laws before 2009.”*

– Vanda

She continues by explaining the best way to fight discrimination.

*“I also tell my children: “try more”. Your family name is different, so try to show them that you are good. [...] Only by positive thinking you can fight racism. [...] The only way it can help is if they [native Swedes] meet five Iranians that have been good. If you met me today, and you met four other Iranians, and all of us give you a good impression; the next time when you will think about Iranians, you will think; “they are not so bad”.”*

– Vanda

Here she explains that suspicion of ‘the other’ is something that cannot be overcome by raising awareness about the problem of discrimination. The only way to surmount this suspicion is by showing that you are no different. In order to prove themselves, society should offer possibilities for immigrants to show that they are qualified, motivated and nice. For example, only if you are employed, you can prove you are a good employee; only then you can show you are not that different than your colleagues.

Naturally, even if you aim to overcome all boundaries of cultural differences, there will always exist one boundary you cannot break as a non-European immigrant, and that is the boundary of ethnicity (or ethnic appearance). This again explains the above made statement that there is a difference in acceptance of Western immigrants and non-Western immigrants. As HübINETTE (2012) states: “being white means being Swede and being non-white means being non-Swedish regardless if the non-white person is culturally Swedish and was born or grew up and have lived most of her life in Sweden” (p. 45).

*“Yes, it is complex with a whole of different factors and different elements. Their name, their appearance, their background and then maybe at the bottom of all there is a kind of colonial approach that white people are better than colored people. People are being judged by their skin color not just as human beings or by their knowledge, their education, their exams, but just as a category of people. [...] And you have such normal people being the norm, these normal people are white, because this is a power structure which is based on...to preserve the power of white people, to preserve their interests and this is a problem not just in Sweden, it is the whole old structure of colonialism. The vision of humanity between western and non-western.”*

– Rasoul

Here Rasoul confirms this statement by saying that whiteness as a source of power is still imbedded in Swedish society, which leads to disadvantage of the non-whites (Heith, 2012, p. 159). Lots of immigrants showed that no matter ones language, education or aim to prove themselves, they would never become part of Swedish society.

The statement of Rasoul that “people are being judged by their skin color” is part of the historical legacy of Sweden. Sweden is seen as one of the creators of racism, with the founding of the first academic institute for race science in the world in 1922 and the implementation of a sterilization program, which was only abolished in the 1970s (Heith, 2012, p. 159; HübINETTE, 2012, p. 45). Nowadays Sweden explicitly does not want to be associated with this history of racism, which led to the institutionalization of an anti-racist ideology (Johansson, 2013, p. 244). Patricia gives an example of this appearance of anti-racism.

*“In the 1970s and 1980s the Swedish government took the word race from the laws and papers, just trying to be a modern country: we do not have to talk about race, because if we do not talk about race we will never be racists.”*

– Patricia

Here, Patricia argues that Sweden dismissed the word race with the aim to show that race-differences are no issue in such a modern country. In line with the view of Patricia, Hübinette (2012) argues that Sweden constantly denies the necessity of concepts like race, ethnicity and post-colonialism in the debates relating to issues of immigration and integration. By not using the word race, ethnicity and post-colonialism one hopes to create a notion that everyone is equal and that ethnical or cultural background should not determine someone's position in society (p. 53). According to Patricia, denying the existence of those concepts by not using them is incorrect, since there are nonetheless lots of issues of inequality in Sweden based on those notions. Her perception is that the only way to solve these issues of inequality is by discussing them and finding its origin. Now it has become a non-discussed or even denied issue, which is still there.

*"There is a certain structure of structural indirect discrimination that is not easy to put your finger on, but that you know that it is there, that is working all the time."*

– Rasoul

This comment refers to the idea that the Swedish people in general are open and they seem to be willing to include foreigners. There may be exceptions, but overall they do not experience direct discrimination on a regularly basis. Still, looking at the society as a whole, immigrants have a lower income, are less educated and are more likely to be unemployed (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7). One of the reasons is for this disadvantaged position of immigrants is structural discrimination. Like Rasoul explains, it is hard to designate this form of discrimination, since it is not expressed in a direct way. It is embedded in society in several aspects, as giving preference to hire someone who is most like you. Since this indirect discrimination is not expressed in a direct way, makes it hard to tackle it. Dissolving this problem will take time, since this would mean changing behavior patterns which are strongly embedded in society and most people are not even aware of those patterns.

### **Summary**

In this chapter it becomes clear that there is no distinctness about what the integration policy actually entails. This is also the case with the multicultural ideal of the Swedish state. How can immigrants be treated equally, if their ethnic differences have to be recognized and accepted? This question seems to increase the tensions between immigrants and Swedish majority population. On the one side immigrants are accepted to assimilate in order to receive equal opportunities. On the other side immigrants refer to their right to be treated equally, without losing their cultural heritage. The result of those increasing tensions is the increasing anti-



immigration ideal, expressed by the political party Sverigedemokraterna (Chapter 7) and the increasing ethnical segregation (Chapter 6). In the following chapter the results of the research will be brought together in order to present the conclusions of this research.

## Chapter 9: Conclusion

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As explained in the research, Sweden is a relatively young country of immigration in comparison to other European countries. Mass immigration from non-European countries only started in the second half of the twentieth century. Therefore it seems to be a rather inexperienced country in the field of immigration. Nevertheless, Sweden presents itself as open and tolerant country for foreigners. In addition, Sweden very much stresses to be a country of official multiculturalism, providing equal opportunities for all its citizens regardless one's background. In first instance it is likely to agree with this label, since Sweden has a very generous immigration policy and a still increasing influx of refugees. Though, by examining the perceptions of different generations immigrants living in Göteborg the situation seems more complex.

This research shows that the reception of immigrants through the institutions was experienced as very positive. The immigrants of the different generations explain that they felt very welcomed by the institutions during their first months in Sweden. This reception by the Swedish institutions has even improved since the 1980s. Nowadays more immigrants are living in Sweden who can emphasize with the situation of the newly arrived immigrants and can help them finding their way in society. In line with this, immigration as a phenomenon has become more institutionalized and therefore there is more clearance about the rights and opportunities of newly arrived immigrants. This corresponds with the ideal of the integration policy aiming to provide the equal rights and opportunities for all Swedish citizens. Nevertheless, when it comes to the reception of immigrants by Swedish society, the situation is more diffuse.

The label of *de facto* multiculturalism does fit Sweden, since people with multiple different cultural backgrounds are represented in Swedish society. Nevertheless, official multiculturalism seems to be a more complex concept and therefore it is to wonder if it can be applied on Swedish society, or any society at all. In Sweden the multicultural model was introduced in the 1970s, creating more room for the expression of different cultural habits. Nowadays the integration policy is in force emphasizing the acceptance of different ethnic groups and some of their cultural believes, but also expecting immigrants to assimilate to a certain extent to some facets of Swedish society. This means that immigrants have to adapt to certain Swedish norms and values when they are in the public social sphere. Important to notice is that this concerns *some* of the Swedish norms and values, not to all. This line between cultural maintenance and assimilation is rather diffuse. There is a constant discussion about the right of the individual – the immigrant - and the interest of the collective – the Swedish society. Swedish society questions how far they can go when it comes to the allowance of cultural habits? In addition one can ask if it is OK to prohibit cultural habits happening in the private sphere, which

are in sharp contrast with the Swedish norms and values – for instance beating your own children?

Another problem with the integration policy is the contradiction between cultural difference and equal treatment. Can someone receive equal treatment, if he or she is in fact different? This question is not only applicable on the group of immigrants, but also mentioning the elderly, disabled, unemployed or woman. Society is never homogeneous. Instead it consists out of different fields and systems and therefore integration is actually a flawed concept. In this research immigrants emphasize their right of equality, meaning they should get the same opportunities and treatment as the members of the Swedish majority population. Additionally they stress that, in accordance to the integration policy and their right of freedom of choice, they are entitled to preserve their cultural believes and habits. Nevertheless, they experience the paradox that Swedish society expects immigrants to assimilate – or even naturalize – in order to be treated equally, but in fact most members of the Swedish majority population will always categorize them as ‘the other’. This illustrates that both immigrants as the Swedish majority population have different expectations of what the integration policy actually entails and how it can be brought into practice. In short, there is no consensus of the aim what sufficient integration actually entails. Therefore increasing tensions emerge between Swedish majority population and immigrants.

Since immigrants and the Swedish majority population become more and more distant from each other, it becomes a growing challenge to agree upon the issue of integration. As discussed in this research, segregation is very present in Swedish society. It seems that ethnicity is not the direct cause of segregation in Sweden, but that it is rather due to the economic differences in society. It is to argue that the people living in the segregated neighborhoods are mainly (newly arrived) immigrants who have a low paid job or live on social benefits. Therefore they cannot afford housing in the more expensive neighborhoods and are living in the so called ‘immigrant neighborhoods’. However – due to the high numbers of unemployment among immigrants – it is to argue that in this case we still speak of ethnical segregation in the social sphere. This segregation in the social sphere is reflected in the spatial planning of the city. This research is not enough focused on the topic of segregation to draw any firm conclusions on this issue. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that segregation does discourage interaction and communication between the immigrants and the Swedish majority population. This research argues that interaction and communication between the immigrants and the Swedish majority population is of essential importance in the aim to create a society based on the multicultural ideal. A lack of understanding of ‘the other’ can likely result in mistrust, negative stereotyping or in fearing ‘the other’, stimulating xenophobic ideas and discrimination.

Immigrants are expected to assimilate, but will be always categorized as 'the other'. The neo-liberal perspective, in which both immigrants and Swedish society are held responsible for successful integration, is an important element of the integration policy. As argued above, this should stimulate interaction and understanding of each other. In the experience of some of the immigrants the Swedish majority population distances itself from its duty, making integration a one-way process. Swedish society expects immigrants to meet their expectations, but it does not always hand the (right) tools to immigrants so they know what is expected. This seems hard, since there is not one clear norm for sufficient integration. Also, immigrants feel they constantly have to prove themselves more than the members of the Swedish majority population. They experience that despite their efforts to understand Swedish society and participate, they will never become a full valued member. The content of 'the other' is not something absolute, but rather stratified. People are tempted to relate (in all facets of the word) more easily to people in whom they recognize themselves, since recognition already creates a feeling of knowing the person. Immigrants – with their different appearance, ethnical background, religion and/or cultural norms and values – will always be seen as 'the other'. Immigrants who are considered to be more like the Swedish majority population are more easily considered as integrated and included in Swedish society. This categorization of society on ethnic basis seems strongly imbedded in Swedish society and can be characterized as indirect discrimination.

Social capital is an important element for creating a successful future. Immigrants generally have a lack of social capital in their new home county in comparison to the Swedish majority population. This makes it more difficult for them to gain opportunities in Swedish society. Members of the Swedish majority population generally have a larger network consisting of family, friends and other relatives. Since immigrants are not born in Sweden, they do not have that long history of building a social network as the Swedish people have. Also, the social network of the Swedish majority population might be based on that of their parents and even grandparents. Therefore they have more relatives they can rely on. The respondents in this research explain that social capital is very important, because it can increase your opportunities – for instance, when it comes to finding a job. Social capital increase one's possibilities to create a successful future and in this aspect immigrants are more likely in a disadvantaged position.

All above drawn conclusions can be categorized as expressions of indirect discrimination. The expression of direct discrimination is less common than indirect discrimination, but over the past fifty years its share has increased. The possibility to express one's racist or xenophobic ideas has increased over the last fifty years. The first generation explain that fifty years ago they felt more accepted and respected in society than they are now. The expression of this radical view towards immigrants is not the norm, but it is nowadays more present than before. This does not mean that those xenophobic ideas did not exist among the

members of the Swedish majority population in the previous years. Probably, some people already had feelings of intolerance towards immigrants, but nowadays the opportunities to express those feelings have increased. This is clearly illustrated by the rise of a political party like Sverigedemokraterna.

On a institutionalized level Swedish society has become more welcoming towards immigrants, meaning the state has found its way in how to handle the growing flow of immigrants. However, immigrants become more and more excluded from Swedish society and ethnical segregation – both in a social and spatial sphere – becomes a more common phenomenon. Segregation discourages interaction and communication between the immigrants and Swedish majority population, leading to growing misunderstanding between the groups. This partly results in an increasing closure of the Swedish majority population and the growing sounds of discontent about the immigration policy. Despite those growing concerns, immigrants still share a feeling of hope for the future. They notice that currently the majority of Swedish society shares a feeling of openness towards immigrants. Nevertheless, there are some important issues that need to change, as explained above. Most of these issues can be categorized as forms of indirect discrimination. The facets of indirect discrimination are strongly imbedded in Swedish society and this will not be changed over night. To fulfill the Swedish ideal of multiculturalism, patience and interaction are needed. Therefore it is of primary importance to stop the growing ethnical segregation and create possibilities for all members of Swedish society to participate.

### ***Recommendations***

During this research questions were raised of which it was not possible to answer them in this thesis. Likely the answers on those questions would reveal interesting angles for the field of immigration studies. Therefore recommendations for future research are formulated in the below section.

The concept multiculturalism has a central role in this research, since Sweden does characterize itself as a multicultural country. In this research it was already pointed out that multiculturalism is a rather complex concept and a distinction has to be made between de facto multiculturalism and official multiculturalism. In general, the meaning of de facto multiculturalism is quite clear. More problematic is the concept of official multiculturalism. In theory official multiculturalism involves cultural neutrality of the state in order to protect and recognize all ethnic groups living in the country (Joppke and Morawska, 2003, p. 2, 8-11). Nevertheless, it is to wonder if a state can be cultural neutral and therefore the potential existence of official multiculturalism can be questioned. In line with examining whether a certain society can be typified as multicultural – as in this research the Swedish society – it is interesting

to first exam if official multiculturalism is even possible in reality. One can ask a question as: does there exist a country of official multiculturalism and if so, what are the main characteristics? If not, which country is most close to applying official multiculturalism, and what makes that the country does not fulfil all requirements to be labelled as such?

This research particularly looks at the perception of immigrants in Swedish society. The specific aim is to show their side of the story, since most research focuses on a top down approach examining reception of immigrants from the perspective of the majority perspective (Heith, 2012, p. 161; Hübinette, 2012, p. 53). Nevertheless, during the interviews several respondents pointed out that it should have been useful to interview ‘Swedish people’ as well. This would show both angles of the question, which could have been compared in order to give a more profound answer on the question: whether the attitude of the Swedish population towards immigrants had been changed? Therefore in addition to this research, it would be recommended to interview members of the Swedish majority population about their perception on the attitude of the Swedish society towards immigrants. The results of both researches can be compared, showing the similarities and mismatches between the perception of immigrants and Swedish majority population. Following, this would provide an overview of the flaws of the immigration and integration policies.

Another interesting angle in line with this research is to interview the children and/or grandchildren of the immigrants. As was already pointed out in Chapter 3, because of a limited amount of time it is chosen to focus primarily on the perception of immigrants themselves. Nevertheless, the perception of the children and/or grandchildren of immigrants can be of interest when it comes to the possibilities to participate in Swedish society. Some of the respondents referred to their children during the interviews. Some of them stressed that their children were excluded from Swedish society, even if they are no different than ‘Swedish people’. They are thus still seen as ‘others’, but because of what reasons? Therefore it is recommended for future research to focus on the issue of othering, examining to what extent immigrants – who generally can be perceived as Swedish, since they are born and raised in Sweden – are still categorized as ‘the other’.

The following recommendation is not directly derived from this research, but is a more general recommendation for the field of immigration studies in Sweden. During the period in which the research was conducted, the Swedish immigration policy was a much-discussed topic in the news because of two reasons. Firstly, in 2014 Sweden accepted the largest number of immigrants in comparison to the rest of the European countries. Secondly, in September 2014 parliamentary elections were held. In the run-up to the elections the immigration policy was a much more discussed issue than ever before, due to the ant-immigration party; the Sverigedemokraterna (Trouw, 2014; Volkskrant 2014). Those two developments will be very

interesting to examine in relation to each other. How does the increasing influx of refugees relate to the increasing criticism from Swedish society on the immigration policy? Another angle relating to those recent trends in Sweden is to relate them to the European immigration policy and the so-called 'tomb of the Mediterranean'. What is the Swedish opinion on the closure of the European borders and its immigration policy? Who do they think is accountable for all the deaths in the Mediterranean?

The named recommendations aim to show the complexity of the issues relating to immigration. It illustrates how many actors are related those matters and how their interest can differ. Therefore it is important to be aware that there is not one absolute answer on questions of immigration. It is a moving subject that always has to be examined from several angles.

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## Summary

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Integration is a much-discussed subject and it is closely related to the concepts of multiculturalism and segregation. In this thesis the validity of those concepts will be examined by interviewing three generations of non-European immigrants about their experiences to participate in Swedish society. The Swedish welfare state can be described as rather young country of immigration, with a very tolerant immigration policy. It aspires to be a country of multiculturalism, which highly values the ideal of equality for all. Those aspects make Sweden an interesting case to study possibilities and processes of integration. Through semi-structured interviews, this research aims to expose an in-dept insight in the perception of immigrants on their possibilities to participate in Swedish society. It shows that despite the aim to provide equal opportunities for all, immigrants are (still) in a disadvantaged position and have to work much harder to prove themselves. Immigrants who are for instance highly educated have more trouble finding a job in line with their level of education than members of the Swedish majority population. Immigrants of all three generations assume they will never become a full member of Swedish society. In line with this, the feasibility of the concepts integration and multiculturalism can be questioned. Some of the immigrants refer to the indistinctness of what the integration policy in Sweden actually contains. This contributes to a growing misunderstanding between the Swedish majority population and the immigrants, illustrated by the rise of the xenophobic party the Sverigedemokraterna. Contrasting, the Swedish state still seems to value its image of a welcoming and open country for all, maintaining the tolerant immigration policy and regulating the institutional process of integration – such as developing refugee centers and offering Swedish language courses.

## Annex 1: Survey - Arrival 1980-1990

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### **Briefing**

- Introduce myself.
- Aim of the research: with my research I hope to create an understanding of how it is to be an immigrant in the Swedish welfare state. Important for my research is to compare the experiences of immigrants in different time periods. This is why I will interview people who arrived in different periods, from 1970s till now.
- Anonymity: Your personal information will only be used for my research, and would not be given to other parties. I would like to ask your permission to record this interview, so I can completely analyse the given information and use all the necessary parts for my research. Would you like me to use a pseudonym instead of your name in my research?
- The interview will approximately last one hour.
- Do you have any questions so far?

### **General information**

- Nationality:
- Sex:
- Age:

- When did you arrive in Sweden?  
→ So you were around .... years old when you arrived in Sweden?

- Did you get education in your home country or in Sweden?

- What kind of job is it that you have?
- How many jobs did you have since you came to Sweden?
- In which area of Göteborg do you live?
- Did you move since you came to Sweden?

### **Arrival period 1980-1990: The multicultural ideal**

- Can you tell me about the moment you arrived in Sweden?
- Did you already planned to go to Sweden?
- Did you think about returning to your country of origin?



→ Can you explain why you stayed?

- Did you have the feeling that you were received as an individual, or as 'one of those immigrants'?

- Did you have trouble finding a job?

→ If yes, how do you think this can be explained?

- How important do you think is the role of employment when it comes to integration in the Swedish society?

In 1975 a new policy was introduced with a focus on multiculturalism. Central in this policy were ideals as equality, freedom of choice and partnership. In your opinion, where the ideals noticeable in daily life? Or;

In 1975 a new policy was introduced with a focus on multiculturalism. How did you experience this multicultural attitude of the Swedish society?

- What is your opinion about this multicultural ideal?
- Do you think it is a right for the immigrants to maintain their own cultures?
- Do you think it stimulates integration or it creates segregation?

### **Period 1990-2000: Decline of the multicultural perspective and ongoing process towards the ideal of integration**

In the 1980s discussion emerged about the multicultural policy of 1975. People thought this multiculturalism should create division between the Swedish majority and immigrants.

- Did you yourself experience anything about this change in attitude?
- Do you think multiculturalism in Sweden has failed?
- Do you have the feeling you live in a multicultural society?
- Do you believe in a multicultural society?

In the 1990s a big economic crisis took place in Sweden and lots of people became unemployed, mainly immigrants.

- In what way did the crisis influence you as an immigrant?
- Did you experience a change in attitude of the Swedish majority population?

In 1997 the multicultural policy was changed by the integration policy.

- Did you yourself experience anything about this change in policy?
- Do you think integration in general is possible?

**Period 2000-now: Segregation as an important theme on the political agenda**

- What does Göteborg mean for you as a place?
- How important do you think is neighbourhood where you live when it comes to integration in the Swedish society?
- What was in your opinion the most important motive behind recently emerging riots in Sweden, as for example the shootings in Biskopsgården?

An important issue on the Swedish political agenda at the moment is the ethnical segregation. A concerning result is that a lot of immigrants are not included in the Swedish welfare system.

- What do you think is most important to get access to the welfare system?
- Can you relate this to your own story?
- Do you think you got enough education and job opportunities too get your place in the Swedish society?
- Did the government provide the necessary helping to include you?
- What do you think is the main reason for the ethnical segregation?
- Do you have the feeling you are part of the Swedish society?
- Do you feel Swedish?

Another issue relating to the welfare system is that in general the Swedish citizens have high trust in the government.

- Can you tell me if you have trust in the government?

In February 2001 a new Swedish citizenship law was introduced, which made dual citizenship possible.

- Did you have a Swedish citizenship/the citizenship of your home country before 2001?
- Did you change this after the establishment of this new policy?

A few weeks ago Sweden gained access to all refugees from Syria.

- What is your opinion about this issue?

- In general, do you think the Swedish attitude towards immigrants has become more or less welcoming?
- Did it become harder or easier to become part of the Swedish Society?

**Debriefing**

- Summarize the main points of the interview.
- Ask if the interviewee has something to add or another experience he/she wants to share.

## Annex 2: Survey - Arrival 1990-2000

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### **Briefing**

- Introduce myself.
- Aim of the research: with my research I hope to create an understanding of how it is to be an immigrant in the Swedish welfare state. Important for my research is to compare the experiences of immigrants in different time periods. This is why I will interview people who arrived in different periods, from 1970s till now.
- Anonymity: Your personal information will only be used for my research, and would not be given to other parties. I would like to ask your permission to record this interview, so I can completely analyse the given information and use all the necessary parts for my research. Would you like me to use a pseudonym instead of your name in my research?
- The interview will approximately last one hour.
- Do you have any questions so far?

### **General information**

- Nationality:
- Sex:
- Age:

- When did you arrive in Sweden?  
→ So you were around .... years old when you arrived in Sweden?

- Did you get education in your home country or in Sweden?

- What kind of job is it that you have?
- How many jobs did you have since you came to Sweden?
- In which area of Göteborg do you live?
- Did you move since you came to Sweden?

### **Arrival period 1990-2000: Decline of the multicultural perspective and ongoing process towards the ideal of integration**

- Can you tell me about the moment you arrived in Sweden?
- Did you already planned to go to Sweden?

- Did you think about returning to your country of origin?  
→ Can you explain why you stayed?
- Did you have the feeling that you were received as an individual, or as 'one of those immigrants'?

In the 1980s discussion emerged about the multicultural policy of 1975. People thought this multiculturalism should create division between the Swedish majority and immigrants.

- Did you yourself experience anything about this change in attitude?
- Do you think multiculturalism in Sweden has failed?
- Do you believe in a multicultural society?

In the 1990s a big economic crisis took place in Sweden and lots of people became unemployed, mainly immigrants.

- Did you have trouble finding a job?  
→ If yes, how do you think this can be explained?  
→ How important do you think is the role of employment when it comes to integration in the Swedish society?
- In what way did the crisis influence you as an immigrant?
- Do you think the economic crisis had an influence on how you were received in Sweden?

In 1997 the integration policy was introduced. From now on newly arrived immigrants had to participate in language courses and an integration program. Did you have to participate in such a program?

- What did you have to do?  
→ Can you explain if this program helped you by integrating into Swedish society?
- Do you think integration in general is possible?
- Do you have the feeling you are part of the Swedish society?
- Do you feel Swedish?

### **Period 2000-now: Segregation as an important theme on the political agenda**

- What does Göteborg means for you as a place?
- How important do you think is neighbourhood where you live when it comes to integration in the Swedish society?
- What was in your opinion the most important motive behind recently emerging riots in Sweden, as for example the shootings in Biskopsgården?

An important issue on the Swedish political agenda at the moment is the ethnical segregation. A concerning result is that a lot of immigrants are not included in the Swedish welfare system.

- What do you think is most important to get access to the welfare system?
- Can you relate this to your own story?
- Do you think you got enough education and job opportunities to get your place in the Swedish society?
- Did the government provide the necessary helping to include you?
- What do you think is the main reason for the ethnical segregation?

Another issue relating to the welfare system is that in general the Swedish citizens have high trust in the government.

- Can you tell me if you have trust in the government?

In February 2001 a new Swedish citizenship law was introduced, which made dual citizenship possible.

- Did you have a Swedish citizenship/the citizenship of your home country before 2001?
- Did you change this after the establishment of this new policy?

A few weeks ago Sweden gained access to all refugees from Syria.

- What is your opinion about this issue?

- In general, do you think the Swedish attitude towards immigrants has become more or less welcoming?

- Did it become harder or easier to become part of the Swedish Society?

### **Debriefing**

- Summarize the main points of the interview.
- Ask if the interviewee has something to add or another experience he/she wants to share.

## Annex 3: Survey - Arrival 2000-now

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### **Briefing**

- Introduce myself.
- Aim of the research: with my research I hope to create an understanding of how it is to be an immigrant in the Swedish welfare state. Important for my research is to compare the experiences of immigrants in different time periods. This is why I will interview people who arrived in different periods, from 1970s till now.
- Anonymity: Your personal information will only be used for my research, and would not be given to other parties. I would like to ask your permission to record this interview, so I can completely analyse the given information and use all the necessary parts for my research. Would you like me to use a pseudonym instead of your name in my research?
- The interview will approximately last one hour.
- Do you have any questions so far?

### **General information**

- Nationality:
- Sex:
- Age:

- When did you arrive in Sweden?  
→ So you were around .... years old when you arrived in Sweden?

- Did you get education in your home country or in Sweden?

- What kind of job is it that you have?
- How many jobs did you have since you came to Sweden?
- In which area of Göteborg do you live?
- Did you move since you came to Sweden?

### **Arrival period 2000-now: Segregation as an important theme on the political agenda**

- Can you tell me about the moment you arrived in Sweden?
- Did you already planned to go to Sweden?
- Did you think about returning to your country of origin?  
→ Can you explain why you stayed?

- Did you have the feeling that you were received as an individual, or as 'one of those immigrants'?

- Did you have to participate in an introduction program, like a language course or an integration program?
  - What did you have to do?
  - Can you explain if this program helped you by integrating into Swedish society?
- Do you think integration in general is possible?
- Do you have the feeling you are part of the Swedish society?
- Do you feel Swedish?

- Did you have trouble finding a job?
  - If yes, how do you think this can be explained?
- How important do you think is the role of employment when it comes to integration in the Swedish society?

- What does Göteborg means for you as a place?
- How important do you think is neighbourhood where you live when it comes to integration in the Swedish society?
- What was in your opinion the most important motive behind recently emerging riots in Sweden, as for example the shootings in Biskopsgården?

An important issue on the Swedish political agenda at the moment is the ethnical segregation. A concerning result is that a lot of immigrants are not included in the Swedish welfare system.

- What do you think is most important to get access to the welfare system?
- Can you relate this to your own story?
- Do you think you got enough education and job opportunities too get your place in the Swedish society?
- Did the government provide the necessary helping to include you?
- What do you think is the main reason for the ethnical segregation?

- Do you have the feeling you live in a multicultural society?
- Do you believe in a multicultural society?



Another issue relating to the welfare system is that in general the Swedish citizens have high trust in the government.

- Can you tell me if you have trust in the government?

In February 2001 a new Swedish citizenship law was introduced, which made dual citizenship possible.

- Did you have a Swedish citizenship/the citizenship of your home country before 2001?
- Did you change this after the establishment of this new policy?

A few weeks ago Sweden gained access to all refugees from Syria.

- What is your opinion about this issue?

- In general, do you think the Swedish attitude towards immigrants has become more or less welcoming?
- Did it become harder or easier to become part of the Swedish Society?

### **Debriefing**

- Summarize the main points of the interview.
- Ask if the interviewee has something to add or another experience he/she wants to share.