EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES?

A Cross-national Comparison of Immigrant Organisations in Sweden and Italy

ROBERTO SCARAMUZZINO
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To Dante and Victor
ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns the role played by immigrant organisations today. It focuses on the way in which the national context and especially the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems affect such roles. The thesis is structured around the hypothesis that immigrant organisations are shaped by their interaction with political opportunity structures which function as links between the broader institutional setting and the organisations. Examples of such structures are consultation bodies, systems of public funding, rules and routines for public-private partnerships in service provision, access to media and public debate and fiscal facilitations. Such structures can be used by immigrant organisations to, for example, advocate for the interest of the groups they represent, to strengthen their own organisation, as well as its position in society, and to influence policy. However, the usage of such structures always implies a certain amount of control and regulation, as it might require that the organisations assume certain internal rules, adhere to certain principles, or work with certain issues.

To highlight the role of the national institutional setting, and especially of the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems in shaping the functions of immigrant organisations, this thesis adopts a cross-national comparative approach with Sweden and Italy chosen as national contexts. The cross-national comparison follows a so-called “most-different” logic as these two countries’ civil societies, welfare systems, migration patterns and integration systems show salient differences that make them interesting to compare.

Political opportunity structures are, however, spread on different levels from the local to the international in a so-called “multi-level system”. To reflect such complexity, the thesis is designed as three sub-studies focusing on the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures connected to different levels: European Union (EU), local and national/regional. Each one of the three sub-studies therefore presents a comparison of immigrant organisations’ interaction with political opportunity structures in Sweden and in Italy. The empirical data consists mostly of interviews with representatives of immigrant organisations and other key-informants from other civil society organisations, public authorities and experts.
The results of the thesis show that Swedish immigrant organisations seem to have been able to rely on relatively strong resources and administrative capacity as a consequence of the national and local systems of public grants. In Italy, the results show major differences between ethnic organisations, inter-ethnic and hybrid organisations (connected to trade unions). Ethnic organisations seem to be more marginalised in relation to both public funding and networks of organisations while inter-ethnic and hybrid organisations seem to have been able to access and use such opportunity structures and strengthen their position especially as service producers.

The thesis also shows that the corporative, social welfare and integration systems seem to have played a crucial role in shaping the functions of immigrant organisations through the political opportunity structures. The most relevant opportunity structure for the Swedish immigrant organisations was the national and local systems of public grants, while for the Italian organisations the most relevant was the constellation of actors that had access to resources as service providers in the welfare-mix model. The results show also trends of convergence as the importance of immigrant organisations as service providers, often working in network with other organisations, was also evident in Sweden. Also the importance of the EU both as a channel for influencing policy through participation in European networks of organisations and as source of resources for activities at national and local level is evident in the results. Furthermore, the results show that immigrant organisations in Sweden were more often addressed by public authorities and other organisations as civil society organisations with knowledge and expertise on integration issues, while in Italy their role as representatives of immigrant communities was more often highlighted (at least for the ethnic organisations). This reflects the way in which the channelling of ethnic-based collective interests is structured in both countries.

The results suggest that immigrant organisations in both countries are much embedded in the national and local context while tendencies of transnationalisation, for example, through trans-national ethnic networks only concerned a few organisations which in their turn tended to interact less with local and national political opportunity structures. The nation-state, in fact, seems not to have lost its importance for immigrant organisations as a frame for influencing policy-making and for collective identity formation.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Sometime ago I was searching for the Italian Club of Malmö\(^1\) on the internet in the hope of finding some activities to involve my children in. I was thinking that it could contribute in strengthening their perception of and sense of belonging to an Italian community. The Church of Sweden in Rome had fulfilled such a function when I grew up in Italy.

To my surprise I found out that the Italian Club of Malmö did not exist anymore. The first immigrant association in Malmö (founded in 1948), member of Malmö Non-profit Organisation\(^2\) (MIP) and of the Federation of Italian Associations in Sweden\(^3\) (FAIS) had closed down. Looking on the internet for more information about this I found an article written by a representative of FAIS on the website “Italienaren.com” a website for Italians in Sweden. In the article the author made an interesting analysis of the organisational development among the “older” immigrant communities in Sweden:

Although it may seem strange, many people are “tired” of being part of an associational life that is still often linked to issues related to emigration, an “old” word with that particular intrinsic meaning that it implies for many Italians who do instead all they can, perhaps rightly, to give a picture of themselves on par with that of nationals of other “evolved” countries. The new “emigrants” act in a totally different context to that in which our grandfathers and our fathers found themselves around the world since World War II and onwards. Now people do not recognise themselves (or at least try not to do so) only in their origins, but they tend to give themselves

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\(^1\) Club Italiano Malmö
\(^2\) Malmö Ideella föreningars Paraphorganisation
\(^3\) Federazione delle associazioni italiane in Svezia
an image of world citizens and European citizens before that of an Italian, a Campanian or Genovese. (Internet)4

If this analysis is correct it means that one of the major features of an immigrant organisation, the upholding of a common identity connected to the country of origin, with time tends to fade as the context for the immigrant community changes (both for the generations born in the country and for the new immigrants). Also the need for upholding a contact with the mother country has become easier to satisfy by oneself with internet, low-cost flight tickets and satellite television, as expressed in the same article. What needs are left then to satisfy for immigrant organisations representing groups that are more or less integrated in the society and the labour market of the “hosting country” and have full political rights?

If the immigrant organisations of the “old” labour migrants in Sweden have followed an evolutional pattern that has in many ways resulted in them being threatened by extinction, what about the organisations representing the new immigrant communities in Western societies? With the less favourable conditions for labour-market inclusion, the relatively wide-spread, anti-immigration, and anti-multiculturalism sentiments combined with the weakening of the nation-state as provider of welfare, one might wonder if immigrant organisations’ preconditions for survival are not more favourable today. In a more hostile environment, their political functions might become even more important to defend the rights of their members and the communities they represent. Also their functions as producers of welfare might be strengthened in times of crisis, rising unemployment, cutbacks in social expenditures, and general retrenching of the public sector.

This thesis concerns the role played by immigrant organisations today. It focuses on the way in which the national context and especially the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems affect such roles through structures which provide opportunities for collective action but that also imply a certain amount of regulation and control.

**Changed Roles for Immigrant Organisations?**

People that migrate and settle in a new country have always had a disposition to form associations. Historical studies have shown how almost every national group that has migrated to America in the last two centuries has built organisations to satisfy common needs and solve common problems. The common origin offered a collective identity on the basis of which immigrants could gather. These identities were usually shaped in contrast to both the host society and other groups who originated from other parts of the world (Moya 2005). We here find two incentives to create immigrant organisations. The first incentive is related to the gathering of resources and the acquisition of power to act collectively, while the second is related to a sense of belonging to a group, an affiliation to an organisation, and recognition of those who belong and the exclusion of those who do not. These incentives are common in all human organisations (Ahrne 1994).

Up to World War II the most widespread and important type of immigrant associations, in terms of wealth and number of members, were the mutual aid societies. These kinds of organisations were not invented in the migration process. In the European societies that migrants had left, organised mutual aid was common, not least in the labour movements. In the new settling countries however, millions of immigrants relied on these associations. Depending on the size and wealth of the institution they could provide a wide range of services such as: “...birth delivery, medical and hospital care, medicines, unemployment and disability insurance, free repatriation or admission into old-age asylums if indigent, burial services and even the final plot of land among other country folks” (Moya, 2005:843).

The advent of the welfare state and of public security systems and private employer-based insurances made mutual aid societies more or less obsolete. Immigrant organisations, however, did not disappear from the old receiving countries, but also started to appear in large numbers in the new receiving countries of Western Europe. Their role was defined within the frame of the different welfare arrangements that the different national contexts gave birth to. In these welfare systems the institutions of state, market, and civil society (including family) played different roles in providing social security for the citizens (Esping-Andersen 1990, 2002; Lorenz 2006). Hence, immigrant organisations found themselves interacting with a much more complex set of institutions than before, and their roles were shaped in interaction with the sys-
tems for participation of civil society in public decision-making (corporative system), the production of social welfare services (social welfare system) and the incorporation of newcomers (integration system) (cf. Ireland 1994, Soysal 1994).

The approach to diversity and the way of defining integration in the receiving society grants immigrant organisations different functions and positions. If the aim of the policy is to assimilate immigrants their organisations might be absorbed in or excluded from the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems. If they are intended to stay for a limited period of time as guest-workers, their organisations might be invited to cooperate with authorities, but only on an informal level. If the migration is seen as permanent and the diversity that the immigrants represent is seen as a resource, their organisations might be supported and some services delegated to them (cf. Alexander 2004).

We know from previous research that different systems “produce” different types of immigrant organisations (e.g. Soysal 2004). But what are the mechanisms behind such processes? Different systems are upheld by different structures which provide opportunities for collective action (i.e. political opportunity structures). An interesting hypothesis is that immigrant organisations are shaped by their interaction with such structures which function as links between the broader institutional setting and the organisations. Examples of such structures are consultation bodies, systems of public funding, rules and routines for public-private partnerships in service provision, access to media and public debate, fiscal facilitations, etc. Such structures can be used by immigrant organisations to, for example, advocate for the interest of the groups they represent, to strengthen their own organisation, and also its position in society and to influence policy.

However, the usage of such structures always implies a certain amount of control and regulation as it might require that the organisations assume certain internal rules, adhere to certain principles, or work with certain issues. In this sense, they are caught in between being a target for certain policies and being representatives of interests that contribute for the effectiveness and legitimacy of such policies. Organised civil society in general, and immigrant organisations in particular, can in fact be seen as an instrument for integration both through the individual participation of immigrants in the organisations, and
through the collective activities promoting the rights of migrants in society (Bengtsson 2004, Carchedi & Mottura 2010).

The corporative, the social welfare, and the integration systems in many countries are experiencing major changes following international migration, globalisation, and the crisis of legitimacy of both the democratic system and the welfare state. It has been argued, for example, that cultural homogeneity among the population is a precondition for a generous welfare system and that ethnic, cultural and religious heterogeneity is a threat to the sustainability of a such a system as the use of it by the “non-belonging” or “non-deserving” challenges its legitimacy among the majority population (see Kroll et al. 2008 for a discussion on the link between diversity and a Nordic welfare model).

In the present restructuring of these systems, the conditions for immigrant organisations seem to be changing as well, not least with the adding of the EU as another layer in a multi-level system of political opportunity structures. This raises questions about the consequences. Is their role as service producers strengthened as a consequence of devolution and privatisation of welfare services? What about their role as representatives of groups that often lack the same social and political rights as the majority population? If new opportunities are offered for the mobilising of resources and strengthening of immigrant organisations’ positions, how are they using these structures? And which regulating, controlling systems are attached to these opportunities, and how are they affecting immigrant organisations?

**Objective, Research Questions and Sub-Studies**

The aim of this thesis is to understand and explain the way in which the national context affects immigrant organisations’ use of and interaction with different levels of political opportunity structures. The thesis will focus on their functions in the corporative, social welfare, and integration system, through a cross-national comparison of Sweden and Italy. Four main questions will be answered:

1. **At what conditions do immigrant organisations make use of and interact with political opportunity structures in Sweden and in Italy?**
2. **Which opportunities does the interaction with political opportunity structures in Sweden and in Italy offer immigrant organisations and how does this interaction regulate/constrain their activities?**
3. What role does the context, understood as national corporative, social welfare, and integration systems play in the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures?

4. What consequences does the interaction with political opportunity structures in Sweden and in Italy have on the functions of immigrant organisation in the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems?

To highlight the role of the national institutional setting and especially of the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems in shaping the function of immigrant organisations, this thesis adopts a cross-national comparative approach with Sweden and Italy chosen as national contexts. The cross-national comparison follows a so-called “most-different” logic as these two countries’ civil societies, welfare systems, migration patterns, and integration systems show salient differences that make them interesting to compare.

The theoretical understanding of immigrant organisations in this thesis is that their existence and development are highly dependent on the political opportunity structures that are available for mobilising resources and making their voice heard. Political opportunity structures are, however, spread on different levels from the local to the international in a so-called “multi-level system”. To reflect such complexity, the thesis is designed as three sub-studies focusing on the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures connected to different levels: European Union (EU), local, and national/regional. Each one of the three sub-studies will therefore present a comparison of immigrant organisations’ interactions with political opportunity structures in Sweden and in Italy.

EU as a New Opportunity Structure

Most studies about immigrant organisations which focus on their interaction with the institutional setting have focused either on the local level (e.g. Odmalm 2004, Camponio 2005, Kugelberg 2009) or the national level (e.g. Soysal 1994, Emami 2003) or both (e.g. Ireland 1994). In the last decades, third sector research has highlighted the European Union time after time as a possible new opportunity structure for civil society organisations. Many organisations, in fact, see the European institutions as a possible source of resources and as a channel for influencing local, national, and EU-policy (e.g. Marks & McAdam 1996, Hooghe & Marks 2001, Sánchez-Salgado 2010). The way in which also immigrant organisations make use of the political opportunity
structures offered by the EU is a topic that has not been given so much attention by research. The few existing studies have focused on the participation in the decision-making process (e.g. Ruzza 2011) rather than the service provision and implementation of policy (see Sánchez-Salgado 2010 for a distinction). The first sub-study (the Equal Study) aims at filling such a void focusing on the participation of Swedish and Italian immigrant organisations in Equal, one of the largest European common initiatives in the field of labour market inclusion (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010).

In fact the Equal programme can be seen as an example of implementation of the European social welfare and employment strategy, as well as a new role played by the EU in such policy areas. The Equal programme is a community initiative financed by the European Social Fund between 2001 and 2007 which financed experimental projects led by so-called development partnerships of public, private and civil society organisations in all member states. The aim of Equal was to support new methods for preventing discrimination and inequalities in the labour market (Dahan et al. 2006, Scaramuzzino et al. 2010).

The participation in Equal has given some civil society organisations the possibility of financing new activities that might be positive for their target groups and to strengthen the position of the organisations in society. Equal has in this sense, contributed to the adding of another layer in the political context of civil society organisations, beside the national and the local setting (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010). But the participation requires administrative and organisational skills and competencies which are not always easy to find in small civil society organisations (Sánchez-Salgado 2010). They often rely on the efforts of non-professional volunteers and are usually strongly dependent on time-limited public funding. This is usually also the case for immigrant organisations (see Odmalm 2004 for Sweden, Mardsen & Tassinari 2010 for Italy).

The degree to which immigrant organisations in Sweden and in Italy have received access to the Equal programme, under what conditions they have participated, and with which consequences and results for the organisations is the focus of this first sub-study.5

5 Some of the results of this sub-study are about to be published in Scaramuzzino (forthcoming)
Local Opportunity Structures

Both in Sweden and in Italy we find immigrant organisations both at the national level and at the local level. Those that are active at a national level are often, especially in Sweden, umbrella organisations that organise local associations that in turn are based on the membership of individuals. National organisations work mostly in the civic and advocacy fields, functioning more as voice for the groups than as service producers (Dahlstedt 2003).

Most immigrant organisations are, however, small associations that operate at the local level and have a range of activities that are limited to the municipality or to the region in which they are established (CNEL 2001, Dahlstedt 2003, Bengtsson & Strømblad 2009), sometimes with the support and/or in cooperation with public authorities (Odmalm 2004, Kugelberg 2009). It is usually also on the local level that integration policies are implemented (Scuzzarello 2010) and many social and health services are delivered that are relevant for immigrants (Penninx et al. eds. 2004, Campomori 2008). As the local level is a crucial level for immigrant organisations’ activities, the topic for the second sub-study (the local study) is immigrant organisations’ interaction with local opportunity structures.

This study investigates local immigrant organisations in two municipalities, i.e. Malmö and Genova. The study focuses on the organisations’ interaction with systems for public grants and networks of organisations focusing on opportunities, but also the challenges and limits in the use of such opportunity structures.

Opportunity Structures for Participation in Policy-making

Many immigrant organisations are also involved in political activities to influence the policies of hosting countries, often making use of the traditional channels that most democratic states have set up for keeping some sort of dialogue with civil society. Both in Sweden and in Italy, the state has in fact for many years communicated with immigrant communities on questions that matter to them, in accordance to the corporatist tradition of the modern welfare state (Andersen 1990, Aytar 2007, Campomori 2008, Scuzzarello 2010). Corporatism as a way of channelling the needs and demands of parts of the population through civil society organisations has been common in most
Western countries, especially in reference to labour market policies. But it is also important to address the recent development of state politics from government to governance i.e. from a top-down decision-making process by public actors to a more collective decision-making process that includes both public and private actors (Ansell & Gash 2007).  

The Swedish government, for example, recently invited civil society organisations to so-called civil dialogue processes on different policy areas (Johansson et al. 2011). One of these was initiated in 2009 by the Swedish government, and included civil society organisations that were active in the field of integration. The aim of the dialogue, as it was formulated in the official documents, was to revise and clarify how civil society organisations involved in the field of integration could at the same time uphold the dual function of performers of welfare services and of advocates as a critical voice (The Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality 2009). The government also aimed to clarify the relationship between the public sector and the third sector that was involved in the field of integration and to eliminate the obstacles that held back civil society organisations in their integration work. The dialogue resulted in the “Agreement between government, idea-based organisations in the integration sphere and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions” that was open for all concerned civil society organisations to sign. Many immigrant organisations were invited to this dialogue process and some of them participated actively. This dialogue process has been chosen for the third sub-study (the political participation study) as an example of political opportunity structure for participation in policy-making processes in Sweden.

Similar experiences at the national level are difficult to find in Italy, which lacks a functioning national consultation forum with immigrant organisations (Valeri 2010). However at the regional level we do find “councils” about integration. The region Liguria is one of the few Italian regions that has adopted legislation on integration (Regional Law 7/2007) and that has instituted a council to which immigrant organisations and other civil society organisations are invited. For this study, the Regional Council for the Integration of Foreign Immigrant Citizens in Liguria has been chosen as an example of political op-

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7 According to Ansell and Gash, (2007:545) “Governance applies to laws and rules that pertain to the provision of public goods.”
8 Överenskommelse mellan regeringen, idéburna organisationer inom integrationsområdet och Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting
9 Consulta regionale per l’Integrazione dei cittadini stranieri immigrati
portunity structure for participation in processes of policy-making in Italy. This sub-study focuses on the first mandate of the council between 2007 and 2010, in which a common document was produced: the “Three-year Regional Plan for the Integration of Foreign Immigrant Citizens 2010-2012”.  

The sub-study focuses on the role of immigrant organisations in the processes, the conditions for their participation, and their possibility to influence the processes in Sweden and in Liguria.

The table below summarises the design of the thesis which is structured around three separate sub-studies, the Equal study, the local study, and the political participation study. All three studies have a cross-national comparative approach, and include in total six examples of political opportunity structures: three from each national context as shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Example/specification of political opportunity structure</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EU as political opportunity structures</td>
<td>Equal programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local political opportunity structures</td>
<td>Malmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National/Regional</td>
<td>Political opportunity structures for participation in processes of policy-making</td>
<td>Dialogue process on integration</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Regional council for the integration of foreign immigrant citizens</td>
</tr>
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The Logic of the Research-Design
Comparing the same phenomenon in different contexts is a common way of reaching knowledge in social sciences. Because of the major importance of the nation-state in the formation of societies, social institutions, and welfare policies the last 500 years, it is reasonable to have the national context as major unit of comparison in studies about civil society and the welfare state, even when focusing on political opportunity structures at different levels. In fact, the combination of a cross-national comparative approach with a multi-level...
based research design can shed some light on the interplay of national institutional contexts and multi-level systems.

Cross-National Comparative Research

Based on a comparison between two national contexts and focusing on immigrant organisations functions in the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems, this thesis has much in common with cross-national welfare research (Blomberg 2008). The design is based on the comparison of immigrant organisations interaction with most-similar political opportunity structures, in most-different national contexts (cf. Blomberg 2008). This approach is based on the theoretical assumption supported by research (Soysal 1994, Ireland 1994, Mikkelsen 2003) that different institutional settings such as the organisations of the welfare state, the type of migration, the system for incorporation of migrants “produce” different types of immigrant organisations with different functions.

The choice of similar political opportunity structures in different contexts aims at enabling to understand and explain how the national setting affects the way in which immigrant organisations make use of and interact with the political opportunity structures and how this interaction influences their functions. In this sense, it is not intended to test the theory that “context matters”, but rather to develop it by explaining “how it matters” using qualitative research methods (cf. Mangen 1999, Blomberg 2008). By this approach this thesis relies on a similar logic as described by Linda Hantrais (1999) as a “societal approach”. This approach in cross-national research is described as seeking “…to identify general factors within social systems that can be interpreted with reference to specific societal contexts” (Hantrais 1999:94). In this approach the context is not independent from the social reality, but instead, of being an object study in its own, it “…serves as an important explanatory variable and an enabling tool, rather than constituting a barrier to effective cross-national comparisons” (Hantrais 1999:94).

Sweden and Italy as national contexts in the cross-national comparison are compared following the most-different logic (cf. Blomberg 2008). The countries are compared as representing national contexts in which many crucial dimensions are assumed to be different while the study objects have been chosen following a most-similar logic (interaction between similar organisations and similar opportunity structures).
**Most-Different Countries**

For this research, Sweden and Italy can in fact be seen as each other’s opposite in many, relevant dimensions. Sweden has a relatively long experience of large-scale immigration that dates back to the end of World War II (Lundh & Ohlsson 1999). Large scale immigration to Italy is a newer phenomenon that started during the 1980s (Scuzzarello 2010). This might also be one of the reasons why most cross-national studies of immigrant organisations (some of which are almost 20 years old) do not include Italy as a case (see Danese 1998 for an exception).

Also the welfare systems of the two countries are different. The Swedish system relies on the public sector and offers a wide range of risk coverage with generous entitlements. The Italian system on the other hand shows great inequalities in protection and entitlements both between regions and social groups and strongly relies on private solutions to social problems, especially those from the family (Kazepov 2008). The welfare systems rely on different logics where the Swedish one is based on the public sector taking a major responsibility in the provision and production of welfare service, while the Italian one relays much more on the family and organised civil society. Also, the third sectors in the two countries show some differences. Both have a strong third sector, but while the Swedish one is more oriented towards advocacy and expressive functions, the Italian one is more oriented towards service production (Salamon et al. 2004).

The immigration policies and the migration flows are also different in the two national settings. Most immigrants that have come to Sweden, and have been granted permanent residence permit the last 40 years have come as refugees, for humanitarian protection and as family reunion, while in the Italian case they have come as foreign labour (Scuzzarello 2010). Italy hosts also a much larger group of undocumented migrants than Sweden (Papadopulos 2011). Also the integration policies of the two countries present significant differences. Immigration and integration policies have, until recently, seldom been

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12 The image of the Swedish welfare state being characterised by wide risk coverage and generous entitlements (in comparison with other countries) has recently been challenged in a report comparing social insurances in 18 OECD-countries (Ferrarini et al. 2012). The report shows for example how levels of reimbursement for work injury and unemployment insurances in Sweden have dropped since the 1990s and especially since 2005 and are at present lower than the OECD-average.

13 However the Swedish migration pattern is changing with a stronger presence of migrants entering Sweden for working reasons, often as temporary guest workers (see Table Three).
controversial political issues in Sweden, at least not if we look at the parties that, until the 2010 elections, have been represented in the parliament. In Italy, on the other hand, immigration and integration are very sensitive issues and political parties that have made anti-immigration a central topic in their political programme have been present in the parliament since early 1990s, and have also been part of the government (Meret 2009, Scuzzarello 2010).

The differences between the two national settings will be further developed in Chapter Three and Four. As will be shown, there are also similarities between the countries. Italy has, during the last decade, become a migration-receiving country with a permanent inflow of immigrants which is comparable with that of other more traditional receiving countries like Sweden. Both countries are also members of the EU and consequently subject to common directives in many policy areas, not least migration (Schierup et al. 2006).

Most-Similar Political Opportunity Structures

The choice of three examples of opportunity structures for each country, at different levels and with different functions, is meant to be consistent with the everyday reality of many immigrant organisations. In their struggle for mobilising resources and defending their groups’ interests these organisations adopt several strategies and interact with different political opportunity structures and with actors such as: private enterprises, civil society, local and national authorities, the EU, etc.

The examples of political opportunity structures in this thesis have been chosen also for being as similar as possible for the two national contexts. The similarity between the chosen Swedish and Italian political opportunity structures aims at guaranteeing the most possible (cross-national) comparability, in the same way as in so-called “embedded case studies” in organisational research (Fitzgerald & Dopson 2009). When it comes to the Equal study, the choice of the Swedish and the Italian programme as examples present few problems of comparability as they are national implementations of the same EU-common initiative. In this sense, there are reasons to believe that the differences between the two programmes are related to the different national contexts in which they are implemented (cf. Sánchez-Salgado 2010).

For the local study, Malmö and Genova have been chosen as examples mainly because of some important similarities between the two cities. Both cities are coastal and located near an international border. Both cities host major harbours with a modern history characterised by commerce, industrialisation, shipyard industry, a strong and well-mobilised working class, and a political tradition of left-wing local government. Both cities also experienced a period of economic downturn during the last decades of the 20th century with deindustrialisation, unemployment and a growing concern for social problems. However, in the last years, both cities have experienced a period of renewal and economic growth mostly because of the development of a strong service sector. One relevant difference between the cities is that the share of the immigrant population and their descendants is much larger in Malmö than in Genova which is partly a consequence of the more recent history of migration to Italy. Even though the local examples can be considered similar in many aspects, the distinction between local and national variations, and their influence on the interaction, is however difficult to uphold in the analysis.

The examples chosen for the political participation study also present many similarities. Both are forums for dialogue between public authorities and civil society and include immigrant organisations; both presuppose some form of cooperation; and both aim at formulating a written document which concerns the integration issue. The examples present, however, some important differences. First of all, the Swedish process is much more an expression of a collaborative governance arrangement, while the Italian much more of a traditional corporative tradition. Further, the two arrangements are positioned on different administrative levels; the Swedish at the national level while the Italian at the regional one. The Swedish process also concerns much more the policy towards the third sector, while the Italian one concerns the integration policy. However it will be argued in this thesis that many of these differences are, in turn, a consequence of the different national contexts, as the level of political opportunity structure (national/regional) and of (cross-national) comparison in this study tend to coincide. In this sense, the differences between the two examples will be included in the comparison as mirroring differences between the national contexts.

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15 For a distinction see Chapter Four.
The Thesis in Relation to Previous Research and Studies

There are quite few studies about immigrant organisations that include the political institutional settings as an explanatory variable for their development (e.g. Schierup 1991, 1994, Ireland 1994, Emami 2003, Caponio 2005), even if some adopt the political opportunity structure approach (e.g. Odmalm 2004, Hooghe 2005, see Bengtsson 2007 for an overview). Cross-national comparisons of immigrant organisations with a focus on the political and institutional settings have been carried out before, but tend to only include a small number of ad-hoc ethnic groups (e.g. Soysal 1994). As far as I’m concerned there has not been any study of immigrant organisations that apply a cross-national comparative approach focusing both on specific opportunity structures at different levels (including EU) and including more general political and institutional contexts. It is this gap that the thesis is meant to fill through a model that has the ambition of accounting for a greater complexity than much previous research does, by including more dimensions through the research design and the analytical framework.

Furthermore, the cross-national comparative approach is intended to shed some light on how the general national context matters in three different specifications or examples of political opportunity structures. In this sense, the thesis acknowledges that the context matters but not only as a general, wide, political and institutional context, but rather taking into consideration that immigrant organisations interact with political opportunity structures at different levels. In this sense, another ambition with the thesis is to provide a theoretical contribution shedding light on the mechanisms behind the national context’s structuring and regulating effect (on immigrant organisations) through political opportunity structures.

The thesis also crosses three different research traditions and theoretical perspectives: third sector research, social welfare research and migration research by including the corporative system, the social welfare system and the integration system in the context as explanatory dimensions for the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures. In Chapter Four an attempt will be made to address, in a consistent and coherent way, these three theoretical perspectives which are seldom brought together by research. This effort is connected to the ambition of building a theoretical model that includes all three aspects as presented in Chapter Two.
Finally, this study also has the ambition of being an empirical test of the use of the political opportunity structure approach in the study of immigrant organisations taking into consideration some of the theoretical implications that have been raised by previous research.

In the next three chapters, many of the themes presented in this introduction will be developed. Chapter Two will address two central concepts (immigrant organisation and political opportunity structure) and the theoretical framework that links them, Chapter Three will discuss civil society as a social sphere and immigrant organisations as part of such sphere and Chapter Four will present and discuss the corporative, social welfare and integration systems in general and by comparing their organisation in Sweden and in Italy.
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This thesis revolves around the way in which immigrant organisations as collective actors interact with political opportunity structures. In the theoretical framework for this thesis, immigrant organisations are thus seen as actors, while political opportunity structures are, as part and expression of their institutional environment, understood not only as cognitive phenomenon such as knowledge and beliefs, but also as regulations and legislation. Institutions are the rules, while organisations are the players; while institutions can affect organisations, organisations can also affect institutions (Ahrne & Hedström 1999, Ahrne & Papakostas 2002. See also Greenwood et al. 2008 for a comprehensive discussion on the concept institution in organisational studies).

The thesis focuses on the way in which such (political opportunity) structures shape immigrant organisations as (collective) actors through possibilities and constraints and the way in which such actors make use of the structures for their purposes. Thomas Brante (2001:175) defines structures as “…comparatively durable configuration of elements”. As such, we could argue that both political opportunity structures and immigrant organisations are structures. However, for the purpose of this study, the term “structure” is used for the political opportunity structures, as opposed to “actor” for the immigrant organisations, to highlight the fact that at the meso-level (cf. “institutional level” in Brante 2001) phenomenon such as organisations can be studied per se “…without invoking the concrete individuals that happen to occupy them” (Brante 2001:181).

To be able to grasp these two phenomena, immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures, there is a need for a conceptual framework. The way in which the concepts “immigrant organisation” and “political opportu-
nity structure” are used in this thesis is inspired by Max Weber’s well known ideal-type definitions. Ideal-types in Weber’s theory function as images of thought that unite reality with constructions of thought. These ideal-types are abstractions of reality that highlight certain dimensions rather than others, and can be used in empirical research to mirror the phenomenon that is being studied (Weber 1991, Ring 2007). Both concepts function as a way of delimiting the portion of reality that is studied as their interaction is the object of study in the thesis.

**Immigrant Organisation as Phenomenon and Concept**

The concept “immigrant organisation” and its variations (immigrant associations, immigrant’s organisations etc.) has been used extensively in Swedish (e.g. Bäck 1983, Emami 2003, Odalmn 2004), Italian (e.g. Paternò 2003, Caselli ed. 2006, Carchedi & Mottura eds. 2010) and international research (e.g. Rex et al. eds. 1987, Jenkins ed. 1988, Schrover & Vermeulen 2005). The concept has often been used to delimit the part of the organised civil society that is created and upheld by the portion of population that is often in a much diffused way labelled as “immigrants”. Many studies of immigrant organisations are initiated by public authorities, and have the objective of mapping the local or national immigrant organisational field, and describing the amount of organisations, membership, leadership, activities, financing, etc. (e.g. Bäck 1983, Lelleri & Gentile eds. 2003). Other studies are more focused on social mechanisms behind the phenomenon, both inside the immigrant groups, as well as outside, examples being reasons to associate, internal processes, interaction with institutions etc. (e.g. Emami 2003, Caponio 2005, Aytar 2007, Carchedi & Mottura eds. 2010).

The research questions in this thesis imply the existence of an organisational phenomenon called “immigrant organisation” that is distinct and/or distinguishable from other similar phenomenon. In the introduction to a special issue of *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* about immigrant organisations Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen (2005:825) declare that “One can question the extent to which an organisation can be labelled an immigrant organisation”. The authors ask two central questions: “Do we regard organisations as immigrant organisations because the majority of its members are descendants from immigrants?” and “Do we call an organisation an immigrant organisation because the inspiration for the organisation originally came from immigrants, and when does an organisation stop being an immigrant organisa-
tion?” (Schrover & Vermeulen 2005:825). These questions highlight two fundamental dimensions for an organisation: its members and its original inspiration. To these two dimensions a third one could be added, namely the organisational culture (Ahrne 1994) and the related elements of ideology, objectives and identity. In this sense, an organisation stops being an immigrant organisation when it stops describing and presenting itself as one.

Answering the above-mentioned questions has implied formulating a definition of immigrant organisations which has both theoretical and methodological implications: theoretical as the definition of the study object has implications for the theoretical perspectives that might be useful in the analysis and methodological as the definition has to be operationalised in the delimitation of the research field and has implications for the data collection method.

**Immigrant Organisation - A Definition**

Using the dimensions above, the following three conditions for labelling an organisation an “immigrant organisation” have been formulated (based on the organisations’ self-presentation):

1. *The organisation is a civil society organisation.*
2. *Most of the members of the organisations are immigrants or immigrant organisations (in the case of umbrella organisations).*
3. *Experience of migration is part of the organisational culture and identity.*

Together these three conditions or organisational features have formed the operational definition of an “immigrant organisation” in the thesis.\(^{16}\) This deductive, top-down way of approaching the definition of an immigrant organisation, has also been complemented with an inductive, bottom-up approach. As a first step the definition was therefore tested on the list of civil society organisations that participated in the Swedish and Italian Equal Programmes. The aim was to see if the organisations which complied with the three conditions were the same that usually are included in the international research on immigrant organisations. This bottom-up way of approaching the definition of immigrant organisation is inspired by and consistent with the way in which the “John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project” formulated a structural-operational definition of civil society sector and civil society organi-

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\(^{16}\) The assessment of the organisations have been based on the self-presentation of the organisations as discussed in Chapter Five.
sation to be able to compare the sector across 36 countries (Salamon et al. 2004).

The result of this test was that, even if some “grey areas” of organisations could be identified which were difficult to treat, the three-dimensional definition was useful in identifying immigrant organisations. It enabled to include organisations from the following categories based on the social composition and the identity of the organisation:

- Ethnic organisations (representing one foreign national or ethnic group)
- Inter-ethnic organisations (representing more than one foreign national or ethnic group)
- Hybrid organisations (representing immigrants but with a significant component of members from the host society)

The definition included local and national organisations, umbrella organisations, membership-based associations, cooperatives, social economy enterprises, trade unions, political organisations, religious associations etc. These categories correspond to the types of organisations that usually are considered as immigrant organisations in most national and international studies and research (e.g. Mikkelsen 2003, Moya 2005, Pirni 2006, Hagelund & Loga 2009).

The sampling process will be further presented and discussed in Chapter Five, but there is still a question that the definition of immigrant organisation immediately raises, namely “Who should be defined as an immigrant?” Anniken Hagelund and Jill Loga (2009) discuss the use of the term “immigrant” and their concern summarises quite well the dilemma that a researcher needs to handle when categorising groups of individuals. On one hand, it is important to avoid the possible stigmatising effect of pointing out groups as bearer of special interests or facing specific obstacles. On the other hand, there is a need for concepts that make it possible to distinguish specific groups of individuals who are suspected to experience specific problems such as lack of resources, discrimination, etc.17

17 Ann Morrisens and Diane Sainsbury (2005) have shown how the population of foreign-born and non-citizens in several European countries do not enjoy the same social rights as natives. Especially people with a background outside the Western world have less chance of getting a decent standard of living even when the open labor market is their main source of income. They also run a greater risk of falling below the poverty line when their main source of income consists of contributions.
The meaning of “immigrant” has changed over time. Before the emergence of the nation-state, “sending societies” produced little to no effort in keeping in touch with the members who had left the country. Sometimes the emigrated people would not even be taken back if they wanted to repatriate. In contemporary society, migrants are instead to a higher degree seen as still belonging to their country of origin, both by the sending and receiving countries. This different way of looking at immigrants has led to the inclusion of second and even third generation to the category of immigrant in the public discourse. The status of “immigrant” has developed from something you become by migrating to something you inherit from your parents (Schrover & Vermeulen 2005).

This change has also an effect on immigrant organisations granting them, on one hand, the possibility of a greater longevity, and on the other hand, the necessity of evolving and developing to meet the needs of people who are born in the receiving country (Schrover & Vermeulen 2005). For the purpose of this research it would not be useful to a priori formulate a definition of “immigrant”. Rather, it will be essential to focus on the collective identities that the organisations adopt to mobilise people around their aims and goals.

The concept “immigrant organisations” as an ideal-type helps to delimit the object of the study, but also has some theoretical consequences for the use of the concept “political opportunity structure”.

**Political Opportunity Structures**

The conceptual and theoretical framework in the thesis has been developed with the intent of providing valuable analytical tools for the study of the interaction between collective actors such as immigrant organisations and social structures that might provide opportunities in various ways and to different degrees, for example financial resources but also access and influence on policy areas that are relevant for the organisations. An organisation of women from Latin America in Genova, the Ligurian Coordination of Latin-American Women, describes its relations with the institutions in the following way:

> As an association with particular characteristics, the Coordination carries out a variety of activities in close contact with government agencies through the various spaces, real and concrete, which contribute to the integration of

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18 Coordinamento Ligure Donne Latinoamericane
the non-Italian population especially the Latin-American; in particular with the Municipality of Genova, the Province, the Region and consular institutions of Latin-American countries and private social organisations, cooperatives, associations of immigrants and others. (Internet) 19

This description of a variety of levels of contacts with public institutions and other key actors for the purpose of carrying out activities that are important for their target groups fits well with many other immigrant organisations in this thesis. In some cases these interactions take the form of unstructured relationships of cooperation between two or more organisations. In other cases they are carried out within more consistent structures and systems, (as the system of public grants for civil society organisations) which trigger competition among different organisations, and regulation and control from those who control the opportunity structures, not seldom public organisations.

The political opportunity structure approach was developed at the end of the 1970s by American political process theorists like Charles Tilly, Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow. The approach stresses “…the importance of the broader political system in structuring the opportunities for collective action and the extent and form of the same…” (McAdam et al. 1996:2). The approach has been used by European scholars in cross-national comparisons of social movements (e.g. Kriesi et al. 1992). Differences in the political characteristics of the national contexts have been put forward to explain differences in the structure, extent and results of comparable social movements (McAdam et al. 1996:2).

This perspective is not new in migration studies and especially not in studies about immigrant organisations. Even if not always in terms of political opportunity structures, scholars have stressed the role of the broader political system for the development of an immigrant organisational field focusing especially on existing institutional practices with a focus on rights, duties and financing, and on the models and organising principles of membership in society, as well as also on so-called “institutional gatekeepers” such as trade unions, political parties, religious and humanitarian organisations (e.g. Ireland 1994, Soysal 1994). In the last decade, the use of the concept “political opportunity structure” has become much more common in migration studies with a focus on

immigrant organisations. An example is Marc Hooghe’s (2005) study on the political opportunity structure for immigrant organisations in Flanders.

The Swedish scholars Bo Bengtsson, Clarissa Kugelberg and Gunnar Myrberg (2009) argue that what makes the political opportunity structure perspective especially appealing for the study of immigrants’ self-organisation is that the explanation of the collective actions is placed outside the organisation or movement in the institutional arrangements. The approach avoids, in this way, both socio-economic determinism based on class-relations and explanations that only are based on cultural differences between groups (Koopmans & Statham 2000, Bengtsson et al. 2009).

Political Opportunity Structures and Immigrant Organisations
Bengtsson (2007, 2010) makes an interesting attempt to develop a theoretical approach by adapting the political opportunity structure approach to the study of immigrant organisations. The concept political opportunity structure is not easy to simply transfer from classic social movement research to migration study: “It is not self-evident that the same theoretical approach would be fruitful to analyse the political opportunities of ethnic organisations, which are typically more static and less ideological” (Bengtsson 2007:1). In his adapted definition of political opportunity structure he formulates four conditions for the concept to be fruitful in the study of immigrant organisations.

More specifically the definition should (Bengtsson 2007:12):

- Include institutionalised collective action within organisations, and not only in SMOs [Social Movement Organisations] but also in more interest-oriented associations;
- Be specified in a way that makes the perspective useful for the study of multifunctional organisations;
- Include not only incentives based on instrumental ideological altruism, but also other types of payoffs and costs – individual and collective;
- Include the cultural and discursive elements of class, gender and ethnicity.

Immigrant organisations are in fact not necessarily connected to social movements, and are often multifunctional in the sense that, as many other interest-organisations, they are less political and ideological than social movements.
and the organisation they give birth to (so-called social movement organisations). The distinction might be illustrated through a typology used by Erik Lundberg (2012) based on a conceptualisation of civil society organisations developed by Dag Wollebæk & Per Selle (2008) highlighting different roles of the organisations in society:

The typology is based on different theoretical perspectives of civil society, and makes a distinction between conflict- and consensus-oriented organisations and between member-benefit-oriented and public benefit-oriented organisations. The conflict dimension stresses the role of organisations as a democratic infrastructure and as mediators of interests. The consensus dimension embraces a social, rather than political, understanding of voluntary organisations and emphasises the role of organisations as arenas for recreation, social integration in local communities and contributors of welfare services. Public-benefit-oriented organisations serve non-members (i.e., the public) and not only members, whereas member benefit groups work exclusively for those affiliated with the group. (Lundberg 2012:9)

Social movement organisations are clearly both conflict and public-benefit oriented. Immigrant organisations differ depending on whether we consider the local associations or the national umbrella organisations. At national level, immigrant organisations tend to be conflict-oriented and member benefit-oriented as is the case for most interest organisations. At local level, immigrant organisations tend to be consensus-oriented and member-benefit oriented as for many community-based organisations.

The functions of immigrant organisations, which have been described and categorised in different ways in previous research (e.g. Bäck 1983, Rex & Josephides 1987, Emami 2003, Pirni 2006), in fact often include functions that are more connected to the social or cultural sphere than to the political one. One frequently quoted description is by John Rex who highlights four main functions: “Overcoming social isolation, helping individuals in the solution of personal and material problems, combining to defend the group’s interests in conflict and bargaining with the wider society, and maintaining and developing shared patterns of meaning” (quoted from Rex & Josephides 1987:19). Looking at these four functions it is quite clear that only the third, to defend the groups’ interests, implies participation in policy decision-making processes, even if all of them can have political consequences. All four functions could,
however, be seen as affecting the welfare of the individuals that are participating in the organisation and its activities, and might in this sense be seen as having an indirect political effect. Furthermore, the multifunctional feature of these organisations makes them likely to interact with structures that are not necessarily political, but institutional and discursive as previous studies have shown (cf. Bengtsson 2007).

A Definition
The definition of the concept of political opportunity structure in its adapted form is formulated by Bengtsson (2007:24) in the following way: “Structural and institutional conditions – including consistent actor constellations – that provide opportunities for politically and non-politically oriented collective action, within civil society, with direct or indirect political impact”.

Political opportunity structures are not used, in the thesis, as a dependant, explanatory variable in the analysis, as in many studies which apply the concept (e.g. Kitschelt 1986, Kriesi et al. 1992, Koopmans et al. 2005). The concept aims at identifying examples/specification of structures that highlight the interaction between immigrant organisations and their institutional environment and that offer opportunities, but also imply regulation and control. The examples have already been presented in the introduction and the theoretical and methodological implications of their choice from the point of view of the cross-national comparison between Sweden and Italy have been discussed as well. Here will be discussed the way in which the concept political opportunity structure (as discussed in this chapter) relates to the chosen examples/specifications.

Financing civil society organisations in member states is one of the ways in which the EU affects national policy at the same time as it (the EU) is also an important source of resources for many civil society organisations. Equal has been one of the major programmes in the field of social exclusion, and in this sense, it is a good example for the way in which immigrant organisations might interact with political opportunity structures at EU-level, even if the outcome, in terms of activities often is local.

Many immigrant organisations are active at the local level where municipalities often interact with local organised civil society for the purpose of handling important social welfare and integration issues. While local authorities can
provide both resources and access to policy-making, also local constellations of civil society organisations might offer opportunities. Focusing on the interaction between immigrant organisations and local political opportunity structures provided by municipal authorities and other non-public organisations is intended to highlight the local level.

Also, at national level, often we find forums for consultation with civil society organisations. Choosing the national level for Sweden and the regional level for Italy is consistent with the way in which integration policy is administratively handled by the state in the two countries. In Italy, in fact, many responsibilities pertaining to policy-making in the social welfare and integration policy areas have been delegated to the regions. Focusing on the interaction between immigrant organisations and two examples of such arrangements for consultation with civil society organisations on integration is intended to highlight the national/regional level.

**Structures, Interaction and Actors**

The theoretical framework elaborated for this thesis places itself on the third level of analysis in Hanspeter Kriesi’s (2007) general framework of the political process approach. He distinguishes between *structures, configurations of power and interaction context*. “The third level of analysis concerns the interaction context. This is the level of the mechanisms linking structures and configuration to agency and action, and it is at this level that the strategies of social movements and their opponents come into view” (Kriesi 2007:77). This interaction context provides context-specific opportunities which can take different forms depending on the structure of the political system, but also general and context-specific configurations of actors and precipitating events (Kriesi 2007).

As can be noted, the examples of political opportunity structures chosen in this thesis are closely linked to public institutions and organisations at different levels. This choice is supported by previous research which shows that immigrant organisations frequently tend to interact with public authorities in the host-country to reach their goals (e.g. Layton-Henry 1990, Ireland 1994, Mikkelsen 2003). Immigrant organisations in fact might be expected to interact with public institutions and organisations to a higher degree than many social movement organisations. Thus, the examples chosen orient the focus of the thesis towards the interaction between immigrant organisations and politi-
cal opportunity structures which are often set up and controlled by public organisations. This raises questions about conditions, constraints, regulation, and control which might be attached to the “usage” of such structures, but also about the organisation’s propensity to use such structures (cf. Wool & Jacquot 2010).

The question of which conditions are set up for access to and use of the political opportunity structures thus becomes very relevant to understand the way in which the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures affect their functions in the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems. Hence the political opportunity structure approach will be integrated with some theoretical perspectives that might help highlighting and understanding immigrant organisations, as actors, making use of the political opportunity structures, but also other actors using political opportunity structures to regulate and control immigrant organisations.

Resource Mobilisation
Both the political opportunity structure approach and the resource mobilisation theory highlight the importance of the context for explaining the mobilisation of different groups and the development of processes of self-organisations, but the resource mobilisation theory shifts the focus from the structures to the collective actors that interact with them. It is thus an important perspective that complements the political opportunity structure approach in the theoretical framework for this study. The political opportunity structure approach as an analytical tool highlights the way in which the structures provide opportunities, but also constraints to the immigrant organisations while the resource mobilisation theory highlights the strategies that immigrant organisations choose in relation to such structures.

This theoretical tradition was launched by John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1977) as a contribution to the social movement research. The authors use a quite broad and including definition of social movement: “A social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure” (McCarthy & Zald 1977:1217). Such a definition might also include the mobilisation of immigrants in most Western countries. However the resource mobilisation theory does not focus so much on the movement itself rather on so-called social movement organisations. Such organisations identify their “...goals with the
preferences of a social movement or a counter-movement and attempts to implement those goals” (McCarthy & Zald 1977:1218). The function of the organisations is thus to contribute to the implementation of such goals.

The achievement of the aims and goals require that social movement organisations can have access to resources. Such resources are in the hands of individuals and of other organisations, and can include legitimacy, money, properties and labour. Organisations and individuals which control resources have different relationships to the social movement organisation, as they can support the organisation with resources, share the goals of the organisation, witness the activities and/or try to counteract its activities. It is therefore of major interest for social movement organisations to try to convince those who share the goals of the organisation to support its activities, but also to increase the number of actors that share its goals. The resources they can provide are also relevant for the social movement organisation when deciding which strategies to adopt in relation to its environment. There are also potential beneficiaries of the organisational activities that might be interesting for the social movement organisation to try to involve (e.g. the immigrant communities themselves). Other important actors for the mobilisation of resources are other social movement organisations, social institutions and public authorities. They could potentially affect other organisations but also decide to support the social movement organisation directly (McCarthy & Zald 1977).

Most organisations in this study describe their relationship with their environment, and especially their interaction with political opportunity structures, in terms of the organisations being affected by the structures. Their own rational strategies in coping with opportunities and regulation are much less evident in the empirical data. Nonetheless, strategic choices are made by the organisations, and are often implicit in the data. I have chosen to complement the political opportunity structure approach with the resource mobilisation perspective with the purpose of treating the immigrant organisations in this study as actors that make choices in relation to their environment, and not only see them as a product of it.

Rosa Sánchez-Salgado (2007) also argues in favour of the importance of focusing on the civil society organisations’ response to political opportunity structures in her article about the efforts by EU-institutions to give a European dimension to civil society organisations. She writes that:
Even if it can be maintained that the institutional environment has a significant impact on voluntary organisations, the size and organisational characteristics of each voluntary organisation also have implications for the use of political opportunities (...). Consequently the effort to analyse the impact of European incentives has to take account voluntary organisations' willingness and capacity to use existing opportunities. (Sánchez-Salgado 2007:256)

Apostolis Papakostas (2004) analysed the development of Swedish civil society from a resource mobilisation perspective. He highlights how Swedish civil society organisations, and especially new generations of organisations to a higher degree than before, make use of other organisations for resource mobilisation. They tend, to a higher degree, to depend on funds from both public and private organisations. At the same time, many of these organisations have become less interested in mobilising resources from individuals both as members and beneficiaries. This process is often associated with a weakening representativeness of civil society organisations and an increasing dependency on other collective actors.

Governmentality, Regulation and Control

The regulating and controlling effect on civil society organisations of political instruments such as public funding and consultation forums has been highlighted in previous research. Kugelberg (2009) describes a contradictory approach of the Swedish state (both national and local) towards civil society organisations in her study of the public financing system for ethnic organisations in a Swedish municipality. On one hand, immigrant organisations are seen as having an important democratic role in society and deserving support by state and municipality. On the other hand, there is an ambition of regulating them towards politically-defined objectives in order to make use of the associations' resources and enhance the effectiveness in spending tax revenues. Her study shows that when these goals were translated in manageable principles in the assessment of the associations, the goal of using the associations for the public administration purposes was clearly prioritised.

The description of the public financial support to civil society organisations as a structure for opportunity but also as a risk for the independence for the organisations is a central theme in much research in Sweden (Danielson et al. 2009). In a recent overview on effects and methods concerning state support for civil society organisations, the authors (Danielson et al. 2009) show how
the specific support system for ethnic organisations in Sweden has strength-
ened many organisations, especially in their administrative capacity as a pre-
condition for many other activities. Others (e.g. Schierup 1991) have argued
that this financing system has been part of a system of incorporation and co-
optation of ethnic leaders and their organisations in the Swedish political sys-
tem:

On the one hand, immigrant culture and forms of political expression are
processed, transformed, assimilated and standardized so as to become fit for
Swedish public consumption. On the other hand, single ethnic cultural
groups are defined as culturally unique and organisationally separate and
are set apart from each other in well contained ethnic reserves. This process
of 'ethnization' blocks the conscious formulation of those common interests
that transgress ethnic-cultural divisions. It hampers the generation of trans-
ethnic forms of organisation and of the immigrants' development into genu-
ine political subjects in their own right. (Schierup 1991:121)

The issues raised here are also brought up on a more general level by Fou-
cault-inspired literature on governmentality (e.g. Dean 1999, Rose 1999). The
rise of the liberal state made civil society increasingly the object of state-
governing as well as being perceived as the foundation from which the state's
legitimacy was claimed. Furthermore the state became more and more con-
cerned with and intervening in the welfare of its citizens at the same time as it
drew its legitimacy from the same citizens through a system of pluralist de-
ocratic controls. In this sense, “…civil society emerged as both an arena for
state intervention and a collection of actors engaging with and relating to the
state” (Swyngedouw 2005:1996).

This paradox has often been interpreted as an expression of a new kind of
power which includes more subtle and discrete forms of domination. The cen-
tral idea within this is that state power is not so much about imposing restric-
tions on individuals or organisations; through various forms of governing, the
state aims officially to promote freedom of action (for individuals or organisa-
tions). These new social solutions are, however, used to define non-state actors
as cautious, capable of planning and taking responsibility. Public authorities
increasingly interact with civil society organisations and use methods such as
outsourcing, consulting, dialogue and partnership. They regulate the organisa-
tions' behaviour through norms, standards, benchmarking, indicators, quality
controls and standards for best practice in order to monitor, measure and make these various actors’ performance measurable (Dean 1999: 165).

Similarly, dialogues and agreements are discussed and analysed as a new way for the government to control the non-state actors and where the former main line between state and civil society is much less clear and is constantly remade. According to John Morison, (2000:123) these measures extend the control of the government far beyond the formal aspects of the state. In particular, civil society appears no longer as the opposite of the state, but as a place where control is possible. These processes are generally depicted as “govern at distance” or “governance beyond the state”, i.e. states control through, and not despite, the autonomous choice of non-state actors (Rose 2000:324, Swyngedouw 2005:1999).

Political opportunity structures such as public funding systems and arenas for influence in policy decision-making processes can thus be seen as a source of possibilities for ethnic organisations but also as a source of control and regulation by the state both at a general societal level and at a more concrete interational level.

Interaction between Organisations

Beside public organisations exercising power and control over civil society organisations, power relations can also be established among different actors belonging to civil society. We can imagine that the interaction between an immigrant organisation and a political opportunity structure takes place inside a “strategic action field” where other actors play a key role. Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam (2011) write about strategic action fields as fundamental units of collective action in society. Such action fields are meso-level social orders where actors interact with each other. Actors interacting in such fields can hold on to different positions depending on their strength and their level of influence on the field. Such actors can be public, private or civil society organisations.

Strategic action fields may actually include, as often shown by previous research (e.g. Caponio 2005), both actors exercising a disproportionate amount of influence on the field (institutional gatekeepers, majority-based organisations) and actors overseeing compliance with the rules of the field (public organisations). Alternatively, immigrant organisations often occupy less privi-
leged niches in the field, yielding little influence over it (cf. Fligstein & McAdam 2011).

The first position (those with disproportionate influence on the field) bears many similarities with Charles Tilly’s (1998) “opportunity hoarding”, one of the mechanisms behind “durable inequality”: “When members of a categorically bounded network acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network’s modus operandi, network members regularly hoard their access to the resource, creating beliefs and practices that sustain their control” (Tilly 1998:91).

The way in which immigrant organisations are able to hoard opportunities (often in terms of ethnic niches), but also, and probably even more, the way in which they are excluded from resources through other groups’ opportunity hoarding is an important issue connected to their interaction with political opportunity structures. Behind such opportunity hoarding, we might actually also find different forms of discrimination and exclusion based on categories such as “majority” and “immigrant” but also between immigrant groups.

**A Model for Interaction Between Actors and Structure**

The above-presented theoretical framework can be graphically illustrated in the following way, showing that the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures takes place inside a space that we could call a “strategic action field”: 
Figure 1. Theoretical framework for this thesis

The interaction between the actor and the structure is interpreted as offering opportunities, but also implying regulation to which actors respond with strategies. The field is occupied also by other organisations that interact with the structure and affect opportunities and regulation.

The model also shows, (at the top) that there are contextual elements, such as the corporative, the social welfare, and the integration systems, outside the field that might affect the interaction. It further shows, (at the bottom) how the interaction shapes the functions of the immigrant organisations in the above-mentioned systems. We could also imagine an arrow pointing back from the functions at the bottom of the figure to the systems at the top showing how immigrant organisations are actors that in their turn might shape such systems.
3. CIVIL SOCIETY AND IMMIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

This chapter will discuss civil society as a social sphere and immigrant organisations as a part of such sphere using Sweden and Italy as examples. In this way the chapter presents and compares the national contexts in which the studies are embedded. The chapter will also discuss the functions of immigrant organisations in society and present the analytical tools that will be used in the analysis of the empirical data. The most important concepts will be presented in *italics* and will be summarised in a more systematic way at the end of the chapter in an analytical toolbox.

Civil Society and the State

First of all, it might be appropriate to shortly discuss the formation of the concept “civil society” in Western culture and philosophy. Civil society as a delimited social sphere is a modern concept which appears with the collapse of the “Ancien Régime” and its feudal system and with the upsurge of modern society. Industrialisation especially, and the consequent urbanisation, produced a rupture of the old social ties based on origin, loyalty, servitude, and opened up a social space characterised by more loosely held social ties and relations. The way in which this space was perceived and defined by the intellectuals of the time varies depending on their way of looking at society and especially their way of interpreting the roles of civil society and of the other sphere(s), for example the state.

In political theory we find two distinct ways of defining civil society (Somers 1995). The first definition is based on a two-sphere model which can be related to Hegel’s theories in *The Philosophy of Rights* (2003) from 1821. Hegel sees civil society composed by the market, the associations, and the justice sys-
tem beside a second sphere, which is the state. Hegel sees the state as the ultimate guarantee that the needs, wishes, and actions of the individuals are subsumed in a universal whole which carries a rational and universal aim and end. The corporations play a central role in channelling the particular interests in larger units which carry a more general validity and rationality, but still, “the state is the actuality of concrete freedom” (Hegel 2003:94, see also Trägårdh 2007:17).

The other way of interpreting the role of the state vis-à-vis the other sphere(s) is the Tocquevillian. Twenty-seven years after Hegel, in 1848, Tocqueville (2003) describes the United States as the most democratic society in the world mostly because of its almost unlimited associational freedom. Tocqueville describes a society where people tend to gather in associations for all kinds of purposes and aims without waiting on higher authority to resolve his or her problems. This is due to a quite negative way of looking at government. In this sense, the Tocquevillian society is characterized by three different spheres: state, market and civil society (Somers 1995: 231).

Swedish and Italian
While the Tocquevillian definition of civil society is at the core of the organisation of the social structure and the welfare state in United States and Great Britain, in Sweden they are more a product of an interpretation of the role of civil society that brings us closer to the Hegelian two-sphere model. While the United States is characterized by an interpretation of “freedom” more in negative terms with a stronger emphasis on individual liberties and free choice, the Swedish society shows a tendency to interpret freedom in more positive terms such as equal social rights (Trägårdh 2007:31).

Placing the Italian system in relation to the dichotomy of the Tocquevillian and the Hegelian models is more difficult. The Catholic doctrine has always presented both the state and the market as potentially dangerous for society, if not controlled by the influence of the church and Christian ethics (e.g. encyclical Rerum Novarum 1891). This might give us the impression of a political culture characterised by a three sphere model. But on the other hand, I would be very careful in describing the Italian society as similar to the American model. The tradition of negative freedoms and civil liberties is not that strong in the Italian society, which the totalitarian experience of fascism shows. The end of WWII led, however, to a strong reaction against concentration of
power which made it possible to build a democratic system based on a strong division of power, closer to the democratic principles enounced by Montesquieu and quite different from the Swedish one (cf. Trägårdh 2007:31).

An example of how the role of civil society in different countries and societies affect the political opportunity structure of the organisations is the way in which the systems that channel financial resources to support civil society organisations are structured (Trägårdh & Vamstad 2009). This transfer of resources can take place through tax-financed public funding systems or through more or less tax-deducted private donations. This issue is not only a financial, technical one, rather it is linked to relevant questions about negative and positive freedoms, pluralism and democracy. In a context in which civil society is seen as an important counterbalance to the power of the state, the possibility for citizens to donate part of their income to civil society organisations of their choice is seen as an important democratic instrument. In such a context the state is supposed to encourage citizens to donate to civil society organisations by fiscal instruments such as the possibility to deduce donations from taxes. In a context where the state is seen as the ultimate guarantee for justice while civil society is seen more as representation of particular interests, there is an expectation that contributions to civil society organisation should go through the taxation system. It means that the citizen is expected to pay taxes, and then the democratically elected representatives of the citizens distribute the resources to different actors in accordance to the common good, of which the state is an expression (Trägårdh & Vamstad 2009).

These two radically different positions, which might be seen as expressions of a Hegelian versus a Tocquevillian view of the state, might be represented by Sweden and the United States. In fact, while the US tax system offers a quite generous incitement system for donations to civil society organisations, such a system was still absent in Sweden until very recently. Until 2012, when a limited possibility of deducing donations to certain civil society organisations was introduced by the liberal-conservative government, Sweden was the only country in Europe not having such a fiscal incitement structure for donations (Trägårdh & Vamstad 2009).

Italy shows a pattern that is quite similar to the Swedish one. Religious pluralism, one of the stronger incitements in the strengthening of civil society in countries such as the US, the Netherlands and Germany, has not been on the
top of the political agenda in Italy. Through its special relation, vis-à-vis the state, the Catholic Church has been granted large fiscal privileges, and since 1984 citizens can donate 0.8% of their taxes to the Catholic Church. The same goes for several other Christian denominations (including the Lutheran church) and the Union of Jewish congregations. Interestingly enough, this opportunity does not extend to the second largest religion in Italy, Islam, which might be seen as a sign of the limits of Italian pluralism. However a major change occurred in 2005 when two laws were passed that have opened new possibilities for civil society organisations to raise funds through the possibility for citizens and enterprises to elicit donations, and also through the possibility of donating 0.5% of their taxes to such organisations (Barbetta & Maggio 2008).

The fact that similar provisions are being introduced in Sweden and in Italy at the same time shows that ideas travel. In fact, concepts such as “civil society” and “non-profit”, with their implicit three-spheres-view of society, have been introduced in Europe, and are more and more considered politically neutral. Also the principle of subsidiarity, which has its origins in the Catholic world and is developed in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, has been elevated by the EU as an important principle by which welfare has to be granted. Moreover, the EU has been an important actor in inviting civil society organisations to participate in the formulation of policies in several different areas (Sánchez-Salgado 2007). Most countries have, however, long traditions of participation of civil society organisations in policy processes.

**The Swedish and the Italian Organised Civil Societies**

The authors in the previous mentioned “John Hopkins Study” (Salamon et al. 2004:3) describe organised civil society as follows:

Known variously as the “non-profit,” the “voluntary,” the “civil society,” the “third,” the “social economy,” the “NGO,” or the “charitable” sector, this set of institutions includes within it a sometimes bewildering array of entities – hospitals, universities, social clubs, professional organisations, health clinics, environmental groups, family counselling agencies, self-help groups, religious congregations, sports clubs, job training centres, human rights organisations, community associations, soup kitchens, homeless shelters, and many more.
Because of its cross-national comparative approach, the John Hopkins study is probably the best source of information concerning the similarities and differences between the Swedish and the Italian third sectors. The study shows that the Swedish organised civil society, measured as the share of the economically active population that is employed in civil society organisations, is almost twice as large as the Italian one (7.1% vs. 3.8%). However, this workforce is to a much higher degree composed by volunteers in Sweden than in Italy, which means that the paid staff in the organised civil society workforce is larger in Italy than in Swedish (as share of the economically active population) (Salamon et al. 2004).

One of the major differences between the countries concerns the functions of the organisations.20 The Swedish organised civil society is much more oriented towards the expressive fields while the Italian one is much more oriented towards the service fields. A final interesting aspect is the source of civil society organisations revenue and support, which includes volunteering. The study shows great similarities when it comes to revenues which are dominated by fees. The governmental support is slightly larger in Italy than in Sweden, though. But when we include the time that volunteers work in the organisations the results become very different. The share of philanthropy as source of support is almost double in Sweden compared to Italy which is consistent with the above-mentioned larger share of volunteers in the organised civil society workforce (Salamon et al. 2004).

The operational definition of a civil society organisation used in the “John Hopkins Study” (Salamon et al. 2004) is built on five structural-operational features that define a civil society organisation:

- Organised: It has a permanent and regular organisation which is reflected by elements such as: regular meetings, membership and decision-making procedures that members recognise as legitimate.
- Private: It is separate from the state or the public sector.
- Not profit-distributing: Their purpose is not primarily commerce and it does not distribute profits to managers or owners.
- Self-governing: They are able to control their activities.

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20 The “John Hopkins Study” (Salamon et al. 2004) makes a distinction between service fields and expressive fields. The service fields include the following: education, social services, health and development/housing; while the expressive fields include culture/recreation, professional/unions, civic/advocacy and environment.
• Voluntary: The membership or participation is not compulsory.

This definition, which define civil society both in relation to the state and the market, turned out to be hard to apply to all organisations because it left open a “grey area” composed by organisations that were very difficult to categorise. Nonetheless the authors (Salamon et al. 2004:10) conclude that:

The definition has proved to be sufficiently broad to encompass the great variety of entities commonly considered to be part of the third or civil society sector in both developed and developing countries, yet sufficiently sharp to distinguish these institutions from those in the other two major sectors – business and government.

The definition of immigrant organisations used in this thesis (see Chapter Two) has the same strengths and the same weaknesses as the definition of civil society organisation in the “John Hopkins Study”. As Hagelund and Loga (2009:30) put it in their overview of Nordic research on immigrant organisations: “To define the voluntary sector is, per se, a difficult task that often is achieved with different means. Immigrant organisations are positioned in the same way at the margins of different forms of categorisation” (translated by the author). As part of the organised civil society immigrant organisations share many of the characteristics of other national civil society organisations but they also show some particular features which are connected to them being a product of the migratory process.

Immigrant Organisations, Two Organisational Fields
Before addressing the immigrant organisational fields in Sweden and in Italy it might be important to consider the way in which the two countries are involved in the international migration systems. In fact an important factor when it comes to the types of issues that the immigrant organisations might address is the type of migration that the two countries experience.

The Immigration in Sweden and in Italy
In the following two tables the migration phenomenon in Sweden and in Italy is compared through statistics. The next table shows the size of migration from a demographic perspective.
Table 2. Foreign population in Sweden and in Italy (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population 2010</td>
<td>9 340</td>
<td>60 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners 2010</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>4 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners (as share of total pop. %)</td>
<td>6,3</td>
<td>7,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisitions of Citizenship (2009)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisitions of Citizenship (as share of foreign pop. %)</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurostat – Population Database

The table shows that the proportion of foreigners in the total population in the two countries is slightly lower for Sweden (6,3%) than for Italy (7,0%). On the other hand, we have to consider that this figure shows the size of the population that has another citizenship than the national one, which means that the numbers are highly dependent on the rules for acquiring the citizenship which are much less favourable in Italy than in Sweden. In fact, the number of citizenship acquisitions represent about 5,3% of the total foreign population in Sweden which is one of the highest rates in Europe, but only 1,5% in Italy, one of the lowest in Europe. The high frequency of citizenship acquisitions in Sweden becomes even clearer if we compare the number of foreign citizens (0,6 million) with the foreign-born population which was almost of 1,3 million people in 2010 (14% of the total population) (source Eurostat – Population Database) and the foreign-background population of almost 1.8 million (19% of the total population) (Source: SCB – Befolkningsstatistik Database). Unfortunately the same statistics are not available for Italy. The next table shows the size and the type of migration.

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22 Foreign-background is defined as foreign-born or child of two foreign-born parents
Table 3. Size and type of migration (thousands) in Sweden and in Italy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Immigration (2009; foreigners)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Immigration (as share of total pop., %)</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) First residence permits (2010; non-EU)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Family reasons (%)</td>
<td>27 (36)</td>
<td>180 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Education reasons (%)</td>
<td>14 (17)</td>
<td>26 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Remunerated activities reasons (%)</td>
<td>19 (25)</td>
<td>359 (61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other reasons (%)</td>
<td>15 (20)</td>
<td>25 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) First residence permits (2010; non-EU)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long term (12 months or over)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Family reasons (%)</td>
<td>26 (46)</td>
<td>106 (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Education reasons (%)</td>
<td>8 (14)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Remunerated activities reasons (%)</td>
<td>10 (17)</td>
<td>197 (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other reasons (%)</td>
<td>12 (21)</td>
<td>11 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Asylum decisions 2010 (first instance)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Positive asylum decisions (2010)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Undocumented migrants (% of foreign pop.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5) Papadopulos (2011) Table 2.3 (p. 33)

The first part of the table shows that migration to the two countries (2009) is about the same size in comparison to the populations. If we look at the reasons for first residence permits (2010) in the second part of the table the proportions are quite different in the two countries: the major reason in Sweden is family followed by remunerated activities and other (which includes asylum and humanitarian reasons) while the major reason in Italy is by far remunerated activities (i.e. work) followed by family. But if we look at the long term residence permits, which probably leads to more permanent settlement, we find that remunerated activities becomes less common for Sweden while it becomes even more predominant for Italy. Also if we look at the positive asylum decisions in the fourth part of the table we can see that Sweden has twice as many as Italy in absolute terms, which is remarkable considering that Italy has almost five times the immigration flow that Sweden experiences. The size of the undocumented migrant populations is also different as shown in the fifth part of the table. While it only represents 2% of the total foreign population in Sweden, it is 13% in Italy.

The next table shows the countries of origin of the immigrant population both in terms of present inflow in the countries and among the resident population:

Table 4. Countries of origin of the immigrant population in Sweden and in Italy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Citizenship of persons granted new residence permits in 2009 (five largest groups)</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>Albania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2) Countries of birth of the foreign-born population in 2010 (five largest groups)</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Albania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1) Scarnicchia 2011, 2) Vasileva 2011

If we look at the countries of origin of the immigrant population we also find important differences both in the inflow of new migrants and in the resident population. This shows that Sweden and Italy are part of different migratory systems which give rise to migrant populations that can be assumed experience different needs according to their status vis-à-vis the host country, which in its turn might affect immigrants’ self-organisation.

Size of the Immigrant Organisational Fields
The latest comprehensive national mapping of immigrant organisations in Sweden is made by Inge Dahlstedt (2003) in the Nordic comparative study of immigrant organisations Invandrerorganisationer i Norden (Mikkelen 2003). Dahlstedt (2003) uses previous studies, such as the 1974 proposal for legislation Invandrarutredningen (SOU 1974:70) and the study by Henri Bäck (1983) from 1982-1983, to compare with his own results from 2002. The proposal (SOU 1974:70) included a study, conducted in 1973, of addresses to immigrant organisations by which eight hundred seventy-four organisations could be identified in Sweden. One decade later, Bäck (1983) had much better possibilities to get more accurate figures not least because of the newly imple-
mented public funding for national umbrella organisations of immigrants, but also through the Immigrant Institute,25 a research institute which holds a database of immigrant organisations in Sweden.26 Here follows a reproduction of a table in Dahlstedt's Chapter (2003: table 2.4 p. 56) in which he compares some figures from Bäck’s study with his own. A third column has been added with updated figures from 2010 which have been retrieved from the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs27 and from the database of the Immigrant Institute:

Table 5. Size of the field of immigrant organisations in Sweden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1982-83</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National umbrella org. which receive state-funding</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local org. included in the national umbrella org.</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>1266</td>
<td>1375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members</td>
<td>154 500</td>
<td>203 604</td>
<td>238 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National umbrella org. (Immigrant Institute)</td>
<td>ca. 50</td>
<td>ca. 80</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local org. in (Immigrant Institute)</td>
<td>ca. 900</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at the umbrella organisations that received public funding from the state in 2010, we can see a steady increase in the number of organisations since 1982. The figures that show the number of local organisations and of members relate to the applications that the national umbrella organisations have sent in for funding. The figures show a steady increase both of local organisations (9%) and members (17%) in the last eight years. Also the figures from the Immigrant Institute show an expanding field, with an increase of national umbrella organisations by 37%.

The most comprehensive and only nation-wide mapping of immigrant organisations in Italy is a study conducted in 2001 by the Foundation Corazzin on commission of the National Council for Economy and Labour31 (CNEL 2001). The methodological approach for collecting the data in this study included contacts with all Italian municipalities with more than 5,000 inhabitants, all provinces and all regions, police departments, civil society organisations and other key informants. The Corazzin-study identified eight hundred

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25 Immigrantinstitutet
27 Ungdomsstyrelsen
28 Bäck (1983)
29 Dahlstedt (2003)
30 Row 1-3 Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, row 4-5 www.immi.se (accessed 21-8-2010, 10:25)
31 Consiglio Nazionale dell'Economia e del Lavoro
ninety-three immigrant organisations in 2,642 municipalities, all provinces and all regions. Of these organisations ethnic organisations represented about 61%, inter-ethnic organisations 25% and hybrid organisations 14% (CNEL 2001).

The figures in the Corazzin-study (CNEL 2001) are outdated and thus unreliable if a more contemporary picture of this organisational field is needed. To get more updated figures more recent studies need to be used which have more a regional, provincial or even municipal scope. They usually also use different methods and definitions. Even if questionable from a methodological point of view, the results of some of these studies are summarised and compared with the data from the Corazzin-study (CNEL 2001) that relate to the same geographic area. The figures that have been chosen for the table are those which are mostly comparable with the ones from the “Corazzin-study” (CNEL 2001) from the points of view of the research methods and the definition of immigrant organisation.

Table 6. Size of the field of immigrant organisations in Italy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant org. (CNEL 2001)</th>
<th>Immigrant org. (see row for year and source)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veneto (Paternò 2003)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania (PDN 2004)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana (Recchi ed. 2006)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milano (province) (Caselli ed. 2006)</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catania (municipality) (Palidda &amp; Consoli 2006)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows a spectacular increase of the number of immigrant organisations in all the geographic areas covered by the studies chosen for this comparison, in some cases almost by 100%. This increase can be explained by the rapid development of Italy in the last decade to one of the major migrant receiving countries in Europe.

Functions of Immigrant Organisations in Previous Research

The functions of immigrant organisations and especially their eventual contribution to the integration of their members have been discussed in previous research. Zig Layton-Henry (1990) argues that all immigrant groups, regardless of their original position, after a certain time will have to cooperate with the receiving country’s political and administrative systems to solve problems of
economic, cultural and religious character. To have such a strong negotiating position as possible, these groups create political organisations and movements that often receive financial support from the state which would also like to see a clear part in negotiations. These organisations work quickly as bridge builders and mediators between minority and majority. Layton-Henry writes that, paradoxically, even associations which are opposed to integration and assimilation contribute in the long run to the integration of their members into the host society (Layton-Henry 1990).

Karin Borevi (2004) and Bo Bengtsson (2004) describe a general field of tension which is linked to all citizens’ involvement in organisations and the alleged positive impact on individuals’ integration into society. The participation in organisations, in fact, is often described as having a direct positive impact on individuals’ integration by the members getting together to promote their interests against the state and society. This is done on a collective level. Furthermore, the involvement is described as having an indirect positive effect by organisations serving as a school of democracy in which individuals have the opportunity to develop skills and attitudes that are also important for political participation in society. This is done on an individual basis.

One obstacle in comparing the functions of immigrant organisations in Sweden and in Italy is however connected to the type of organisations that are included in the definition. The definition of immigrant organisations in Sweden has traditionally included almost only so-called ethno-national organisations. These organisations are built upon a collective identity connected to the group’s national or ethnic background. The interest for these kinds of organisations in research has corresponded to an interest by politicians for the social and cultural dimensions of integration and for the social and cultural functions of immigrant organisations (Schierup 1991, Dahlstedt 2003). This, together with a state-subsidy system based on the culture-preserving function of organisations, has led to what Carl-Ulrik Schierup (1991, 1994) calls the “ethnization” of immigrant organisations. Whether these political opportunity structures have produced a particular type of immigrant organisational field in Sweden or just a “blind spot” in the researchers’ and politicians’ way of looking at them and categorising them is hard to tell. Probably there is interplay between these two factors.
However, during the last decades, the politics in Sweden have developed in a direction of treating immigrant organisations more as a part of the national third sector, and acknowledging other functions beside the social and the culture-preserving, not least their role as welfare service producers. The dialogue processes at national level, to which ethno-national organisations were invited together with religious congregations, local inter-ethnic organisations and traditional Swedish voluntary organisations, show a perspective shift in the state’s way of looking at and treating immigrant organisations. As this study shows, if the definition of immigrant organisations is broadened, a plethora of organisations becomes visible that can be seen as a product of immigrants’ social mobilisation in Sweden and are not ethno-national in their character.

Already in 1994 Schierup wrote:

> We also see the emergence of completely new social movements at the grass-roots level which range from the various spontaneously formed socially and politically involved self-help local organisations to the new ‘mixed’ youth movements and other cultural groups (...) This increasing pluralism provides a challenge to the established system of ‘prescribed multiculturalism’, out of which new genuinely trans-ethnic urban social movements may develop. (Schierup 1994:46)

Whether this development has continued and these “new”, more spontaneous forms of more or less organised collective action have survived over time, and maybe have been institutionalised and incorporated in the political representation system (and with which consequences) are important questions that only marginally can be explored in this thesis.

For Sweden, the figures we have access to, are unfortunately almost only about the ethno-national organisations, which makes them difficult to compare with the data from Italy where the definition, both in research and in the political debate, is much broader. In the study of immigration and third sector in Toscana, (Recchi ed. 2006) for example, we find three categories of immigrant organisations: mono-national or mono-ethnic (one national or ethnic group), multi-national (more than one national group: for example an organisation for immigrant women), and mixed multi-national (both immigrants and nationals). Of the sixty immigrant organisations that responded to the survey
in Toscana, seventeen were mono-national, twelve multi-national and thirty-one mixed multi-national (Recchi 2006).

When it comes to the functions of immigrant organisations in Sweden, Bäck (1983) identifies four different functions in their activities: the cultural function aiming at preserving the culture, the political function aiming at affecting the receiving country politics, the adaptation function aiming at bringing the group and the larger society closer to each other, and the home-related function aiming at affecting the politics of the sending country. Looking at the activities of the national organisations and the local organisations in Malmö, Dahlstedt (2003) finds that the cultural function is the strongest one, followed by the integration function (adaptation in Bäck). Political and home-related functions are much weaker, especially for local organisations. These studies are based on a definition that includes mono-national or mono-ethnic organisations. Italian studies show an interesting division of functions between the mono-ethnic organisations and the multi-national organisations where the first group (mono-ethnic) is much more oriented towards cultural activities both directed towards the own group and the wider society. The second group (multi-national) on their hand is more oriented towards mutual aid and assistance but also political and union representation (Salis & Navarra 2010).

Another interesting difference is connected to the interest in Sweden for the national umbrella organisations, an interest that is not found in Italy. The database of the Immigrant Institute shows one hundred and seven immigrant umbrella organisations which are representing different national and ethnic groups, but also their women and youth. In Sweden there is also an umbrella organisation called The Cooperation Group for Ethnical Associations in Sweden32 (SIOS) which has sixteen national umbrella organisations as its members. It could be described as a meta-meta-organisation. A similar organisation exists also in Italy and is called Forum of the Foreign Communities in Italy33 and includes twenty national organisations. In Italy we also find some immigrant umbrella organisations at regional and provincial level. An interesting phenomenon is the Network G2 – Second Generations34 a membership based organisation of and for the children of immigrants and refugees who have been born or brought up in Italy. They do not consider themselves immigrants.

33 Forum delle Comunità Straniere in Italia http://www.forumcomunitastraniere.it/ (accessed 05-09-2011, 15:28)
34 Rete G2 – Seconde generazioni http://www.secondegenerazioni.it (accessed 05-09-2011, 15:29)
which makes it difficult to categorise the organisation as an immigrant organisation, even if it could be seen as a product of the migratory process.

Overall, Sweden is often described as having one of the largest proportion of organised immigrants in Europe (Schierup 1991, Soysal 1994, Odmalm 2004) not least as a product of the specific support system for ethnic organisations (Danielson et al 2009). In Italy public support plays a much more marginal role for mono-ethnic organisations and these organisations have to rely on much less resources (mostly as self-financing) and administrative capacity. Multi-national organisations and hybrid ones seem to have access to more public funds and have a stronger organisational capacity (Colloca 2006, Marsden & Tassinari 2010).

The last section of this chapter will discuss the functions of immigrant organisations relating them to different theoretical conceptions of civil society and the organisations’ role in the policy processes.

**Three Tensions in the Functions of the Organisations**

If we go back to the four functions identified by John Rex (see p.38) we find that they seem to relate to different phases in the policy process. “To defend the groups’ interests” might relate mostly to the decision-making process as the organisations, to fulfil this task, would probably try to influence policy makers through more or less established channels (demonstrations, petitions, or forums for dialogue). “Helping individuals in the solution of problems” might relate more to the implementation phase as the organisations would probably try to mobilise resources to deliver some kind of service to those who are in need for help. “Overcoming social isolation” and “developing shared patterns of meaning” might relate more to the output of the policy process as these functions highlight the organisations’ role in society in upholding and producing “social ties” among individuals.

Immigrant organisations might thus be interacting with structures and institutions connected to all three phases of the policy process and at least three major policy areas and related systems: the policy towards civil society, the social policy and the integration policy. The decision-making process and the implementation of such policies are dispersed on different levels. Some scholars (Hooghe & Marks 2001) have defined the development involving a dispersion of authoritative decision-making across multiple territorial levels as “multi-
level governance”. Giovanna Zincone and Tiziana Caponio (2006) also write about a “multi-level governance of migration”. These changes result in a scenario “… characterized by the coexistence of all policy levels, negotiating and renegotiating constantly the new political opportunity structure available” (Kazepov 2008:250).

The approach of choosing three examples of political opportunity structures at three different levels for each country is based on the hypothesis that the system of opportunity structures available for immigrant organisation is organised on several levels and offers, at least in theory, possibilities both of resource mobilisation and of influencing policy-making processes, but also implies regulation and control. Such opportunity structures might affect the functions of immigrant organisations in all three phases of the policy process: decision-making, implementation and output. The following table relates three different conceptions of civil society, civil society organisations, and democracy to the three policy process phases and also highlights three different dilemmas/tensions that characterise immigrant organisations’ functions.

Table 7. The functions of immigrant organisations (analytical tools)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical conception of civil society</th>
<th>Public sphere</th>
<th>Service provision</th>
<th>Social Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conception of civil society organisations</td>
<td>Values, arguments and interest</td>
<td>Service provider</td>
<td>Membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conception of democracy</td>
<td>Corporative</td>
<td>Participatory</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy process focus</td>
<td>Decision-making</td>
<td>Implementation</td>
<td>Policy output</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilemma/tension in the function</td>
<td>Representation/participation</td>
<td>Agents of democracy/sub-contractors</td>
<td>Bonding-Ethnos/bridging-demos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adaptation of Table 1. in Sanchez Salgado 2010 (p. 509)

The table shows in each column how different conceptions of civil society are linked to different conceptions of civil society organisations and of democracy, to different stages in the policy process and highlight different functions among civil society organisations. Most importantly, it shows in the last row the dilemmas in which the immigrant organisations in the study might be caught, when taking on such functions. Their participation in decision-making can be viewed from a representational perspective or a participatory perspec-
tive. Their participation in the implementation of policy might be as agents of democracy or sub-contractors, and finally, their contribution in the policy output could be of contributing to bonding social capital or bridging social capital. The tension between the functions, or rather between the two sides of the same functions, will be used in the analysis of the empirical data to show how the interaction with the political opportunity structure affects immigrant organisations, and in continuation, how such processes might be connected to the different national contexts.

**Functional Participation and Representation**

Stijn Smismans (2003) distinguishes between civil society as *functional participation* and civil society as *functional representation*. These two perspectives are connected to two different ways of defining democracy i.e. from a deliberative and from a representative point of view. *Functional participation* focuses more on the output of the policy process and the role of civil society organisations in providing expertise, and ensuring compliance and implementation. *Functional representation* focuses more on the input of process and places the accent on ‘representation’ as civil society organisations do not only contribute to better policymaking, but also constitute a form of democratic representation (Smismans 2003).

For the scope of this thesis, it is especially relevant to look at the role that immigrant organisations have in processes of policy decision-making, bearing in mind that they might be related to different ways of perceiving the role of civil society organisations in society. As we will see, many immigrant organisations are invited to participate in different ways in decision-making processes, both in the social welfare and in the integration policy area.

**Agents of Democracy and Sub-Contractors**

When involved in the implementation of social policy, civil society organisations might have a role of *agents of participatory democracy* or as *sub-contractors* depending on their function. If the organisation has a function of *agent of democracy* the implementation is made by citizens while the professionals perform tasks of coordination, conflict resolution and aligning of interests through values of voice and pertinence in a bottom-up organisation. If the organisation has a function of *sub-contractor* the implementation is of governmental priorities while the professionals perform tasks of strategic
planning through values of efficiency and effectiveness in a top-down organisation (Sánchez-Salgado 2010).

Immigrant organisation can be involved in the implementation of social policies and in the production of different kinds of welfare services from the point of view of both these two functions. For the scope of this thesis, it is relevant to consider the way in which the different ways of interpreting civil society organisations as service producers may affect immigrant organisations’ role in such arrangements.

**Demos and Ethnos, Bridging and Bonding**

Immigrant organisations’ function in the output of the policy process is connected to their capacity of producing social capital. By social capital Putnam (2001) means those social networks and relationships to which an individual has access. According to Putnam, social capital can operate bonding or bridging. The bonding function helps to strengthen the identity of a homogeneous group and exclude other groups. The bridging function of social capital contributes to the group being able to look outwards and include people who are on the other side of various social boundaries and divisions. Borevi (2004:36) writes that social capital that works bridging is an important value if the emphasis is on fostering community spirit towards the general citizen community (demos). If the goal is to create opportunities for ethnic minorities to maintain their identities, it is instead the bonding social capital that has a key value (ethnos).

According to Borevi (2004), there is a link between the direct positive impact of participation in an immigrant organisation and social capital’s bonding function. The group’s identity in relation to wider society is strengthened which gives the organisation better possibilities to serve as spokesperson for the group’s interest. She also connects the bridging function to the indirect positive impact on the individual of being a member of an immigrant organisation. Social capital in this sense helps individuals to look outwards towards other people and groups in society which strengthen its members’ opportunities to take advantage of the organisation as a school of democracy.
4. CORPORATIVE, SOCIAL WELFARE, AND INTEGRATION SYSTEMS IN TRANSITION

This chapter will present three relevant systems and related policy areas in Sweden and in Italy: the corporative, the social welfare, and the integration systems. These systems constitute the wider context in which the chosen political opportunity structures are embedded.

Corporatism and Immigrant Organisations
Corporatism, as the participation of organised interests in the public decision-making process under close and institutionalised forms, (Johansson et al. 2011) has been the rule in many countries, especially in the field of labour-market policy. “Classic definitions of corporatism [...] emphasize tripartite bargaining between peak associations of labour and capital and the state. Typically, these peak associations have a representational monopoly in their sector (they are ’encompassing’)” (Ansell & Gash 2007:547).

When it comes to the relation between the state and immigrant organisations, it has been argued that one of the challenges in Sweden has been the corporatist system, which has been based on organised class-interests rather than interests based on ethnicity, religion etc. (Odmalm 2004). These conditions for interest representation have also more in general been described through the distinction between “producers” and “users”. Producer-interests, as the ones represented by trade unions and employers organisations, have had a privileged position in the corporatist system in comparison with user-interests as the ones represented by senior, disabled, and sport organisations. One possible explanation for this difference is that producers-organisations have had a stronger position in the negotiations with the state not least because of the threat of strike actions (Feltenius 2004).
Immigrants’ participation in the corporatist system can take place both through immigrant organisations and through majority-based organisations. Through participation in trade unions immigrants can take part in the “producer-corporatism” system (cf. Mulinari & Neergaard 2004) while through immigrant organisations they participate in the “user-corporatism” system.

A study from the late 1980s, including seven European countries (Andersen 1990), shows that the attitudes towards consultative bodies for immigrant communities in public debate and academic literature can be divided in five different positions. The first two positions argue against such consultative bodies because they 1) give immigrants too much influence and 2) inhibit independent political activity. The first position is against granting immigrants any special provision for political rights. These should be granted only through naturalisation on the same basis as the majority population. The second position highlights the risk, much in evidence in all literature about corporatism, of co-optation of advocacy groups. “The leaders of immigrant communities are co-opted into institutions financed and controlled by local authorities and are thus deflected from direct political action to less important forms of political activity” (Andersen 1990:115).

The study also highlights three positions which argue in favour of such consultative bodies as 1) alternatives to voting rights, 2) useful channels for immigrant opinion and 3) a first step towards political rights. Consultative bodies might in fact be seen as an important way for immigrant groups that lack the voting right to make their voice heard and affect policies that matter to them. But they can also be seen as a complement to voting rights in the same way as they have been used for other groups with special needs, such as the elderly and disabled. “A common feature seems to be that they are set up on behalf of groups that are regarded as poorly organised or powerless so that they need special arrangements if they are to influence the decision-making process. Consultative institutions can thus be seen as a form of positive discrimination or compensation of power” (Andersen 1990:115). Finally consultative bodies might also be seen as a way of encouraging immigrants to participate in decision-making processes as a step towards granting them full political rights.

From Government to Governance
Including civil society in different deliberative processes has been proposed and used as a method of increasing the legitimacy of political institutions vis-
à-vis the citizens. Civil dialogues (as the civil dialogue on integration in Sweden) and public-private partnerships are becoming more frequent as forms for political participation not only at the national level but also at the EU level and at the local level.

This trend has been described as a shift from government to governance i.e. from hierarchical methods based on compulsory rules and state-centred corporatism to network-based methods of voluntary participation in society-centred partnerships (Mörth & Sahlin-Andersson 2006). The shift from government to governance can be interpreted as a response to a legitimacy crisis of the “old system”. Beate Kohler-Koch and Barbara Finke (2007:205) mean that “While democracy has gained ground on global scale, dissatisfaction with the working of democracy has been growing among the well-established democracies of the West. As a response, governments have become engaged in ‘participatory engineering’ to readdress the decline of confidence in public institutions”.

Chris Ansell and Alison Gash (2007:547) distinguish between collaborative governance and corporatism: “Collaborative governance often implies the inclusion of a broader range of stakeholders than corporatism, and the stakeholders often lack a representational monopoly over their sector”. They define collaborative governance as, “A government arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programmes or assets” (Ansell & Gash 2007:544).

Public-private partnerships, participatory governance and collaborative governance are often described as new forms of policy-making that have been tested and implemented at the EU, national, and local levels. The main objective is to involve civil society in the political processes. These trends offer civil society organisations new possibilities to influence the policy areas which concern them and the groups they represent.

These new ideas about political participation and governance constitute an emerging opportunity structure for civil society organisations, but many find themselves in a classical dilemma: on the one hand they need to cooperate with authorities (e.g. for the purpose of mobilising resources), and on the
other hand they need to keep their independence (e.g. for the purpose of functioning as a critical voice for its members).

Consultative Bodies for Immigrants in Sweden and in Italy

According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) only three countries in Western Europe lack representation of immigrants in consultative bodies at all administration levels: Austria, Sweden, and United Kingdom. All other countries provide at least some forms of consultations and often at more than one level. In the MIPEXIII report (Huddleston et al. 2011:192) the following remark is made about Sweden: “Sweden once […] supported official immigrant consultative bodies […] today, authorities generally consult with civil society when they change policies. They also partner at national and local levels with NGOs that work with immigrants, but cannot speak for them”. About Italy it says, “At least Rome mainstreams immigrants into local politics […] Other Italian immigrant consultative bodies do not encourage meaningful participation. Authorities interfere in the selection of representatives, rarely consult them, and give them superficial roles” (Huddleston et al. 2011:113).

Sweden has a long tradition of consultative bodies for immigrants. From the mid 1970s until recently, Sweden has had permanent consultation forums at national level in the field of integration. Immigrant organisations have participated in the following councils on a regular basis (Aytar 2007): Council for Immigrants (1975-1995) Council for Refugee Policy (1988-1995) Council for Immigrant and Refugee Policy (1996-1997) The Government’s Council for Ethnic Equality and Integration (1997-2003). The last of these bodies was summoned by the last Social-Democratic government before the Liberal-Conservative coalition came to power. As highlighted by the MIPEXIII report, at present Sweden lacks a national consultation body with immigrant organisations. But there are other forums for consultation with civil society both at national and local level which include immigrant organisations. The dialogue process on integration (the example chosen for Sweden in the political participation study) is an example of such institutions. Another example is the
Council on Integration\textsuperscript{40} that quite recently has been introduced at regional level in Skåne.

Italy also has a history of institutions aiming at involving immigrant organisations in the policy decision-making process, especially when it comes to the field of integration. The first consultative body was formally instituted in 1986, but it took three years until the Council for the Problems of Extra-Communitarian Workers and Their Families\textsuperscript{41} was established. The 1986-provision also prescribed the establishment of similar councils at regional level but its implementation has been fragmented and discontinuous. In 1994 and 1998 new provisions formally established a Council for the Problems of Foreign Immigrants and their Families\textsuperscript{42} and the National Organisation for the Coordination of the Social Integration Policies of the Foreign Citizens at Local Level\textsuperscript{43}. The national council is formally active, but has not been summoned during the government of the Centre-Right coalition. In accordance with the 1994 and 1998 provisions, councils at regional level have been established (Valeri 2010). One of these is the Regional Council for the Integration of Foreign Citizens in Liguria (the example chosen for Italy in the political participation study).

Immigrant organisations in Sweden and in Italy have been involved in consultative bodies to address mostly social welfare and integration issues; policy domains where civil society have had much different roles in the two national contexts.

\textbf{Welfare Systems and Local Service Provision}

Berggren and Trägårdh (2009) present a model of interpretation of the logics of three different types of welfare arrangements. The authors describe three distinct types of social contracts which are based on the outcome of the power struggle between three units: state, individual and family (including civil society). In the American case we find a strong alliance between the individual and the family against the state which leads to the type of welfare system with a state that intervenes only when family and market have failed in granting the welfare of the individual. In the Swedish case we find a strong alliance be-

\textsuperscript{40} Integrationsrådet, www.skane.se/sv/Demokrati/Bruckarrad-56366/Integrationsradet (accessed 19-10-2011, 12:18)

\textsuperscript{41} Consulta per i problemi dei lavoratori extracomunitari e delle loro famiglie

\textsuperscript{42} Consulta per i problemi degli stranieri immigrati e delle loro famiglie

\textsuperscript{43} Organismo Nazionale di Coordinamento per le politiche di integrazione sociale dei cittadini stranieri a livello locale
tween the individual and the state leading to the kind of welfare state where
the state grants equal social rights and frees the individuals from being de-
pendent on family and market for their welfare. The third type is represented
by Germany and is based on an alliance between the state and the family
against the individual. The state grants protection to the family and the civil
society organisations to ensure that these in their turn provide for the welfare
of the individuals they are composed by (see also Trägårdh 2007).

The Italian system presents several similarities with the German case, which
makes social welfare policy researchers such as Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990)
and Harold Wilensky (cited in Baer 2007 n.3) to place them in the same wel-
fare regime. Wilensky describes Sweden as a “left corporatist” country while
Germany and Italy as “Catholic corporatist countries”. The Catholic doctrine
and the Christian-democratic movement in general seem to be one of the most
important explanations for the differences between the Nordic countries and
the Continental. Lars Trägårdh (2007:31) writes:

A decoupling of nation and state would appear to be wholly foreign to the
Swedish political tradition; indeed it would be hard even to formulate in in-
telligible terms […] This must be understood against the concepts like sub-
sidiarity and federalism that are so central to the Christian-democratic
model for the EU, a model fundamentally based on precisely the separation
between the (cultural) nation, the (civil) society, and the (political-economic)
state.

The typology presented by Berggren and Trägårdh (2009) is consistent with
the three welfare regimes (liberal, social democratic and conservative) that are
the product of Esping-Andersen’s (1990) analysis of the way in which welfare
production is allocated between three different actors: state, market and
households.

There are, on the other hand, also good arguments for criticizing Italy and
Germany being put into the same welfare regime (cf. Leibfried 1992). Italy
presents a weak welfare state heavily dominated by transfer payments and less
by service provision. Also the role of the family is much stronger than in many
central European countries (Warburton & Jeppsson-Grassman 2009). Yuri
Kazepov (2008) uses a familialisation index measuring the extent to which the
state allocates resources and responsibility in the production of well-being to
He shows how familialisation is much stronger in the Italian welfare state (representing the Southern-European model) than in the American or Danish (representing the liberal and social democratic model), which present the lowest levels. The German welfare state (representing the conservative model) places itself in the middle. Explaining the difference between the Conservative and the Southern European regime type Kazepov (2008:259) writes: “Also the ideological frames which influenced historically the development of social policies in the two models differ. The Catholic culture in the Mediterranean countries and the Monarchical statism rooted in a Bismarckian approach in Continental European countries set the stage for the institutionalization of the deep differences”.

As part of a complex social system it is reasonable to expect that the historical and cultural context that is connected to the social welfare model also “…impacts on the extent and role of civil society and on its relationship with government” (Warburton & Jeppsson-Grassman 2009:2). Attempts to explain the way in which welfare state regimes impact on the political opportunities available to civil society organisations have been made by linking welfare state regimes and ideology to the roles of civil society organisations (Casey 2004). One of these attempts places Sweden and Italy in different regimes i.e. Scandinavian and Mediterranean. The Scandinavian is characterised by strong centralised civil society sector organised according to service areas and a relatively strong state that seeks consensus in policies through corporatist arrangements. In such a regime, the public-private relations are close, structured and hierarchical. The Mediterranean regime is characterised by the Catholic Church having dominated the civil society sector, while non-religious organisations have generally been less organised. The policy processes have been dominated by the state. The public-private relations in such a regime are based on relatively few formal channels of communications while relations often involve distrust and conflict (Casey 2004: Table 3 pp. 5-6).

The Role of Civil Society in the Welfare System
The high level of statism, understood as the dominant role of the public sector in the welfare system, in Sweden has for a long time, at least from more liberal oriented analysts, been assumed to have produced a weak civil society (Rothstein & Trägårdh 2007:230). Already in 1848 Tocqueville (2003:124) wrote “The more government takes the place of associations, the more will individuals lose the idea of forming associations and need the government to come to
Also contemporary, more left-oriented intellectuals such as Habermas have warned for the colonisation of society by the state (Trägårdh 1999:17).

Both in Sweden and in Italy, we can in fact see how the building of a modern welfare system have resulted in the state taking over many welfare arrangements from voluntary organisations (for Sweden see Lundström & Wijkström 1995, for Italy Barbetta & Maggio 2008). One of the major differences, besides the extent of the expansion of the public sector’s role in the welfare system, is that in Sweden the process encountered little resistance: “Many of the traditional charity organisations and other voluntary groups withdrew when the public system gradually took over services and tasks that they had initiated or demanded. Accordingly, their role changed and they became more of a complement to the public welfare system” (Meeuwisse 2008:194).

In Italy, by contrary, the process was characterised by huge conflicts as the state had been, from the unification in 1861, under pressure by civil society from both Catholic and socialist forces (Cartocci & Maconi 2006). The Italian state dealt with this conflict and with its lack of legitimacy in the eyes of the civil society, in different and sometimes contradictory ways, not least because of the massive presence of a strong Catholic Church which had almost a complete monopoly of social assistance, health and education functions. The Church had also been one of the major obstacles in the formation of the Italian nation-state and it regarded the new national government as an enemy.44 Another challenge for the new lay ruling class of the young Italian nation-state was to incorporate the working class in the political system by reducing the social dissent and protest by ameliorating the living conditions (Barbetta & Maggio 2008). In fact, while charity had always been an important ethical principle in the Catholic Church, it was seen by the Italian socialist movement more as part of a traditional, authoritarian and humiliating system for dealing with social issues (Cartocci & Maconi 2006), a vision that was shared by the ruling social democratic party in Sweden (Trägårdh & Vamstad 2009).

It resulted in a process with many contradictions characterised by substitution of certain private institutions with public ones and of support of other institutions through partial co-optation. On one hand, the progressive creation of

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44 It is important to remember that the unification of Italy as nation-state was accomplished by the annexation of the smaller states that at the time ruled over the Italian peninsula, including the Vatican state, by the Savoia family.
public social and health insurance systems totally replaced the several mutual-aid societies created by the Italian working class. On the other hand, the Agreement between the Catholic Church and the Italian Republic from 1923 completed the positioning of religious institutions which worked in the fields of social assistance, health and education under public control granting them at the same time a large autonomy “…posing seriously in question the liberal principle of separation of church and state” (Barbetta & Maggio 2008:29).

Trends of Convergence
After this short and limited description of the ideological, cultural, and historical context in which the social and welfare systems in Sweden and in Italy are embedded, it can safely be assumed that the role of civil society has evolved in very different ways in the two countries. However we find also some common trends that relate to the above-mentioned shift from government to governance. Kazepov (2008) speaks of a European process of institutional change following a double direction. On one hand, there is the establishment of a common market at the supranational level with a harmonization of national policy in several areas (including immigration control). On the other hand, there is the fact of cities and regions acquiring a strategic importance “… because the economic performance of their territories increasingly becomes the basis for their revenues” (Kazepov 2008:250). When it comes to the social policy area, this process is described as “vertical subsidiarisation” which involves the reorganisation of regulative powers at different levels and involving sub-national actors as regions and municipalities getting a much more prominent role (Kazepov 2008).

The “horizontal subsidiarisation” is meant to grasp another important institutional change involving a multiplication of actors in the design, management and implementation of social policy. This opens up for private actors, both for profit and non-profit, gaining a new role in social services initially in the implementation and management, and in more recent years in the planning and the co-definition of roles (Kazepov 2008).

Social Work in Sweden and in Italy
Walter Lorenz, in his book Social Work in a Changing Europe (1994), claims that there are clear correlations between different types of welfare state models and ways of solving social problems. The basis for Lorenz’s application of models of social policy to social work rests on the assumption that underlying
ideologies also permeate the practice of social work. In Lorenz’s (1994) description of models of social work (see also Meeuwisse & Swärd 2007), Sweden and Italy place themselves in different models. While Sweden is clearly a case of the “Scandinavian model”, Italy is divided between the “corporative model” for some regions and the “rudimentary” model for other regions. The disparity between the Italian regions when it comes to the welfare system is also confirmed by social expenditures which are double the amount in northern regions as compared with southern regions (Kazepov 2008:263).

In the Scandinavian model “… social workers are mainly employed by state agencies and are part of dense networks of multi-disciplinary services which have taken over a considerable proportion of the informal caring functions traditionally associated with women in the family” (Lorenz 2006:48). In the corporative model which is based on the principle of subsidiarisation, there is a clear division of responsibility in social work: on the one hand being a small number of publicly employed social workers, on the other hand a larger number of social worker employed by corporative organisations which are publicly financed on a non-profit basis. In the rudimentary model we find most professionally qualified social workers in public employment. There is though a very blurred distinction between informal and formal care and between different professional groups’ competencies. This is why an important share of personal services is still being provided by civil society organisations recurring mostly to unpaid volunteers and by professionals with other qualifications than “social worker” (Lorenz 2006).

Both Sweden and Italy have a quite decentralised system for welfare service provision, but because of among other factors the different relations between the state and the citizens the outcome is very different:

The Italian achievements in terms of decentralising state services are considerable given the complexity of Italian state-citizen relationships. Compared to the Swedish system of local service committees which […] operate in a political context that emphasises the legal and universal entitlements of service users, the Italian experience with decentralisation always played into the hands of the old patronage system which is deeply engrained as a pattern of dependence. (Lorenz 2006:56)
The range of variation in the local service provision in the same national context is of course dependent on the way in which the social welfare- and integration systems are organised and the way in which the responsibility for the policies is divided between different administrative levels (municipality, region, state) and between social actors (public, private, civil society).

The interplay between the Swedish more centralised state apparatus together with a welfare system that grants extensive political and socioeconomic rights to immigrants makes the Swedish system less open for local variations than the Italian which is characterised by devolution of power to regions and local authorities in the field of integration and a national welfare and integration system, that in fact exclude many immigrants from a number of welfare provisions (Scuzzarello 2010). However, the way in which the local social welfare and integration policies in Malmö and Genova interplay with the national policies in Sweden and in Italy is beyond the scope of this thesis.

**Integration Policies**

Social welfare and international migration are closely related, but we know too little about how they function together in practice and in theory. From country to country and over time, amendments of social welfare policies may have an impact on immigration and on both control and immigration policies. The causal linkage may go in both directions, however. Immigration policy may also have an impact on the welfare system. (Hammar 2006:94)

Tomas Hammar (2006) argues that the strength and the directions of the linkages between immigration as flow and stock, control policy, integration policy and social welfare regime are far from clear (see also Papadopulos 2011). Even if systematic attempts of describing and analysing these linkages are rare from a cross-national perspective (e.g. Carmel et al. eds. 2011) there are interesting attempts of analysing the way in which such phenomenon interact at different levels.

Giuseppe Sciortino (2004) for example argues that the lack of social service provisions in Italy is more and more compensated by the authorities’ acceptance of a grey market of household services provided by immigrant women in
a society where Italian women are more and more part of the labour force.45 In this sense, we could interpret this as the strong tendency towards familisation in the Southern European welfare model being mitigated by the extensive use of immigrant labour in the households, for example, hiring immigrant care workers to take care of the elderly. This might be interpreted as a changing pattern of the Italian welfare state from a strongly familialised model to a more market oriented model.

For Sweden, Hammar (2006) suggests that the more restrictive control policy introduced at the end of the 1980s is connected to the increased immigration of refugees from non-European countries and the economic stagnation, causing higher unemployment rates and the welfare-state being exposed to critical re-valuations:

> Control has been used to protect the comprehensive welfare system against large, not wanted migration flows which otherwise might have overburdened and brought chaos to the society, its social budgets and administrations. An efficient control has been a necessary condition for the integration of those immigrants who were already admitted. (Hammar 2006:117)

In this way Hammar suggests that a strong welfare state can be an argument for the limitation and control of the migration flow.

These are just two examples of the way in which the connection between these phenomena might produce changes in the welfare system or integration system. For the scope of this thesis, it is enough to keep in mind that immigrant organisations interact with political opportunity structures that are embedded in a complicated institutional setting of interrelated policy areas and systems. When it comes to migration control policy, the focus in this thesis will lie on what Hammar (2006) calls the “second and the third gate”. The first gate is the “entrance gate” which controls the right to enter, stay and work. Because immigrant organisations presuppose that immigration has taken place, this level of control will only be treated marginally. The second gate is the “resi-

45 Only in the years 2002-2003, 147,000 immigrant women were regularised for working in households in general and 121,000 for working in household care work (Sciortino 2004 Table 6 p. 121). In 2009 a study made by the research centre CENSIS revealed that Italy hosted 1,5 million household workers and that almost 2,5 million families employed them (one of ten) (www.censis.it Comunicato stampa 12/08/2009, accessed 07-08-2012, 09:47).
dence gate” which controls the right to permanent abode. The third gate is the “citizenship gate” which controls the right to full membership of the polity.

Integration policy, on the other hand, is a much trickier concept to define. It might actually be “direct” with “…programmes that are intended specifically for immigrants” (Hammar 2006:100) but it might also be “indirect” and take the form of “…programmes that are regular elements in the general social welfare system, at the service of all members of community, including the immigrants” (p. 100). Integration, as a concept, has in fact its roots in the classic debates in social sciences on solidarity and community. It is strongly tied to other concepts such as segregation and inclusion. Integration could be described as the process aiming at achieving a mixed society that is characterised by social nearness, participation, trust, and equality between groups, which are identified through class, ethnicity or other factors that can be the ground for social belonging (Popoola 2002).

As a political term it could be described in its more common use as the “golden third way” between segregation and assimilation, based on the principle that all groups in a population are able to participate in the same arenas and do so, at the same time as they have the freedom of holding on to their cultural and religious diversity (Hagelund & Loga 2009). In this thesis the term is used to identify the policy arena which aims at the incorporation of immigrants in one way or another in the receiving country. A model of integration or incorporation based on four ideal types will be used to highlight the different integration systems.

Models of Incorporation and Citizenship
Citizenship, as the rights, duties, and identities that connect citizens to the nation-state, has been at the centre of many attempts to develop a model-theory of the integration of immigrants in society (Soysal 1994, Castles & Miller 2003, Papadopulos 2011). For the purpose of including those dimensions that might be relevant for immigrant organisations’ interaction with political opportunity structures, this thesis will adopt a theoretical model that has been used in a previous cross-national study of contention over immigration and cultural diversity (Koopmans et al. 2005). This model is based on two dimensions: the individual access to citizenship and the cultural obligations and rights that such citizenship entails for minority groups. The interaction between these two dimensions is illustrated below:
The interception of the two dimensions focusing on individual rights and group rights produce four different models of integration which should be understood as ideal-types. The two dimensions should be seen as continuums on which state policy can be placed and moved according to how the policy develops over time. The model should be interpreted as an open space in which different nation-states can be placed in relation to each other, according to the policies they implement which are relevant for each dimension e.g. the access to permanent residence permit or the access to public funds for organising own associations. It means that different nation-state might tend towards one or more of the ideal-types but also move over time as the national policy changes.

The individual access to rights dimension runs from a conception of citizenship based on ethic ties (jus sanguinis) to a conception of citizenship based on the territorial principle (jus soli). The cultural difference and group rights dimension runs from a conception of citizenship that includes conformity to a single cultural model shared by all citizens to a citizenship model that seeks to preserve or even stimulate diversity and allows citizens to follow different cultural models (Koopmans et al. 2005).

Neither Sweden nor Italy are included in this model. Thus I will here make use of a comparison built on the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) to place Sweden and Italy in relation to the two dimensions in the model. MIPEX has been used previously in research to study similarities and differences in European states’ integration policies (cf. Papadopulos 2011). By choosing twenty-three relevant variables in the MIPEX, I have developed an “Individual
access”-index and a “Cultural-difference”-index (see Appendix One for a detailed description of the procedure). When it comes to the “Individual access” dimension Sweden scored an eighty-four while Italy took fifty-seven. Concerning the “Cultural difference” dimension Sweden scored a seventy-seven while Italy a sixty-six. The following figure shows how these results place Sweden and Italy according to the integration models in Koopmans et al. (2005:10):

Figure 2. Sweden and Italy in relation to models of integration

While Sweden clearly positions itself close to the multiculturalist model as a state with a policy inspired by a civic-territorial definition of citizenship and a pluralist view on cultural issues, Italy appears to be more a kind of hybrid. Italy differs from Sweden especially when it comes to the access to individual rights. Italy is much less oriented towards a civic-territorial interpretation of citizenship than Sweden and more towards an ethnic interpretation. These differences are especially significant when it comes to dimensions such as political participation with more limited electoral rights and political liberties and
access to nationality with stricter eligibility rules, conditions and weaker security of status.

The integration policy that such models of integration imply, are, as in the case of social welfare policy, implemented mostly at the local level where the distinction, already difficult at national level becomes even more blurred.

**The Local Level**

As described before, the last decades have been characterised by a shift in the position of cities and metropolises vis-à-vis national governments:

The new distribution of tasks and responsibilities between the different layers of government – local, national and supranational – is increasingly complex, and it gives rise to tensions [...] for example, migration policies and immigrant admission policies are mainly national or European Union affairs, but their concrete consequences are shouldered by local governments, particularly in the cities where most immigrants settle. (Penninx et al. 2004:5)

In fact migrant settlement affects many local policy domains and issue areas: legal-political (civic status, consultative structures and migrant organisation), socio-economic (labour market, schools, social services and conflict resolution), cultural religious (minority religious institutions and communication policies) and spatial (urban development, housing and symbolic use of space) (Alexander 2004).

Local migrant policies have significant consequences on the local immigrant population, either through specific (immigrant-targeted) or general (population or area-based) measures (Alexander 2004:59; cf. the distinction between direct and indirect integration policy in Hammar 2006). A comparison of local migrant policies in twenty-four European cities and Tel Aviv (Alexander 2004) shows five different types of attitudes/assumptions of local authorities towards migrant groups which correspond to five migrant policy types and five types of policy towards immigrant organisations/mobilisation as shown in the following table:46

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46 The model is based on a theoretical framework using the concept of “host-strangers relations” as the explanatory variable. This concept has been developed in sociological theory and urban sociological research focusing on the relationship between “newcomers” and “host society”. Alexander (2004) explains the use of the concept in the following
Table 9. Typology of local migrant policies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes/assumptions of local authorities</th>
<th>Policy types</th>
<th>Policy towards migrant organisations/mobilisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrants as transient phenomenon</td>
<td>Non policy</td>
<td>Ignore migrant associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants as temporary guestworkers</td>
<td>Guestworker policy</td>
<td>Informal cooperation with migrant associations on limited issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants as permanent; but their Otherness will disappear</td>
<td>Assimilationist policy</td>
<td>Co-opt or exclude migrant associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants as permanent; their Otherness should be supported</td>
<td>Pluralist policy</td>
<td>Support migrant associations as agents of empowerment. Delegate services to associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants as permanent; ethnic Otherness should not be overemphasised</td>
<td>Intercultural policy</td>
<td>Support migrant associations as agents of integration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adaptation of Table 4.2 in Alexander 2004 (p. 71-73)

The interplay between the national and the local/municipal level in the integration policy is very complex and it is important to underline that variation in the local responses to the settlement of immigrant populations occurs not only among different countries, but also within the political framework of national contexts (Koopmans 2004). The role of the local authorities and institutions in the governance of integration policies is dual:

On the one hand, they are responsible for the implementation of national legislation, which is an adaptive process that implies more than simply executive activities. On the other hand they are called upon to answer to the demands of their local societies and to initiate new policies in order to cope with these demands. (Zincone & Caponio 2006:279-280)

Social workers are those who are delegated to interpret the national and local provisions and those who actually meet the needs of the local populations. Thus social workers are those who actually implement the policies and transform the provisions in services and interventions. Regardless of whether the local authority has decided to address the immigrant populations’ needs within previous existent categories of clients (indigents, homeless, addicts) or through new categories (immigrants, newcomers) these services need to be in-

way: “Local Host-Stranger relations’ are defined here as the local authority’s attitudes and assumptions regarding the presence of labour migrants [...] and the normative premises regarding their Otherness and its place in the host society” (Alexander 2004:67).
tegrated within the bureaucratic system of the municipality (Campomori 2008). The “street level bureaucrats” (Lipsky 1980) that meet the public usually have a large amount of discretion in their interpretation of the provisions, and in this sense they are the true makers of the policies (Campomori 2008).

Italian research shows for example how the bureaucrats that meet the immigrant population in the Foreigners’ Offices of the Police Headquarters can use their discretion in a restrictive and pejorative way (Triandafyllidou 2003). On the other hand, according to Maurizio Ambrosini, (2007) street-level bureaucrats in social welfare offices tend to use this power to open up and widen the opportunities of inclusion of immigrants. Such work takes place in a network of organisations where the boundaries between paid and voluntary work, public and non-profit sector, and Italian and immigrant organisations become blurred (Ambrosini 2007). In Sweden, we see a much clearer division of responsibility between state and municipality and between the public sector and organised civil society (cf. Brommé 2007).

Social Trust and Integration
The way in which cultural diversity is perceived by the state might of course affect the way in which immigrants organise themselves and the functions and strategies of their organisations. Especially the state’s expectations on the organisations to work bonding or bridging in society, might affect the access to political opportunity structures and the conditions for their use.

Organised civil society has been an important element in theories about social capital and political integration focusing on the organisations’ capacity of producing and upholding social connections. Beside this more structural aspect such theories often focus also on a more cognitive aspect: social trust (Ferlander 2007). The correlation between social trust and phenomena such as state efficiency, social welfare, health and integration has been highlighted by several scholars in cross-country comparisons (e.g. Rostila 2007, Herreros & Criado 2008, Oorschot & Finsveen 2010). However the mechanisms behind such correlations and the way in which the phenomena relate to each other are questions of much debate. One for this thesis relevant debate is about the possibility of reconciling social capital and diversity (see Putnam 2007, Kumlin & Rothstein 2010, Torpe & Lolle 2011). Without entering in such debate it is important to acknowledge that differences in social trust between the two
countries might affect organising processes and the relation between minorities and majority population and with public authorities.

Social trust defined as the “... standing inclination – on the basis of experience together with moral convictions – to give the other person the benefit of the doubt” (Torpe & Lolle 2011: 483) is quite commonly measured using the results of the World Value Survey (WVS) (Torpe & Lolle 2011). Lars Torpe and Henrik Lolle (2011) discuss the way in which three questions in the WVS measure social trust. The questions relate to whether the respondent feels that he or she can “trust most people”, “trust people he or she meets for the first time” and “trust strangers” understood as people of different nationality and religion.

Torpe & Lolle (2011) show that the answers to the three questions correlate better in some countries than in other. In the case of Sweden and Italy the first two questions correlate quite well and show very different levels of trust in the two countries. Sweden show very high levels of trust both when it comes to trusting most people (68%) and trusting people met for the first time (69%). Italy shows much lower levels of trust in both questions but lowest when it comes to trusting people for the first time (29%, 19%). The question about trusting “strangers” also correlates quite well with the other two questions in the Swedish case as those trusting most people and people they meet for the first time also trust “strangers”. In the Italian case the results of the question about trusting “strangers” seem to correlate better with the question about trusting people for the first time which showed lower levels of trust.

Two interesting differences can be derived from these results. First, that the general level of social trust is much lower in Italy than in Sweden. Second, that Italians, to a much higher degree than Swedes, do not trust people of other nationalities and religions even when they trust other people in general. Such features might actually affect the way in which immigrant organisations are perceived and their functions.

Conclusions
The following table summarises the most salient differences between the two national contexts as presented in the last two chapters, which might be relevant for explaining differences in immigrant organisations’ interaction with political opportunity structures in Sweden and in Italy:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 10. Relevant contextual differences between Sweden and Italy</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Welfare states</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Integration policies</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Civic territorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Service provision</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local service provision for immigrants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size of organised civil society</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main orientation of civil society</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consultative bodies for immigrants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social trust</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Trusting strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immigrant organisations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slowly growing in numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly ethnic organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural function and integration function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong public financing and organisational capacity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. DATA AND DATA COLLECTION METHOD

This thesis has been re-elaborated in its design several times from the first interviews in autumn 2007 through the different stages in the research process. It has moved from a quite strict methodological approach of semi-structured interviews to a much more eclectic one, characterised by a multi-method approach. This might be interpreted as the consequences of the clash between the researcher’s pre-understanding of the research field and the organisational properties of the study object (cf. Buchanan & Bryman 2009).

The Research Process
From a methodological point of view, the research process has implied a continuous formulation and reformulation of the design and the instruments for data collection. The encounter with the research field, and especially with the organisations, has required certain flexibility in the research methods and an eclectic approach towards data collection.

Even if some of the research questions and topics for the interviews were decided a priori from a theoretical point of view, the concepts that have been used have been specified in the research process in interaction with the field. Concepts such as “immigrant organisation” and “political opportunity structure” have been present since the beginning, but not always in a pre-defined way, rather as tools to circumscribe phenomena and understand the mechanisms in play. These concepts have been defined and specified in interaction with the phenomena and the actors that populated the research field. In this sense, the research has been guided more by “concept formation” than by “concept application” (Deetz 2009).
In relation to meta-theoretical traditions such as positivism and social constructivism this thesis follows some kind of middle way. Sometimes this position is labelled as “critical realism” in the relevant literature (Reed 2009).

Engagement in such an intellectual enterprise is directed to the construction and evaluation of analytical histories of organisational emergence, elaboration, and transition in which the endemic tensions and contradictions between ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ become the focal point for description, understanding and explanation. (Reed 2009: 431)

The focus on the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures in the thesis is in line with the clear distinction and interest for the interaction between “structure” and “agency” that characterises critical realism. It is this interaction that generate “… the dynamics that have the potential to transform social situations and the manner in which they are institutionally structured and reproduced” (Reed 2009: 433). Also this is not an a-priori position but rather a retrospective reflection upon the way in which the research process has been handled.

The Challenge of Different Contexts and Settings

This chapter will present and discuss some of the methodological considerations and challenges that the research process has implied and account for the way in which the research has been carried out. One of the first challenges is connected to the study of similar phenomena in different contexts. Especially in qualitative studies that adopt a cross-national comparative approach, the linguistic and cultural differences between the settings might become a challenge:

Each language is not only a medium for intercourse but a particular style of discourse. Thus, the linguistic dimension interacts with cultural, as well as associated intellectual and professional specificities to form the problematic of comparative analysis. The ultimate challenge is to make sense of cognitive, connotational and functional meanings. The fact that most comparative research is also multidisciplinary only serves to complicate the task. (Mangen 1999:110)

The fact that I am fluent in both Swedish and Italian has been very important in the search for relevant literature and in the data collection. I have lived
many years in both countries which allows me a good insight also in the political, social and cultural context of both countries.

However, my “double” identity has not been interpreted in the same way in the two national contexts. In my meetings with representatives of immigrant organisations in Sweden and in Italy I have noted different attitudes when the discussion has implied a dichotomy between “us and them” i.e. “Swedes and immigrants” and “Italian and immigrants”. In fact I have been placed in different categories in the two settings. In Sweden I have mostly been considered as an immigrant while in Italy as an Italian. This has not, in my opinion, affected the trust-building process in the meeting nor the quality of the data from the interviews.

Organisational Properties and Research Method

Some of the methodological issues that will be discussed here could be seen as common for all organisational studies, but some are more specific for studies of civil society organisations and especially for those organisations that could be called “we for us” organisations (Meeuwisse & Sunesson 1998) i.e. the users’ own organisations where we find organisations of oppressed and afflicted, disabled, marginalized and ordinary care consumers. Immigrant organisations can also be placed in this category, at least those who represent groups that are socially disadvantaged, vulnerable or marginalized. The organisational properties of the study objects often significantly influence the logistics of fieldwork (Buchanan & Bryman 2009). This section describes and discusses how the properties of the immigrant organisation that have been objects of study in the thesis have affected the methodological approach.

Organisations as Study Objects

To delimit the scope of the research work it is necessary to reflect over the nature of the object of the study, i.e. organisations. Organisations can be seen as actors, but it is nevertheless true that only individuals can perform its actions. Sometimes it can be difficult to distinguish individual acts from organisational actions. If we observe an organisation at a great distance, the effects of the coordinated actions which the individuals perform might seem to be very coordinated. It may even be that the individuals disappear. Up close, however, the

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47 Much of the content in this part has already been published in Scaramuzzino (2012)
individual actions become more visible but the pattern, the big picture, may become more blurred and difficult to recognize (Ahrne 1999).

What to focus on then when studying immigrant organisations? Should we look at the individuals' actions or at the pattern i.e. at what seems to be the more coordinated, collective actions? The tension between individual and organisation may vary in different organisational contexts. In organisations that are based on wage labour, it is reasonable to assume that the tension is greater than in non-profit organisations where the work is often at least to some degree based on voluntary action and where the workforce often shares the organisation's goals and values (Ahrne 1999). The tendency towards voluntary work and identification with values and goals can be assumed being relatively strong in immigrant organisations; these organisations are seldom professionalized, often weak in resources and oriented towards recreation, social activity, information and representation of group interests (Odmalm 2004).

It is possible that the lack of strong tension between individual and organisation could lead to a reduced possibility to distinguish individual acts from organisational effects. In many immigrant organisations activities are mainly based on individual effort and commitment. The efforts are, because of the flat, network-like structure and the minimal bureaucracy and administration, often poorly integrated with the rest of the organisation, with examples being the board members, the steering committee or the chairman. This may reinforce the feeling that the boundaries between individual and organisation are blurred. In the case of some immigrant organisations we could be facing more of an organising process than a formal organisation. The study of this kind of organisational phenomena raises a methodological problem of delimiting the research field. When does collective action become organisation and how to distinguish individual action from organisational one?

Sometimes also the boundaries between organisation and organising become blurred. One of the interviewees describes his organisation as a “couple of hundred” people who help each other when someone is in need. Of all activities going on among these couple of hundred people with the same background, what should be considered as individual actions and what as collective, organisational actions? Is it an organisational act or an individual one when the “ethnic leader” calls for raising funds for a person in need? And what about the single donations?
How to approach these organisations methodologically is of course not only a matter of organisational properties, but rather depends on the research questions. In this thesis the research questions are addressed through a qualitative study making use of different kinds of data collection such as interviews, observations and text analyses.

Immigrant Organisations and Sources of Data
A major distinction is sometimes made between “naturally occurring data” and “manufactured data”. The distinction is summarised by David Silverman (2007) in a somewhat polemical question: “What kinds of phenomena can you see by using your eyes and ears on the world around you that you might miss by asking questions of interview respondents” (p. 38). The answer might seem quite obvious: for example organisational activities and products such as meetings, demonstrations but also written documentation. At least some of this “naturally occurring data” might be available and could be seen as a product of organisational activity and in this sense, reflecting a phenomenon at an organisational level rather than at an individual one.

The distinction between “naturally occurring” and “manufactured” data is not interpreted here as a distinction between better and worse data. The relevance of the distinction when it comes to immigrant organisations (probably most organisations) is more connected to the above-mentioned tension between individual and organisation. An interview with a representative of an immigrant organisation might provide important information about the organisation, but the data could be difficult to interpret on its own. What relation to the organisation has this individual? What purpose might the interviewee have in participating in the study? Even more problematic might be the use of a questionnaire that has been sent to the organisation’s e-mail address and has been sent back without information about who has compiled it.

As it is composed by individuals doing things in a more or less coordinated way on behalf of a collective actor, the organisational level might in fact be difficult to grasp. Especially when people are active in an organisation on a voluntary basis it might not always be very clear when they are doing what and in which role. The concept of “role” enables to address the tension between individual and organisation and take into account how individuals acting in different contexts can be related to the different roles these people hold in different social settings (Goffman 1998). It is interesting to notice that it is
common among representatives of immigrant organisations (and in the organised civil society in general) that people hold simultaneously different roles in different organisations. When these roles are mixed up also with roles in the private life it is difficult to delimit the research field by trying to focus on organisational activities.

A problem when studying immigrant organisations is that they sometimes lack a proper office or headquarters and keep their records at the private home of the chairman where they might also hold their meetings. Also their activities might not be as frequent as desirable if you want to grasp the organisation’s life in a reasonable time schedule. One could say that the weakness of the organisational structure makes the naturally occurring data rare and difficult to identify, especially in the case of organisational activities.

Another problem is that organisations are seldom captured by just what they presently are doing. They are also a product of what they have done, of their history, which frequently is part of the common history of the people involved in it. When studying organisations that produce written documents on a regular basis, researchers might be able to get a good picture of the organisational structure, history, activities, goals through “naturally occurring data”. But when it comes to some immigrant organisations, these records may only exist in the memory of the people that have been active in the organisation for a long time.

A study of these organisations through natural occurring data can actually very much look like traditional ethnographic studies in which “...the researcher explores how people act and react to the structures and institutions of the societies of which they are part, both as individuals and as a collective” (Sjöberg 2011:11). An ethnographic approach with an in-depth study of the involved people’s everyday life might give access to important data that is observable. Also, as in traditional ethnography, the study could require observing people’s everyday life, at home, at work and in all circumstances in which it might be possible that organisational activities or activities on behalf of the organisations occur. In all this, naturally occurring data from the observations of meetings, assemblies, demonstrations, etc. may very well become available.

To summarise the discussion so far, one consequence of the organisational properties of immigrant organisations is thus connected to the delimitation of
the research field in the sense that some organisations are so diffuse in their structure that the distinction between activities at the individual level and at the organisational level becomes problematic. The individual level and the organisational one tend to conflate.

Another consequence is the kind of data that is available. An organisation that does not keep any records, not even of members, and that has a decision-making process that relies on informal meetings, does not offer any documentation to study, and is also difficult to observe in its present activities. This organisation is also difficult to study from an historical point of view, without relying on the description by the people involved in it, and using the interview technique as the main source of data. A classic ethnographic approach might give access to some observable data, but would be very time-consuming, reducing the number of organisations to be studied and probably also stressing the already blurred distinction between the individual and the organisational level.

Political Opportunity Structures as Research Field

The research questions in the thesis concern the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures. This implies a certain delimitation of the research field i.e. choosing specific contexts as an example of such structures. In these delimited settings one might actually be able to get access to “naturally occurring data” both by observing the interaction but also through text produced by actors involved in the structure.

In a sense the opportunity structures are limited both in time and in space which can be helpful for the task of delimiting the field. Further, these opportunity structures are in many ways formal. The organisations that interact with them are often requested to be quite structured. If we for example look at the municipal funding for civil society organisations handled by the Leisure, Recreation and Sport Administration\textsuperscript{48} in Malmö we find that the organisations that want to get access to the funding must register and hand in many documents such as charter, budget, yearly plan of activity, and show that they are well-managed in a democratic way (Odmalm 2004). This means that the interaction of the organisations with the opportunity structure on one hand, sorts out more diffuse forms of organisation which are not able to fulfil the

\textsuperscript{48} Frisidistriktet

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requirements, but also makes available documents that can be handled as data.

Some of these opportunity structures also include several meetings that can be observed. This opens the possibility to adopt a “more recent ethnographic” approach and observe a more specific setting and “...specific activities, limited to arenas and milieus where such activities take place” (Sjöberg 2011:54). Forums for consultations between organisations are examples of such opportunity structures that might be open for a more ethnographic approach.

When one of the examples of political opportunity structure was approached in an ethnographic way (in the study of the Swedish dialogue process) the boundaries of the field of research was found to be more blurred than expected. This is quite common in ethnographic studies (e.g. Sjöberg 2011, Anderson 2006). It became evident that the civil dialogue process between the Swedish government and civil society organisations that were active in the field of integration did not really end at the end of the meetings. The specific interest in the civil society organisations’ participation motivated a broadening of the focus to include the parallel dialogue process among these actors. An effort was made to get access to the informal meetings that took place among the organisations before, after, and in between the formal meeting with the representative of the public sector. It became evident that alongside with the formal dialogue process between the parties, other dialogue processes were taking place, for example between some of the civil society organisations. It also became more and more difficult to distinguish the strategies adopted by immigrant organisations and other organisations.

Moreover, the fact that some of these opportunity structures are developing over a long range of time makes it difficult to merely rely on observations. The Equal programme was implemented through public-private partnerships that met on a regular basis over a period of three or four years. Furthermore, there could have been several circles of organisations at different levels involved in the partnership without being formally participating in the application, the decision-making, and the activities (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010). This implied the same delimitation problems that are mentioned above. Moreover the Equal study showed that the texts that were produced in the interaction between the organisations and the political opportunity structures were often produced by stronger actors that interacted and seldom by immigrant organisations. Rely-
ing only on this kind of data, without the use of interviews, would risk not being able to access the weaker organisations' perspective.

**Pros and Cons of an Interview-study**

The reasons for using so-called manufactured data (i.e. interviews but also questionnaires with open ended questions) in the study of immigrant organisations' interaction with political opportunity structures could be formulated in the following way.

First of all, the interest in the immigrant organisations' own perspective's on their strategies towards political opportunity structures motivates the use of such data. This strategy is intended to enable a focus on the organisational actions and the actor's own accounts for these, including the way of looking at different organisational roles. Ahrne (1999) describes three types of interaction: 1) between persons of the same organisation, 2) between individuals from different organisations and 3) interaction that occurs outside its immediate context, but where organisational affiliation plays an important role.

The dialogue process on integration is an interesting example of the third type of interaction. Individuals involved in the process functioned outside of the organisation's context, but as representatives of their organisations and in extension, as representatives of the third sector. Some representatives also felt a certain responsibility to represent “service-users”, “immigrants”, or other parts of the non-organised civil society.

The second reason is that, as mentioned before, many immigrant organisations' organisational life leaves few records behind that might be observed to understand the interaction with an opportunity structure in a more continuous sense. Furthermore, the immigrant organisation might frequently play a less central role in, for instance, the public-private partnership that is being studied, which can make the researcher miss many important details concerning their participation in the partnership.

A third reason is that the interview gives the researcher the possibility to explore the boundaries of and the roles in the political opportunity structure through the description of the participant, without having to change setting. The researcher can get information about all three types of interaction, inside organisation, between organisations and outside organisations (Ahrne 1999)
at the same time. One of the limits is of course that the interview data is “inherently interactional” and “locally and collaboratively produced” (Rapley 2004: 16). It means that the content of the interview must be analysed taking into account the circumstances in which it has been produced. What I mean is that the framing of the interview is also part of its construction.

In other words, it is important to acknowledge that, when asking the interviewee about their experiences, it is not “the reality” we get, but rather a representation of it by someone who has experienced it (Silverman 2007). On the other hand if we are interested in the persons' experiences and evaluations assuming that an organisation can’t speak for itself, the interview becomes a good way of collecting data.

Another limit is that inter-organisational processes might not be as evident when relying on the descriptions and presentations of representatives. In some cases, conflicts inside the organisations have been evident when interviewing representatives in separate occasions. As discussed above, focusing on immigrant organisations as a (collective) actor, might give the impression of a homogeneous association of individuals, characterised more by internal consensus than internal conflict. Such internal processes, however, are outside of the scope of the thesis and of the research questions which address the interaction between organisations and structures.

A Multi-Method Approach
To be able to study immigrant organisations in a specific context there is a need to both delimit the research field and get access to it. To do so there might be a need of gathering as much naturally occurring data as possible.

When it comes to the Equal programme, the extensive and easily accessible documentation of the participating organisations, and of the programme itself, made a quite systematic and informed access to the field possible. The study of the local political opportunity structure was much more challenging when it came to the delimiting of the field and the identification of the organisations. It included searching the internet, for instance websites of local public authorities, or of local umbrella associations for information about organisations in the local context. Another important way to get a picture of the field was to rely on some key informants. Interviewing government officials and representatives of the organised civil society were useful sources of information and
facilitators for the access to the field. A problem with key informants is that the role the researcher acquires in the field is much dependent on the role that the key informant has (Anderson 2006).

Single interviews are not seldom preceded by a phase in which the researcher formulates the questions or the sub-topics that he or she intend to discuss during the interview (Rapley 2004: 18). In the three sub-studies this phase included actually trying to gather as much information as possible about the political opportunity structure itself and about the organisations. Being able to use what might be assumed to be common knowledge between the interviewer and the interviewee, the researcher can use this information and together with the interviewee reflect over central issues in the topic being discussed.

Interviewing people who have been involved in the organisation enabled to get access to information about the history behind the organisation, how it started, how the activities have evolved, which goals were set up, and how they might have changed over time, and also the way in which the access to the political opportunity structures has affected the organisation. As previously discussed, this kind of data is sometimes not accessible through naturally occurring data when it comes to immigrant organisations.

In conclusion, the choice of political opportunity structures narrows down the focus on some aspects of the organisations’ activities. The high threshold for participation in and interaction with such structures resolves through a “selection” of the organisations, some of the problems connected to the more diffuse organisational forms. It also makes the activities easier to identify and gives access to several sources of data: observations, text analyses and interviews.

Going back to the previously discussed distinction between naturally occurring data (text and observations) and manufactured data (interviews and questionnaires), there exist some problems in relying on just the first mentioned for the following reasons: the boundaries of the opportunity structure might be difficult to circumscribe, while the possibilities to get access to specific organisations’ strategies and accounts are quite small both through observations and through texts. Thus the empirical data in this thesis have been collected through interviews and questionnaires with representatives of immigrant organisations as a viable way to study these organisations’ interaction with political opportunity structures. To be able to interpret the data beyond the de-
scription of the single interviewees these data have been integrated with other sources of data such as key-informants in the field, texts (reports, web pages, etc.) and observation (cf. Cassell 2009). This kind of “triangulation” is often used in qualitative research not least to strengthen the validity of the study (Fitzgerald & Dopson 2009).

**How the Studies Were Carried Out and Ethical Considerations**

The last part of the chapter will account for the way in which the data has been collected and analysed. A more extensive description of the data collected and the organisations involved in the studies is found in the Appendix Two. The three sub-studies include thirty-nine immigrant organisations (some organisations are included in more than one study) and the following data: forty-one interviews with and seven written answers from representative of immigrant organisations, thirteen interviews with key informants and seventeen observations. The data also includes several written documents. All quotes of the empirical data in the text are made in English and when referring to documents and interviews in Swedish or Italian they have been translated. The names of the organisations mentioned in the text have been referred to in English either in the official English version where available or in a translated version. The first time the organisations are mentioned the names in Swedish or Italian have been added within the corresponding footnote. Those organisations that reoccur more than once in the text are listed in Appendix Three.

Almost all interviews have been taped and transcribed and the duration of the interviews varies from thirty minutes to one hundred eighty minutes. The interviews were conducted in Swedish and Italian, while sometimes using English as an aid. Before beginning the interviews the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the study and about the questions that would be asked to them. All representatives of civil society organisations were also guaranteed anonymity. This has made it necessary sometimes to revise and edit the empirical data in a way that makes it impossible to relate it to the organisation which the interviewee represents. However, there are no ethical reasons to not present the organisations that are included in the sample (see Appendix Two) and to present some examples of organisational activities where necessary to strengthen and clarify the analysis. There is also no necessity of giving anonymity to the organisations when it comes to public written documents. Key informants that speak in their position as public officials have not been guar-
anteed anonymity, but their names will not be cited if not necessary for validating the data.

To preserve the anonymity of the respondents the interviews and questionnaires have not been numerated in referring to them. They have rather been referred to as “interview” (with month and year) or “questionnaire” to make it impossible to trace back different quotes to the same person. Because of the relatively small number of interviewees and respondents in each study, giving a specific number to each interview might have compromised the anonymity of the respondents among those who have interacted with the political opportunity structures that are described.

The empirical studies are conducted on an organisational level and include interviews with several representatives of different organisations. The interviewees participate in the position provided by their organisational affiliation and their profession. The interviews include no sensitive personal information, and thus the project requires no ethical permission (Lag 2003:460).

In the presentation of the interview data in the thesis the information provided by the representatives of immigrant organisations has been treated, as often as possible, as individual and not organisational information. However, when analysing the data, formulations implying that the opinions are expressed by the organisations rather than the individuals have occasionally been used. Even if the boundaries between individuals and organisations are blurred, it is important to show that the representatives frequently speak on behalf of the organisation on matters which they themselves are the only ones who are really informed. As a representative of the organisation it is reasonable to assume that their opinions are also an expression of an organisational level and not only individual.

The Equal Study

The first step in the Equal Study was to identify the organisations that could be defined as immigrant organisations among the hundreds of Swedish organisations and the thousands of Italian organisations that had participated in the Equal programme. As the processes have been a little different for the two countries, they will be described separately.
The identification of the participating immigrant organisations in Sweden began in a research project led by Professor Anna Meeuwisse at the School of Social Work, Lund University. A database of all participating organisations was set up using applications and final reports from the partnerships.49 Seventy-one Swedish partnerships and six hundred fifty-six organisations were found. Using the definition from the “John Hopkins” study (Salamon et al. 2004) two hundred seventy voluntary organisations were identified (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010). Applying the definition of immigrant organisation previously discussed (see Chapter Two) to this population of voluntary organisations twenty-one organisations could be identified (Scaramuzzino 2008).

The identification of the participating immigrant organisations in Italy was based on two catalogues of all partnerships in the first and the second round of the Equal programme with lists of participating organisations (Compendium Iniiziativa Comunitaria Equal I and II). Among the participating organisations, thirty-one immigrant organisations could be identified. While in the Swedish case much more information about the organisations was available, which had been collected while building the database, in the Italian case such information was missing. Some cases required a search for more information on the internet but the majority of the categorisations were made only by the name of the organisation. This means that the size of the population of immigrant organisations is probably underestimated for Italy while it is more accurate for Sweden.

The second step was to try to get in touch with these organisations. Using the contact information that was gathered in the first phase, ten organisations in Sweden and twelve in Italy were contacted. The other organisations were not contacted mostly because the contact information available was not useful anymore. It is possible that some organisations had changed address, phone number, and/or e-mail address while some organisations had ceased to exist. In this sense, there is a risk that the more “successful” participant organisations are over-represented in the sample.

Interviews were arranged and performed, face-to-face, by phone or by e-mail, with the persons who had been involved in the work with Equal for all of

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49 The use of final reports that were available (twenty-two) made it possible to map also some of the organisations that had joined the partnerships during the program (after the applications). Six hundred and five organisations were identified through applications and twenty-one more through the final reports (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010).
these twenty-two organisations. The interviews were semi-structured, using a guide with questions about the organisations regular activities and about the experiences of participating in the Equal programme (the guide is reproduced in Appendix Four).

During the contact with the organisations, as much documental data as possible was collected, including reports, evaluations, brochures, movies etc. A study of the websites of all the organisations and the partnerships that had one at the time was also performed. Three key informants in Italy were also interviewed to get some broader, more general information about the Italian Equal programme.

**The Local Study**

This study have included a small sample of the immigrant organisations which are active in the two cities (cf. Jenkins & Saubers 1988). The sampling process relied on different sources of information; available register data in Genova and in Malmö was collected, key informants (public servants, civil society organisations’ representatives, experts) were asked for advice and extensive research on the internet was carried out to find immigrant organisations in the two cities.

It is very difficult to estimate how many immigrant organisations there are in the two cities, and from a methodological point of view it might be important to note that the sample in Genova was formulated in a much less systematic way than in Malmö. Since the immigrant organisations were very few, and the time in Genova for the fieldwork quite short (three weeks in total on two separate occasions) only representatives that were available at the time were interviewed. The evaluation is that of the five organisations whose representatives were interviewed, four were among the most established, and one was much more diffuse and informal.

In Malmö, on the other hand, the large number of organisations and the extensive information available made the choice much more strategic for the research. The organisations chosen for the interviews were those established enough to have experience of interaction with political opportunity structures, but also that represented groups with different backgrounds and different social situations in Sweden. Five organisations in Malmö and five in Genova were interviewed.
The interviews were based on open questions about the organisations’ history, activities, aims, the experience of contacts and cooperation with public authorities, other civil society organisations and private enterprises, the resource mobilisation, etc. Information in document form, such as brochures, reports of activities was also gathered.

The Study of Policy-Making Processes
As already mentioned there are important differences in the way in which the data for the sub-study of policy-making processes was collected in Sweden and in Italy. The data collection for the Swedish part of the study was much more inspired by an ethnographic approach and included the following:

- Electronic and paper documents from the dialogue process such as drafts of the agreement, comments to the drafts, notes from the meetings, e-mail correspondence etc.
- Field notes from observations of seventeen formal meetings and of more informal internal meetings among the voluntary organisations.
- Interviews with four representative of the immigrant organisations that have participated actively in the dialogue process’ different phases
- A survey that was answered by six representatives of immigrant organisations (see Appendix Four for the questionnaire).50

The possibility to follow the dialogue process closely through participation in almost all the meetings that have taken place, to have informal conversations with important stakeholders, and access to all mail correspondence between the parties, has enabled a much more holistic view on the Swedish process than was possible in the Italian study.

When it comes to the Italian part of the study, the council had already completed its work and had just ended its mandate, at the time of the data collection in Genova. Three of the representatives of immigrant organisations that had participated in the council were interviewed. As a complement to these interviews and to compensate for not having followed the process, in-depth interviews were performed with two key informants that had followed the process closely, one as civil servant and the other as independent expert.

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50 The survey was sent out to all one hundred twenty-one civil society organisations which were invited to the process and was answered by thirty-four organisations. The twenty-eight answers by non-immigrant organisations are not part of the thesis.
Data Analysis and Structure of the Presentation

The following three chapters will present the results from the three sub-studies. Each chapter is introduced by a short presentation of the examples/specifications of political opportunity structures chosen for the study.

Thereafter follows an analysis of the empirical data based on a categorization in themes which are relevant for the two first research questions of the thesis. These questions focus on conditions for access to and for the use of the political opportunity structures and the strategies adopted by the organisations (Question One) and the opportunities offered by the use of the structures and the regulatory and constraining dimensions of the interaction (Question Two). This part shows what happens inside the interaction field in Figure 1.

The last part of the chapters answers the last two research questions of the thesis by presenting an analysis of the data focusing on the way in which the more general context understood as the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems, affect the interaction (Question Three) and the way in which this interaction affects the functions of immigrant organisations (Question Four). In this sense, it explains how the contextual elements in the Figure 1 at the top of the interaction field affects what happens inside the field and in continuation also the functions of the immigrant organisations at the bottom of the field.
Membership in the European Union (EU) opens up for several forms of support for civil society organisations in the member states and many projects are granted financing from the European Structural Funds. Equal was one of the Community Initiatives that were financed by the EU structural funds and among others by the European Social Fund (ESF). The structural funds are intended to support a regional policy based on solidarity to strengthen the economic and social cohesion in Europe and the financing of the funds amounts to about one third of the total budget of the EU.

According to informational material from the EU, the national Equal programmes were drawn up by the European Commission and by national and regional authorities based on the guidelines of the Commission and the Member States’ priorities (The European Structural Funds – brochure). So the programmes were designed through negotiation between the commission and single member-states. It is the single member state that chose which concrete projects were to be carried out and had the responsibility for the implementation (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010, Sánchez-Salgado 2011).

Equal can be seen as an example and expression of the effort made by the EU to influence national social policy. A common European approach on social welfare issues had been searched for decades, but the real breakthrough was the Lisbon treaty in 2000. The common social welfare agenda aimed at “modernising the European social model, investing in people and combating social exclusion”.

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bour-market integration and targets a range of disadvantaged groups, not least migrants. It has also been described as informed by a specific ideology which emphasises the role of civil society:

The EU’s new outlook on integration conforms to Third Way ideology in its heavy emphasis on the prominent part to be played by “civil society” and also in its holding up integration as a potentially “profitable strategy” for corporations, “helping them to achieve their business goals through its focus on the commercial possibilities arising from increased diversity”. (Schierup et al. 2006:57)

Equal in the Guidelines of the Commission
The Commission of the European Communities formulated the overall aim of the Equal programme as follows: “The aim of EQUAL is to promote new means of combating all forms of discrimination and inequalities in connection with the labour market, through transnational co-operation. EQUAL will also take due account of the social and vocational integration of asylum seekers” (CEC 2000:2). Equal was considered as a part of the European common “…integrated strategy to combat discrimination (in particular that based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation) and social exclusion” (CEC 2000:3).

If we look at these brief statements, and in particular the indication of asylum seekers as a special target group and the focus on discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, it becomes immediately clear that the target of the programme concerned, among others, the millions of immigrants and their descendants throughout the EU. One of the bearing principles of the programme was also that the activities to be funded by the programme should be implemented by so-called Development Partnerships (DP). “DPs should (...) ensure that relevant actors, such as: public authorities; the public employment service; non-governmental organisations (NGOs); the business sector (...); and the social partners, can become involved during the life of the partnership” (CEC 2000:6). In other words it was highly recommended that the partnerships involved organisations from the third sector. Especially “…small organisations with innovative ideas must be able to make their contribution by participating fully in DPs” (CEC 2000:6).
The guidelines for the community initiative Equal motivate an expectation that immigrant organisations should, at least to some extent, have been participating in the partnerships that implemented activities in the field of integration. This expectation could also be strengthened by another key concept of Equal. Beside the principle of public–private partnership the guidelines stated the principle of “empowerment” i.e. that “…those involved in the implementation of activities should also take part in the decision-making” (CEC 2000:6). Before presenting and discussing the participation of immigrant organisations in Equal next section will shortly describe and compare the national Equal programmes in Sweden and in Italy. These programmes should be seen as implementations of the common initiative.

**Equal in Numbers**

The implementation of the Equal programme started in 2001 and continued until 2008 in two different rounds, the first from 2001 to 2004 and the second one from 2005 to 2008. It was financed by the European Social Fund (ESF). The following table shows some indicators of the size of the whole programme and of the national programmes in Sweden and in Italy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>EU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Budget (million euros)</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>3240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of EQUAL in planned ESF funding in %</td>
<td>4,2</td>
<td>4,4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESF in % of Active Labour Market Policies</td>
<td>2,8</td>
<td>8,3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of partnerships</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>3 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of participating org.</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>8 597</td>
<td>35 868</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total Equal budget for all member states until September 2007 was about 3,240 million euros and the Italian budget was about four and a half times higher than the Swedish one. The share of Equal in the planned funding of the European Social Fund (ESF) was about the same in both countries, but the contribution of the ESF to the expenditure on Active Labour Market Policies

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53 Daham et al. 2006:27 (Figures : 2001)

54 Ibid.

55 Equal Common Database (ECDB) “Average number of partners in a DP per CIP” (Figures: round I Jan. 2003, round II Sep. 2008), [http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/ECDB/equal/jsp/index.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/ECDB/equal/jsp/index.htm) (accessed 07-08-2012, 10:39). Notice that the number of DPs in the column for Sweden (77) is higher than the number of DPs identified in our study (71) (see Chapter Five and Scaramuzzino et al. 2010).

56 Ibid. Notice that the number of participating organisations in the column for Sweden (481) is much lower than the number of organisations identified in our study (656) (see Chapter Five and Scaramuzzino et al. 2010)
of the two countries differed significantly. The ESF contribution represented 8.3% of the active labour market policies in Italy and only 2.8% in Sweden. The table also shows that the Italian programme involved almost ten times the number of partnerships than the Swedish programme and almost eighteen times the number of organisations. The programmes differed also in the type of organisations that participated (Scaramuzzino et al. 2010):

Table 12. Types of participating organisations in the Swedish and Italian Equal programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th></th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Round 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Round 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Round 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Round 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public organisations in %</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private organisations in %</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil society organisations in %</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Scaramuzzino et al. 2010 Table 4 (p. 59)

The table shows that the Swedish Equal programme was characterised by a stronger representation of organisations from the public sector than from the third sector. The profile of the Italian programme was almost reversed with a stronger participation of organisations from the third sector than from the public sector. The participation of enterprises was quite similar with the exception of the second round in the Italian programme which shows a stronger participation of these organisations.

The statistical data about the Equal programme in Sweden and in Italy that has been presented here shows that both the programmes involved a huge number of organisations also from the civil society. The process of identifying the participating organisations and classifying them has already been described in Chapter Five. The following section will present the results of such analysis focusing on immigrant organisations.

**Immigrant Organisations’ Participation in Equal**

The following table shows the two populations of participating immigrant organisations in the two national programmes divided into sub-categories. The columns show which organisations were based on individual membership and which were umbrella organisations. The rows show different types of immigrant organisations based on the organisational identities:
Table 13. Types of participating immigrant organisations in the Swedish and Italian Equal programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individual membership</th>
<th>Umbrella</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sweden</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15 (71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-ethnic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11 (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-ethnic</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the huge difference in the number of organisations involved in the two national programmes the number of immigrant organisations participating in the Italian programme was in relative terms much smaller than in the Swedish one. Even taking into consideration that the Italian figures (as described in Chapter Five) might be underestimating the phenomenon it is clear that immigrant organisations accessed the Equal programme to a higher degree in Sweden than in Italy.

It is also important to notice though that five of the participating immigrant organisations in the Swedish programme joined their partnerships after the applications had been sent in. This is a quite big number if we consider that only twenty-one organisations were identified as entering the partnership in a later phase\(^5\) which makes immigrant organisations over-represented among those organisations that joined the programme in a later phase in Sweden. Concerning the Italian programme data about the participating organisations that had not been partners at the beginning of the programme was not available. Among these organisations there could be several immigrant organisations as well.

The table also shows differences regarding the types of immigrant organisations that participated in the national programmes. A larger number of umbrella organisations participated in the Swedish programme than in the Italian. Among these we find mostly ethnic umbrella organisations in Sweden, while in

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\(^5\) These figures are only partial as they are based on a study of only twenty-two final reports (see Chapter Five)
Italy the participating immigrant umbrella organisations were mostly inter-ethnic regional organisations. We can also notice the absence of hybrid organisations in the Swedish programme while this type of organisations represented one third of the participant immigrant organisations in Italy, mostly connected to the trade-unions. Italy also shows a quite even distribution between ethnic, inter-ethnic and hybrid organisations.

These results show that the participation of immigrant organisations in the Equal programme in Sweden and in Italy seem to mirror quite well the composition of the fields of immigrant organisations in the two countries (see Chapter Three).

**Immigrant Organisations’ Participation in the Partnerships**

Immigrant organisations were not spread among the different development partnerships in a homogeneous way in the two national programmes. Only 15% of the partnerships in the Swedish Equal programme included immigrant organisations. Most of these partnerships were identified by the Swedish ESF Council as working with integration (Swedish ESF Council 2006). Still, less than half of the partnerships working with integration included immigrant organisations as partners. Furthermore, it seems like most partnerships only included one immigrant organisation while most participating immigrant organisations were concentrated in four partnerships.

In the Italian Equal programme only 3% of all the partnerships included immigrant organisations. If we assume that these partnerships are the same as those identified by the ISFOL\(^58\) as working with integration (ISFOL 2006), it would mean that immigrant organisations were represented in less than one third of all development partnerships working with integration. Also in the Italian Equal programme most partnerships included only one immigrant organisation while the participation of most immigrant organisations were concentrated in five partnerships.

It seems that both in Sweden and in Italy immigrant organisations participated in partnerships working with integration. The participating immigrant organisations in the partnerships were seldom more than one. Only a few partnerships, in both programmes, show a strong presence of immigrant organisa-

\(^{58}\) Istituto per lo sviluppo della formazione professionale dei lavoratori - Institute for the Development of Vocational Training for Workers
tions from the start. The Swedish data suggests, as mentioned, that immigrant organisations tend to a higher degree to join the partnerships in a later phase. A hypothesis, supported by some of the empirical findings, is that some immigrant organisations functioned as a bridge to include other immigrant organisations sometimes as regular partners and sometimes as part of the network of cooperation.

These figures present the total population of participating immigrant organisations identified among all participating organisations in the two national programmes. This study will take a closer look at the participation of twenty-two immigrant organisations (ten for Sweden and twelve for Italy).

**Two Development Partnerships**

Before engaging in a more general analysis of the participation of immigrant organisations in the two national Equal programmes I will present two development partnerships; one for each national setting: “New Economy and Social Entrepreneurship” in the Swedish programme and “The Image of the Immigrant” in the Italian programme. They have been chosen because they both show a strong participation of immigrant organisations.

**New Economy and Social Entrepreneurship**

NESE is acronym for New Economy and Social Entrepreneurship. The goal of this Swedish partnership was to change the ways in which organisations in the public sector approached actors in the social economy. The partnership also aimed at changing the attitudes of social economy actors so that they could be more efficient and competitive in their work. The overriding goal is described as: “...to form closer ties between the public sector and the social economy so that they work with, and not against, each other” (Equal 2004:48).

The partners were fifteen in number at the beginning and included three immigrant organisations. During the process three more organisations joined the partnership of which two were immigrant organisations. Three of the five immigrant organisations from the partnership are part of this study. The partnership focused in particular on ethnic associations that had an interest in starting activities in the social economy: “NESE supports various ethnic associations that want to start co-operative businesses in the field of eldercare. The idea is that these businesses should be independent and continue to function even when the Equal period comes to an end” (Equal 2004:48). The focus on ac-
tivities performed by ethnic organisations could be one of the explanations for the strong presence of immigrant organisations in this partnership.

In 2004 NESE was running twelve different activities which according to the partnership “…arise in the border zone between urban district councils and associations…” (Equal 2004:48). The aim was to meet the needs that people themselves expressed and to support them. The contribution of the partnership to this development was intended to be the creation of a more effective model for co-operation. This is exemplified as relating “…for example, to how public officials should respond to a Turkish association that wants to set up an old people’s home, and to how the association should approach the public officials” (Equal 2004:48).

One of the needs that the partnership wanted to address was the dissatisfaction of many immigrant communities with the social care services offered by the municipality. Even if the interest groups and the municipality shared the goal of a service with good quality it was difficult to establish a dialogue, according to the coordinator of the partnership. He argued that while the concept of quality in social care was used almost synonymously with “material standard”, a Muslim association that wanted to start elderly care gave priority to “human values” such as that the staff could speak the language of the users and that traditional food was being served. The coordinator argued that “because the public administration has a prevalent position in the interpretation and does the procurements, there was a form of discrimination” (Swedish ESF Council 2006:40, translated by the author).

The partnership experienced that the system discriminated against activities in the field of social care performed by immigrant associations. Since the social care service was financed by the municipality all the projects were dependent on the will of the public authorities to sign a contract with the organisations in the partnership. The coordinator of the partnership found that public authorities were often negative when immigrant organisations tried to start social care services. “When a Swedish group of parents wants to start a preschool in central Gothenburg the politicians cheer, but when a Somali group wants to do the same thing the response is another” (Swedish ESF Council 2006:42 translated by the author).
The Image of the Immigrant

The second partnership that will be presented is called “The Image of the Immigrant between Media, Civil Society and Labour Market”. The stated goals of this Italian partnership was, through different interventions, to unhinge some of the mechanisms that were the grounds for discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes toward the immigrant population and that were present in media, schools and the labour market. Some of the issues that the partnership intended to address were: the tendency of media to represent immigrants negatively, the inadequacy of the social and health services to meet the needs of this group and the underutilization of immigrant workers. Starting from these problems, the objective is described as to contribute to the amelioration of the negative perception of immigrants in Italy and the valorisation of their presence and through this to promote their integration in society and working life (Compendium Iniziativa Comunitaria Equal I:64).

The partnership included twenty-two organisations among which five were immigrant organisations, three of which are part of this study. The project founded MIGRA, an online information agency which promoted a close cooperation between Italian and immigrant journalists. MIGRA was the first agency in Europe to mostly rely on immigrants as correspondents, according to the website.59

The partnership worked with three main objectives: information, sensitisation, and training. Each objective was worked with through different products. Information intended as “the promotion of a balanced and correct information” was pursued through websites (as MIGRA), radio broadcasting, expositions, documentary videos, etc. Sensitisation in the meaning of “to favour a better knowledge, perception and self-representation of immigrant communities” was pursued through community research, movies, spots, creation of an archive of foreign communities etc. Training in the sense of “to facilitate inclusion in society and labour market, working on the conditions for service offer” was pursued through research, training courses and internships for immigrant journalists (ISFOL 2006:115 translated by the author).

The lack of involvement of the projects’ recipients in general, and of single immigrants in the projects in particular (which is one of the goals of this part-

59 www.migranews.it/Chi%20siamo.htm (accessed 10-10-2011, 12:52)
nership) was described as one of the major weaknesses of the Equal programme by one of the experts in the Equal Observatory on the Immigration issue in Italy. On the other hand, he mentions the strong participation of social organisations and of immigrant associations in the partnerships working with integration as important achievements of the Equal programme (ISFOL 2006:143).

The following sections will present the analysis of the interviews conducted with the immigrant organisations and the analysis will be structured around four dimensions of the participation:

1) Activities and aims of the organisations
2) Conditions for access to the partnerships
3) Conditions for participation
4) Consequences of the participation for the organisations.

Activities and Aims
The first theme concerns which activities immigrant organisations have been involved in and which aims they have been pursuing. This is quite important when analysing the interaction of the organisations with the political opportunity structure. We can interpret these activities as an expression of the political opportunity structure affecting the organisations by shaping their activities in directions that are consistent with the aims of the programme. We could also see them as an expression of strategies for the organisations to reorient their activities in order to mobilise resources. In some cases they mirror more a form of selection as the organisations have been chosen by the other partners because they already were performing these kinds of activities. The empirical data show examples of all three types of mechanisms.

The projects that were financed by the Equal programme, and in which the immigrant organisations were involved, present a certain variation. All were oriented towards the inclusion in the labour market, in accordance with the aims of the programme. But the activities focused on different aspects of inclusion. Many activities aimed at fighting discrimination by producing information on immigration, racism and discrimination.

A representative of a Swedish organisation said: “The burning question that I addressed to the organisation board was unemployment. How can you enter working life without being discriminated against? And for those who are
working, how can you interact in your working place in an easier way” (interview November 2007). The same person continued describing how they had invited (together with the Equal group) different large enterprises to the association, but also politicians. They held seminars about the problems that they were facing in everyday life. The activities were not only directed towards the wider society but also towards their own community “Suddenly you realise that you, an immigrant, are also discriminating others”. The insight that also disability and homosexuality were grounds for which people were discriminated against was not always easy to spread in their own community, explained the interviewee.

One Italian immigrant organisation contributed in the programme with a “community research project” about the employment conditions for Filipino women in Italy (Basa & de la Rosa 2004). In the report “Me, Us and Them: Realities and Illusions of Filipina Domestic Workers” the authors state the hope:

…that the findings of this research project will contribute to understanding the magnitude of the problem of the social and cultural assimilation of migrants and to the political discourse of the integration and reintegration of migrants. Most importantly, we hope that this study will make a significant contribution to the lives of Filipino migrant domestic workers, now and in the future. (Basa & de la Rosa 2004:17)

The research was carried out by the Filipino Women’s Council and members of the Filipino community in Rome with the support of some Italian researchers.

Apart from activities focusing on knowledge production and discrimination there were also activities focused directly on producing new services for immigrants. These activities usually had a double aim: on one hand to find new ways of helping immigrants by starting new services and on the other hand to fight unemployment among immigrants by employing immigrants in the project. These activities were usually performed in a cooperative or a social economy enterprise, even when the participating organisation was an association.

60 Because the report has been published I see here no ethical concern in making an exception regarding anonymity.
A Swedish organisation received financial support from the programme to start a service providing elderly care in the mother language. The representative of this organisation described the situation of elderly people from the ethnic group as alarming with “people dying in their homes […] as a consequence of segregation and isolation. They have no possibility to reach the public municipal elderly care or help and support services” (interview October 2007). In the interviewee’s description of the project we find a two-ended aim: “We have employment as one of our aims but it’s only one of them and the user’s perspective is the other”.

The first aim, employment, was described as a consequence of many members having difficulty finding a job. The interviewee saw the existing social structures as discriminating against people having another mother language than Swedish. By building up an elderly care service in the mother language of the members, the employee’s foreign origin, which usually on the labour market counted as an obstacle for employment, in this specific activity became an advantage. The interviewee described the second aim as to introduce a users’ perspective in the elderly care. This aim was described as being a consequence of the foreign-born population in the ethnic group rapidly ageing and being in need of elderly care. At the same time, the public service showed little interest, according to the representative, in meeting the groups’ needs of being able to handle the contact with the municipal authorities and the elderly care in their own mother language. In this sense, their activity responded to the needs perceived by their members who were users of the elderly care.

Another example of activity with a focus on service production from the Italian programme was the establishment of an assistance office for immigrants. This office offered assistance regarding a broad range of questions such as: resident permits, citizenship, registration to the public health care service, social security number, registration to the public housing programme, formulation of curriculum vitae, translation of documents, resolution of car accident disagreements, the purchase of important and expensive items, etc. “With this office we have tried to give very concrete answers to the needs of the people […] it’s important in order to prevent the discrimination that people from other cultures and countries can experience in relation to the natives, in the administration of everyday life problems” (interview January 2009) explained the interviewee.
Another type of activity that we find among the participating immigrant organisations is within the field of education and training. These organisations performed activities aiming primarily at helping and coaching people in finding a job, an education programme, or a position as a trainee. Some immigrant organisations worked only as an intermediary between the labour market, the education system, and the immigrant groups, matching people with different positions. But we also find organisations that themselves have arranged courses and worked with coaching.

One of the Swedish organisations offered an education and training programme and addressed issues related to health, language, IT competence, education system, labour market etc. They hired two teachers, in health and IT, which they were able to employ and pay. They enrolled seventy-six students with whom they wanted to work in order to activate them. “They were people who had not been included in society or were not active” (interview October 2007) said the representative of the organisation. At the time of the interview twenty-three of them had got a job or had entered different education programmes or practical trainings.

An Italian organisation worked more as an intermediary between its own community and the job market. The representative described many in the ethnic group as living segregated from the rest of society and being far from the labour market. The activity of the organisation consisted in visiting the urban areas where most of the people from the ethnic group were concentrated and offering, especially young people, different sorts of job training.

There were thus mainly three types of activities that the immigrant organisations performed within the Equal programme: knowledge production, and information directed towards wider society (e.g. about own culture, discrimination), social welfare service production, and education, training and coaching aiming at strengthening individuals’ position on the labour market. The next table shows the distribution of the activities performed among these three types.

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61 The organisations performed sometimes more than one activity, but these could always be traced back to the same type, according to the above-mentioned typology. Thus the table presents one type of activity for each organisation.
Table 14. Types of activities performed by the organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge production and info.</td>
<td>2 (20)</td>
<td>3 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare service prod.</td>
<td>4 (40)</td>
<td>5 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, training &amp; coaching</td>
<td>4 (40)</td>
<td>4 (33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows very similar profiles for the immigrant organisations in the two Equal programmes. As a political opportunity structure, Equal seems to imply certain conditions for access and participation. One of these is that the organisations needed to perform activities directed towards goals and methods that define integration and social inclusion mostly in terms of labour market inclusion. Many immigrant organisations that participated in the programme had no or very little experience of performing such activities. In fact, other activities connected to the more cultural or political aspects of integration, to which most of the regular activities of the organisations in the study relate, were not supported by the programme.

The social service production and the social economy enterprise as an organisational form appear to offer possibilities to add a more “communitarian” perspective to the activities. The two-ended aim of the project made it possible to introduce services with a “user’s perspective”, as social welfare service in the mother language or culturally sensitive service. In this sense, we could see the implementation of such activities as a strategy of the immigrant organisations to comply with the overall objectives of the programme focusing on discrimination and labour market inclusion in order to be able to mobilise resources; at the same time as the organisation could maintain the role of upholding the community’s cultural identity and language.

The following parts will present and discuss the way in which immigrant organisations described and evaluated their access and participation in the programmes and its consequences for the organisation. It is important to remember that the views, opinions, and evaluations expressed by the organisations’ representatives are however dependent upon their expectations. Participants’ satisfaction is not principally determined by the amount of resources that they received and the influence that they were able to exercise in the partnerships. Rather, it is a function of whether there was a discrepancy between the expected and the actual conditions and outcomes of the participation, but also when comparing with the conditions of other organisations working in the
same partnership and comparing with working in other projects and partnerships.

**Entering the Partnerships**

Another important dimension of the participation in the programme is how immigrant organisations received access to the partnerships in which they performed their activities. A major concern here is whether the organisations were the initiator of the partnership or were invited afterwards and why. Another important issue is the resources required (money, skills, networks etc.) for the access to the partnerships and for continued engagement.

Most organisations entered the partnership by invitation of a larger, stronger organisation from the public or the third sector as described by a representative of an Italian immigrant organisation:

> One large, international organisation, a centre for migration knowledge, together with some Italian associations met. But they couldn’t do these projects without the immigrants, so they called us because they knew us already. So then we entered the partnership. Because without us, it wouldn’t be possible and that’s why we have entered. (Interview July 2008)

This is a quite common way of describing the access to the partnership by Italian ethnic organisations i.e. being invited by an already formed group of organisations. This representative was not alone in describing the reason for getting access to the partnership as a way for the other organisations to “include the immigrants” through an ethnic organisation. In this way, immigrant organisations became the link between the partnerships and immigrant groups that were targets for the activities and among which they sometimes hired people for working in the projects.

Only in a few exceptional cases the partnership was described as a result of the immigrant organisations’ own efforts and ideas. Among the Swedish immigrant organisations it was much more common though, that the organisation was part of a network of organisations that had already been collaborating in common projects. The access to the programme was then described as a network of organisations jointly deciding to apply for Equal funding as a partnership.
Some interviewees described their access to the partnership with the interest by the partnership for their knowledge about the immigrants and their needs. One of the representatives described how the partnership came in contact with them as they were starting gathering information about the target groups. The organisation had already run a project financed by the EU programme Objective 3\(^{62}\) aiming at mapping the needs of the ethnic group. The immigrant organisation was hence an important source of “inside” information about the needs that the potential users may perceive and have.

Many of the immigrant organisations that participated in the Swedish Equal programme already had experience of running EU-financed projects, and all had previously been granted public financial support for activities, had some kind of administrative office, and most of them had at least one paid staff. However, for most of the Italian organisations Equal was their first experience of running an EU-financed project, but many of them had extensive experience of receiving public funds from the municipality, the province and the region. Among the participating immigrant organisations in the Italian programme there seems to be some differences between different types of organisations. Both the hybrid organisations and the cooperatives could rely on strong networks, relatively abundant financial resources, and offices with paid staff whereas the ethnic organisations seem to rely to a larger extent on few resources and almost only on voluntary non-paid work.

Two factors that seem to have played a major role in the way in which the organisations were able to access the opportunity structure are the type of organisation and the starting conditions of the organisation in terms of resources, competencies and contacts. These two factors also appear to be connected with each other in Italy, where we find bigger differences in the starting conditions of the organisations than in Sweden. The Italian hybrid organisations seem to be a category of organisations that have succeeded in making use of Equal as political opportunity structure.

As a political opportunity structure, Equal seems to have been open for immigrant organisations that were already connected to a network that included

\(^{62}\) Program financed by the EU-structural funds “...to support the adaptation and modernisation of education, training and employment policies and systems in regions that were not included in Objective 1” (regions whose development is lagging behind) [http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/regional_policy/provisions_and_instruments/g24207_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/regional_policy/provisions_and_instruments/g24207_en.htm) (accessed 11-10-2011, 11:23).
strong public or third sector organisations. Sometimes the immigrant organisations were partnered already in the preparatory phase and other times they got contacted by the partnership and offered access when the process already had been running for a while. In Sweden, the interviewees’ descriptions of the access to the programme were more similar in relation to each other which could be explained by the more similar starting conditions of the organisations. In Italy, on the contrary, the descriptions differ much more which could be connected to the larger gap between the organisations starting conditions. There is, for example, a huge difference between some ethnic organisations’ very poor starting conditions in comparison to the stronger trade-union affiliated hybrid organisations. A quite common feeling among weaker organisations was of being invited into the partnership more because the partnership needed to include representative of immigrant groups, to get in contact with these groups, and needed information about them, rather than because there was a real desire to cooperate with them in the activities. This affects also their view on the participation.

**Participation in the Partnership**

The dimension “participation” highlights the conditions at which the organisations’ representatives perceived to have participated in the partnership and hence in the programme. Focus lies mostly on the challenges the organisations faced in the participation.

When it comes to the actual participation in the partnership and the programme there were different experiences among the immigrant organisations, as expressed by their representatives. Many of the Italian immigrant organisations found the administrative burden of the participation almost too heavy to bear for the organisations.

It was very hard from the administrative point of view. I don’t want to blame anybody, but the rules for the bookkeeping were not clear, it was like every time we made the accountancy, the department showed up with a new rule (...) the administrative part engaged a considerable amount of resources, our resources which were taken from our ordinary activities. (Interview July 2008)

Among weaker Italian ethnic organisations, the lack of financial resources was described as a major obstacle to the participation. A representative of one of
these organisations saw the small budget of many organisations as a great limit. According to this representative, the participant organisation needed to be able to guarantee financial coverage for seventy to eighty thousand Euros, which was impossible having a small budget. The interviewee saw this as one of the main reasons why immigrant organisations could not grow even when resources were available i.e. because of the poor starting conditions in terms of lack of resources. This was the case also in the Equal programme:

Few immigrant organisations fulfil the criteria for the application, because they don’t have the funds. In our partnership there was supposed to be many associations. In the first Equal meeting we had, there were many immigrant associations. Then gradually with the criteria that were set up, many of them abandoned because they couldn’t solve the problem of having the budget that the participation required. (Interview July 2008)

Some ethnic organisations were able to solve these problems by finding support amongst stronger partners which gave them access to their offices, administrative skills, and economic guarantee with their stronger budgets.

These two types of obstacles in the participation, the administration and the budget, which are both related to the resources of the organisations, were not present in the interviews with the Swedish representatives. This could partly be explained by two factors. On one hand it could be related to the national administration of the Equal programme, and the fact that many of the conditions for participation were set up by the national governments, and in this sense, vary across the national programmes (Sánchez-Salgado 2010). It is possible that the Swedish authorities, following a tradition of user-friendly bureaucracy, have to a higher degree been able to simplify the administrative burden that lay on the organisations. On the other hand, the relatively stable situation of the Swedish organisations, and the fact that they had a longer experience of handling public funds in comparison especially with some weaker Italian ethnic organisations could also explain these differences.

A common experience for some Swedish and Italian immigrant organisations was the difficulty to make themselves heard in the partnership. “Every month we sat in meeting with the steering board. Honestly, we felt that it didn’t give us so much. It was talk, talk, talk, and in the end when it came to a ‘real’ level, it was up to us alone to bear the project and carry it on” (interview October
2007), said a Swedish representative. One obstacle according to the interviewees was also the administrative language that was spoken in these meetings:

Because the others were people from the municipal authorities, they have another language, a bureaucratic language. We in the association are not used to it. We want more substance: ‘What shall we do now?’ ‘How are we going to do now?’ That’s how we have thought in our association. That’s why we many times felt that we were talking past each other. (Interview October 2007)

Hence, besides the lack of resources, one of the major obstacles that the organisations experienced in interaction with the other organisations in the partnership was the lack of linguistic and cultural competence. Some interviewees described the participation as challenging because of the bureaucratic language and because of the administrative skills and resources required to participate. Some interviewees, mostly from ethnic organisations, also mentioned the discriminatory structures in society which made their participation in the programme and the implementation of the activities difficult because of ethnic or gender-based stereotypes: “And then women are always unfortunate… because you see how it is here for immigrant women. They are victims of trafficking and prostitution. All these things… exploited at the workplace, raped. They can’t act because they are already stereotyped as weak” (interview July 2008).

An Italian representative expressed the lack of influence as a consequence of the general weakness of the organisation: “I don’t think that we were one of the partners that had a voice in the partnership: we played our role and that’s it” (interview January 2009) said the interviewee. Not having a voice in the partnership was not seen as an obstacle for the participation by this representative. “Playing our role” according to the possibilities offered, in relation to the starting conditions of the organisation, even when implying not having a strong voice in the partnership, could also be interpreted as a strategy for mobilising resources.

Another strategy adopted by participant immigrant organisations to influence the partnership, was to be from the beginning very insistent about their perspective to be included in the project. As expressed by another representative of an Italian organisation, “The pathetic thing is that the first issue I raised
during the first reunion was how we can speak about women without talking about the (domestic) work of the foreign women which are pervasively present in the Italian families” (interview October 2008). It took this organisation one and a half year to make the other participant to start to focus on this issue. The representative felt that many other participants found this being very annoying: “…it looked like I was some kind of maniac about this issue and that I was not being enough open for encounters on other levels […] I think I was being perceived like that”. The representative also found some allies in the partnership in some researchers from the university that started to re-launch their perspective giving “…a scientific base to my spontaneity” as expressed by the interviewee. Being insistent about the importance of their perspective and finding allies among the participants proved to be a successful strategy for this organisation.

Overall the Swedish organisations were more satisfied with the conditions of participation than the Italian organisations. The Italian ethnic organisations felt their role was especially limited because of the lack of resources and possibilities to influence the partnership. Most Italian organisations, even the more established ones, felt the administrative burden was excessive. Some representatives of Italian cooperatives and some hybrid trade-union affiliated organisations, on the other hand, described their participation as characterised by the same conditions as others which few other Swedish or Italian immigrant organisations would agree with.

As a political opportunity structure the Swedish Equal programme seems to have been easier to hold on to for immigrant organisations than the Italian. The Italian programme seems to have offered harder conditions for participation. At the same time, the Swedish organisations more often described their position as subordinate than the Italian organisations, with the exception of the Italian ethnic organisations. In understanding this apparent contradiction, it helps to remember that the ability to use an opportunity structure is affected by many factors that may also influence the way in which the representatives value the significance of the participation for the organisation, not least the initial expectations but also the way in which the partnerships are organised.
**Consequences for the Organisations**

The last dimension in this analysis relates to what happened after the end of the Equal programme and focuses on the way in which the participation has had durable effects on the organisation.

In spite of different obstacles, all the interviewed representatives of immigrant organisations saw the participation in the Equal programme as a positive experience for the organisations. A commonly described achievement concerns the activities made possible through the programme; to have had the possibility to experiment with new methods of working with the target group or to develop the regular activity with new target groups. Often it also meant the possibility of hiring people and paying wages which was especially important for those organisations which usually relied only on voluntary work. Some interviewees mentioned also the personal growth and capacity building aspects: how they had learned to handle the accountancy for larger projects and the pay rolls, how to work in partnership with larger organisations and how their knowledge about other groups, about discrimination, and also about the host society had increased. Furthermore, some described the importance of the participation in terms of having had the possibility to extend their network of contacts and cooperation. According to a representative of an Italian organisation, participation in Equal had:

> ...given us the possibility to test our capability and expand our knowledge; to clarify our role against the public sector [...] it has also had the value of making us recognized in the regional panorama. We have become, in the eyes of others, a serious and reliable discussion partner in all the issues that we, since Equal, have been confronting and handling jointly with the other actors in the regional migration panorama. (Interview January 2009)

Other representatives expressed their satisfaction in having had the possibility to make their voices heard as this representative of an Italian organisation:

> It has given me the very favourable opportunity as an association and as president of an association to talk to politicians and people located very high in the administration. I took advantage of the situation for talking not only about Equal but also of the conditions of our group and about rights. [...] It has given me the opportunity to express my views. In these years I have worked I have got to know many politicians and majors and many
people, bigger than us we could say, and I have expressed my thoughts. I have got it off my chest by telling how things really are. (Interview July 2008)

Of course the evaluation of the consequences for the organisations is highly dependent on whether the organisation was able to continue or even make permanent the activities they had experimented with. One Swedish interviewee described with disappointment what happened when Equal ended and the funds ran out: “The association exists and goes on and we try to keep things rolling all the time, but it’s more difficult because it’s not possible to volunteer all the time. Moreover, you can’t expect that people should come here and help all the time” (interview October 2007).

It is clear that for the larger organisations, Equal has been one project among many others, even if also the most established immigrant organisations valued Equal as one of the largest projects they had ever participated in, both considering the budget, the number of organisations involved and not least the transnational dimension. For most of the smaller organisations, which were not so established at the beginning of the project, the participation meant a temporary huge boost of budget, resources, contacts, activities and knowledge. For some organisations, the participation also meant the access to other collaborations and partnerships, and through these participations the access to new funds. For others Equal remained a “golden age” in the history of the organisation, and they expressed a disappointment for the waste of knowledge and experience caused by the end of the activity.

Equal seems to be a political opportunity structure that allowed certain resource mobilisation for Swedish and Italian immigrant organisations. For some medium size organisations it was a huge opportunity for strengthening their positions in relation to other organisations. Some smaller organisations, on the other hand, seemed to have had rather small possibilities to influence the partnership and get access to resources through the participation, and they have not been able to replace the lost financial support with new resources after the end of the programme. For these organisations the opportunity structure has been temporary in its effect. For the larger organisations, which were not as dependant on Equal for their survival or for their development as the smaller ones, it has meant a new experience in their organisational curriculum
vitae. This pattern seems to be valid both for the Swedish and the Italian organisations.

The Functions of the Immigrant Organisations
To conclude the analysis, this last section will focus on the functions of the immigrant organisations and in particular on the three tensions/dilemmas presented in Chapter Three, agents of democracy/sub-contractors, ethnos/demos and representation/deliberation.

The tension between agents of democracy and sub-contractors becomes relevant when immigrant organisations are included in the implementation phase of the policy process. As the Equal programme was an implementation of the European social policy, even though mediated by the member state, this tension becomes relevant for the participating organisations, not least as a result of the principle of “empowerment” in the programme. In fact all the organisations were involved in the development of activities and often in some kind of service production in the social welfare or the education and training area. The ethnos and demos dilemma is connected to the output of the policy which also is relevant in the case of the Equal programme as the organisations have had the possibility to reason about the consequences of the activities for the target groups and the members. Even if the participation in the Equal programme is not equivalent to participation in a process of policy-making, the partnership is on a more concrete level, a context in which decisions are made for the implementation of its objectives. In this sense, it is relevant to discuss the deliberative and representative functions of immigrant organisations in the interaction with Equal as a political opportunity structure.

Agents of Democracy or Sub-Contractors
Most of the immigrant organisations in the study seem to have struggled with the agents of democracy/sub-contractor dilemma in their interaction with the political opportunity structure of Equal. There seems to be some kind of common expectation among them of being able to have a function that is more than that of just a sub-contractor. This expectation could be related to the overall aim of the programme to include all involved in the implementation of the decision-making of the development partnership. Many immigrant organisations could, in fact, aspire to have a voice in the partnership both as partner and as representing groups that were the target for the projects and the activities. Entering a programme with such an outspoken, ambitious goal
might have triggered the expectation of being able to have a voice. We have however seen how some organisations have chosen to “play their role” in accordance to their limited possibility to influence, and in some way, have accepted more of a sub-contractor function.

The results show how the interaction between the immigrant organisations and the political opportunity structure stimulated very different functions among the organisations. First of all, the fact that some organisations entered the partnership from start while others were invited in a later phase gave them different possibilities to develop a function of agents of democracy. The later the organisation entered the partnership, the smaller it seems to have had possibilities to affect the activities. For some of the organisations that were invited for a special purpose, for example to recruit people for the activities, it was difficult to uphold other functions than that of sub-contractors. There were, however, examples of organisations that had been able to fully participate in the partnership, and influence its development and most importantly the activities performed by their organisations.

To be able to participate in the partnership from the beginning was no guarantee for being able to affect the activities and for making one’s voice heard. In fact, many organisations described obstacles and difficulties in this matter, most commonly the language skills required in the interaction with the other partners. To be very insistent about their own perspectives and interests to be included was an important strategy, described by many to be able to influence the partnership. For those organisations whose entrance in the partnership depended on other organisations’ invitation and/or their material support, it was sometimes difficult to uphold an independent position in the partnership and thus a function of agent of democracy.

If we compare Sweden and Italy it is interesting to notice how the implementation of the programme, in terms of types of activities performed, was very similar in the two programmes, despite the fact that the two countries present many differences. Organised civil societies’ role in the implementation of social welfare and integration policies are traditionally very different, as Italy has a much stronger tradition of involving such organisations than Sweden. This was also reflected in the interviews. In Sweden more organisations found the programme innovative from the point of view of the welfare system. Some of the organisations welcomed the programme as finally giving civil society or-
organisations the possibility to start producing their own services, but also mentioned Swedish local politicians’ hostility towards this development. Such views were not expressed in the Italian interviews. Here some organisations described how finally also immigrant organisations had been invited to participate in the implementation of social welfare and integration policy. In this data we also find especially hybrid-organisations that were already involved in producing social welfare service for immigrants on a regular basis in close cooperation with public authorities.

What mostly seems to explain differences in immigrant organisations’ experiences of participation in the implementation of the programme between the two countries is the way in which the immigrant organisational landscape is characterised. The fact that the participation in the programme seems to require both a stable organisational structure, access to a certain level of resources, and the access to a network of organisations, makes it reasonable to assume that Swedish immigrant organisations have better preconditions in participating in programmes such as Equal than the Italian ones.

Furthermore, the fact that the Swedish organisations valued their experiences in a more homogeneous way could be explained by the fact that the public subsidy system had created quite stable organisations that are able to participate in the programme on a more equal basis with other actors. The lack of such general systems in Italy instead has created different pre-conditions for participation, favouring the strong, trade-union hybrid organisations instead of the weaker, ethnic organisations. As such, starting conditions in terms of financial, human and social resources not only could explain differences between the countries, but also among the organisations in the same national context.

Ethnos or Demos
It seems that the Equal programme as a political opportunity structure mostly favoured the strengthening of bridging social capital and the demos function of the organisations. Most activities were directed towards the wider society and aimed at building bridges with the immigrant groups. This aim was addressed through employment strategies or through knowledge production and information campaigns to fight prejudices, stereotypes, and racism (often in both communities) in accordance with the programme’s objective.
One of the activities that seems to have given the possibility to conciliate bonding and bridging, and ethnos and demos functions is the “social enterprise” model. Producing services for their own community and hiring people from their own group potentially strengthens the community at the same time as it creates a bridge towards the wider society through employment. Whether this is actually the case is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is linked to the above-mentioned discussion on whether diversity has a positive or negative effect on social capital in the whole society. The fact that some of the Swedish organisations have met resistance, especially among local politicians, when it comes to ethnic groups producing their own services could be connected, beside a general opposition to subsidising welfare services, to a view of this phenomenon as a segregating process, rather than integrating. It could, in fact, be explained by different views on cultural rights and pluralism.

Representation or Participation
The fact that the partnerships are built on participation of organisations from different sectors (public, private, civil society) and with a focus on implementation and activities rather than policy-making should exclude a representational role for immigrant organisations. We could in fact expect immigrant organisations to be invited because of their expertise, competence and perspective rather their capacity to represent single immigrants. On the other hand, the empowerment objective of the programme and the fact that those involved in the implementation, i.e. the target groups should be involved in the decision-making could give immigrant organisations working in partnerships targeting specific immigrant groups an important representational role.

Not surprisingly, this was mostly the case when it comes to ethnic organisations. In fact we have seen how some immigrant organisations, especially in Italy, described their participation in the partnership as a way of involving immigrants in the programme. The same goes for some organisations for (mostly immigrant) women. Here the participatory and representative roles became blurred. Sometimes the role in the partnership was described in pure representational form while sometimes it was more described as the organisation having a specific perspective and expertise connected to their ethnic composition and identity. This could be explained as a consequence of the partnership not being a forum for policy-making rather for policy implementation, where decision-making is strongly connected to the activities performed.
However it becomes even more interesting that immigrant organisations are invested of a representational role in such a context.

Considering the fact that many immigrant communities were loosely organised it is also possible that some immigrant organisations functioned as a link between the partnership and other immigrant organisations that were too loosely organised to become a regular partner. The empirical data supports such a hypothesis.

Conclusions
The influence of the national context on the participation of immigrant organisations is evident by the type of organisations that have received access to the political opportunity structure. Among these organisations we find mostly ethnic umbrella organisations in Sweden which is consistent with the Swedish field of immigrant organisations which has been created through state subsidies directed towards national ethnic umbrella organisations (Schierup 1991, 1994). In Italy, the participating immigrant umbrella organisations were mostly inter-ethnic regional organisations. This is also consistent with the devolution of social welfare and integration policies to the regional level in Italy (Kazepov 2008) as well as the lack of representation of immigrant organisation at the national level (Valeri 2010). This shows how immigrant organisations previous interaction with other political opportunity structures (both in terms of systems for public subsidies and systems of interest representation) affects the types of organisations that interact with Equal. The analysis above shows further that the context is relevant not only for the selection of organisations but also for their possibility to use the opportunity structure.

The fact that the activities that the immigrant organisations had carried out are quite similar in the two national programmes is remarkable, especially considering that the role of civil society organisations in the two social welfare systems is very different. It implies that the Equal programme has been able, in some way, to stimulate projects at the national and local level with similar activities, even if the methods and the target groups were sometimes different mirroring, among other things, the different migratory systems in which the two countries are embedded. This could actually mean that the Equal programme has, to a certain extent, contributed to an Europeanisation of the national civil societies and of the national social and integration policies.
It might be important to highlight that even if Equal as a political opportunity structure was limited in time, it is only one example of many other programmes that have been financed by the EU-structural funds in the last two decades. The programmes that are geared towards the social welfare and integration areas were almost a semi-permanent source of resources for some of the organisations in the study. Furthermore even if Equal, as a political opportunity structure, might be seen as an expression of the EU, the political opportunities that it opened up for were mostly locally based. The activities that were carried out in the partnerships, especially those involving some sort of service production, were often targeting groups at the local level even if their effects were intended to be national. There were also exceptions as many information campaigns had a national coverage. Many immigrant organisations are in fact locally-based and their activities target groups at the local level. This is one of the reasons why the study of the local level is central for the understanding of the way in which the functions of immigrant organisations in the welfare and integration systems are affected by the interaction with political opportunity structures.
7. LOCAL POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

The second study in this thesis deals with immigrant organisations’ interaction with local opportunity structures. The delimitation of the research field has been less systematic than in the Equal study since there is not one local opportunity structure, but several. Due to lack of knowledge about which political opportunity structures were available to immigrant organisations in the local contexts, this study is not based on the choice of most-similar local political opportunity structures, but rather on most-similar local contexts. Hence the research approach in this study has been more flexible, has required more preliminary research and interviews with key-informants and the interviews have been less structured (see Chapter Five). This approach aimed at getting knowledge about the available opportunity structures in Malmö and Genova before focusing on the actual interaction.

The Local Contexts of Malmö and Genova

Malmö and Genova have followed quite similar patterns of development both from an economic and a demographic point of view. Both cities experienced a growth of the population and an economic up-turn during the industrialization phase. The shipyard industry played an important role in the development of both cities’ economy. The population in both cities grew constantly from the end of the Second World War until the beginning of the 1970s. In Genova the population growth was achieved through internal migration from rural areas in Northern Italy, and the less developed Southern regions (Salonen et al. 2010). In Malmö the internal migration from the rural areas in Southern Sweden was not enough to satisfy the need for labour in the growing industry. That is why several industries started in the 1950s to recruit foreign labour from mostly European countries (Berggren & Greiff 1992).
With the crisis of the industrial sector, and especially of the shipyard industry, and the following deindustrialisation, both cities were hit by an economic and demographic downturn during the 1970s. The inflow of new inhabitants reduced during this period while the outflow of people from the cities became higher than the inflow. Population shrunk as a consequence of the loss of job opportunities and the social problems that this implied. The population didn’t start to grow again until the 1990s for Malmö and the 2000s for Genova (see Berggren & Greiff 1992 for Malmö, Salonen et al. 2010 for Genova).

The inflow of international immigrants to Malmö has continued from the crisis in the 1970s until today. However there has been a change from the recruitment of foreign labour to the inflow of refugees, people in need of humanitarian protection and family reunion, following the national pattern (Lundh & Ohlsson 1999). The international immigration to Genova increased massively during the 1990’s as a response to the increasingly aging population in combination with an underdeveloped elderly care, anticipating the national pattern. Genova saw the inflow especially of female labour force from South America for the domestic care service sector (Salonen et al. 2010).

Today both cities’ populations include a large number of inhabitants with a background in other countries as illustrated in the next table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15. Demographic data for Malmö and Genova</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Malmö</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants (as % of total population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant women (as % of the immigrant population)</td>
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<tr>
<td>National background of five largest immigrant groups</td>
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</table>

Both cities have a relatively large population in the national contexts. Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden and Genova the sixth largest in Italy. The

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65 For Malmö inhabitants born abroad. For Genova inhabitants without Italian citizenship.
percentage of immigrants in the two cities is quite different reflecting the shorter history of immigration to Genova. The immigrant population in Genova is to only a slightly higher degree composed by women which has its explanation in the large number of domestic workers. Also the national backgrounds of the immigrant groups are different in the two cities. Another important difference is that while the immigrant population in Malmö has its highest concentration in the multi-storey neighbourhoods in the periphery (cf. Bevelander et al. 1997), in Genova the immigrant population is concentrated in the historical city centre (Salonen et al. 2010).

Immigrant Organisations in Malmö and in Genova
The attempts made in this study of mapping immigrant organisations in Malmö and Genova found organisational fields characterised by a few very visible organisations which interacted with other organisations and public authorities, and a large number of less visible organisations that left few traces that could be picked up.

In the database provided by the Immigrant Institute$^{66}$, where the registration of immigrant organisations is voluntary, one hundred fifty-nine organisations were listed for Malmö. The register at the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration of the City of Malmö included fifty-three immigrant organisations that were registered for public grants (City of Malmö 2011a). Up to year 2000, immigrant organisations in Malmö were coordinated through an umbrella organisation called Organisation for the Cooperation of Immigrant Associations in Malmö$^{67}$ (SIM). It started in 1973 and according to its last chairman it included about eighty organisations at its dissolution. In 2000 SIM became part of Malmö Non-profit Organisation (MIP) an umbrella organisation for civil society organisations in Malmö. In 2011, MIP included between twenty-five and thirty immigrant organisations depending on the definition, but the last chairman for SIM appreciated that there were in fact between one hundred and one hundred fifty immigrant organisations in Malmö:

Actually we do not have any statistics but I would guess that there must be about one hundred fifty because not all associations do register at the Leisure Administration or at the Administration for Social Service. There are many associations that are not registered anywhere, but they exist and they

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$^{66}$ www.immi.se (accessed 22-09-11, 14:08)
$^{67}$ Samarbetsorganisation för invandrarföreningar i Malmö
function. They make an association and keep for themselves and function without any contact with other organisations. (Interview November 2010)

A previous study of immigrant organisations’ functions in Malmö showed that most organisations aimed at meeting the target groups’ needs directly through their own activities, rather than indirectly through advocacy and influencing public authority and society. They often worked with creating a place for gathering and preserving the culture and language of the country of origin. They also provided information and support to newcomers to help them get access to the Swedish society and system (Dahlstedt 2003).

There are few previous studies of immigrant organisations in Genova and the regional register for civil society organisations included only one immigrant organisation. The only conducted national mapping of immigrant organisations in Italy (CNEL 2001) found eight immigrant organisations in the province of Genova (seven in the municipality) in 2001: one was an ethnic organisation, four were inter-ethnic and three were hybrid/Italian.

Two informal lists of organisations provided by a municipal office and a civil society organisation named between fifteen and twenty immigrant organisations. Furthermore, an unpublished study adopting a more ethnographic research method in the mapping of immigrant organisations using the Internet, leaflets, other advertisement of activities, and also through word of mouth, found fifteen associations in Genova (Soresini, unpublished). These figures are probably underestimating the extent of the phenomenon in Genova. One of the interviewees in a previous study about the cultural expectations of immigrants in Genova (Longoni ed. 2007) spoke about a very fragmented organisational field. This interviewee stated that there were three hundred immigrant associations in Genova, and that anyone that wanted to do something created an association. It was, according to this interviewee, a world that would have been difficult to reach for the local institutions through the traditional information channels (Turno & Orzati 2007).

Also in Genova there has been an organisation for the coordination of immigrant organisations. The first structure for such coordination was the Coordination of Extra-Communitarian Immigrants\textsuperscript{68} which was active from 1988 to

\textsuperscript{68} Coordinamento immigrati extracomunitari
1994 and included trade unions, Italian civil society organisations and immigrant organisations representing the following groups: Palestinian, Eritrean, Chilean, Iranian, Somali, Moroccan and Egyptian. In 1995 the Coordination became part of the Forum Against Racism in Genova which continued the coordination of the activities in the field of integration in the city. The Forum ended its activities in 2001 as the organisations were not able to find a unit of intents in addressing the coming anti-G8 demonstrations in Genova.

**Local Political Opportunity Structures in Malmö**

The five immigrant organisations in Malmö that have been interviewed concerning their interaction with political opportunity structures at the local level were all associations that gathered mostly immigrants and their descendants. Four were ethnic organisation and one was an inter-ethnic organisation for women with a background in Arabic countries.

The organisations worked with several activities: organisation of social and cultural events in connection with festivities, information about health and Swedish society, activities for children and elderly, demonstration and they also participated in different forums for dialogue on integration issues. Many activities were carried out mostly on a voluntary basis with few resources and by the organisation on its own. Other activities received some kind of external support, usually directly from the public authorities or through networks of organisations that cooperated on specific issues.

One of the interviewees described the external financing of the organisation as small amounts granted by different actors. Sometimes they got some funds from the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration depending on how many young members they had. Sometimes they also got some money from a national umbrella organisation of which they were members, but the amount varied from one year to another. Sometimes they also applied for funds to the district administration together with three other associations for common projects. For example, all four organisations had held summer activities jointly. One of the activities had been to take children and families to an amusement park and the district administration had supported the trip by contributing to the costs for bus transportation.

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69 Forum Antirazzista di Genova
70 [www.centroliguredistoriasociale.it](http://www.centroliguredistoriasociale.it) (accessed 22-09-11, 16:03)
The description made by the interviewee is consistent with how most of the organisations described the external resources that were available for them. It also highlighted two types of political opportunity structures with which the immigrant organisations in the study interacted: the municipal system for public grants and the networks of other organisations. In the following presentation of the empirical data, the focus will lie mostly on these political opportunity structures.

The System of Public Grants
In 2010 all five Swedish immigrant organisations in the study were registered at the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration of the City of Malmö and had been granted funds from there; two of them (Iranian and Somali) had also been granted funds from the Central Administration for Social Service while only one (Iranian) of them had in addition been granted funds from the Integration and Employment Directorate.

The Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration supported civil society organisations in Malmö that had activities that were relevant for the policy area the Administration was responsible for. These funds could be granted to support the organisations as such or for renting an office or venue and for hiring people who are in different labour market programmes. The Administration also supported specific activities for the target groups they were responsible for: children and young people age 4-25 and elderly 65+ (City of Malmö 2011b).

The Central Administration for Social Service granted funds for activities in areas that could be related to social welfare issues. The Iranian organisation received funds within the area of “General Social Orientation and Elderly Care” and offered mainly Persian-speaking (but also other groups) courses, radio broadcasting in the mother tongue, sport activities, library, and a centre for counselling and information. The organisation worked with issues related to integration, health, economy and democracy. The Somali organisation was funded within the area of “Drug Addiction and Homelessness” and offered Somalis in Malmö courses, seminars, camps, lectures, home visits and rehabilitation for people abusing the drug “kat”. The organisation worked for integration, gender equality, and represented its members towards public authori-
ties (City of Malmö 2011c). The Integration and Employment Directorate had granted the Iranian organisation funds for a project called HOMA aiming at preventing honour violence (City of Malmö 2011d).

One important resource that the municipality of Malmö offered was the possibility to hire people to work in the organisations through wage subsidies.73 A representative of one of the organisations described how ten years ago they had reached enough activities and activity hours to get access to the possibility of hiring four people with support from the municipality. These four people were all people with wage subsidies because, according to the representative, the organisation did not have enough resources to pay their full wages. The interviewee described them as people that had difficulties coming out on the labour market because of health problems. Up to about 80 per cent of the wage was paid by the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration according to the interviewee.

Some of the organisations in the study were very critical of the conditions that the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration set up for the funding. One critical remark concerned that the administrative effort required was a heavy burden for organisations that relied only on voluntary work especially when the funding covered such a small part of the organisations’ expenditure.

According to a representative of one the organisations, the organisations that were able to raise funds were those who had access to professional staff to handle all the administration:

> If we want to do an activity we need money right? It’s OK that my time does not cost anything but shouldn’t I get gas money at least? You have to get that. How do you do with this money? How are they supposed to be declared? You see? If people give them to you directly in the hand you have problems. So they need to be considerate towards associations. The ones that really make it are those who have accountants and lawyers and know exactly what they are doing. (Interview November 2010)

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73 The employment of people that have difficulty to find a job on the regular labour market (e.g. people with disabilities) can be subsidised by the state. This is considered an important resource for small civil society organisation, making them able to hire employees. In fact, the rules for hiring so-called lönebidragsanställda (employed with wage subsidies) are more generous for civil society organisations than for other employers. Local public authorities (e.g. the municipality of Malmö) have also often additional subsidies covering more of the wage (Johansson et al. 2011)
Another concern was that the organisations became very dependent on the municipal administration, and that in case of conflict the organisations could barely survive the loss of support. This is actually something that happened one of the organisations in the study. The representative of this organisation described this conflict as originating from an internal conflict in the organisation. Because of this conflict in the board of the organisation, the municipality suspended all financing of the organisation and other public authorities followed their example. The representative of the organisation felt that two persons in the board had tried to “hi-jack” the organisation, by taking control over the bank accounts and by firing some of the employees. When they met resistance, they started to contact all public authorities and manipulate them against the organisation, according to the representative:

They sent letters, X sent letters and said many bad things about us […] In this way they could manipulate them all […] And when a public authority in Malmö bans an organisation so do all other public authorities in Sweden […] And we lost a lot of money just because of this. (Interview December 2010)

The organisation held four assemblies with the members during that conflict to try to fix the situation, but according to the representative, the public authority in Malmö had already chosen a side in the conflict and was not interested in listening to the other one’s story:

We have been bullied and discriminated against by public authorities […] They helped them to get control over our bank accounts […] Still today we have not really understood it, why a public authority gets involved in an internal conflict in an association and why they can decide that… And things went that way. We couldn’t do anything more about it. But after four and a half months they said that it was ok and that the association was back. (Interview December 2010)

According to the interviewee, when the very existence of the organisation was threatened by this conflict and by the actions of public authorities, the representative turned to the members for help. The members helped the organisation for a short period of about two months with money so that the organisation was able to pay the most urgent expenses. The representative of the organisation showed how they had put information about all the money they got
on the website with the names of the members who had contributed, so that they would know about it and be able to pay them back.

These events were perceived by the representative of the organisation as an internal conflict which spilled over on the relationship with the public authorities that granted the financing. The interviewee also felt that the public authority had chosen sides in the conflict. Furthermore, when the conflict ended as the two persons that had started the conflict were forced to leave the organisation, they did not get any chance to investigate and evaluate if the decision of suspension was correct. “They made a mistake and we paid the price for it” said the representative.

It is interesting to highlight the strategies chosen by this immigrant organisation when the lack of public funding was threatening to destroy the organisation. On one hand they tried to solve the internal conflict through assemblies to comply with the requests of the public authorities, but they also tried to find alternative sources of money to be able to survive during the process. The members’ access to resources and their will to save the organisation made it possible for the organisation to survive the crisis.

Two key informants, one from the municipality and one from Malmö non-profit organisation (MIP), also talked about how vulnerable associations are because of their internal structure. “It happens that associations lose control” (interview March 2011) said one of the key informants, and added that when this happens it is important that public authorities that manage public funds suspend payments until the organisation regains control.

The Networks of Organisations
Another political opportunity structure can be accessed through networks of organisations. In cooperation with others the organisations get access to resources to continue their activities. Some of these networks are formalised in umbrella organisations both at local and national level while other networks are not formalised and are established ad-hoc for specific purposes.

One of the organisations in the study was participating in a project funded by the European Social Fund which was “owned” by a Swedish civil society organisation from the temperance movement. The project aimed at helping the members of the ethnic group finding employment either through self employ-
ment, starting their own business or through finding a job on the labour market.

Another organisation was working with Malmö University and the Cooperation Group for Ethnical Associations in Sweden (SIOS) with the aim of starting an informational day-centre for elderly people in Malmö. They were also trying to start a “House of Diversity” in cooperation with Folksam, a Swedish insurance company. In this “House” they intended to cooperate with other associations and enterprises:

...we had a seminar in Rosengård where Folksam participated and many other associations and where we agreed that we need a House of Diversity in Malmö to work with some issues: women’s health, integration and much more. Folksam said that they are prepared to sponsor a little. Furthermore it will be a place for the future where you can together with Folksam and other large enterprises plan other activities in the area. (interview December 2010)

The umbrella organisations also played an important role as political opportunity structures. Malmö Non-profit Organisation (MIP), the local umbrella organisation for all civil society organisations, for example included three of the five organisations in the study. Furthermore, all five organisations were members of at least one national umbrella organisation. There were also plans for starting a new umbrella organisation for immigrant organisations at regional level as a local branch of the Cooperation Group for Ethnical Associations in Sweden (SIOS): SIOS-Skåne. One of the representatives of immigrant organisations described the idea in the following way “Our idea with SIOS-Skåne is to help our associations to reach their goals. So that our goal is actually to help those associations, the weak associations, to help them grow a little” (interview December 2010).

SIOS-Skåne was intended to be open not only for the organisations that were part of SIOS nationally, but for all immigrant organisations in Skåne, regardless if they were member of other umbrella organisations. A representative of immigrant organisations drew a parallel between SIOS-Skåne, and the old Organisation for cooperation of immigrant associations in Malmö (SIM), mean-

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74 Mångfaldens hus
ing that in a way it was an attempt to rebuild something similar, but at a re-

gional level.

Malmö non-profit organisation was both seen as a resource and as a potential
competitor by the representatives of immigrant organisations. In the above-
mentioned conflict inside the organisations and with local public authorities,
MIP provided support and help on how to get by. According to the represen-
tative of the immigrant organisation, MIP helped so that the assembly was
able to be accepted and recognised by the Leisure, Recreation and Sport Ad-
ministration. They got much valuable advice from MIP.

MIP was however sometimes also seen as a concurrent. One of the representa-
tives described how one of the conditions SIM had in the constitution of MIP
was that immigrant organisations should have access to help and support with
the Swedish language since representatives of immigrant associations were
having problems with the language. According to this representative the group
for language support existed but the organisations did not get much help from
it. The lack of support for immigrant organisations was seen by this represen-
tative as a consequence of MIP being more interested in running projects on
their own. “MIP are only interested in their own dammed projects and are in-
terested in that they get them first and then all the others” (interview Novem-
ber 2010) said the interviewee.

Not only can local umbrella organisations offer opportunities, but so can hav-
ing membership in national umbrella organisations. One of the representatives
described how the national umbrella organisation to which the organisation
belonged often made use of local associations that were members to carry out
parts of or whole projects, for which they had received funds. For example
this immigrant organisation in Malmö had carried out several different AIDS-
projects with funds from the national umbrella organisation.

Limits and Challenges
Political opportunity structures for influencing public policies were seldom de-
scribed in the interviews. One explanation is that MIP had taken over the role
of advocate for the immigrant organisations in Malmö. The former chairman
for SIM described this local immigrant umbrella organisation as the old chan-
nel for immigrant organisations in Malmö to have a dialogue with politicians
and society. “But with MIP it has become a larger organisation so immigra-
tion is not there rather it has been integrated in this large organisation. It’s a good thing you could say, sometimes you need to integrate” (interview November 2010) said the chairman.

There were different forums for dialogue between immigrant organisations and public authorities at the local level. Those that were mentioned by the interviewees in this study were: the already mentioned Council on Integration at regional level and the Anti-Discrimination Committee75 and the Forum for Dialogue76 at municipal level.

Among the challenges that immigrant organisations faced in Malmö in the interaction with political opportunity structures, two main issues could be identified: the structure of the system for public grants and the language and cultural skills required. The first issue was mostly raised by key informants from the municipal authorities. The Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration for example granted most of the resources to organised civil society in Malmö. Their system for public grants was based mostly on activity support for activities which were at least sixty minutes long, were led by a leader, involved at least five members, and were planned by the association, according to an official from the Administration.

These rules were, according to this informant, built on having sport associations as a model but did not fit well with many of the activities performed by immigrant associations, even if these associations often also had sport activities:

…we see that these associations have much more often open activities than other associations and for those they cannot get any grants […] and they offer much help with children’s home works […] but there it’s the Education Administration that must intervene and they do not have any grants for this. (Interview May 2011)

That the system of public grants of the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration mostly supported activities performed by sport associations also becomes clear if we look at the statistics (City of Malmö 2011a), which have

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75 Antidiskrimineringskommittén
76 Dialogforum
been produced for the purpose of an evaluation of the system for public grants.\footnote{Among the four hundred ninety-eight associations in the report, Immigrant organisations produced 6\% of the hours of activity and got 4\% of the activity support while sport associations produced 65\% of the hours of activity and got 77\% of the activity support (Malmö stad 2011a:11)}

The way in which the Central Administration for Social Service structured their support to civil society organisation may also have been a challenge for some immigrant organisations: “We asked once and there were some talks [...] according to my impression that I got from them, they address associations that have vulnerable women or groups as target groups. And we do not feel so vulnerable in this sense [...] so we are not an appropriate group to apply there” (interview May 2011). This way of approaching the local political opportunity structure shows that the way in which the economic support is framed can have consequences on the organisations’ propensity to use it. Furthermore, it shows that organisations might prefer to avoid mobilising resources rather than being forced to change their perspective on the issues they work with or the organisational identity.

The other important challenge, which was raised mostly by the immigrant organisations, was connected to the language and cultural skills required for handling the administration in the interaction with political opportunity structures. The understanding of the rules for application seems to be difficult for some organisations and the general opinion of the representatives of immigrant organisations and some key informants was that many immigrant associations lacked the necessary skills not only to handle the administration, but also to reach out and take advantage of the information and practical support that was available. “When you ask for help they say to you ‘write down something and I will take a look at it’. But if I could write something I wouldn’t come and ask for your help!” (Interview November 2010) said a representative of an immigrant organisation.

Answering the question of which obstacles immigrant organisations faced when trying to get access to resources a public official from the municipality said,

They have small budgets and little time because it’s on their spare time they work in the association, on voluntary basis. When they work as volunteers
they have no knowledge and no time to sit and prepare the activity and start new activities. But if they do not get any financing, they do not get the possibility to develop the association and help their members. (Interview May 2011)

The same official continued explaining how important it was that the municipality of Malmö was part of a partnership when applying for funds at a certain level.

The European Social Fund, the European Refugee Fund, the Swedish Inheritance Fund, the Fund of the National Board of Health and Welfare and of the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs demand that the municipality is part of the project. They need a reference in the municipality because the municipality is the guarantor of the quality. When they see that the municipality participates and supports there is a guarantee that the project will continue when they run out of money.

This shows that many organisations were dependent on the initiative by public authorities such as the Integration and Employment Directorate which could help them in writing applications, and also in structuring the partnership according to the rules that were necessary for the project to get financing from European or National funds.

Local Political Opportunity Structures in Genova

The five immigrant organisations whose representatives have been interviewed in Genova about their interaction with local political opportunity structures can be classified as follows: two were ethnic, one was inter-ethnic religious, one was an inter-ethnic organisation for women with their background in Latin America and one was a hybrid organisation. Four of the organisations were associations, but while two of them had less of a formal structure without for example an updated list of members, the other two were more formally structured. One of the organisations was not a membership-based organisation, but rather an organisation depending on a network of organisations.

All five representatives of immigrant organisations interviewed in Genova were also active in other civil society organisations and networks working with issues connected to social welfare and integration. Hence the role of these
“ethnic leaders” in the organised civil society transcended their organisational affiliation in the immigrant organisations that are focused on in this study. These leaders used their affiliation to other majority-based organisations to perform activities that were relevant for their own group, in a more effective way than would be possible in the immigrant organisation. This means that some of the immigrant organisations, whose representatives have been interviewed, were rather inactive while others had a long list of projects that had been and were carried out.

One of the two organisations that were less structured was mostly involved in mobilisation and political activities like demonstrations against racism. They had participated for example in the local demonstration of a national campaign called “Without Us”78 about how Italy would have been without immigrants. The organisation was also connected to the ethnic network and relied much on the pre-existing social ties among people with the same ethnic background for the mobilisation of people and resources, for example when calling for an assembly.

Services offered by the most established immigrant organisation in Genova included: counselling for women and their families, organisation and administration of cultural activities, translation, interpretation and cultural mediation, language courses, cooking classes, catering and decorations for events, dance classes, counselling for research and edition and distribution of publications.

The hybrid organisation, the Centre for Integrated Services for Immigrants79 was part of a civil society organisation called Regional Federation Solidarity and Work80. The centre was administrated by immigrants in agreement with the Municipality of Genova. Also the staff of the centre was composed by immigrants who were professionally qualified and some volunteers. The centre offered the following services: social service reception, assistance with primary necessities, legal counselling, labour market orientation and inclusion, counselling for housing problems, information and promotion of the right to education and professional training, interpreting and cultural mediation.81

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78 Senza di noi
79 Centro Servizi Integrati per Immigrati
80 Federazione Regionale Solidarietà e Lavoro
81 Centro Servizi Integrati per Immigrati, brochure
Also in Genova the focus in the interviews was mostly on the system of public funding and the access to networks of organisations when it comes to political opportunity structures. Because of the small or rather non-existent role of the system of public funding for the direct financing of the immigrant organisational activities, this section will mainly treat the role of the networks of organisations which seems to be the most important opportunity structure.

The Networks of Organisations
Most of the studied immigrant organisations in Genova relied on a network of organisations for the purpose of working with social and integration issues. These networks of organisations seem to have been sometimes more connected to the person of the representative, the “ethnic leader”, than to the organisation itself. But this also depended on the strength of the organisation as the less formally structured organisations seem to have relied to an even higher degree on the ethnic leader’s network. A representative of an immigrant organisation described how he used his affiliation in a more established Italian organisation to carry out activities that were relevant for the ethnic group and that would have been impossible to run through the ethnic organisation: “Because we are not a structured organisation, and I am a member of X-association which has everything sorted out, we present the projects together with other Italian organisations but in the name of this X-association; because this makes the activity and the work easier” (interview April 2010).

In the above-mentioned case the link between the immigrant organisation and the network of organisations that was used as opportunity structure was upheld by the multiple affiliations of the leader. The more formally structured organisations seem however to have been able to build relations with other organisations at an organisational level.

We are a reference as much for the institutions and the local public authorities as for the private organisations. Mostly because we are a serious association and all the commitments and the programmes we have done have been very good [...] We all do our best to be known for being people that work with social issues, right? And this has been an advantage because we have truly valid members in the organisation. (Interview May 2010)

The representative continued the argumentation above by arguing that the situation for other immigrant organisations in Genova was very different.
Many other organisations had only one or two valid and active members and were often created for a specific purpose and disappeared after a short time without passing the threshold to become a permanent reference point, according to this representative.

Some representatives of immigrant organisations had access to networks of potential partners not only through their membership in other associations but also through their jobs. Four of five of the representatives had a paid job in civil society organisations and worked with social and integration issues. This shows how the usage of different organisational affiliations, both through membership and employment, was an important strategy for many representatives to overcome the immigrant organisations’ organisational weakness in relation to resources.

Finding a location for the activities was a problem for the less structured organisations, but they found they could rely on other civil society organisations also for this purpose:

Finally I have found an association that works with social issues [...] we have our office there and if we want to do something we go there [...] Because I know the person responsible for one of the trade unions and if we want to do a big meeting we go there, because where we are now there is not so much room. (Interview April 2010)

The Centre for Integrated Services for Immigrants was also a result of cooperation between immigrant organisations and other Italian organisations. The initiative was actually taken by the above-mentioned Coordination of Extra-Communitarian Immigrants in the years 1989-1990 according to an interviewee:

Local authorities in general had the Coordination as a reference to address various problems that the communities encountered on a daily basis, for example problems connected to public offices: housing solutions, the integrations of immigrants and their families. From low-threshold problems to problems at a certain level [...] So every association had a representative who, whenever one of the compatriots posed a problem, even of interpretation, often had to ask to leave the workplace for one hour or half an hour to accompany the member. And finally they said, ‘Well, why not create, with
the collaboration of the municipality of Genova, a structure that on an everyday basis takes care of these problems? Like a place, where the immigrant goes and asks for something and gets answers.’ In practice the Centre was born according to this proposition. (Interview May 2010)

At the beginning the Italian organisations that had been part of the Coordination (trade unions, Caritas and the Community of Saint Egidio) had offered their own employees as operators. These people had worked as operators providing services according to their different fields of expertise: working issues, legal assistance and primary necessities. When asked why the administrative responsibility was not given to the immigrant organisations in Genova the interviewee answered that,

...immigrant associations were not organised and structured well enough to be able to administrate something, a structure like this. Because we are not talking about people that are volunteers rather that are paid and in this sense it is a true enterprise and thus requires a real administration. It also includes some responsibilities. (Interview May 2010)

This shows how networks of organisations both within the civil society and the public sector played an important role in providing opportunities for immigrant organisations to work with social and integration issues. Another example of joint efforts for addressing these issues is the project “Add a Seat at the Table”82 which aimed at finding and recruiting well-established immigrant families for taking care of children with the same background that were to be placed in foster care. It was financed by the Vodafone Foundation Italy, the municipality of Genova and the region of Liguria. The project is described in the project report in the following way:

...it has promoted among immigrant communities the experience of foster care. The point of departure has been the acknowledgment that informal support based on principles of solidarity is already much extended among communities and that the collaboration with institutions can valorise and integrate it. Immigrant families that have experienced a positive path of integration in our country, in fact, know very well the expectations and the experiences of a migrant, the impact of migration on a couple, the issues con-

82 Aggiungi un posto a tavola
nected to the reunification with children and their integration. But they also know the Italian culture well, and have been able to build up for themselves and their children ways of life which preserve the roots, and at the same time value the present. For this reason they can, better than others, represent and support a resource that facilitates the integration of a minor immigrant and their family when the family is experiencing, for many reasons, a difficult period. (Melloni 2009:5 translated by the author)

This project was much appreciated by all three immigrant organisations that had been involved in the project and whose representatives were interviewed in this study. On the one hand the project had been important because it had recognised the “integrated families”, which had been living in Genova for many years, as a resource in the territory according to one of the representatives. It also meant that resources were invested in the community, as many families already had an important role in foster care, but on a voluntary basis, according to another representative. These families got access to a training course that was held by the municipality of Genova, the social services with the aid of a psychologist. This was very important according to the interviewee because of the huge responsibility that the role of foster care implied not least in establishing a relationship with the children and the families of origin, and because of the legislation that regulated the placement. It reassured the families that they were not going to be alone and that they were entitled support from the social services and were able to ask for help.

The System of Public Grants

The system for public financing in Genova was based on different calls for applications in different policy areas at different administrative levels. The access to public funding was reserved for those organisations that were registered in the registry of the Region Liguria for the regional funding and of the municipality of Genova for the municipal funding.

All the immigrant organisations in the study found it very difficult to get access to public funding. Only one of the organisations was registered in the regional registry for volunteers’ associations. In this sense, it was formally eligible for public funding, but could still not meet the requirements, which was explained by a representative of an immigrant organisation in the following

83 Associazione di volontariato
way, “... for the regional funds you have to make a co-financing. And how do you co-finance? For example by offering a structure, an office, a secretary and the people that work. We have no employees, and how do we justify the co-financing that we do? That is the difficulty” (interview May 2010).

In this sense, the system for public grants required for immigrant organisations to be part of a network with the consequence of always being submitted to other stronger associations, according to the representative. One of the immigrant organisations tried to solve the problem by becoming a social promotion association84 which gave the possibility to have employees and handle larger projects and financing. 85

The issue of the registration in the regional registry was very important for the organisations. The registration was, however, not easy to perform, also because there were bureaucratic proceedings that made it far from an immediate thing, according to a public official. The proceedings took at least a couple of days to understand for a citizen with a high education degree, and the making of the organisational charter, and the budget were mentioned as major challenges. The processes in general and the time for approval were also described as long and often requiring many additional documents. These challenges sometimes made the associations give up as they did not understand why it had to take such a long time. However the registration was very important because it meant to conform the organisation to some minimum standards of transparency in the internal administration, and to assume a minimum of rules which, according to the official, were accepted by the associational world.

The calls for funding were accessible to all associations that were registered in the national, regional and municipal registry, but only in theory, according to one of the representatives of immigrant organisations, “It’s obvious that an association that do not have the instruments, that is upheld only by volunteers who are not trained, do not have the project capacity, and cannot compete with other associations which are structured with employees, and with a well-organised administration” (interview April 2010). According to the interviewee there was also a problem that went beyond the registration issue namely that immigrant organisations had small chances in competing with other civil society organisations for the public funds.

84 Associazione di promozione sociale
85 For a better understanding of the typologies of civil society organisations in Italy see Ranci et al. (2009)
The writing of a charter and the administration of the budget and the accountancy was difficult for the organisations because of the lack of expertise, according to the interviewee. “And 90% or more of the (immigrant) associations do not have a budget simply because they do not have any financing except the internal self-financing and the self-taxation…” About the own organisation the interviewee said that they had decided not to register any membership because they did not have the capacity to gather all the 300 members to make an assembly. Instead they had become an association of a group of about fifteen people that were active. The choice to eliminate membership from the association was explained as a consequence of many immigrants lacking any training in the associational form. But this produced both internal and external problems connected to the economic administration of the association.

Another limitation that immigrant organisations encountered at the local level in Genova was the lack of coordination. One of the representatives claimed that every association was going in their own direction which made it very difficult to coordinate the activities. “Genova is multi-colour, multi-ethnic and we need it to be inter-cultural. Which is what is missing, the relations, the relationship between the cultures” (interview May 2010), said this representative.

### The Functions of the Immigrant Organisations

This section will focus on the functions of the immigrant organisations and the related tensions/dilemmas agents of democracy/subcontractors, ethnos/demos and representation/deliberation. It will also discuss the way in which the national context might explain the differences in the interaction between the two local opportunity structures.

Both in Malmö and in Genova, immigrant organisations interacted with political opportunity structures to be able to perform different activities. This interaction took place in Malmö within the system for public grants and through networks of organisations while in Italy it was almost only through networks of organisation that public grants were accessible for immigrant organisations.

The political opportunity structures with which the organisations interact at the local level in Malmö and Genova are part of the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems of the two countries. Cities have through history tried to find ways of accommodating diversity. The former heterogeneous fea-
tures, “the old diversity”, which was mostly related to social class “… have since been accommodated to a very great extent, and are now reflected in institutional arrangements, political structures and processes of decision-making in the cities” (Penninx et al. 2004:5). At the local level, immigrants present a new challenge for the authorities as new users with specific needs. These new users of service, “the new diversity”, need to be identified and handled by local authorities (cf. Campomori 2008) whether it concerns finding housing, locations or providing recognition and support of their organisations.

The previous analysis has shown how the participation of immigrant organisations in processes of policy-making at the local level was weak especially if we compare it with their participation in the implementation of policy in terms of service production. Therefore I will first focus on their function as agents of democracy or sub-contractors, and then on their representative or deliberative function. Finally I will discuss their function in the output of the policy in terms of demos or ethnos.

Agents of Democracy or Sub-Contractors

In both the cases of Malmö and Genova, immigrant organisations had, at least theoretically, access to institutionalised systems for public grants which were directed towards the whole organised civil society. Such grants can be seen as an expression of the effort by public authorities to implement policy through civil society organisations. The need for leisure activities for young people, for example, was a strong incitement for the municipality in Malmö to grant resources to immigrant organisations. Also social welfare issues such as drug abuse and violence against women made the municipality willing to finance projects run by immigrant organisations that related to these issues. The same was true for the local authorities in Genova (municipality and region) where calls for projects were made regularly to address social welfare and integration issues that the authorities found relevant.

An important difference between the two national contexts seems to be that while the immigrant organisations in Malmö interacted directly with this structure and got access to funds, this was not the case in Genova, where they were dependent on other organisations for the access to public funds. In both cities, however, immigrant organisations experienced a gap in comparison to many other majority-based civil society organisations when it came to their possibility to the access to and use of such opportunity structures.
In both cities the systems of public grants tended to treat immigrant organisations as parts of the local organised civil society. In this sense, immigrant organisations representing “the new diversity” were expected to get access to the same political opportunity structure with the same formal rules as majority-based organisations representing “the old diversity”. The systems for public grants in the two cities could be seen as institutional arrangements to support civil society organisations. However, in both cities these systems seem to have been built having in mind other types of organisations than the ones that are the objects of this study.

For those organisations both in Malmö and in Genova that did not participate or participated only marginally in the implementation of social welfare and integration policies the dilemma between agents of democracy or subcontractors was not so relevant. As they did not use the political opportunity structure that gave access to public funds for performing activities, they remained quite independent and by small resources mobilised among their own group they performed activities based on the own groups’ necessities, interests etc. Such a position, however, seems often to have been based more on the lack of resources for applying for funds that on a choice of independence from public authorities. In fact, the immigrant organisations’ lack of expertise and competence in administration in both local contexts seems to be a major limitation to their access to the system for public grants. Only one of the organisations in Malmö expressed a strategic choice not to apply for funds because the frame for such resources as aimed at vulnerable groups contrasted with the organisation’s own identity.

The immigrant organisations that chose, alone or together with other organisations, to apply for funds for the purpose of running activities had to handle the conditions and requirements of the public authorities. The public support system in Malmö in fact seems to have targeted mostly organisations that worked with leisure activities and social welfare issues, while in Genova it targeted organisations that were, to a higher degree than in Malmö, professionalised and worked with social welfare issues. Such a system of course sorted out many organisations that could not perform such activities and/or could not meet the organisational requirements. It is, though, also possible that some of the organisations oriented their activities so that they met such requirements.
However it is difficult to see such an interaction as stimulating a subcontractor function. The systems for public grants were open for applications concerning many different activities that in a quite broad sense related to the policy areas for which the administrations were responsible. When the organisations had received their funds they “owned” their projects and activities. In this sense, it seems that the system for public grants in Malmö was steering more the types of organisations and activities that they financed, but not the actual performing that was left to the organisations. Also the initiative was taken by the organisations themselves. The same goes for the calls for project proposals in Genova even if immigrant organisations did not seem to directly apply for such resources.

In both local contexts immigrant organisations interacted also with different networks of organisations. This could be seen as an expression of the development of local policy from government to governance. In fact, local policymaking and implementation was often organised around partnerships between public authorities and civil society organisations, sometimes with the cooperation of the private corporate sector. This is a trend that has been relevant both for Malmö (Brommé 2007) and Genova (Calbi 2004).

But while immigrant organisations in Malmö were less dependent on these networks for their activities, in Genova they were the only way of accessing external resources. In Malmö the permanent access to the system of public grants guaranteed some minimum stability, but made the participation in network of organisations important to get access to other types of funding, especially national and EU. In Genova participation in networks of organisations was the ordinary way in which projects that required resources were carried out instead.

When working in partnership with other organisations the interaction among the participants and the roles they are granted in the partnership are important factors to explain the functions of immigrant organisations. As we have seen also in the case of Equal, a more independent and equal position in the partnership triggers a function of agent of democracy while a more dependent and subordinate position triggers a function of subcontractor. Some immigrant organisations in the local context might be invited to participate in partnerships with a specific purpose and role, for example finding families that are willing to enter the project on foster care. In such cases it seems that the organisations
function more as sub-contractors than as agents of democracy. This seems more often to have been the case in Genova where immigrant organisations were more often dependant on such networks and partnerships for running activities.

Furthermore the organisations that have been interviewed in Malmö were, probably also as an effect of the system of public grants, quite structured. This means that their access to networks of organisations was a function of organisational relations. In Genova for the less structured organisations the access to networks of organisations went to a higher degree through the “ethnic leader”. Not seldom these leaders were affiliated as employees or members to other stronger civil society organisations. Having these different roles in the organised civil society made resources available such as offices and competence that otherwise would have been difficult to get access to and at the same time made the immigrant organisation dependent on other organisations that might have their own agendas and purposes.

The networks were also often “guarded” by gate-keepers that granted immigrant organisations the access to the partnership, often through invitation to collaborate on certain issues. In Malmö it seems to have been more often the public authorities that played this role while in Genova it usually was other majority-based civil society organisations. This could be seen as an expression of the different roles played by the organised civil society in the two countries. While public organisations are the most dominant actors as service producer in the welfare domain in Sweden (Olsson et al. 2009) Italy, has through the so-called welfare mix, experienced a large expansion of service delivery in the welfare domain by civil society organisations (Ranci et al. 2009).

The different welfare systems and the different ways in which the public sector and organised civil society shared the responsibility for welfare production might also explain the differences in the type of activities that the immigrant organisations were involved in. The relatively stronger social welfare profile in the political opportunity structures in Genova compared to Malmö can be related to different divisions of responsibilities between public sector and civil society in the production of social welfare services. In Malmö the responsibility for integration services has relied mostly on public authorities, and has been integrated into the regular services provided by the municipality to the population (Brommè 2007). In Genova, on the other hand, integration services
have been part of the services provided by the municipality in cooperation with civil society organisations (cf. Calbi 2004) and has led to the development of special offices where immigrants can find professionals with a special competence. In this sense, we see a strategy in Malmö of handling the “new diversity” by opening up the municipal organisation to people with immigrant background (Brommé 2007), while in Genova a tendency of involving ethnic leaders in the network with which the public authorities work.

In Malmö, immigrant organisations received funds for activities that were often at the margin of the social welfare and integration policy and that integrate other activities and services performed by the public authorities. In Genova, on the other hand, we find the Centre for Integrated Services for Immigrants, a hybrid organisation originating from the coordination of immigrant organisations, producing services in cooperation with other civil society organisations and public authorities working at the core of the social welfare and integration system providing essential services for immigrants. These differences can also partly be connected to the longer experience of immigration in Malmö than in Genova. Malmö, between the mid 1970s and the mid 1990s, also had a tendency towards treating immigrants and integration as a policy area on its own with the establishment of an Immigrant Administration86 and an Immigrant Committee87 (Brommé 2007, Marekovic 2011).

Finally, another possible explanation could be the differences in the types of migration, and in the scope and range of the service provision for immigrants. Such differences have already been described in previous chapters and have been confirmed by interviewees in both cities. Most immigrants that settle permanently in Sweden and in Malmö come as asylum seekers or for family reunion, and are entitled to an introduction programme which is financed by the state. Furthermore, immigrants that reside legally in Sweden have access to the social welfare services that are available at local level and to the general systems for social protection. In Italy and Genova most immigrants come as foreign workers and have not access to any special introduction programme. Also, the social welfare services that are offered at local level in Italy, and which immigrants that reside legally have access to, have a smaller coverage than in Sweden. Furthermore, the number of undocumented migrants in Italy is both in absolute and relative terms much larger than in Sweden.

86 Invandrarförvaltning
87 Invandrarnämnd
The types of immigration, the time that immigrant groups have spent in the countries, and the national and local welfare system can thus play important roles in the type of needs that immigrant organisations meet in the two national contexts. In fact immigrant organisations in Genova seem to be meeting many basic necessities such as work, housing, and economic support which are more uncommon among immigrant organisations in Malmö.

**Representation or Participation**

In both Malmö and Genova immigrant organisations interacted with political opportunity structures to influence policy at different stages in the policy process. The examples of forums for consultation on policy-making were quite few at municipal level. However the organisations were still discussed in terms of influence, interest representation, and specific competencies when it came to the implementation of social welfare and integration policy. The “added value” of this kind of organisation was often present in the discussions both with representative of immigrant organisations and with public officials.

In Genova, immigrant organisations and ethnic leaders (to a higher degree than in Malmö), spoke of themselves and were viewed as potentially representing immigrants in front of public authorities. In this sense, immigrant groups or ethnic groups were often described as “communities”, even if this representation and the actual existence of communities could be questioned.88 In Malmö this function was not expressed at all in the empirical data. The organisations were seen as representing their members and some interviewees were not always used to and sometimes did not even feel comfortable with talking about “immigrant organisations”. In fact the Leisure, Recreation, and Sport Administration had recently decided not to use the definition “immigrant organisations” anymore. This might be connected to the longer history of immigration in Malmö in comparison to Genova, and the fact that some ethnic groups have resided in Malmö for almost 50 years. In fact Malmö has, in the last two decades, moved towards an incorporation of the local integration policy in the general local welfare system, as previously discussed. But it might also be explained by the different rules for public elections. All immigrants legally residing in Sweden for at least three years have in fact the right to vote and be elected in local elections. This together with the high naturalisa-

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88 In Italian the term used is “comunità” and it can be found in many official documents for example in the Regional Law on integration in Liguria (Regional Law 7/2007). It usually refers to groups of immigrants having the same ethnic, cultural or religious background.
tion rate makes immigrants’ representation through the representative system in Sweden an important way of canalising their interests. In Italy on the other hand the electoral system is closed for all non-citizens. This together with tougher rules for the acquisition of citizenship makes immigrant organisation an important channel for the canalisation of the non-citizens’ interest in the corporate system.

These results suggest that the representative function of immigrant organisations is much stronger in Genova than in Malmö where such organisations are instead perceived and valued much more for their organisational capacity in terms of activities (participation function), than for their potential of representing immigrant communities (representation function). In both cities we find that the coordination of immigrant organisations have become weaker through the years, and have formally disappeared at the turn of the century. This is explained in both contexts as a consequence of the changes in the needs of immigrants through changes in migratory patterns but also processes of integration in society.

Many immigrant organisations in Malmö had found in MIP a new formal structure for coordination also with other civil society organisations at the same time as new efforts of coordination at regional level among immigrant organisations had been undertaken through SIOS-syd. In Genova the development was more contradictory where very few immigrant organisations were part of the visible organised civil society, and sometimes only by the persona of their ethnic leaders.

**Ethnos or Demos**

The activities enabled and stimulated by the local political opportunity structures seem to point in the direction of a development of the immigrant organisations’ functions towards producing bridging social capital, especially in Malmö.

In Malmö, the organisations were stimulated to work mostly with leisure, educational and informational activities, but also with projects connected to vulnerable groups and labour market inclusion. Cultural, social and political activities were made possible mostly with internal resources. In this sense, one could say that the local political opportunity structures in Malmö only partially stimulated traditional functions of immigrant organisations in Sweden as
leisure activities. The structures also gave the opportunity to work with social welfare and labour market issues which are traditionally weaker among immigrant organisations (e.g. Dahlstedt 2003). However these activities were performed in time-limited projects and not as parts of regular service provision.

In Genova immigrant organisations’ interaction with the local political opportunity structures offered opportunities mostly for social welfare and cultural activities. Most activities were, as in Malmö, carried out without relevant external funding and on a voluntary basis. On the other hand, we see that parts of the regular, permanent social welfare service for immigrants had been assigned a civil society organisation, and was administrated by immigrants. Also, the project on foster care families showed an involvement of immigrant organisations in the regular provision of social services.

Taken into consideration all the limitations of this analysis of the local integration policies in Malmö and Genova, it might still be interesting to make an attempt of relating it to the different models of local integration policy (see Chapter Four). Malmö appears closer to the intercultural policy model where migrants are seen by public authorities as permanent, while ethnic otherness should not be overemphasised. They also support migrant associations as agents of integration. Genova could be seen as a system in between a guest worker policy model and pluralist policy model. According to the guest worker policy model authorities see migrants as temporary guest-workers and have informal cooperation with migrant associations on limited issues. According to the pluralist policy model migrants are seen by public authorities as permanent and their otherness should be supported. They support migrant associations as agents of empowerment and delegate services to associations.

In this sense, while political opportunity structures in Malmö seem to trigger mostly a bridging function of immigrant organisations, the development in Genova is more contradictory. Such contradictions might mirror the tension between the quite restrictive Italian national policies on migration and integration (by the centre-right government coalition) and the more progressive local integration policies in Liguria and Genova (both governed by a centre-left coalition).
Conclusions

Compared to the Equal study, we find at the local level important differences between Malmö and Genova in the interaction of immigrant organisations with political opportunity structures. These interaction patterns stimulated different functions of immigrant organisations in the two local contexts as have been shown in this chapter. Furthermore there are many differences between the functions of immigrant organisations in Malmö and Genova that can be related to the different national contexts mostly in terms of social welfare and integration systems. Also the specific local contexts, and especially their historical institutional development, played an important role, even if the similarities between the local contexts are also mirrored in the results.

One of the most important differences which links this study together with the next is the way in which the policy-making process in the two national contexts were organised among administrative levels. While immigrant organisations in Malmö were just marginally involved in such processes, the participation of immigrant organisations in policy-making processes in Genova was strongly connected to the experience of the regional council for integration which was extensively discussed in the interviews. The national civil dialogue on integration in Sweden instead involved mostly immigrant umbrella organisations at national level which however represented all the five organisations included in the local study. These political opportunity structures for political participation will be the theme for next chapter.
8. OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The third study in this thesis deals with immigrant organisations’ participation in processes of policy-making; for Sweden the dialogue–process on integration at national level, while for Italy the Regional Council for the Integration of Foreign Immigrant Citizens. Because of the different nature of the two processes and because of the differences in the data collection methods (see Chapter Five) the two experiences cannot be systematically compared. However, with the help of the theoretical framework of the thesis, the last part of the chapter will present a comparison focusing on the functions of the immigrant organisations and the role of the national contexts.

The Swedish Civil Dialogue on Integration
The civil dialogue process on integration in Sweden follows the example of other models for civil dialogue that have been conducted at national and local level during the last decades in many countries. The role model is considered to be the British civil dialogue that resulted in an agreement, the so-called Compact, aiming “...at creating a new approach to partnership between Government and the voluntary and community sector” (from the Compact in Casey et al. 2010). At the national level there are several examples of civil dialogues through the years: England (1998), Scotland (1998/2003), Italy (1999), Ireland (2000), Croatia (2000), Denmark (2001), France (2001), Estonia (2002), Latvia (2005), Lithuania (2007), and Slovenia (2007) (cf. Casey et al. 2010, Johansson et al. 2011).

The first Swedish national dialogue and following agreement was conducted in 2007-2008 and focused on social welfare issues (Johansson et al. 2011). The civil dialogue on social welfare involved representatives of the Swedish gov-
ernment, for the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL) and for civil society organisations active in the social welfare field. It covered broad-ranging questions about the role of civil society organisations in a changing welfare state, what principles that would guide the relationship between the welfare state and civil society organisations, and how civil society organisations could support people excluded from society at large etc. This dialogue was initiated by the Swedish government but had been lobbied for by a large umbrella organisation within civil society since 2002. The process led to the formulation of an agreement document which has been published and has been signed by about 50 civil society organisations (Johansson 2011).

The Swedish civil dialogue on integration (which this study deals with) was initiated in 2009 as a continuation and implementation of the agreement on social welfare by the same liberal-conservative Swedish government and has involved civil society organisations that are active in the field of integration and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL). The proclaimed aim of the dialogue was to revise and clarify how civil society organisations that are involved in the field of integration can uphold at the same time the dual function of performers of welfare services and of advocates as a critical voice. The government also aimed to clarify the relationship between the public sector and the third sector that was involved in the field of integration and to eliminate the obstacles that hold back civil society organisations in their work with integration (Swedish government 2009). The dialogue process resulted in an agreement-document which was approved by the representatives of the third sector that have participated in the dialogue process, by SKL and by the Swedish government. The agreement was been published online and has since been available for all concerned civil society organisations to take part of and eventually sign. At the 23rd of November 2010 twenty-seven civil society organisations had signed the agreement, including five immigrant organisations.

Among the civil society organisations that participated in the civil dialogue process on integration we find NGOs such as the Swedish Red Cross and Caritas, organisations representing interest groups like The Swedish Disability Federation (HSO), The Cooperation Group for Ethnical Associations in

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89 Sveriges kommuner och landsting
90 Handikappförbunden

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Sweden (SiOS) and the Swedish Union of Tenants\textsuperscript{91}, and many other organisations like The Swedish Adult Education Association\textsuperscript{92}, Malmö non-profit organisation (MIP) and The Church of Sweden. These organisations were invited together with many other civil society organisations as representing parts of the organised civil society that is involved in the field of integration.

The civil dialogue on integration was meant to focus on issues and questions concerning civil society organisations’ commitment to the integration policy at a local level and on their cooperation with local authorities on a concrete level. There was, at least from the side of the government, an expectation that some of the questions and issues that had been discussed in the first civil dialogue on social welfare could be applied also in the second agreement. However, during the process, it became clear that many of the broader questions that were discussed in the first dialogue process were brought up again by the civil society organisations in the second dialogue process. This could be seen as an attempt from the side of these organisations not to be limited in the negotiations by the content in the written agreement that was the product of the dialogue on social welfare. In fact many organisations that had been invited to the civil dialogue on integration had not been taking part in the precedent dialogue. Others that were interviewed, and that had been involved in it, stated that the dialogue on social welfare had been more or less dominated by a handful of more powerful civil society organisations.

The dialogue process on integration can be regarded as a collective composition of a text and continuous negotiations on its content. As the dialogue process was a negotiation between three parties, i.e. the government, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL) and the civil society organisations it was not always possible to distinguish the immigrant organisations from the other participants representing civil society. In fact immigrant organisations did not speak with “one voice”. They rather worked together with other civil society organisations as a single party in a three-party dialogue process.

In the analysis, focus will mainly lie on immigrant organisations, but with the ambition of showing that these organisations were participating as formally independent actors alongside with Swedish organisations frequently choosing

\textsuperscript{91} Hyresgästföreningen
\textsuperscript{92} Folkbildningsförbundet
different strategies and approaches. Using the definition of immigrant organisation (see Chapter Two), thirty-four immigrant organisations could be identified among the one hundred thirty civil society organisations that were involved in the dialogue process. The next table shows the type of immigrant organisations that were involved:

Table 16. Number of immigrant organisations that participated in the dialogue process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of organisation</th>
<th>N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic national umbrella org.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant women’s national umbrella org.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-ethnic national umbrella org.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic local org.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these organisations had a history of interaction with political opportunity structures at national level and many represented the same ethnic groups. Of the thirty-three national immigrant organisations, eighteen (54%) had received funds in 2010 by the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, the authority in charge of administrating the state funding for ethnic organisations. The thirty ethnic national umbrella organisations represented seventeen different ethnic groups and nine of the organisations were members of The Cooperation Group for ethnic Associations in Sweden (SIOS) which also participated in the dialogue process (under inter-ethnic national umbrella org. in the table).

The Dialogue Process

The dialogue process on integration was initiated in 2009 by the Swedish government, composed by the ruling liberal-conservative coalition, by initiative of The Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. About a hundred civil society organisations that were active in the field of integration were invited to participate. The government also appointed as process leader: an experienced politician with a background in the People’s party (liberal), and in the Swedish Red Cross. He had also led the preceding dialogue process as the government’s expert. Now his role was more that of an external consultant.

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93 It is not easy to get a full picture of all the organisations that have been involved in the dialogue process. The number one hundred thirty includes the organisations that were mentioned in the e-mail lists of the government officials, the organisations that have formally commented the drafts of the agreement and the organisations that have signed the agreement.

94 Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet
In the first phase, the organisations were invited to participate to hearings in groups of three to ten organisations. The hearings were characterised by a number of open questions like: how would you describe your role as an organisation and in which areas are you active? With which methods do you work? What could your organisation do more? The first phase resulted in a written document based on the notes that were taken by the government’s officials during the hearings. Nine hearings were held during a period of one and a half months. One of the results of the hearings was a specification of the integration issue in seven thematic areas: Language, Health, Housing, Employment, Education, Meeting spaces, Cooperation, and Other.

At the first conference, held in April 2009, to which all organisations were invited, these thematic areas were used to divide the conference in separate smaller working groups, each one with a leader appointed by the government officials. At the end of the conference, the group leaders were proposed by the government officials to be representative of the third sector organisations which was accepted by the conference. To this group some other organisations' representatives were added as they expressed their will to participate. In this way a new working group, called “reference group” was created composed by twelve representative of civil society organisations, government officials, representative of SKL and the process leader. Of these twelve representatives, five were from immigrant organisations.

The next phase consisted of several periodical meetings of the reference group with the frequent participation of most of the twelve representatives from the third sector while the representative of SKL participated more seldom. The government officials also held separate meetings with the other departments and with representatives from the opposition composed of the social democratic, socialist, and green parties. During the summer a first draft of the document was sent out for comments to all organisations, eleven organisations answered among which two immigrant organisations, both represented in the reference group. In the late summer, the representatives of the third sector in the reference group also started to hold separate meetings to coordinate their strategies in the dialogue process. These meetings were held both during the time in between the formal meetings by the reference group but also immediately before and/or after.
In late fall, the work with the document was becoming more focused on smaller details. An “editor group” was appointed, composed by three representatives from the third sector, one of the government officials, and one representative of SKL. The aim was to work with the text in close cooperation. At the same time the representative of SKL became more and more involved in the dialogue process. In February 2010 a new round of comments was initiated while comments were also collected at a new conference, to which all organisations were again invited to participate. Sixteen organisations answered or made major comments at the conference, among which there was one immigrant organisation (same as in summer 2009). During the conference the participants also renewed their mandate to the reference group to continue with the final editing of the text.

The document was finally approved by the representatives of the third sector and by SKL, and in April 2010 signed by the Minister of Integration and Gender Equality. The document was uploaded to the government’s webpage, and has since been open to all concerned Swedish civil society organisations for signing. The document includes both chapters that are divided in a way that allows each party to write their own text and shared parts that are written by all three parties together. This structure played an important role for how the dialogue process and the negotiations were shaped, which will be explained later on.

When it comes to the participation of immigrant organisations in the process some immigrant organisations played a significant role in the dialogue process, at least formally. Thirty-four immigrant organisations were invited at the beginning, five of their representatives found a place as members of the reference group and two of their organisations commented the draft of the agreement during the general round of comments. A common answer by representatives of immigrant organisations to the question on their motives behind the decision to participate in the civil dialogue was, “The process addressed urgent issues that were important to our members” (answer to questionnaire).

The Parties

One important premise of the dialogue process concerned the participating stakeholders and the way in which they related to the party they were representing. All three parties in the dialogue were characterised by a certain complexity: the government was composed by all departments, SKL represented all
municipalities and regions, while the third sector was represented by all participating organisations. However, while SKL, and to a certain degree also the government, could be seen as formal organisations characterised by routines for decision-making, the third sector had no stable structures to rely on. Furthermore, the government was represented by a handful of officials, SKL by one or two representatives while the third sector by representatives of about a hundred organisations. Some of the invited civil society organisations had no history of earlier cooperation and many organisations were very different from each other and might have had contrasting interests in the dialogue.

The department officials needed to gain the approval of the rest of the state apparatus while the SKL representatives needed the approval of the board of their organisations. The question whether the municipalities and the regions actually would be interested in implementing the document at the local level was not taken into account in the dialogue, not least because municipalities and regions were not invited to sign the agreement. The representatives of the civil society organisations needed to gain the approval of the board of their own organisations. At the same time they needed to gain each other’s approval to cooperate, which required to be able to look above the own organisation’s interests and gain more of a sector perspective. In other words, they had to relate to at least three systems of loyalty: the organisation, the sector, and often the groups they were representing. This last system was usually referred to as having a “user perspective”.

One representative of an immigrant organisation described the commitment in the process in the following way:

I realise that I focused on the point of issue quite early on because I felt that we had been chosen as a working group to represent all the NGOs […] however I have taken account of my organisation when it came to issues of ethnic discrimination or when we ended up in a disadvantaged position as an ethnic organisation. On those occasions I represented our organisation and fought on the basis of organisational affiliation. (Interview by e-mail January 2011)

This representative described the commitment in the process as characterised by multiple and shifting roles and loyalties.
Commitments and Expectations
The different conditions of the parties affected, of course, the whole process through the way in which each stakeholder looked at and interpreted the others, but also their commitment to the process and the expectations on the other parties. Almost all civil society organisations saw the government officials as representing the stronger party in the dialogue. It was the government that had taken the initiative to the dialogue, and that controlled its formal structure (meetings, timetable etc.) and it was the government that had the power, through legislation and especially the state budget, to affect the organisations’ opportunities for resource mobilisation. This way of looking at the premises for the dialogue was often expressed by the civil society organisations during the meetings (observation notes). In a questionnaire, one representative of an immigrant organisation made the following comment concerning the commitment of the government in the process, “The government has shown the will to discuss the issues at the same time as it won’t take the full responsibility for the financing issue”.

The position of SKL was perceived by some representatives of civil society organisations as quite passive, especially during the first part of the process which made them mistrust their commitment. Some stakeholders also expressed the frustration of having a dialogue with a party whose real possibility to affect the local policies they questioned. The representative of SKL initially expressed certain dissatisfaction with a government reform95 that had removed the municipalities’ control over the resources allocated for the introduction programme of newcomers (observation notes). This also might have influenced the commitment and the relatively low expectations of the participating civil society organisations’ representatives. “SKL has been much of a defensive position leaning towards a negative one. I believe that the municipalities see the organisations as difficult and that they can make demands,” wrote a representative of an immigrant organisation when asked in a questionnaire about their opinion on the commitment of SKL in the process.

From an external position as observer following the process, the impression was of a circle of events that increased the commitment and the trust between parties and the internal legitimacy of the process. This is an impression that was confirmed in some interviews with representatives of the civil society or-

95 “Etableringsreformen”, Nyanslända invandrars arbetsmarknadsetablering – egenansvar med professionellt stöd (prop. 2009/10:60)
ganisations, but also in more informal conversations with other stakeholders. On the commitment of SKL, a representative of an immigrant organisation stated: “From being hesitant to fully participate” (questionnaire).

If we look at the premises of the dialogue concerning the content of the discussions and negotiations, we find a framework that is relatively limited, at least from the point of view of several organisations. The dialogue process was at the beginning inscribed in the new integration policy adopted by the government with a strong focus on the employment issue. Also the terminology used shows that the process was intended to be embedded in such reform using words like “establishment in society” instead of “integration in society” and “newly arrived” instead of “immigrants”. Many organisations felt this political framework as ideological and limiting since it had been set up by the government as shared aims and goals without consultation. Eventually they started to question many of these premises and achieved to introduce their perspectives into the document by convincing the government officials to distinguish between the government’s, SKL’s and the third sector’s “aims and starting points”, and presenting them as equally relevant. One immigrant organisation’s representative described the positive consequences of the process as follows: “The organisations have had the possibility to discuss and form a shared perspective on how they look at integration and the shortcomings that exist” (questionnaire).

After this brief presentation of the three parties involved, and the way in which their starting conditions differed, it is important to note that immigrant organisations were invited in the dialogue process to contribute to the formation of a party, i.e. the third sector. These organisations found themselves working together with other civil society organisations with the aim of becoming a dialogue partner. The immigrant organisations had different ways of interpreting and evaluating the process. Some organisations had a more sceptical approach towards the other parties while others had a more positive view. Among the answers of the representatives of immigrant organisations, there are statements such as, “The people who led the process were competent, committed and open to changes and adaptations” (questionnaire) but also,

The government officials ruled from the beginning the set-up following the directives of the investigation. It followed the same format as the previous agreement in the social welfare field and they wanted the same principles.
The organisations wanted to discuss other principles, because the process and operators (organisations) are not the same as in the previous agreement. (Questionnaire)

The different perspectives on the process created certain tensions in the dialogue between the representatives of civil society in the reference group.

A Parallel Dialogue Process
When it comes to civil society organisations’ participation, it is important to highlight not only the dialogue with the other parties, but also the inter-sector dialogue that took place. This parallel dialogue was not a part of the original dialogue structure. It started quite late (late summer 2009) and without any formal leadership. When it became clear that the twelve representatives of civil society organisations in the reference group were supposed to write a shared action plan to commit to, they felt a need of internal meetings. This parallel dialogue changed some elements in the structure of the dialogue. From the beginning, the meetings of the reference group were held in a room where the department officials and the process leader usually had already taken their seats and were discussing the process when the other stakeholders showed up. After the summer, the representatives of civil society organisations in the reference group started to meet one hour before the start of the actual meeting with closed doors to coordinate their strategies. When they had finished their discussions, the doors were opened to let the other parties in. This change in the structure of the meetings could be seen as a result of a process where the representatives of the third sector had become more and more of a united party that spoke with one voice (observation notes).

Another result of this parallel dialogue was that the representatives of the third sector in the reference group started to present their own ideas of how to structure the document, for example, regarding how each party would have the possibility to present its specific “aims and starting conditions” in the process. Another, maybe even bolder attempt by the third sector representatives of influencing the content of the agreement, was the proposal to introduce a “principle of financing” as a seventh principle following the six principles they had “inherited” from the agreement on social welfare\textsuperscript{96}. This seventh principle was meant to acknowledge that “…a basic precondition for the or-

\textsuperscript{96} The six principles are Autonomy and Independence, Dialogue, Quality, Continuity, Transparency and Diversity
ganisations to be able to develop the roles as service providers and critical voice that this agreement ascribes them is the access to resources” (draft of the principle). The principle also referred to the civil society organisations’ need of both resources and competence to be able to compete with the private for-profit sector on the “market” of public service-contracts. The principle was intended to be a commitment for all parties to work in this direction. In this case the third sector representatives were not able to convince the other parties, and especially not the government officials to introduce such principle. The third sector representatives then decided to make the resource issue part of their action plan, and made a commitment, “To clarify the organisations’ need for resources to be able to work in a long-term perspective […] To work for making these resources accessible” (agreement document p.26).

It was a great disappointment for some organisations that they were not able to introduce a seventh principle of financing. This disappointment was also expressed in the answers by representatives of immigrant organisations in the questionnaire. For example, when asked whether they felt that they had been able to make their opinions and demands heard a representative of an immigrant organisation wrote, “The question of financing to strengthen the base (the organisations’ offices) to make them able to work on the same terms could have been written more clearly as a precondition for the participation of the organisations in the work with integration in the municipalities” (questionnaire).

The fact that the representatives of civil society in the reference group became more and more a united party, shows how important the structure of the dialogue was for the outcome of the process. Furthermore, the fact that the representatives of the civil society organisations were able to start a dialogue process of their own, not only with parallel meetings but also with pre-meetings, gave a possibility to influence the structure of the dialogue which now appeared less closed than some of the representatives had feared at the beginning. But it also affected the commitment and the expectations of the participants who became prepared to invest even more time and effort to influence the outcome.

Time was also an important aspect in the process. It was to a large degree in the control of the government officials who scheduled the meetings and tried to speed up the process. It was mostly a question of resources for the civil so-
ciety organisations. The more demanding the participation became, especially for those who participated in the reference group, the more it became a problem for those who had to participate “… on my own spare time or on the working time of another employer”, as a representative expressed it during a meeting (field notes). Another representative of an immigrant organisation wrote “A hinder[ance] has been not being able to participate in all meetings. It has not been possible to get time off from work for all meetings during the process. We have participated to the degree that our preconditions have allowed” (questionnaire).

The disparities between the participating civil society organisations, especially in terms of resources, were huge. There were large and professionalised organisations such as the Red Cross next to ethnic organisations that survived only thanks to the volunteers who had a full-time job outside the organisation. This, together with many other factors such as experience of similar processes, relations to other organisations, personal interests and commitment, etc. created informal leaderships among the civil society organisations, but also conflicts and competition.

**Internal Conflicts within the Sector**

One representative of an immigrant organisation saw as one of the positive consequences of the dialogue process that, “Our problem formulations have contributed to the smaller organisations’ interests being taken account of” (questionnaire). This statement shows that some representatives found that smaller organisations had some interests that larger ones didn’t have.

The third sector representatives in the reference group came from different organisations. The composition of this group reflected the diversity of realities that were present among the organisations that had been invited to the dialogue. Even if the mandate of the representatives in the reference group was to represent the conference of all civil society organisations, and not their own organisations it was not easy to keep the roles apart. The discussions in the reference group revealed different perspectives on some central issues that to a certain degree reflected the perspectives of the organisations that the stakeholders were used to represent (observation notes).

One of these issues was the so-called “gross list”. It started as a request from the government to the civil society organisations to make a list of their activi-
ties. This request was received and interpreted differently by the representatives of the organisations. Some of them saw this list as an opportunity to show what activities their organisations actually did carry out and which potential the sector had of doing more. Other representatives instead saw this proposal as humiliating, and as a way from the government to exercise power. They also saw the risk that such a list could trigger competition between civil society organisations. Traces of this discussion can be seen in the answer of one representative of an immigrant organisation to the question of how they consider the design of the process, “At the first dialogue meeting they structured the discussion in the six areas that they themselves defined. These areas clung to the end (work, health, education etc.). Government officials wanted the organisations to report how competent they are in these areas” (questionnaire).

The answer reveals a perception of a rigid structure where some things are decided unilaterally and not to be questioned. But it also shows a perception of the government as being interested in the organisations making account for their competence.

To the disappointment of the government officials, the organisations, after lengthy discussing the issue, finally decided not to write a list of their activities. This conflict also showed how difficult it was to engage in dialogue processes when one of the parties was characterised by internal divisions. How should decisions be taken? What would be the most democratic way of taking a decision? How to measure the majority? What rights do minorities have? Such questions were often raised and discussed more or less explicitly in informal meetings among civil society organisations. Even if such conflicts sometimes temporarily weakened the trust between the representatives of civil society organisations in the long run they seem to have also contributed to them being able to speak with one voice.

Some of the questionnaires reveal a very critical description of how the parallel dialogue process within the sector was carried out. “I experienced the process as partly undemocratic in the workgroup among civil society organisations. There were often attempts of forcing a consensus without proper discussion. A trench-mentality was developed- we had to defend ourselves and to agree against an often imaginary enemy. You felt disloyal if you disagreed” (questionnaire).
The conflict around the “gross list” was connected to another conflict between the parties, which resulted in a conflict also between the third sector representatives in the reference group. Each party was expected to write a plan of action. These plans of action were meant to be followed up with each year. The government expected the civil society organisations to produce a very concrete plan of action with a description of the activities they committed to. Many third sector representatives argued that they could not commit to anything until the government showed what their plan of action looked like. They meant that their organisations were already doing all they could with the resources they had access to and that the government should “show their cards first”. Without getting access to the plan of action of the government in advance, the representatives of civil society organisations in the reference group could not commit to anything concrete. If the government wanted them to produce a plan of action in advance they had to accept a very vague and general plan without any concrete activities. This was the official position of the third sector representatives in the reference group (observation notes).

The discussions within the reference group revealed two opposite positions. Some civil society organisations were more eager to comply with the government’s request of a very concrete plan of action while others were more sceptical to the government’s intentions and saw this request as a way of making the civil society organisations to commit to actions and activities without any guarantees from the government (observation notes).

One representative described the process as a battlefield, “…an arena for power games between organisations, and for the settlement of previous individual conflicts or grievances that led to unwarranted suspicion on the other parties. Those who had power could use the process for their personal or organisation’s agenda” (questionnaire). Another representative of an immigrant organisation had a more positive image of the process among civil society organisations, “The organisations could find a shared perspective. However, there are conflicts of interest that have been deferred and will be expressed later in the process” (questionnaire).

These examples of conflicts with the government, which in their turn reflect a split among the representatives of civil society organisations in the reference group, emerged more or less during the whole process and were still present when the organisations discussed how to manage the following up and evalua-
tion of the agreement. One position was built on a positive view of the government initiative and a high level of trust on their intentions. It is a position that stressed the importance of a strong commitment from the civil society organisations to the process and the necessity of compromising to reach mutual gains. Among the representatives of immigrant organisations this perspective was expressed in the following way in the questionnaire: “All participants were listened to and were able to influence. The process leader and the government officials that we met during the process were very responsive and open” (questionnaire).

The other position is more sceptical to the government’s intentions and demanded a stronger commitment from the government before any further step could be taken by the organisations. The following statement from the answers to the questionnaire by a representative of an immigrant organisation might be seen as an expression of this view of the government “Most of it is projects, no structural investments at all. They have not allocated funds to finance the organisations’ efforts. In this way, the whole commitment is rather hollow” (questionnaire). Some of the stakeholders saw this opinion as an expression of power by stronger organisations that, through a confrontational attitude against the government, and by holding back other organisations, wanted to gain control over the process, driven more by personal ambitions than by actual interest for the sector or the users (interview).

These two positions were not as clear-cut as it might be perceived in the analysis above, and were not always supported by the same people or organisations. There were, however, two relatively different approaches to the process that might have worked against the trust-building among the representatives of the civil society organisations.

Another conflict that had to be handled among the sector was whether the text of the agreement should specifically have mentioned ethnic organisations. Even if this conflict was rather small, and was resolved through a simple textual compromise, it is interesting because it was extremely relevant for the immigrant organisations. An early version of the draft of the agreement included the following text under “Shared vision”: “Through the organisations’ flexibility, local rootedness and independence from the public sector, civil society organisations contribute to the diversity of producers. Those organisations acting on an ethnic basis are an important resource in the process of es-
tablishment”. This sentence was criticised by one of the majority-based civil society organisation during one of the rounds of comments: “Furthermore, we do not want in a shared vision to highlight any particular organisation/group of organisations over others. We question therefore the sentence ‘those organisations acting on an ethnic basis are an important resource in the process of establishment’ in the sense that this is not demonstrated by evidence” (written comments to the draft). The compromise was the adding of the words “… not least because of their members’ background” at the end of the sentence in the final agreement. This episode shows that the heterogeneous character of the organised civil society can trigger conflicts of interests that arise between organisations representing different groups and/or having different functions.

A representative of an immigrant organisation described the process in the following way,

One weakness was that they assumed that all organisations had the same possibilities to make themselves heard and affect the own group. That’s not the case. Larger organisations have more power and experience of these settings […] Power and disadvantage for small and ethnic organisations is a problem that must be addressed seriously in the future work of this nature. (Questionnaire)

This statement could be interpreted as being, with the concepts, an acknowledgment of the different starting conditions of the organisations, a critic of the structure of the dialogue which assumes the same starting conditions for the organisations, and finally the lack of leadership in addressing the problem.

The Council for the Integration of Foreign Citizens in Liguria

The Regional Council for Integration in Liguria was established by the Regional Law on integration from 2007.\textsuperscript{97} The Regional Law is an implementation of a national law on integration from 1998\textsuperscript{98} and states the institution of the Council for integration with several tasks. The first task is to formulate propositions for the formulation of the “Regional three-year plan for the integration of immigrant foreign citizens”. The other tasks are also of advisory

\textsuperscript{97} Regional Law 7/2007 Norme per l’accoglienza e l’integrazione sociale delle cittadine e dei cittadini stranieri immigrati.

\textsuperscript{98} Legislative Decree 286/98 Testo unico delle disposizioni concernenti la disciplina dell’immigrazione e norme sulla condizione dello straniero.
nature and focus on, among other things, projects, interventions, studies and research in the field of migration and integration. Besides studying the participation of immigrant organisations in the Council, this study will focus on the work with the Regional plan which was approved in 2010. The choice of the focus on the Regional plan is based on the fact that according to key-informants it has been one of the major and most demanding tasks performed by the council. Furthermore, the work with the plan resembles in some ways the work made in the Swedish dialogue process on integration with the agreement document.

The Council is by the Regional Law composed by thirty-four representative of different organisations belonging to public sector (municipalities, provinces region etc.) and organised civil society (social welfare organisations, trade unions, employers’ organisations etc.). Of these thirty-four participants twelve are representing the “immigrant foreign citizens”. The president is the regional councillor while the vice-president is a representative of immigrant organisations.

The Representatives of Immigrant Foreign Citizens

The Regional Law states that of the twelve representatives of immigrant foreign citizens each gender must be represented by at least one third of the representatives (at least four members), and they have to be “… chosen directly by the communities of immigrants, in a manner determined by measure of the regional council” (§8.1a). Three representatives were chosen in each of the four provinces that compose the region Liguria.

The process of choosing representatives was quite complicated according to one of the key-informants as there was initially an idea of organising elections:

It has been very difficult because from an ideal point of view we wanted to organise elections. It would have been a great thing, because for us it would have signified also to give the possibility to choose their own representatives to citizens, which we consider citizens even if they don’t have the voting right. Apart obviously from those who have acquired the citizenship, and of course it is a growing number, but it is growing slowly because as you know the process for the acquisition of the citizenship is “long and dangerous”. We thought it as an important recognition even if it could have implied the risk of being a little demagogic in the sense that they would have elected not
political representatives, not someone who would have had the possibility to
decide and make decisions rather only give advices. (Interview May 2010)

The Region decided to use the immigrant organisations as a channel for
choosing the representatives. For the smaller provinces of Imperia, La Spezia,
and Savona the process was described as quite easy because there had already
been forms of coordination among immigrant organisations. With the help of
the Centres for Services, the regional officials were able to invite the immi-
grant organisations and ask them to present their candidates and to vote for
their representatives in the Council. “But they were not elected by all foreign
citizens rather by those associations that we at the moment had summoned. It
is not a totally representative process but we have found a middle way” (inter-
view May 2010).

For the much larger province of Genova, the process was more complicated.
The regional officials decided to invite immigrant organisations to open meet-
ings as described in an interview with one of them:

…different people presented themselves, representatives of different associa-
tions that a) obviously were not registered in the registries and b) we did not
always know and so we could not really understand their actual representa-
tiveness. Some gave us the impression of being actually quite rooted anyway;
other seemed to be a little more improvised. But these were only impressions
thus we encountered some difficulties because this has revealed a very strong
desire for participation. (Interview May 2010)

The open meetings had demonstrated both the desire for participation and the
difficulties in selecting representatives without the electoral instrument. After
some meetings, the government officials decided to close the first step of the
process not allowing more people to join this group of representatives that
were going to be assigned the task of electing the representative of the Council
according to the interviewee.

It seems that the limited representativeness of the chosen representatives was a
criticism that accompanied the Council for the whole mandate. The process of
appointing representatives of immigrant foreign citizens, however, made it
possible to appoint foreign citizens with large experience and widely accepted
by the majority of their communities to be part of the Council, according to
an external observer. However, the lack of full representativeness of the representatives of immigrants was also in this way accepted, “For example there are four or five Ecuadorian communities scattered in a city of 600,000 inhabitants. There are 50,000 Ecuadorians in the city. These associations at best together gather 1,000 to 1,500 people. So it is clear that all the others do not participate directly” (interview February 2011). Another problem with the process was, according to the same informant, that the choosing of representatives had probably created some frictions among the immigrant organisations and “…the most influent[ial] have been more represented”.

If implemented, the electoral instrument would, however, have implied some practical problems connected to the national legislation. First of all, the definition of immigrant foreign citizen and immigrant communities carried some major challenges, according to a key informant. It was in fact questionable if “immigrant communities” actually existed in the sense of homogeneous groups having the same interests. Furthermore the fact that the Italian laws on citizenship were according to the interviewee “…among the most uncivilized in Europe” did not make it easier. “We still have the Ius Sanguinis right? That all those who are not born of Italian parents are foreigners” and “the Regional authorities follow the law” (interview February 2011).

In fact also the lack of electoral rights for foreigners made the electoral instrument for the formation of the Council difficult to implement, according to the interviewee. Thus the Council in all its components and not only the immigrants had stated the impossibility of adopting such an instrument. The problem was that because many immigrants lacked the citizenship and were not registered in any electoral list, it was impossible to summon all of them i.e. both those who had the voting right and those who did not have it. “It becomes a mess that is even worse than the other one in a sense,” according to the interviewee. And furthermore the problem was that many immigrants were undocumented, and in Italy the status of “clandestine” implied a crime of illegal immigration. It made it impossible for immigrants to register for an eventual election, “…how can they register? It is a crime! A criminal offence. Right? Not a small administrative dysfunction” (interview February 2011).

The Work of the Council and its Challenges
The process of choosing representatives took almost a year which meant that the first meeting took place in November 2008. The Council held fifteen meet-
ings and was divided in the following thematic groups: housing policy, labour market and training policies, social welfare and health policies and education, intercultural communication and cultural mediation. One of the reasons to divide the work in thematic groups was to try to keep the focus on the issues that were central for the formulation of the plan, according to a regional official. The lack of focus on the regional policy could be interpreted as an expression of the high expectations on the Council and its possibility to become a channel for influencing integration policy, according to an interviewee, “There was in my opinion a problem of focusing and understanding exactly what we can do. That is, often, the Council took a direction, the meetings of the council, on politics at national level” (interview May 2010).

The participation was not rewarded with attendance compensation, but a reimbursement for travel expenses was available for the participants. This was a problem for some of the representatives of immigrant associations because they sometimes were still dependent on a temporary residence permit and had difficulties leaving their work for going to meetings, according to a public official. The effort that was asked as participant in the council was sometimes felt as unreasonable according to the interviewee:

About the attendance compensation I regret that [we did not give that]… it would anyway be an economic incentive that gives also recognition for the work that has been done. Because in fact, [as it is now] you come for free and maybe you will end up writing [comments and propositions] at night when you have finished working and are exhausted. In fact this could be a little disincentivising. (Interview May 2010)

Another problem connected to the participation was the lack of competencies among the participants according to the same person:

…you ask for a sacrifice but also a capacity of synthesis, designing and planning that not always is present. But not in the sense that it is not present among immigrants… it is not present in general. Not always on everything. Thus you work anyway with representatives that are summoned to represent the associative sphere but then maybe in their everyday life they work for example with refugees and they are experts on this theme […] but then when it comes to writing…
The interviewee saw a dilemma between choosing people with a high representativeness and choosing people with specific competencies:

I think anyway that, if of course they will repeat this experience, as I really hope with all my heart they will, with all the limits that this instrument has, we must be better in explaining what it does and favour a selection process based on competencies. Which will be difficult. I think it will be the real challenge because I repeat it will collide with the theme of representation, of a just and sacred desire of representation which is not present completely. And thus it will be tough because there will be more a political than technical reasoning. It will at least be necessary to have a bit of both.

The Representatives’ Participation
The three representatives of immigrant organisations that participated in the Council, and that have been interviewed in this study were all positive about this experience. One of them described how they initially had been asked to express their opinion on the regional law. “And we expressed the will that the Council that is prescribed by the law would be representative of the immigrant communities that live in Liguria and possibly elected by the foreign citizens”. Hence certain immigrant organisations had already been engaged in the policy-making process concerning the regional law and had had the possibility to express their opinion about the composition of the Council. One of the representatives described the process of choosing the representatives of immigrant organisations as follows:

In reality there were different immigrant associations, different realities, African associations, Latin-American associations, religious ones as the Islamic community, different Islamic centres in fact. And maybe the limit of this type of involvement is that you are not able to involve everyone. Some associations don’t have a physical place, they are associations that perhaps are not very present and not very effective but they exist right? And it has not been possible to involve everyone. The most active and present ones have been involved. But anyway, it is a middle way between free election of citizens which we realise is much complicated to perform [...] and anyway the people that have been chosen are quite representative of the immigrants and have knowledge about the territory. (Interview May 2010)
About the work in the Council, the representatives of immigrant organisations seem quite positive, even if there was a certain reservation about the possibility to realise it. “The document, the three-year plan, has been approved and there are many good things in it and we likewise hope to have the financing. Because the things that are written in it are fantastic [laughs] we have to see if there is the financing for the implementation” (interview May 2010). There was also a hope that the same regional councillor would be appointed for the next mandate for the immigration policy area to be able to continue the “good work”, as expressed by the interviewee.

Even if the Council was described as “working well” and its existence was described as important as a platform, it also implied many limitations, according to one of the representatives of immigrant organisations. The best thing would have been instead granting immigrants the voting right as the interviewee saw the participation in the council as very weak. All would change when immigrants would be granted voting right in local elections, according to this representative. “To be able to elect and be elected, and everything will change because we will become important for the politics” (interview April 2010) said the interviewee.

The commitment of the representatives of immigrant organisations was described as follows by one of them, “First we have worked in front line for the law on immigration, then with the Council, and then in the thematic groups”. There was, however, some scepticism about the possibility of applying the electoral method for the next mandate of the council. If elections to the council would be organised the organisation would not present a representative to be elected, according to one of the representatives because these elections would not be “real”. “To make the elections for the council and then be consulted without having the right to… really it doesn’t count in practice” (interview May 2010).

All three interviewees together with sixteen other representatives of immigrant organisations and ethnic leaders signed a “Petition for the Continuation of a Work that has been Fruitful”.99 Here follows some extracts from this petition:

99 Petizione per continuare un lavoro che ha dato buoni frutti
Despite the evident defects of national laws, the Region of Liguria in this five years have worked well, it has promoted a law on immigration among the most advanced in our country, it has built a space for encounter and confront as with the Regional Council for immigration and for the first time has delivered the Three-year Plan on immigration that prescribes the working priorities on these delicate themes […] It has made it in a shared and participatory manner and for us this is not a futile aspect. A Region of the making that has met real issues without demagogy, populism and most of all with facts, trying to chase away the fear from our everyday life […] That is why we ask President Burlando [president of the region] to let Enrico Vesco [regional councillor responsible for the integration policy] continue this work… (Translated by the author)

This could be interpreted as a sign of appreciation from the representatives towards the council, but also as a strategy aiming at influencing the new Regional administration (based on the same centre-left coalition as before) that had just been re-elected. It could also be seen as pointing at the fact that the experience with the Council has strengthened the cooperation among representatives of immigrant organisations and ethnic leaders.

Groups and Conflicts inside the Council
The participation of the representatives of the immigrant foreign citizens in the council was crucial and their influence on the council very strong, according to an external observer. However, this did not mean, according to the interviewee, that the council had possibilities of influencing the regional decisions.

There was a great difference between the representatives of immigrant foreign citizens, and the other participants when it came to their role in the council, according to the interviewee. The other elements of the council were representing very specific interests and were not by definition interested in migration. The immigrant representatives, however, tended to represent broader interests, even if they still held a very low level of requests. They also made a common front in the Council presenting one position, according to this observer. However each one of the immigrant representatives brought forward the own instances also on basis of the own competences as there were different professions represented among them.
Competition inside the council among organised interests was described by a regional official mostly as taking place among Italian civil society organisations, but also with immigrant organisations. In the interviewee’s opinion, this mirrored a competition for resources that was going on outside the council. “We have a high number of cooperatives and associations that work with services on the territory in different ways. In fact there is quite a competition because the resources are few and there are continuous cutbacks” (interview May 2010). The key-informant saw also a desire by many immigrant organisations to be more involved in the services for immigrants and recognised as partners while many Italian organisations had tended to question the immigrant organisations’ competence and guard their positions.

When immigrant organisations will be registered in the registries there will be a much more healthy competition. Anyway there is a competition. In fact it is a market, not for profit but it is a market […]. When they have to present projects, the leader organisation will always be Italian associations and then in the partnership there could also be immigrant organisations […] but which are part of the diffuse network and are never in the front row. And they remain B-citizens also in this perspective right? So they remain in a position of weakness. They will never be leaders for the project which means to take some responsibilities but then be able to decide and steer processes in first person, with authority. (Interview May 2010)

The representatives of immigrant foreign citizens also gained some things from the participation, according to an external observer. They were fundamental for the structuring of the plan, even if the plan was submitted to constraints of political and budgetary character. Some of the themes that they cared about became part of the plan, and some of them also turned into actual initiatives, for example the creation of a registry of the cultural mediators. It was something that was decided in the general interest by the council at the same time as the cultural mediators were almost all immigrants and frequently ethnic leaders.

One of the limits of the Council was that it only had an advisory function even if the regional councillor considered its opinion very often according to an independent observer. However it gave the participants visibility and strengthened their position vis-à-vis the society. “In all areas of the Region when they intervene in any activity of representation, of denunciation or bargaining of
course to be member of the Council is something more than being only the immigrant down the street” (interview February 2011), as expressed by the interviewee. This shows that the effect of the Council on the possibilities of immigrant organisations to act should not be interpreted only as a function of its actual influence on the policy, but also as the consequences of the legitimising of many representatives and ethnic leaders vis-à-vis wider society.

**The Functions of the Immigrant Organisations**

This chapter has dealt with two processes of policy-making from the point of view of immigrant organisations’ participation. The Swedish part of the study is based on direct observations of the process complemented by the description and analysis of the project by the participants. In the Italian part of the study the analysis is almost only built on interviews with representatives of immigrant organisations and other key-informants.

The political opportunity structures considered in this study offer the opportunity of participating in the decision-making phase of the policy process. Thus the following analysis will mainly focus on the related dilemma between representation and deliberation. In both processes, however, immigrant organisations or immigrant representatives were invited and participated as potential partners in the implementation of integration policy and contributors to a certain policy output. Thus this section will also analyse the consequences of the interaction on the function as agents of democracy/subcontractor and as producers of bonding/bridging social capital.

**Representation or Participation**

The two political opportunity structures are based on different interpretations of the roles of immigrant organisations. The interpretation of immigrant organisations’ participation as *functional participation* was the dominant interpretation in the Swedish civil dialogue on integration. What was especially demanded by the government was the organisations’ knowledge about the integration issue and about the problems that people have to face in their everyday life. Immigrant organisations, as other civil society organisations, were supposed to have knowledge of the problems and issues at stake, at a more concrete, grassroots level than the public sector. Through the structure of the dialogue they were supposed to contribute with their knowledge to the dialogue and the agreement. This did not preclude that some of the interest or-
ganisations actually interpreted their role also as representing users or immigrant groups.

The Italian Regional Council was structured around an interpretation of the role of immigrant organisations as *functional representation*. The fact that immigrant representatives had been elected among immigrant organisations had been a technical solution to the difficulties in creating an electoral system that would have granted an even higher level of representativeness. On the other hand, the other participants were invited as representatives of organisational sectors, and perhaps interests, but not necessarily of portion of population. The structure of the council which was prescribed by law granted different roles to the representatives of immigrant organisations compared to the other participants.

In this sense, the Swedish dialogue process on integration seems to be much more an expression of collaborative governance arrangement while the Italian Regional Council reminds more of a classical corporative consultative body on integration (much like the ones in Sweden until 2003 and which also often included representatives of other civil society organisations besides those representing immigrant organisations). The most salient difference in this respect, however, is that the dialogue process had not only an advisory function, rather it was collaborative in the sense that the decisions made (i.e. the agreement) were made jointly and were “owned” by all parties. The Regional Council was not built on parties, but on stakeholders that interacted, each bringing their perspective, without necessarily having to reach an agreement. In fact, it was up to the public authorities to decide what advice to consider, and to approve the plan which was not “owned” by others than the Region.

This difference is also mirrored by the degree of openness and flexibility of the structure. In the dialogue process there was an openness to negotiate the structure of the dialogue to a certain degree, but it required of the organisations to be able to cooperate in speaking with one voice. The consequence was on the one hand that the organisations were able to broaden the scope of the dialogue, by including their perspective not only on a concrete, practical level, but also on a more political and ideological level. On the other hand, the need of speaking with one voice made it necessary to reduce the diversity of points of view in the dialogue. Some representatives had to take a step back, and act in accordance with the “majority”, the definition of which was not clear because
of the lack of clear and formal rules for its formation. Consensus became the only viable route to the agreement especially when the lack of representational function made the voting instrument among civil society organisations inopportune. The much more formally structured council with its rigidity opened up more for different opinions, while the lack of necessity of reaching an agreement made the conflicts less relevant.

In the Swedish dialogue process, the different starting conditions of the civil society organisations, and the absence of formal leaderships within the sector affected the way in which this majority was formed. Some organisations experienced this process as quite democratic while others as more dictated by the strength of the organisations. However, the inclusion of the third sector as one party in the dialogue had important consequences, as it created a dynamic within the sector which made them stronger in relation to the other two parties, but at the expense of the diversity of opinions, interests, and points of view that the different organisations represented.

In the Italian Regional Council, democracy was not evaluated based on the rules in the participation, but rather on the process of choosing the immigrant representatives. The different starting conditions of immigrants as a group, with low level of formal and recognised organisations, lack of political rights and often insecure positions vis-à-vis authorities, opened up for forms of positive discrimination. Representatives of immigrant foreign citizens were chosen because they represented groups that had a weaker position in society, were personally affected by integration policy, and lacked political representation through vote. It was a way of compensating also for national laws that were considered unjust. This strengthened the position of the representatives of immigrant foreign citizens vis-à-vis the other participants and maybe facilitated them in speaking with one voice.

Functional representation was seldom discussed in the Swedish dialogue process on integration. There was however a concern among the representatives of the civil society organisations in the reference group on their mandate and legitimacy in representing the sector. From their point of view they represented the organisations that had given them the mandate to continue the dialogue with the government at the beginning of the process. As mentioned before, the third sector representatives in the reference group came from different parts of the sector and could be seen as representing the diversity of actors that were
present at the initial conference. But if we compared the organisations that were invited to the dialogue with those who participated actively, it is clear that there was a certain gap. Especially the ethnic organisations were under-represented among the participating organisations. Only five immigrant organisations were active in the process, and tried to affect the outcome in a proactive way. Two of them represented the same ethnic group, while the other three were two ethnic umbrella organisations that were members of the same umbrella organisation (SIOS) which was also active in the process.

Even if we consider that SIOS was an umbrella organisation that represented sixteen ethnic umbrella organisations which made it the single most representative organisation of immigrant groups in Sweden, there were fifty-three ethnic umbrella organisations in Sweden that received funding from the state and one hundred seven ethnic umbrella organisations were registered in the database of the Immigrant Institute. Furthermore, important refugee groups such as Iraqi, Somali and Afghans were not represented in SIOS. The question of why so many immigrant organisations, and consequently the groups they represented never were involved in the process is difficult to answer. Practical difficulties may have played a certain role, according to government officials. Many of the organisations lacked a proper office, and their contact information lead to private e-mail addresses or cell phones, and they usually relied mostly on volunteers.

As discussed earlier, the structure of the Italian regional council provided a better representation of the immigrant groups present on the territory. This could be seen as a form of positive discrimination of these groups and organisations which made possible the participation of groups that otherwise lacked any form of political representation. In Sweden, on the other hand, immigrant foreign citizens had since almost forty years back voting right in local elections. Furthermore, the Swedish civic-territorial model made the naturalisation process through acquisition of citizenship much faster. It means that many groups that Swedish immigrant organisations represented had access to voting rights also at national level.

**Agents of Democracy or Sub-Contractors**

Both dialogue processes were characterised by a necessity among civil society organisations to get control and transcend the original mandate of the dialogue and broaden the scope. In the Swedish dialogue process there was, for
example, a will among civil society organisations of transcending the constraints of the government’s new reform in the field of integration. These reforms implied a change of terminology from “integration” to “establishment” and from a two-way process focusing on society as a whole to a one-way process focusing on the individual immigrant’s access to the labour market (cf. Marekovic 2011). In the council, there was a desire among immigrant representatives of discussing the national immigration and integration policy which was perceived as restrictive. The national policy was viewed as limiting the efforts of the Region Liguria.

These could be seen as attempts of not becoming part of the implementation of an integration policy to which the organisations and representatives were critical. As agents of democracy, the organisations and representatives showed that they would not take responsibility for policies they did not agree with, and would neither be limited by the scope and mandate of the processes in their need for recognition and participation. In the Swedish case, the flexibility of the design and the openness of the dialogue’s mandate made it possible, as discussed earlier, to broaden the scope of the process. In the Italian case, the institutionalised character of the council made the tentative approach of broadening the scope of the discussion futile and was interpreted as a disruption of the regular work of the council. There is, however, an important difference between the processes in that the civil dialogue as an expression of collaborative governance implied a much stronger commitment and responsibility for its outcome that the regional council which was only consultative.

Interesting to note is that the role as service producers was seldom questioned by immigrant organisations neither in Sweden nor in Italy. This is particularly notable for Sweden, where such a role, according to its welfare model, is far from obvious. It might show that the recent trend of privatisation of welfare services and governance arrangements in the implementation of policy has become less controversial for many civil society organisations in Sweden. In both contexts, however, immigrant organisations were sceptical to their actual possibility to take on such a role. Lack of resources and competition with other private enterprises but also stronger and more professionalised civil society organisations were seen as important obstacles.
Ethnos or Demos

Both dialogue processes offered the opportunity of being recognised as relevant actors in society and make the own voice heard. The representatives of immigrant organisations seem also to have been able to affect the processes and produce some changes in the documents which were the products of the experiences. In the Swedish case, this mostly took place alongside with the other civil society organisations in a process that we could see as stimulating the demos function. In the Italian case, representatives of immigrant organisations put forward their own common initiatives sometimes in conflict with other civil society organisations in a process that seems to stimulate more of an ethnos function, even if as “immigrants” and not necessarily as specific ethnic groups. Both processes had however opened up for cooperation and building of networks of organisations that transcend the own ethnic group and “immigrants”.

An important distinction to be made is that the Swedish dialogue process on integration actually had very little to do with integration policy. The issues discussed mostly concerned the relations between public sector, and organised civil society in an attempt of trying to involve to a higher degree civil society organisations in service production in the integration policy area. The fact that the government decided to launch a major reform of the integration system before starting the dialogue process on integration shows that the aim of the dialogue was not to discuss integration policy, but rather policy towards civil society. In this sense, the opportunities offered by the dialogue process to immigrant organisations might be constrained by immigrant organisations’ actual organisational capacity, and the difficulties of taking on such a role of service producers in the field of integration (cf. Wood 2007). The Italian regional council on integration instead focused on the regional integration system, and in this sense, offered representatives of immigrant organisations a platform both as users and potential producers of services.

It is interesting to note that the Ligurian regional council is rather unique in the Italian context, and differs from the national policy on integration and the related model. This is to be explained by the more progressive position of the centre-left regional administration in Liguria in matters of migration and integration. Also, the lack of formal consultative bodies at national level in Sweden, beside civil dialogues such as in this study, is interesting to reflect on. It
could be interpreted as a step back from a multiculturalist approach to integration and a move towards a more universalistic approach.

Conclusions
An important question for the future is whether the two documents (the agreement and the three-year plan) will be useful for the immigrant organisations in their work in the field of integration. In Sweden, the document has no formal and institutionalised role, and in this sense its value much depends on whether and how the document will affect the relationship between the third sector and the public sector at the local level where most immigrant organisations are active and where the integration policy is implemented. If the civil dialogue and its agreement will lead to local processes of dialogue, implementation, and/or follow-up, it will be important to be able to include certain organisations that represent groups that are major targets for the introduction programmes. To be able to involve these organisations is a challenge and a responsibility for all parties. For the public sector the challenge consists also in supporting participation without steering. In the Italian case, the document will open new opportunities for immigrants and their organisations if the necessary resources will be invested to implement the plan and if the other relevant administrations responsible for the policy areas that are discussed in the plan are willing to take its provisions into consideration when implementing them.
9. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the most important findings of the three studies carried out in the thesis. In doing so, it will also highlight some of the common themes and patterns that emerge from the three studies when it comes to the functions of the organisations. In both countries, the interaction seems to have stimulated more of a sub-contractor function than an agent of democracy function, especially in Italy. The aim of the organisations was often to be able to run activities connected to social welfare or integration issues, frequently in project form. Such activities were sometimes (mostly in Sweden) “owned” by the organisations and regulated by the structure (e.g. in the area of intervention) and sometimes (mostly in Italy) “owned” by other organisations (public or civil society) and run in cooperation with the immigrant organisations. In these last cases, the level of regulation was often determined by the relationship between the partners and the role that the immigrant organisation had in the partnership.

Furthermore, the Swedish political opportunity structures seem to have stimulated more of a deliberation function while the Italian more of a representation function. The participation of immigrant organisations in the decision-making process in Sweden was more often related to their role as civil society organisations with knowledge and expertise on integration issues. Their role as representatives of specific interests or communities was seldom highlighted. In Italy, their participation was more often related to their capacity of representing immigrant communities and being a link to such communities (this was mostly the case for ethnic organisations while hybrid organisations were more often stimulated to uphold a deliberation function).
Consequently, the Swedish structures seem also to have stimulated more of demos/bridging function, while the Italian more of an ethnos/bonding function. Swedish immigrant organisations were more often seen as a potential bridge towards the larger society while the Italian organisations were more often seen as upholding a specific ethnic or national culture. Also concerning this function there was important differences between ethnic organisations upholding an ethnos/bonding function and hybrid organisations upholding a demos/bridging function.

The Crucial Role of Welfare Systems in Shaping the Functions
All three studies show that the role of immigrant organisations as service producers was much more central in Italy than in Sweden. Such difference between the two countries mirrors the role of civil society organisations in Sweden and in Italy, and the way in which the responsibility for the welfare is shared between state, market and civil society. It also mirrors the types of problems that the organisations were stimulated to address. Immigrant organisations in Italy were stimulated either through economic support or through neglect by the public system to work with issues at the core of the social welfare system (e.g. economic support, housing, trafficking and labour rights). Immigrant organisations in Sweden were stimulated through economic support, but also through the active role of the public sector in several areas to address issues at the margin of the social welfare system (e.g. leisure activities, help with homework, help in contact with authorities and cultural activities).

The different roles of civil society also explain the way in which immigrant organisations related to each other in the two national contexts. In Sweden the studies include mostly ethnic organisations which can be explained by the structuring effect of the system of public grants which has contributed to build an ethnic immigrant organisational field alongside with the other popular movements (labour, temperance, women, and disability). Most of the organisations in Sweden were either national umbrella organisations funded by the state or were local organisations that were members of such umbrella organisations, and had in turn, access to local public funding. The organisational strength that these systems for public grants have guaranteed seems to have countered some tendencies towards a function of sub-contractor. In fact they made the organisations more independent from other organisations (except the financing ones), and thus able to perform more of an agent of democracy function.
In Italy the studies show either strong hybrid organisations, affiliated to the trade unions, which upheld an important role as service producers in cooperation with the public sector or small ethnic organisations which ran activities mostly in cooperation with majority-based civil society organisations with which they often upheld a relation through an “ethnic leader”. This can be explained by the stronger role and position accorded to the labour and the catholic movement in the Italian organised civil society compared with other social movement organisations both as voice and service producers. The subordinated position of ethnic organisations and the role of service providers seem to have stimulated more of a sub-contractor function than an agent of democracy function.

Integration Systems and the Politicisation of Ethnicity
The integration systems also seem to play an important role in shaping the interaction between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures. In Sweden the studies show that in the interaction with the political opportunity structures immigrant organisations were often treated more as a part of organised civil society than as representatives of immigrant communities. This could be explained by the specific form of Swedish multiculturalism which is “prescribed” as not emphasising diversity, and which aims at avoiding a politicisation of ethnicity. It can also be explained by the more recent trend of consultation with immigrant organisations through the more general channels of consultation with organised civil society. This goes hand in hand with a demos/bridging function of immigrant organisations. This de-politicisation seems also to coexist with a relatively strong position of ethnic immigrant organisations in the organised civil society granted by the local and national public funding systems, which are also a product of the Swedish integration system. The broadening of the definition of immigrant organisations described previously shows, however, a plethora of other organisations that are more inter-ethnic, but do not seem to differ so much from the ethnic ones in their interaction with political opportunity structures.

In Italy the studies show that immigrant organisations, and especially the ethnic ones, were often treated as representatives of immigrant communities. Such a function is reflected by the national and local legislation, which both include provisions for the establishment of consultation forums with immigrant communities and organisations. Their marginal position in the policy-making process at national level, however, could be explained by the restric-
tive integration policy of the national government which does not uphold any national forum for consultation with immigrant communities. The politicisation of immigrant organisations in Italy was stronger than in Sweden, especially when it comes to immigrants’ access to rights which might also be a consequence of the more restrictive policies in the Italian integration system. Many of the responsibilities for such policies are, however, placed on the regional level. The studies show, in the case of Liguria, a more generous attitude towards the immigrant population and the organisations that represent them compared to national policy and practice.

Interesting to notice is that the immigrant organisations in the studies both in Sweden and in Italy described themselves often at the margins both in relation to the corporative, social welfare, and integration systems, and to the organised civil society (with the exception of the Italian hybrid organisations). But while such a description of a marginal, and sometimes subordinated position, was often shared by other actors (public and civil society) in Italy, and viewed as a product of an unjust system, in Sweden it was often explained by the lack of resources (money, knowledge, expertise etc.) in the immigrant communities. While in Italy, both the interviews with the majority-based civil society organisations and with the public officials show a strong sympathy for immigrant organisations, in Sweden the interviewees showed more often a “neutral” attitude and sometimes certain mistrust.

This is remarkable considering the high levels of social trust that have been measured in Sweden compared to the lower levels in Italy. However it could be explained by the fact that many “street level bureaucrats” working with integration issues in Italy seem to share a much more open and progressive attitude towards integration issues, also in contrast with the restrictive national policies. In fact, descriptions of discrimination and stigmatisation were more frequent in the interviews with the Italian immigrant organisations, than in those with the Swedish ones. This could be seen also as an expression of the stronger polarisation of the Italian society on the issue of integration and cultural pluralism.

**Changes in the Welfare and Integration Systems**
Changes have occurred through the years in both national contexts and at different administrative levels according to the multi-level system in which the organisations are embedded, and which has been mirrored through the design
of the thesis. At the local level, Sweden has experienced many changes in the way in which service for immigrants and subsidies for immigrant organisations are organised, as shown for Malmö in the local study. At national level we have the “multiculturalist turn” in the 1970s, and the more recent reforms by the liberal-conservative government from “integration” to “establishment on the labour market”, the privatisation of many important welfare services in the name of “freedom of choice” for users and from the old “policy for peoples’ movements” to the “policy for civil society” (which the agreements discussed in the study of policy-making processes is part of). At supranational level there is also the entrance of Sweden into the EU which seems to have opened a new system of political opportunity structures for civil society organisations.

In Italy we have the quite recent escalation of the migration phenomenon, and since 2001, the dominant position in Italian politics of the liberal-conservative governments led by Silvio Berlusconi with the support of the right-wing populist party Northern League\textsuperscript{100}. In these years, we have seen a strengthened migration control with the introduction of the crime of irregular migration\textsuperscript{101}, fewer resources to local authorities and civil society organisations, and less cooperation with third sector. A significant example is the reduced significance of the Italian Compact\textsuperscript{102}, an agreement signed by the Forum for the Third Sector\textsuperscript{103} and the liberal-socialist government in 1999.\textsuperscript{104} In the Italian case, we have also the present financial crisis and the general cutbacks of public expenditures at all administrative levels.

One example in the thesis of such changes relates to the important shift in the way of talking about the role of civil society organisations as service producers in Sweden. This shift is evident from the earlier interviews in the Equal study (2007-2008) to the later interviews in the local study and the study of policy-making process (2009-2011). The latter two studies which were conducted after the shift of government from social-democratic to liberal-conservative show a less problematic approach to civil society organisation as service pro-

\textsuperscript{100} Lega Nord

\textsuperscript{101} In 2009 the “crime of irregular migration” was introduced in Italy. The new provision made the status of “irregular migrant” or “clandestine” a criminal offence punishable with a fine of between 5,000 and 10,000 euros which was added to the already present administrative measure of expulsion from the country (Law 94/2009).

\textsuperscript{102} Protocollo di intesa tra Governo e Forum Permanente del Terzo Settore.

\textsuperscript{103} Forum del Terzo Settore

\textsuperscript{104} See Patriarca (2006) for a history of the Forum and a description of the process.
ducers. This could be seen as a consequence of the introduction of the so-called freedom of choice system for service users in Sweden and the following privatisation of service production in many areas (Hartman ed. 2011). There is no evidence in the data that a shift would have occurred in their actual role, rather there is evidence of a discursive shift, which is in contrast with the traditional Scandinavian welfare model based on public provision and production of social welfare services.

Another example is related to the strong politicisation of immigrant organisations in Italy, which assumed a quite critical position against the national government, and its integration laws and policies. Here the interplay, and maybe mostly the conflict, between the restrictive national policies and the progressive regional and local policies (in Liguria and Genova) became evident. The lack of representation at national level, and the marginal position of ethnic organisations in the general Italian context were contrasted by a relatively strong support by the authorities and other civil society organisations for their representational function and their participation in policy-making and policy-implementation at the regional and local level. This is also consistent with the ethnos/bonding function of immigrant organisations.

**Europeanisation or Trans-Nationalisation?**

The importance of the EU is evident in all three studies. The literature on the Europeanisation of civil society is extensive and the interpretations of such a process are many (see for example Smismans 2003, Sánchez-Salgado 2007, 2011, Woll & Jacquot 2010, Lundberg et al. 2011) as the definitions of Europeanisation. One example is:

Processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies (Radaelli 2000: 4)

---

105 A conflict between the centre-left municipal administration in Genova and the centre-right national government arise in 2004 when the municipality granted legally resident immigrants the right to vote and be elected in municipal election. In 2005 the government annulled this provision as “illegitimate”.
The results of this thesis point at, at least, two different processes of Europeanisation of immigrant organisations. On the one hand there were immigrant organisations both in Sweden and in Italy that were members of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR), a network of civil society organisations based in Brussels that worked with issues of migration and equality at the EU-level. In Italy there were local organisations that were directly members of ENAR, while in Sweden there were local organisations that through their membership in umbrella organisations were indirectly members, but also umbrella organisations that were members. The way in which such membership, in its different forms, is used by immigrant organisations to affect policy at the EU or national level is an interesting topic for further studies.

On the other hand the important role of the EU for the purpose of mobilising resources is evident. The studies show how European funds have become much relevant for the activities of immigrant organisations at national and local level. It is also evident that the access to and use of such funding affects their functions following the priorities set up by the EU. The fact that the Equal programme was preceded and succeeded by many other EU programmes raises the question of the way in which EU funding has become a more or less permanent source of resources for immigrant organisations. This should also be a topic for further studies.

We could expect that globalisation and continued international migration might trigger more trans-national phenomenon connected both to culture, identity, family and community which might give immigrant organisations a new role which transcend the nation-state (cf. Aytar 2009). Such a trend is, however, not visible in the empirical data for this thesis. Immigrant organisations in this study have been asked about their trans-national networks and the way in which these interacted with the political opportunity structures chosen for the studies. Surprisingly, most organisations turned out to be almost exclusively embedded in the national and local context. Even in a trans-national programme like Equal, where cooperation among organisations in different European countries was required for the participation, most immigrant organisations did not make use of their “natural” (in the sense of connected to their ethnic identity) trans-national networks in this work.

The finding that immigrant organisations seem to interact with political opportunity structures both at local, national and supra-national level (like the
EU) without making use of other available trans-national resources (as their ethnic-based networks) is interesting. Tendencies towards trans-nationalisation of immigrant organisations are also more visible in the Italian context (except for hybrid organisations) than in the Swedish one. One possible explanation is that the more the immigrant organisations interact with institutionalised political opportunity structures at local, national, and the EU level, the less they make use of their trans-national network.

It is possible that the organisations that make use of their trans-national networks (either as organisations or as communities) choose not to interact with these political opportunity structures, as they often do not support activities that are trans-national (except for the Equal programme, but still not including non-EU countries). It is also possible that those organisations that make most use of their trans-national networks are those that represent communities that lack a nation-state of origin such as Romani and Kurds. The empirical data in the thesis shows such a tendency which is also supported by previous research (Aytar 2009).

Changes in the Functions of Immigrant Organisations
We can imagine the national context as a set of institutionalised political opportunity structures that immigrant organisations have interacted with under a long period of time. Such examples are the national system for public funding of ethnic organisations in Sweden, and the Italian welfare mix system with many civil society organisations engaged in social welfare service provision. Such political opportunity structures have contributed during a long time to strengthen some immigrant organisations which has been a precondition for these organisations’ positive interaction with other political opportunity structures (e.g. the Equal programme). Such institutionalised structures and related systems are in their turn (at least partially), a product of precedent interactions between immigrant organisations and other actors, not least the state. In fact, it is difficult to imagine the Swedish “multiculturalist turn” in the 1970s without the advocacy of many “ethnic leaders” (cf. Wickström forthcoming), or the establishment of the Centre for Integrated Services for Immigrants in Genova without the advocacy of the Coordination of Extra-Communitarian Immigrants.

The thesis shows examples of how past interaction with political opportunity structures have in fact produced the present context for the present interaction
between immigrant organisations and political opportunity structures, which affects the functions of the organisations, which in turn might contribute to produce changes in the context, and so on. A more systematic analysis of the way in which such changes have affected the use of and interaction with the political opportunity structures available for immigrant organisations would be an interesting topic for further studies.

**Immigrant or Civil Society Organisations?**

The point of departure of this thesis has been to study a specific type of civil society organisation, namely immigrant organisations. The choice of political opportunity structures and of organisations has been made from the point of view of a “realist concept of generality”. According to this concept, the focus of the study lies on mechanisms that are beyond and transcend the observable phenomena and are more or less universal preconditions for the existence of such phenomena (Danermark et al. 2002). In this sense, the results of this thesis might be generalised not only to other immigrant organisations interacting with other similar political opportunity structures, but possibly also to other civil society organisations that share the same social functions (e.g. interest organisations and community-based organisations).

To understand what is specific with immigrant organisations and what is more general to other types of civil society organisations it would also be interesting to compare immigrant organisations with other civil society organisations following the most-similar and most-different logic. Immigrant organisations in the thesis in fact compare their position in relation to opportunity structures (e.g. the system of public funding or a dialogue process) and their role in society to that of other civil society organisations as the trade unions, the disability movement organisations, and many majority-based organisations, etc.

Some of the findings in this thesis might be assumed to be quite specific for immigrant organisations as, for example, the language and cultural skills required in interacting with political opportunity structures, etc. Many other obstacles might be shared by other groups that experience discrimination in society as, for example, the disability movement to which some of the immigrant organisations in the study feel very close. Another interesting group of organisations to compare immigrant organisations with would be majority-based organisations working with integration as, for example, the Red Cross or some trade unions. The Italian hybrid organisations, which could be seen as some-
thing in between an immigrant organisation and a majority-based organisation in fact present a certain advantage compared to ethnic organisations, as this thesis has shown.

**What Future Role for Immigrant Organisations?**

The anecdote presented at the beginning of the thesis about the closing of the Italian organisation in Malmö might give the impression of an organisational phenomenon threatened by extension. A representative of an organisation representing a community that has been in Sweden for decades complained in an interview about all the active members being very old and in need of care. Their children and grand-children were, in the same ways as the Italians, all “integrated somewhere else” according to the interviewee, and were not interested in the associational life.

One could wonder if that is not a form of assimilation rather than integration that is described in this example, at least when it comes to the generations born in Sweden. And in that case, did the Swedish multiculturalist system fail in supporting and stimulating the children and grand-children of the “old” immigrants to uphold their culture and identity, which was one of key principles in the “multiculturalist turn”? Or is it the associational world that has failed possibly in following too much the political opportunity structures (e.g. the public subsidy system) with their regulatory functions offered by the Swedish system, rather than the evolution of the needs of the community members (cf. Papakostas 2004). Anyway, depending on whether we see ethnic or cultural pluralism and diversity as a resource or a problem in society, we could describe this either as a successful or as a failed history of integration i.e. a successful story of immigrant communities becoming part of the Swedish society or a failed chance to enrich the Swedish society with new norms and values.

**A Hundred-year old paradox**

This might lead to a form of paradox: the more the state interacts with immigrant organisations according to a multiculturalist approach to integration policy, the more they become embedded in the local and national context and the more the community is at “risk” of assimilation. The increased interaction with political opportunity structures may in fact strengthen the effect of the regulatory mechanisms on the organisations making them “align” with the system as “responsible” actors.
This paradox resembles the “Iron law of oligarchy” developed by Robert Michels (1983) in his classical study from 1915 on the development of the labour movement in modern societies. Michels argues that society’s increasingly complex structures and systems put greater demands on organisations in terms of knowledge of laws, regulations, etc. The social system thus demanded of the organisations to set up a bureaucracy of professional and salaried employees who helped to administer and control the organisations. The same applies to those who would be elected to positions of representatives. This led to the creation of an elite within the working class of mixed social background, who had less interest in pursuing a policy in conflict with the system and by that risk to lose their power and position.

This does not, however, mean that all immigrant organisations are undergoing such a development or will do so. On the contrary, the large majority of the immigrant organisations do not seem to have interacted with public authorities at all, rather fulfilled their functions without the support of the hosting country. Such a “division of labour” between immigrant organisations might actually be reasonable where some of them uphold certain functions which require a close interaction with local and national political opportunity structures, while others uphold other functions with their own resources and independently from local and national authorities.

Bringing the State Back In
Even if such a division of labour might be a successful solution for the whole “immigrant movement” to the dilemma of cooperation-independence, the willingness of the host-society to recognise the role and functions of immigrant organisations is still a crucial dimension when explaining their development.

The construction of the nation-state has been characterised by a strong effort to regulate diversity. Homogeneity has often been seen as a value, and frequently as a precondition, for social cohesion and the existence and sustainability of the nation-state itself. The education and social welfare systems have been strong instruments in the construction of a national identity and of common social and cultural norms. As Western Europe has become more and more included in the international migration system, the myth of homogeneity of the societies have been called into question. Insecurities and anxieties have become exposed and defensive reactions have been activated (cf. Lorenz 2006).
Where should the limits of the desirable or at least acceptable pluralism be drawn? The privatisation of welfare services and the function of organised civil society as service producers push the dilemma of drawing the line between acceptable and unacceptable pluralism to the edge. A recent media analysis shows, for example, that when it comes to so-called private confessional schools in Sweden, the development of Muslim confessional schools triggers much resistance (Qvarsebo forthcoming). It seems, in fact that the so-called “diversity of producers” which has been one of the paroles in the reforms which have led to the privatisation of welfare services in Sweden, does not include the production of own services by groups that are perceived as culturally irreconcilable in relation to the so-called “ground of values” of the host society. The ghost of segregationism seems to appear especially when it comes to the Muslim culture.

But even if such expressions of diversity and of pluralism would be defined as desirable, how should the public sector act? How to support such a development without regulating or controlling immigrant organisations and upholding a strong boundary between public sector and civil society? How to support collective group rights without renouncing to implement public policies aiming at upholding social cohesion, equality of rights and a good balance between positive and negative freedoms? It is hard to say, but immigrant organisations will undoubtedly play a certain role as it is difficult to imagine that the category “immigrant”, as opposed to “majority population” would disappear altogether as it is so intrinsically engrained in the nation-state project, a nation-state that seems not to have lost its importance as a frame for policy-making and identity formation.
POPULÄRVETENSKAPLIG SAMMANFATTNING

Denna avhandling handlar om invandrarorganisationers roll i samhället idag och om hur de påverkas av sin omgivning. Omgivningen består i det här sammanhanget av tre olika system som syftar till att ge olika samhällsgrupper möjlighet till inflytande (intresserepresentation), att garantera människors grundtrygghet (välfärd) och att inkludera människor i samhället (integration).

Vi vet att länder har valt olika sätt att organiserar dessa system och att detta skapar olika typer av invandrarorganisationer men vi vet ganska lite om hur detta går till.

Avhandlingen bygger på hypotesen att invandrarorganisationer formas av tillgången till och sitt sätt att använda sig av så kallade ”politiska möjlighetsstrukturer”. Exempel på sådana strukturer är forum för dialog och inflytande i politiken, offentliga bidragssystem, regler och rutiner för produktion av välftarstjänster, tillgång till media och offentlig debatt samt skatteregler. Sådana strukturer kan användas av invandrarorganisationer för att göra sin röst hörd och få tillgång till resurser, för att stärka den egna organisationen och dess ställning i samhället samt för att påverka politiken. Men att använda sådana strukturer innebär alltid ett visst mått av kontroll och reglering, eftersom det kan kräva att organisationerna antar vissa regler, följer vissa principer eller arbetar med vissa frågor.


Politiska möjlighetsstrukturer finns dock inte bara på det nationella planet utan de är spridda på olika nivåer – från den lokala till den internationella – i ett så kallat ”fler-nivå-system”. För att spegla denna komplexitet består avhandlingen av tre delstudier där varje delstudie behandlar samspellet mellan invandrarorganisationer och politiska möjlighetsstrukturer på en viss nivå: EU, lokal och nationell/regional nivå. I varje delstudie jämförs invandrarorganisationers samspel med politiska möjlighetsstrukturer i Sverige och i Italien.
Studierna bygger främst på intervjuer med representanter för invandrarorganisationer, med nyckelpersoner från andra ideella organisationer och myndigheter samt med experter.

Resultaten i avhandlingen visar att de flesta svenska invandrarorganisationerna har förhållandevis goda resurser i termen av både pengar och personal som en följd av de nationella och lokala systemen för offentliga bidrag. I Italien råder stora skillnader mellan olika typer av invandrarorganisationer. Etniska organisationer (som i huvudsak består av individer från en etnisk grupp) verkar ha svårast att få tillgång till offentlig finansiering och till organisationer som kan erbjuda resurser och inflytande. Invandrarorganisationer som har flera etniska grupper bland sina medlemmar (interetniska organisationer) eller som även inkluderar italiensare (hybridorganisationer) kan mer framgångsrikt utnyttja de politiska möjlighetsstrukturerna och har därmed också kunnat stärka sin ställning, framförallt som tjänsteproducenter i samarbete med eller på uppdrag av det offentliga.

Avhandlingen visar också att omgivningen utan tvekan spelar roll för hur invandrarorganisationerna verkar och utvecklas. Detta sker bl.a. genom invandrarorganisationernas användning av de politiska möjlighetsstrukturer som är tillgängliga för dem. För de flesta svenska invandrarorganisationerna är det offentliga bidragssystemet den klart viktigaste möjlighetsstrukturen, medan många av de italienska invandrarorganisationerna är tvungna att förlita sig på mer resursstarka ideella organisationer för att stärka sina egna resurser. Detta återspeglar å ena sidan den svenska ”folkrörelsemodellen” med offentligt stöd till uppbyggnad av starka folkrörelser som representerar olika grupper och intressen och å andra sidan den italienska ideella sektorn där den katolska kyrkans och arbetarrörelsens organisationer har haft en dominerande ställning inte minst som välfärdsproducenter.

En annan skillnad är att invandrarorganisationer i Sverige sällan av myndigheter och andra organisationer behandlas som representanter för etniska grupper. De behandlas oftare som ”vanliga” ideella organisationer med kunskap och expertis om integrationsfrågor i likhet med andra svenska ideella organisationer. I Italien är invandrarorganisationers roll oftare definierad utifrån att de företräder invandrargrupper (atminstone för de etniska organisationerna). Denna skillnad kan dels ses som en konsekvens av en tidsmässigt längre period av invandring till Sverige där invandrarorganisationerna har kommit att bli en
del av den svenska ideella sektorn. Det kan också ses som en konsekvens av att invandrar i Sverige, jämfört med i Italien, har lättare att få medborgarskap och rösträtt i lokala val, vilket minskar deras behov att representeras via egna organisationer. Men det kan också hänga samman med olika sätt att definiera integration både nationellt och lokalt där invandrargruppernas eventuella ”olikhet” och frågan om etnisk och kulturell mångfald värderas och betonas på olika sätt.

I avhandlingen framkommer också vissa mer likartade utvecklingstrender. Liksom i Italien betraktas invandrarorganisationerna i Sverige numera ofta som tänkbara producenter av välfärdstjänster. I Sverige har den ideella sektorn traditionellt haft mer en roll som kritisk röst enligt ”folkrörelsemodellen” än som serviceproducent. Både i Sverige och i Italien spelar dessutom EU i dag en viktig roll för invandrarorganisationerna; både som en kanal för att påverka politiken genom deltagande i europeiska nätverk och som källa till resurser för verksamheter i det egna landet eller den egna staden.

Avhandlingen visar samtidigt att det nationella och det lokala sammanhanget fortfarande är mycket viktigt för invandrarorganisationer både i Sverige och i Italien. Aktiviteter som överskrider de nationella gränserna, till exempel genom gränssöverskridande etniska nätverk, berörde endast några få organisationer som i sin tur tenderade att använda sig mindre av lokala och nationella politiska möjlighetsstrukturer. Nationalstaten tycks inte ha förlorat sin betydelse för invandrarorganisationer som en ram för inflytande i politiken och för kollektivt identitetsskapande.
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Vasileva, Katya (2011) 6.5% of the EU population are foreigners and 9.4% are born abroad. Eurostat, Statistics in focus 34/2011.


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MIPEX measures policies to integrate migrants in 31 countries in Europe and North America. It uses 148 policy indicators in seven policy areas: labour market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination. MIPEX is built on seven strands (the above-mentioned policy areas) each divided in four dimensions which are measured by a number of indicators (140 in total). The data used here are from the third edition of MIPEX which considers data from 2010 (Huddleston et al. 2011). In this comparison between Sweden and Italy, 18 MIPEX-dimensions related to the individual access to rights and 5 MIPEX-dimensions related to the cultural difference and group rights have been chosen as shown in the following two tables (table 3-4). The figures in the tables which are shown in the third and fourth column for Sweden and for Italy are the mean values for the index relating to the policy areas and dimensions in the first and second column. The values in the index range from 0 to 100.

### Mean score for the chosen MIPEX-dimensions relating to Individual access to rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy area</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Equality of individual access (mean)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour market Mobility</td>
<td>Access, Access to general support, Workers’ rights</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reunion</td>
<td>Eligibility, Conditions, Security of status, Rights associated</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Access</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political participation</td>
<td>Electoral rights, Political liberties</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term residence</td>
<td>Eligibility, Conditions, Security of status, Rights associated</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to nationality</td>
<td>Eligibility, Conditions, Security of status</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source MIPEXIII (Huddleston et al. 2011)

### Mean score for the chosen MIPEX-dimensions relating to Cultural difference and group rights

Mean score for the chosen MIPEX-dimensions relating to Cultural difference and group rights
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy area</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Cultural difference and group rights (mean)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>New opportunities, Intercultural education for all</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political participation</td>
<td>Consultative bodies, Implementation policies</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to nationality</td>
<td>Dual nationality</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source MIPEXIII (Huddleston et al. 2011)

The choices of dimensions have been made through a study of the policy indicators that relate to each dimension (see Huddleston et al. 2011:212 for a comprehensive list). We should keep in mind that the MIPEX score is high when the national policy meets the highest standards i.e. the migrant is guaranteed full access to labour marker, participation to local elections, schools offer courses in the mother tongue, public authorities consult immigrant groups about issues that concern them and offer financial support for their organisations. Low scores mean the contrary or no policy at all or that the policies are more restrictive and far away from the highest standards. Considering how the dimensions are constructed we could interpret it as higher values bring us closer to the multiculturalist model while lower values bring us closer to the assimilationist model.
APPENDIX 2

Equal study
(October 2007-January 2009)

I have collected data from 22 organisations through 24 interviews and one written answer. I have further interviewed three other informants in Italy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N. org.</th>
<th>N. persons</th>
<th>Data collection</th>
<th>Other informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Org. representatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The empirical data also includes written documents such as: reports, brochures etc. The following organisations are included in the study:

**Sweden**
- Bergsjons finska förening: Finnish association (local)
- Center for African relations: African cooperative
- Dar-ul-aman ekonomiska förening: Inter-ethnic cooperative
- Föreningen Bosna & Hercegovina: Bosnia & Herzegovina association (local)
- Föreningen integrationsnätverket: Inter-ethnic association (local)
- Iransksvenska föreningen i Malmö: Iranian association (local)
- Iranska riksföreningen i Sverige: Iranian association (national)
- Oliven ekonomiska förening: Inter-ethnic cooperative
- Romernas riksföreund i Europa: Roma association (national)
- Sveriges muslimska råd: Religious Muslim organisation (national)

**Italy**
- Almaterra: Hybrid association for women
- Arcoris Onlus Associazione femminile multietnica multiculturale: Inter-ethnic association for women
- Associazione Baobab: African association
- Associazione delle Donne Capoverdiane in Italia: Cape Verdean association for women
- Associazione Filipino Women's Council: Filipino association for women
- Associazione Nazionale Oltre le Frontiere Lazio (ANOLF): Hybrid Association (Trade union)
- Associazione Nazionale Oltre le Frontiere Veneto (ANOLF): Hybrid Association (Trade union)
- Associazione Senegalesi di Napoli: Senegal association
Local study
(April 2010-May 2011)

In Malmö and in Genova I have interviewed representative of five organisations for each city. I have also interviewed four other informants in each city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N. org.</th>
<th>N. persons</th>
<th>Data collection</th>
<th>Org. representatives</th>
<th>Other informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>Grou p</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The empirical data also includes written documents such as: reports, brochures etc. The following organisations are included in the study:

**Sweden**
- Grekiska föreningen i Malmö *Ethnic org.*
- Iranks-svenska föreningen i Malmö *Ethnic org.*
- Föreningen Bosna Krajinna *Ethnic org.*
- Internationella arabiska kvinnoföreningen i Malmö *Inter-ethnic women org.*
- Somalilandsföreningen i Malmö *Ethnic org.*

**Italy**
- Al-Muhammedia *Ethnic org.*
- Centro Culturale Islamico *Inter-ethnic org.*
- Centro Servizi Integrato per immigrati *Hybrid service org.*
- Coordinamento ligure donne latinoamericane *Inter-ethnic women org.*
- Unione dei senegalesi di Genova *Ethnic org.*
The study of policy-making process  
(February 2009 – May 2010)

I Sweden I have included eight immigrant organisations in the study through four interviews and six questionnaires. I have further gathered 28 more answers to the questionnaire from other civil society organisations. I have also participated and observed 17 different meetings in the process. In Italy I have interviewed three representatives of immigrant organisations and two other informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N. Org.</th>
<th>N. persons</th>
<th>Data collection</th>
<th>Key informants</th>
<th>Observations (N. meetings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Org. representatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>Face to face</td>
<td>Written answers/questionnaires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>8 (?)</td>
<td>8 (?)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The empirical data for Sweden also includes a large amount of written documents such as: invitation, agendas for the meetings, records of meetings, notes from participants, drafts of the agreement, written commentaries to the drafts, e-mail correspondence. For Italy it includes some central documents from the council: invitation, plan, organisation etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Questionnaire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund</td>
<td>Ethnic umbrella org.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund, Stockholms län</td>
<td>Ethnic organisation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritreanska riksförbundet</td>
<td>Ethnic umbrella org.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdiska riksförbundet</td>
<td>Ethnic umbrella org.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internationella kvinnoförbundet</td>
<td>Inter-ethnic women org.</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italienska riksförbundet</td>
<td>Ethnic umbrella org.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIOS</td>
<td>Inter-ethnic umbrella org.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syriska riksförbundet</td>
<td>Ethnic umbrella org.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Muhammedia</td>
<td><em>Ethnic org.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centro Culturale Islamico</td>
<td><em>Inter-ethnic org.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinamento ligure donne latinoamericane</td>
<td><em>Inter-ethnic women org.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX 3**

Organisations that reoccur more than once in the text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name in English</th>
<th>Name in Swedish or Italian</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Administation for Social Service</td>
<td>Socialförvaltningen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre for Integrated Services for Immigrants</td>
<td>Centro Servizi Integrati per Immigrati</td>
<td>Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordination of extra-communitarian immigrants</td>
<td>Coordinamento immigrati extra-comunitari</td>
<td>Coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration and Employment Directorate</td>
<td>Avdelningen för Integration och Arbetsmarknad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure, Recreation and Sport Administration</td>
<td>Fritidsförvaltningen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö non-profit organisation</td>
<td>Malmö Ideella föreningars Paraplyorganisation</td>
<td>MIP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation for the cooperation of immigrant associations</td>
<td>Samarbetsorganisation för invandrarföreningar i Malmö</td>
<td>SIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions</td>
<td>Sveriges kommuner och landsting</td>
<td>SKL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs</td>
<td>Ungdomsstyrelsen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cooperation Group for Ethnical Associations in Sweden</td>
<td>Samarbetsorgan för etniska organisationer i Sverige</td>
<td>SIOS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4

Interview guide for the Equal study

About the organisation
1) When was the organisation funded, by whom and with which aims?
2) How is the organisation structured, how many members has it and how is it run?
3) Why do people join, how and at what conditions?
4) Which are the strategies and the aims of the organisation?
5) With which partners does the organisation cooperate and how is the cooperation structured?
6) Which activities does the organisation run?

About the participation in Equal
7) How did the organisation get in contact with the other partners and the partnership?
8) Why did the organisation choose to participate?
9) Did the organisation have the same ideas and the same objectives with its participation as the other partners?
10) Which role has the organisation had in the partnership and how had it perceived its possibilities to affect the decisions?
11) How has the cooperation worked and how has the organisation perceived it?
12) In which activities has the organisation been involved?
13) What has been the contribution of the organisation to the partnership and what has it gained from the participation?
14) What value has the participation had for the organisation, for the members and for the people and the groups who are the targets of its activities?
15) In which way has the participation affected the activities, the “ideology”, the values and the interests of the organisation?

Questionnaire about participation in the Dialogue process on integration

1) Which organisation have you represented in the dialogue process on integration?

2) Which role(s) do you have in your organisation? (You can choose more than one alternative)
- ✔ Member
- ✔ Employed
- ✔ Non-paid volunteer
- ✔ Elected
- ✔ Other, in such case what?
3) Has your organisation chosen to participate in the dialogue process?
☐ Yes
☐ No
Which were the motives behind this decision?

4) In which of the following phases in the dialogue process have you participated? (You can choose more than one alternative)
☐ Preliminary work
☐ Dialogue meetings (jan-feb 2009)
☐ Working conference (april 2009)
☐ Reference group
☐ Hearing (feb 2010)
☐ Red one or more of the drafts
☐ Commented one or more of the drafts
☐ Other, in such case what?
If you ticked one or more of the alternatives in the previous question please continue to question nr. 5. Otherwise you can continue to question nr. 9.

5) How will you judge the dialogue process from the following points of view?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The design of the working process</th>
<th>Very positiv</th>
<th>Positiv</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Negativ</th>
<th>Very negativ</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please motivate your answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The content of the agreement</th>
<th>Very positiv</th>
<th>Positiv</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Negativ</th>
<th>Very negativ</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please motivate your answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The efforts of the government</th>
<th>Very positiv</th>
<th>Positiv</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Negativ</th>
<th>Very negativ</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please motivate your answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The efforts of other civil society org.</th>
<th>Very positiv</th>
<th>Positiv</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Negativ</th>
<th>Very negativ</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please motivate your answer
6) Which positive consequences do you think that your participation in the dialogue process has had?

7) Which difficulties or obstacles have you met in the dialogue process?

8) Would you say that you comments and demands have had an effect?
   - Yes, to a high degree
   - Partly
   - No, not at all

9) Do you think that your organisation will sign the agreement?
   - Yes I think so
   - No I don’t think so
   - It is doubtful

10) Do you have previous experiences of similar political processes at the local level?
    - Yes
    - No

11) Do you have previous experiences of similar political processes at the national level?
    - Yes
    - No

12) Do you have any further comments?

Thank you for your participation!
Ross, M. W. Typing, doing and being. A study of men who have sex with men and sexuality on the Internet. 2006:1

Stoltz, P. Searching for meaning of support in nursing. A study on support in family care of frail aged persons with examples from palliative care at home. 2006:2

Gudmundsson, P. Detection of myocardial ischemia using real-time myocardial contrasts echocardiography. 2006:3

Holmberg, L. Communication in palliative home care, grief and bereavement. A mother’s experiences. 2007:1

Ny, P. Swedish maternal health care in a multiethnic society – including the fathers. 2007:2

Schölin, T. Etnisk mångfald som organisationsidé. Chefs- och personalpraktiker i äldreomsorgen. 2008:1

Svensson, O. Interactions of mucins with biopolymers and drug delivery particles. 2008:2

Holst, M. Self-care behaviour and daily life experiences in patients with chronic heart failure. 2008:3

Bahtsevani, C. In search of evidence-based practices. Exploring factors influencing evidence-based practice and implementation of clinical practice guidelines. 2008:4

Andersson, L. Endocytosis by human dendritic cells. 2009:1

Svendsen, I. E. In vitro and in vivo studies of salivary films at solid/liquid interfaces. 2009:2

Persson, K. Oral health in an outpatient psychiatric population. Oral status, life satisfaction and support. 2009:3

Hellman, P. Human dendritic cells. A study of early events during pathogen recognition and antigen endocytosis. 2009:4

Baghir-Zada, R. Illegal aliens and health (care) wants. The cases of Sweden and the Netherlands. 2009:5

Stjernswärd, S. Designing online support for families living with depression. 2009:6
Carlsson, A. Child injuries at home – prevention, precautions and intervention with focus on scalds. 2010:1

Carlson, E. Sjuksköterskan som handledare. Innehåll i och förutsättningar för sjuksköterskors handledande funktion i verksamhetsförlagd utbildning – en etnografisk studie. 2010:2

Sinkiewicz, G. Lactobacillus reuteri in health and disease. 2010:3

Tuvesson, H. Psychiatric nursing staff and the workplace. Perceptions of the ward atmosphere, psychosocial work environment, and stress. 2011:1

Ingvarsdotter, K. Mental ill health and diversity. Researching human suffering and resilience in a multicultural context. 2011:2

Hamit-Eminovski, J. Interactions of biopolymers and metal complexes at biological interfaces. 2011:3

Mellgren, C. What’s neighbourhood got to do with it? The influence of neighbourhood context on crime and reactions to crime. 2011:4


Pooremamali P. Culture, occupation and occupational therapy in a mental care context – the challenge of meeting the needs of Middle Eastern immigrants. 2012:1

Gustafsson A. Aspects on sepsis: treatment and markers. 2012:2

Lavant, E. Multiplex HLA-DR-DQ genotyping. For genetic epidemiology and clinical risk assessment. 2012:3


Scaramuzzino, R. Equal opportunities? - A cross-national comparison of immigrant organisations in Sweden and Italy. 2012:5

The publications are available on-line.
See www.mah.se/muep
EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES?
A Cross-national Comparison of Immigrant Organisations in Sweden and Italy

ROBERTO SCARAMUZZINO
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