Research Programme

Citizenship, Work and Welfare in Multiethnic Europe

Application to The Swedish Social Science Research Council
December 1999
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ThemES
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Background

A joint research program at the Department of Ethnic Studies, Linköping University, Campus Norrköping and Work and Culture, at the National Institute for Working Life, Norrköping

In December 1999 an application was sent to the Swedish Social Science Research Council bidding for a six years grant targeted at the development of the research programme “Citizenship, Work and Welfare in Multietnic Europe”. The programme is a joint venture for The Ethnic Studies Department at Campus Norrköping, Linköping University and the research programme, Work and Culture at the National Institute for Working Life in Norrköping. The Social Science Research Council decided to grant a yearly support for the programme at about 800,000 SEK starting from 2000. The grant represents an important support for the development of an integrated setting for research on ethnic relations at Norrköping. Programme director is Carl-Ulrik Sehierup, professor at the National Institute for Working Life and Linköping University.

In this first issue of *Themes on Ethnic Studies* the application is printed in its original form. A revised and updated version of the programme as a whole is planned to be published in *Themes on Ethnic Studies* in the Autumn of 2001.

*Themes on Ethnic Studies* is a forum for CEUS, Centre for Ethnic and Urban Studies, a shared platform for the development of research on ethnic relations at Norrköping, which has been initiated and is developed jointly by the Department of Ethnic Studies and Work and Culture.
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Introduction

*Citizenship, Work and Welfare* is an interdisciplinary research programme on processes of integration in a multinational and increasingly multiethnic Europe. The programme aims at exploiting and developing opportunities offered by a unique academic consortium for research on international migration and ethnic studies at Campus Norrköping (south of Stockholm). The innovative focus of the programme emerges from its concerted effort to elucidate changing frameworks for citizenship and social welfare related to the global wide transformation of work and the emergence of contemporary forms of an ethnic division of labour in the particular context of European integration processes.

The research setting
At Campus Norrköping two research groups, scholars at the Department of Ethnic studies (Campus Norrköping/Linköping University)/DES and researchers at the Work and Ethnic Studies section/WET of Work and Culture, a newly founded special purpose regional division (Norrköping) within The Swedish National Institute for Working Life (NIWL), enter into a longsighted and ramified cooperation with the aim of developing fields of study, so far relatively neglected within Swedish research. This effort includes, among other, the development of joint programmes in research and teaching within strategic fields and the institution of academic positions with a double affiliation, designed to closely integrate important aspects of the work of the two units DES/WET.

The two research units DES/WET have both been instituted newly, related to current Swedish efforts to reinforce research on ethnic studies. Among their leading staff, both groups include scholars of excellence, of national and international repute, and with research records within the field of ethnic and migration studies, which count among the most long standing in Scandinavia. Hereby a well-established competence on ethnic studies has been concentrated at Campus Norrköping. Here also Sweden’s only postgraduate university study programme on ethnic relations offers a platform for the recruitment of young scholars, which gives Campus Norrköping the role of a strategic node of national importance in the development of Swedish ethnic studies.

With a composite professional staff this consortium for research and education offers unique prospects for interdisciplinary studies involving sociologists, historians, anthropologists, economists, urban planners, political scientists and scholars on cultural studies. The location of the major Swedish national boards for issues on immigration (The National Immigration Board/SIV) and integration (The National Integration Board) in the city of Norrköping, offers here, moreover, particularly beneficial conditions for the development and the national impact of research on international migration and ethnic relations.

The issues and the programme
The joint programme of Work and Ethnic Studies WET and The Department of Ethnic Studies DES takes its point of departure in central issues of citizenship emerging from contemporary processes of European integration.

- The issue of citizenship among the present member states, exposed to challenges for their established welfare state regimes as they face forces of globalisation, economic restructuring and the selective impact of rapidly changing relationships and conditions in the world of work.

- The challenge of integrating new, formerly communist, member states in Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe into the Union, parts of Europe being particularly abruptly hit by world wide processes of economic restructuring, and where the establishment of new sustainable frameworks for citizenship and social welfare has become an acute political issue.

- The need for the formation of new flexible modes of local citizenship in the rapidly changing post-industrial cities and border-crossing regions that all over Europe emerge as strategic nodes of governance and socio-
economic integration and development, but at the same time as sites for extended processes of social exclusion and marginalisation among a substantial part of the urban population.

Common for these issues of citizenship, each of them carrying salient importance for European integration, is the increasingly central role occupied by processes of immigration and the dynamics of ethnic relations. In this perspective they constitute three diverse, yet closely interrelated, fields of inquiry, part and parcel of the same overall current problematic related to the further integration of Europe. They are all issues for research into which special competence and long standing scholarly experience are available at Campus Norrköping.

With this as its central premise and situating the inquiry in the interface between work, social welfare and modes of governance the innovative potentials of the joint DES/WET-programme consist in the following.

- The programme opens up the question of citizenship and ethnic relations, which has so far (with few exceptions) only relatively rarely been the object of research in Sweden, for broader inquiry and in depth longitudinal scientific scrutiny with a potential to integrate Swedish social research closer with contemporary developments within the international research community.

- Research on Europe’s integration in a complex multietnic perspective is still, in spite of its obvious importance, at an early stage. At this juncture, the DES/WET-programme’s intentions and potentials for developing a strong theoretically articulated and empirically based interdisciplinary research is essential.

- Issues of citizenship and ethnic relations have in Europe so far mainly, and in Sweden almost exclusively, been studied from the perspectives of politics and culture. With its ambition to grasp issues of citizenship in multietnic Europe within a broader holistic and interdisciplinary framework, which explores the contingencies of emerging new modes of citizenship in multietnic societies on changing conditions of work and welfare, the joint DES/WET-programme offers a contribution to the development of European social research in general and to Swedish social research in particular.

The programme will run for six years, and in line with the research issues outlined above, the programme will be structured and carried out as consisting of a number of thematically related longitudinal projects. These projects will be situated within the framework of three major thematically linked sub-programmes: 1) Citizenship, immigration and the welfare state in the European Union, 2) Ethnic Conflict, Citizenship and Social reconstruction in post-communist Europe and 3) Modes of citizenship in cities and border crossing regions. Each of these sub-programmes represents a node within the programme as a whole, which as such is marked by a clear integration and interdependency between its different parts. This integrated character of the programme is based on a common overall conceptual framework and research orientation, focused on the interconnection between citizenship, welfare and work from the particular perspective of international migration and ethnic relations, but also connected with the character of European integration processes in a substantial social sense. No effort to profoundly understand political, social and economic integration involving the present ‘western’ member states of the European union is possible without reference to the current development in the ‘eastern’ part of the continent, and vice-versa. In the same way a simultaneous and integrated inquiry into processes at a supra national, national and local level is essential for producing incremental knowledge on the actual complexity of current European integration processes.

Research orientations, competence, and the division of labour between the cooperating units

The two cooperating partners launching the proposed programme, WET (the Work and Ethnic Studies section of the National Institute for Working Life) and DES (The Department of Ethnic Studies at Linköping University/Campus Norrköping), have a common orientation towards studies on citizenship and ethnic relations. The overall targets of long-term research of both units depart from a complex comparative European perspective. Their research involves Eastern as well as Western Europe. Their studies endeavour to integrate developments on the global, supranational and national levels of analysis with a scrutiny of differentiation and particular developments on the local levels of the city and
the region. But, whereas an important emphasis of research at WET is on the current changing character of work and its impact on citizenship and social welfare, a major part of the research at DES deviates from research on the development of political citizenship and modes of governance and their implications for social welfare. Hence, a common denominator for the research of the two cooperating groups, as articulated through the proposed joint long-term programme on European integration, is a clearly accentuated stress on issues of social citizenship and social welfare set into a genuinely holistic framework of inquiry. Through the merger of the particular research perspectives and differentiated multidisciplinary professional experience belonging to the two research groups at the campus into a common effort to develop the proposed innovative field of research on citizenship, welfare and work in the perspective of international migration and ethnic relations a productive synergy is pursued.

With their long-standing experience within research on a number of aspects of international migration and ethnic relations in a comparative perspective, and explicitly related to processes of European integration (local, national, supranational, West and East), the leading scholars of the joint interdisciplinary DES/WET-programme (Prof. Aleksandra Ålund, Prof. Rune Johansson, and Prof. Carl-Ulrik Schierup) form a strong directing team. On the basis of the programme for post-graduate studies at Campus Norrköping a number of competent young post-graduate research fellows have been recruited among whom several will write their doctoral theses with affiliation to the issues of the proposed programme. The recruitment of additional senior staff at the two cooperating centres in Norrköping is also underway among whom some will carry out work of central significance for the programme.

Of outstanding importance for the feasibility and success of the programme as a whole, however, will be the ability to include additional researchers at an intermediary level, i.e. post-doctoral research fellows, for the purpose of which, at present, only limited resources are available at Campus Norrköping.

**Funding and cost-sharing**

The purpose of this program/application is, accordingly, to make available necessary addi-
Concepts and rationale

As clarified in the introduction, the joint DESWET research programme takes its point of departure in issues of European integration with a focus on the increasingly crucial dynamic impact of international migration and ethnic relations. The programme’s perspective on European integration embraces and links developments in both the traditional (post-communist) ‘East’ and ‘West’ of the continent and it scrutinizes the dynamic relationship between different levels of analysis. The inquiry endeavours to spanning the gap between overall global contingencies of current economic and social change and specific developments on the local level of cities and new, nationally and ethnically mixed border-crossing regions. At the centre of the inquiry are concerns of citizenship, work and welfare and their inter-linkage in a multiethnic perspective. While the programme as a whole places a priority on the elucidation of the development of a multiethnic society in Sweden and on Sweden’s particular involvement in and contribution to multiethnic/poly-national European integration processes, the contention is to set Swedish experience and Sweden’s role in Europe into a global and, in particular, a comparative European perspective.

The present section will, in general terms, contextualise the three main conceptual tenents of the programmes as related to the existing state of research in Sweden, and argue for their salience in view of present political and social development in Sweden and Europe.

The salience of citizenship

During the past couple of decades the issue of citizenship has experienced an almost dramatic renaissance within European social research. This is intimately connected with two major courses of political development.

- In the traditional European ‘West’ democratic welfare states have been confronted with a dual challenge from above and from below. From above globalisation and the increasing importance of supranational governance (in particular materialised through the development of the European Community/Union) have called into question the sovereignty and historically established political cultures and modes of citizenship belonging to established nation states. From below an increasing ethnic diversification through immigration and the formation of new ethnic communities with a recent migrant background have further fuelled the crisis of national cultural and political identities and led to a series of new questions about what the essence of citizenship is and should be. An increasing autonomy and the political and economic power of large cities and new dynamic border-crossing regions adds additional dimensions to the crisis of the nation state, and new demands for a redefinition of modes and frameworks of citizenship.

- In the former European, now so-called ‘post-communist’, ‘East’, the evident collapse of the bureaucratic order of actually existing socialism has once again (particularly since 1989), at a dramatic scale, fully opened up historically unsolved issues of citizenship in extended traditionally poly-national and multiethnic parts of Europe. In certain cases - most notably in the Balkans - this has found expression in explosive ethno-national conflicts and protracted civil wars. It has by now become increasingly clear that a state of latent or open ethno-national conflict and the concurrent collapse of established (real-socialist) modes and frameworks of citizenship is not simply a local problem for these parts of Europe themselves but a complex issue upon which the future of a further democratic integration of Europe as a whole is intimately dependent.

Parallel to this increasing interest in matters of citizenship in general, a displacement from a predominant focus on matters of formal national belonging (Staatsbürgerschaft) and political rights towards a complex multifaceted preoccupation with citizenship defined in terms of substantial membership and active participation in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres of society, has taken place. The increasing importance of the global and supranational levels
on the one hand and ethnic plurality and local governance on the other has, at the same time, led to the coinage of new composite notions like, for example, ‘transnational citizenship’, ‘multicultural citizenship’ and ‘local citizenship’.

Important in the context of the present application is that the general European renaissance concerning public discussion and social science research on citizenship has had a relatively modest impact in Sweden. This is, in particular, true in the case of a traditionally strong Swedish research on international migration and ethnic relations, where, during the 1990s, interest in the ongoing European debate on citizenship has been astonishingly weak. Since the internationally acknowledged studies of professor Tomas Hammar during the 1980s at CEIFO in Stockholm on political citizenship, little research has taken place on this issue in Sweden. Only recently some researchers have advanced Swedish research on citizenship with a comparative perspective on European integration and on the complexities of local multiethnic citizenship in Swedish and European cities. Among them are Aleksandra Ålund, Carl-Ulrik Schierup, Maritta Soininen, Peo Hansen and Magnus Dahlstedt, who are all currently transferring their research activities to Campus Norrköping.

These studies have, in particular, been focused on issues of social exclusion and inclusion as related to rights of citizenship, social membership and participation in decisionmaking (Dahlstedt). They have pleaded for the interconnection of ‘ethnicised social exclusion’ (Schierup) with problems of changing European welfare states (Ålund and Schierup), the emergence new ethnic divisions of labour and contingencies of ethnic and racial discrimination (Soininen). They have raised critical perspectives concerning an emphasis on ‘culture’ and ‘identity’ in national and supranational policies to the expense of a neglect of social, political and socio-economic aspects of social exclusion (e.g. Schierup, Dahlstedt and Hansen). Raising these issues in the Swedish context their studies represent pioneering work for the formation of the conceptual framework of the proposed joint WETIDES research programme at Norrköping.

What they emphasise is, among other, that the social dimension has lately tended to become overshadowed by the interest in culture, not the least in ethnic studies. Basically, however, the social and socio-economic dimensions will continue to be of overriding importance in questions relating to political and cultural integration on the European level as well as on the national and regional levels. This holds true for research on the present member states of the European Union, but no less, for current research on ethnic relations and citizenship in the ‘eastern’ and post-communist part of Europe. This is a trend, which has been critically scrutinised by Schierup in innovative studies on globalism, nationalism and current social reconstruction in the Balkans.

**Contingencies of social welfare**

An important turn of Swedish politics on matters of immigration and ethnic relations from a previous special purpose ‘immigrant policy’ to a more generally formulated ‘policy of integration’ is presently becoming manifest. Here ‘integration’ becomes largely synonymous with the meanings of ‘citizenship’ and ‘social inclusion’. This implicates that a development within ethnic studies in the direction of research on citizenship and social welfare, is becoming increasingly pertinent in the Swedish context, also when seen in the perspective of public policy formation.

This exigency, inscribed into the rationale of the present programme, corresponds, in fact, to a general, albeit recent, trend within European research. Thus, scrutinising the contingencies of social citizenship and changing welfare policies in a comparative perspective are increasingly occupying European networks on the forefront of research on international migration and ethnic relations. The focus is on a comparative and theoretically founded institutionalist analysis of the background to forms of exclusion of immigrants and ethnic minority members, which take a variety of different forms dependent on the particular welfare state regimes and practices of regulation in different European countries.

The rather surprising fact is, however, like in the case of research on citizenship in general mentioned above, the relatively small extent to which this general European trend has so far made an impact on or found a counterpart in Swedish research. Theoretically founded comparative research on social welfare, on the one hand, and research on international migration and ethnic relations on the other, both strongly present in Swedish academia and internationally reputed, have in this country tended to largely remain worlds apart. In view of this, to act for a broad introduction and complex development of a research orientation on social welfare, ethnicity and immigration in the Swedish context, which is
an explicit intention of the present research programme, implicates merging theoretical, conceptual and analytical frameworks from the established academic traditions of social welfare research with concepts and frameworks pertaining to research on international migration and ethnic relations. This objective will be reflected in the composition of the staff of the WET-DES joint programme as well as in the agendas of workshops and conferences organised within the framework of the proposed programme.

In the European ‘post-communist’ east present day social conflicts are to a large extent contingent on the break down of the particular forms of regulation and elaborate welfare arrangements belonging to different versions of an actually existing socialism (e.g. the Soviet, the Polish, the Yugoslavian, etc.). The specific character and the complex contingencies of the welfare arrangements in actually existing socialism have most significantly been elucidated by several writers, the dynamics of their disintegration and collapse by Schierup and associates. Today, given a situation of conflict and institutional disintegration in many parts of post-communist Europe, the development of this analytical framework and its implementation in comprehensive empirical inquiries is topical.

The collapse of the institutional systems in former socialist countries has, in particular through its repercussions in ethno-national conflicts and civil wars (e.g. former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus) turned out to become a threat to Europe’s cohesion and integration in general. The attention of the Swedish and international research community has, however, mainly been concentrated on issues concerning human rights and issues concerning the exigency of building new forms of civil society and modes of democratic citizenship. The social dimension of ethno-national conflicts and the violation of human and basic rights of citizenship has been relatively neglected. It is the contention of the WET/DES research programme, however, that any successful policy of reconstruction in regions and states harassed by deep ethno-national conflicts and marked by the neglect of issues of human and citizenship rights must take into consideration the need for and the complex contingencies involved in building or reconstructing ramifying welfare institutions ranging from basic social protection to matters of labour regulation and education. This is a precondition for the eventual successful integration of these regions and states into wider European associations and systems of cooperation. With a rich previous experience the WET/DES research team is on the forefront of the international research community concerning this pertinent issue of European integration.

Work and ethnicity in the global age

The traditional so-called ‘Swedish model’ of the democratic welfare state stands out as a clear example of the central place of labour relations in the structuring of economy, society and culture and for the evolution of the predominant ideals of civil, political and social citizenship in an advanced industrial state. Today this model has become increasingly exhausted and insufficient as a framework for national integration, at the same time as the globalisation of economy and culture places new strategies for democratic supranational and macro-regional integration on the agenda, of which the European Union is the so far most advanced example.

As was the case with the advance of ‘Taylorism’ and industrial ‘Fordism’ earlier in this century, a rapidly and radically changing character of technology, of the labour process and of labour relations have, since the mid 1970s, once again attained a fundamental impact on emerging new models for economic, social and cultural integration; on the national, the supranational as well as on the sub-national level (cities, regions, local communities). But new patterns of labour relations and working life will themselves, in turn, obtain their particular form in contingency with the development of these integration processes and depending on the different political visions and policy measures, which inform and guide them in different countries and local communities.

Of special importance for the direction of the ongoing transformation of society is a complex interrelationship between changing labour relations and newly emerging forms of culture and identity. ‘Culture’ and ‘identity’ have surfaced as dominant categories in public discourse and the political language, understood and instrumentalised as dynamic forces in the ongoing restructuration of society, economy and working life. Among the most conspicuous contingencies of this cultural renewal and upsurge of identity politics is the emergence of ethnicity as a central social and cultural category.

Ethnicity has, thus, become a cultural category and a social fact, which has gained a salient importance for social change and in politics as
well as for the current restructuring of working life and the economy all over Europe. This is related to continued and long term immigration into the member states of the European Union from all over the world and their development into increasingly multiethnic societies. It is also intimately connected with the character of current processes of social exclusion and marginalisation and of general processes of segmentation and differentiation in western European labour markets, which tend to take on an increasingly ‘ethnic’ or ‘racialised’ character. But it is linked as well to the collapse of established forms of political culture and of social and economic integration in the traditionally multiethnic states of formerly socialist eastern Europe. These are societies, where present day ethno-national conflicts are intimately connected with the changing character of work or with the disappearance altogether of ‘work’ as an institutionalised human activity in the habitual modern sense of the notion.

This present juncture accentuates the need for research to account for the complex interrelationships of citizenship, welfare state regimes and the changing character of work and labour markets in the age of globality and the IT-revolution. Sweden has certainly an international repute for having developed an empirically well-founded and theoretically sophisticated working-life research as well as welfare research and a number of researchers have shown the ability to take account of the complex interrelationship between regimes of work and welfare in complex post-industrial situations. To a very limited extent, however, this research has taken account of immigration and ethnic relations. This is a growing problem in view of the apparently central place of ethnicity in the current restructuring of regimes of work, welfare and citizenship.

Recently a growing number of studies of immigration and the labour market and of immigrants/refugees and new ethnic minorities in relation to the labour market and in working life have been carried out or are in process. Few of these studies are, however, theoretically profiled and few if any endeavour to set their object of inquiry into a holistic framework. This becomes a growing problem in view of the great complexity of the present transformation, a general feature of which appears to be the growing importance of ethnicity and other related forms of ‘belongingnesses’ and affiliations in situations marked by rapid technological change, globalisation and the collapse or restructuring of established pacts on social welfare and citizenship.

It is a premise of the present program that this transformation, often named ‘the post-industrial’, can be compared in economic, political and historical and social importance to the formation of the classical industrial society in the nineteenth century or to the important transformation to Taylorism and Fordism during the first part of the Twentieth. A characteristic of this ‘post-industrial revolution’ is the emergence of numerous new interrelationships of work, culture and ethnicity. The ambition is to analyse these changes in the context of a holistic perspective on economy, society and culture. This endeavour follows, as it were, in the footsteps of the classics of social science, for whom work or the division of labour in society and in the workplace were always fundamental points of reference or departure or when analysing complex social change.
Outline of the programme

As mentioned in the introduction the proposed research programme as a whole is divided into
three thematically linked sub-programmes.

Sub-programme I: Citizenship, immigration and the welfare state in the European Union

Sub-programme II: Ethnic Conflict, Citizenship and Social reconstruction in post-communist Europe

Sub-programme III: Modes of citizenship in cities and border crossing regions

In summary, the two first sub-programmes explore dimensions of the interrelationship of citizen-
ship, work and welfare in the perspective of international migration largely on the national and
supranational levels, but in the ‘West’ (predominantly the European union) and the ‘East’
(post-communist parts of Europe) respectively. The third subprogramme, in turn, explores the
same general problematic while focusing on relationships between the local, national and
supranational/global levels with its focus on contingencies of local citizenship, welfare and
work in European cities and border crossing local regions. As such the three subprogrammes are
intended to altogether provide a complex and multifaceted analysis of the issues of citizenship
in a complex multiethnic Europe in the making.

Subprogramme I: Citizenship, immigration and the welfare state in the European Union

Rationale

Within the realm of the European Union we can see a strongly ‘path dependent’ development of
the individual member states, in spite of the forceful homogenising strivings of supranational
policies. This is expressed in the persistence of very different economic institutional settings, of
different class structures, national political cultures and labour regimes, the specific character of
the ethnic divisions of labour of different societies and of their particular institutional set ups.

Empirical research within this subprogramme focuses in depth on a scrutiny of the Swedish
experience. But the analyses of the various parts projects of the programme are set within a dis-
criminating comparative framework. In spite of prevalent efforts at homogenisation of national
policies, national citizenship regimes, as well as modes of reception and incorporation of migrants
and ethnic minorities, are still highly different in single member states of the EU. There are still,
for example, huge differences between Swedish immigrant and integration policies and German
policies until recently marked by the legacy of the discriminatory guest workers system of the
1960s. But there are no simple equations.

It is, for example, Sweden that has recently been pointed to as the country within the Union with
the highest discrepancy between Swedes and immigrants concerning real labour market
opportunities (in terms of unemployment rates, etc.). The comparative design should also capture
the historical and contemporary uniqueness of still highly variant European institutional fram-
eworks for economic development articulated with specific labour market and social welfare poli-
cies.

Following this line of reasoning, the subprogramme retrieves a complex understanding of the
divergent ways in which these still highly different European political, economic and labour
regimes continue to respond to the current impact of globalisation and to the opportunities offered
by the huge and growing labour reserves of potential migrant workers to the South and to the
East or to the pressure from millions of presumptive refugees, fleeing from ethnic civil wars,
repressive and authoritarian regimes or ecologic disasters.

To give just one other example, this kind of differentiated and complex approach, following
an analytical logic of institutional ‘path depend-
ence’, is necessary in order to analyse intricate questions like the following: How can it be so
that the Portuguese government can still without much hesitation continue to be the biggest em-
ployer of undocumented labour (‘illegal immi-
grants’) within a booming national building
sector, largely functioning on the basis of a con-
tinuous clandestine immigration, while, at the
same time and within the framework of the same supra-national European community, one may hardly find any workers of immigrant background (let alone undocumented) in a highly advanced Swedish building industry?

The comparative perspective on the national level will be complemented with complex analysis of the articulation of national regimes of citizenship, welfare and labour with the increasingly ramified supranational claims for harmonisation and homogenisation, articulated through the legal framework and institutional agencies of the European union, which to a growing extent include issues of immigration and ethnic relations, and notably issues like discrimination and racism in the workplace.

The sub-programme approaches the issue of citizenship and social welfare from the vantage points of several major longitudinal projects set up in cooperation between the two research units DES/WET. The projects involve researchers at different academic levels, approaching the issue of citizenship and social welfare from different vantage points. While some place the emphasis on a scrutiny of public policy-formation based mainly on discourse- and content-analysis of existing documentation and on interviews with authorities and representatives of organisations and social movements among majorities as well as minorities, others concentrate on a detailed empirical mapping of conditions of work and welfare on the basis of a quantitatively oriented compilation. While parts of the programme focuses on national comparison, other parts focus in complementary ways on the character and implications of policy-making and of major trends of social development at the supra-national level of the European Union with implications for immigrants and ethnic minorities concerning citizenship, welfare and work. While the main part of the sub-programme is planned to be financed by existing resources of the two research units, necessary and strategic parts of the sub-programme, and thereby its quality as a whole, is dependent on external sources for the employment of an additional full time (younger) post-doctoral researcher.

Projects and researchers

Project 1.A

*Work, immigration and the Swedish welfare-mix in a comparative European perspective*

This project will, in cooperation with professor Schierup and a qualified (full time) post-doctoral researcher, be led by professor Joachim Vogel, Statistics Sweden (the Swedish national bureau of statistics), on the basis of a part-time assignment at The National Institute for Working Life at Norrköping (the *WET* section).

The project will be the basis for a theoretically based longitudinal empirical research project, a central object of which is to initiate and build up an important database on issues of work and welfare with a its specific focus on immigration and ethnic relations. Vogel is one of Sweden’s most well-known experts within research on welfare and one of the few who have for a long time worked with questions pertaining to the relation between immigration/ethnicity, social welfare and labour-market and working life related issues. Vogel is also well known for his theoretical and empirical contributions to comparative European welfare research.

The task of the project is, based on a complex institutionalist theoretical perspective, to empirically elucidate the interrelation of labour market and working life processes with other components of the Swedish ‘welfare mix’, so as the whole public welfare state institutional complex (with education as the most dynamic node), the family and formal and informal associations and networks. Focus will, in particular, be directed towards a diversified elucidation of the causes behind the particular position in terms of welfare among groups with an immigrant and ethnic minority background. The project will be carried out in the form of a number of mutually related and integrated part-studies. These will include basic studies on living conditions, studies on resources in the labour market for different groups in a multi-ethnic perspective, a retrospective study of working and professional careers, studies on ethnic/racial discrimination, of labour market participation, income, and several others.
The project will be based on the continuous long-term compilation of a sophisticated, diversified and flexible data-material, longitudinal panel data, drawn from a long range of available statistical sources. This will be complemented by complex data-materials on general living conditions and socio-cultural background, side-information on the Swedish institutional context and the preconditions for a multiethnic community life, and with data from studies on the experience of selected groups concerning working life, accept and discrimination, as well as experience concerning opportunities for participation and influence.

A successively developed data-base will be made available to the wider research community and will serve as a national and international resource for research groups working with questions pertaining to work, immigration and social welfare. In the first place the aim is to establish a major new Swedish data- and knowledge-base. But the plan is, in a longer perspective, to develop a comparative dimension of the project in cooperation with research groups in other parts of Europe.

As the compilation of the data-base will be highly cost-demanding, a close cooperation for this purpose is planned to take place with the National Integration Board, situated at Norrköping, which is the foremost Swedish agency responsible for development of statistics on immigrant, ethnic minority and integration questions.

Project 1.B
National integration policies, citizenship and social exclusion/inclusion

The role of public policy making for social exclusion and inclusion, and thus for welfare and citizenship, is analysed within this project. The project will be carried out by professor Rune Johansson and two post-graduate researchers from the Department of Ethnic Studies DES. Important in this project are mechanism of exclusion as expressed in public discourses, but also the actual experience of exclusion by immigrants, new ethnic minorities, and diaspora groups. One part of the project will be a longitudinal study of immigration policy in the Nordic welfare states, by Christina Johansson, based on a comparison between Sweden and Denmark. While Sweden and Denmark are alike in many respects, immigration policy shows, in many ways extreme, differences. Important to the study will be questions of on the one hand non-admitance and on the other segregation and exclusion.

Integration policy will also be studied by Khalid Khayati in a comparative study, involving Sweden and France. The consequences of official policy will be analysed in terms of work-situation, welfare benefits and social and political participation. Case studies on the consequences of and reactions towards public policy and practices of integration will be carried out. An extended case-study will be carried out among Kurdish diaspora groups in the two countries.

Within the project, professor Rune Johansson will sum up the results and proceed a comprehensive analysis of immigration and integration discourses in West European welfare states with reference to questions of citizenship and welfare. The methodological approaches of the project will range from discourse analysis and textual analysis of official documents to interviews and field-work within diaspora populations, and the aim is to approach the political dimensions of work, social welfare and exclusion. The two post-graduate fellows will write their Ph.D. theses within the framework of the project.

Project 1.C
Immigration, Citizenship and welfare in Sweden and the European Union

This project takes its point of departure in the so-called post-industrial development in Western Europe and North America and its consequences for immigration policy, integration policy and ethnic relations in society and working life. It scrutinises policy-development in the European Union with focus on issues of citizenship and the 'social dimension' of the union. The project is led by professor Carl-Ulrik Schiurup and is carried out in cooperation with professor Rune Johansson (who will mainly scrutiny historical aspects of the development of the European Union relevant in the context of the project) and with Peo Hansen, political scientist and post-doctoral researcher affiliated with Campus Norrköping and DES/ WET. A close cooperation has also been established within the framework of the project with professor Stephen Castles, well-known internationally for his many high-quality comparative studies on immigration and immigrant reception, integration policy, citizenship and ethnic minority formation in
western European immigration countries.

Crucial to the study will be the ideas of
'social dimension', integration and immigration policy.

The focus will be on definitions of European citizenship and on inclusion and exclusion.

While there obviously are and long have been non-admittance tendencies within the Union, which to some extent have found expression in e.g. the Schengen Agreement, the imperatives of the labour market may make for other solutions. Admittance obviously does not mean participation and real European citizenship for the admitted immigrants.

Project 1.1
Policies for "good practices" in the European Union: Integration regimes and the regulation of ethnic relations in the labour market in working life. Case studies on Sweden, UK and the Netherlands

This project will be carried out by the political scientist Maritta Soininen, well-known since many years as a highly qualified researcher on immigrant and ethnic minority questions in Sweden and Europe, who has also performed policy related studies for the European Commission.

Financed on the WET-budget, Soininen scrutinises basic conditions for a successful regulation of ethnic relations in working life through in depth case studies on Sweden, the UK and the Netherlands, in the perspective of these countries' immigration and integration policies, the character of their particular welfare institutional systems, their labour market regimes and the organisation of working life. These are countries that are internationally reputed as positive examples with respect to their immigrant policies and for the ways in which their authorities handle ethnic relations. They are also often regarded as examples of good practice, concerning the ways in which they develop and manages policies for diversity in working life. They are, however, at the same time characterised by widely different solutions and traditions.

The project will study the different institutional arrangement in the three countries, and their particular policies will be scrutinised in their relation to the European Union as a fourth policy-formulating agency, within the domain of which the question of diversity-management in working life has come to occupy an increasingly important place.

In the UK, comprehensive cuts have been made in public spending, combined with extensive privatisation, increasing individualism, etc., courses of development which have progressively, but to a considerably lesser degree, also come to mark even Sweden and the Netherlands. The two latter countries are characterised by complex neo-corporatist forms of regulation, favouring broad compromises through democratic decisionmaking. In Sweden we still find the remains of the corporate class compromise, which was at the basis of the 'Swedish Model', while institutional arrangements reminiscent of the traditional 'Pillarisation'-model still influence the ways in which political influence is channelled in Dutch society. Yet another aspect of a complex comparative problematic is that the Union and the Netherlands have a long history for and established routines for the incorporation of ethnic minorities in society, while Sweden rather counts as a newcomer in this respect. These are some of the characteristics, which partly unite and partly differentiate the basic conditions according to which the three countries conceive of and regulate ethnic relations in working life. Finally they are all three today closely enmeshed in European integration processes. They are influenced by EU's policy-lines concerning questions of work and ethnic relations, but they also participate in the elaboration of these. Within other fields of policy-formation, one can observe a mutually reinforcing process in the relation between the European and the national level. In a comparative perspective the European Union can, as already has been said, be regarded as the study's fourth important policy-formating agent.

Written overviews, reports and analyses are available on the subject, but a process of collection of new and additional data is needed (among other through interviewing) in order to be able to
construct a sufficiently diversified representation of the questions, interests and actors important in the policy-processes of the individual countries, as well as on the Union level.

Project 1.E
Does ethnic entrepreneurship generate welfare?
Entrepreneurship and cooperative enterprising among immigrants and ethnic minorities

The project is intended to critically evaluate the contribution to social welfare through 'ethnic entrepreneurship' among immigrants and ethnic minority groups.

Ethnic entrepreneurship has become one of the most disputed subjects in Swedish public debate on social welfare during later years. Some argue that public support for ethnic entrepreneurship is a dubious strategy, which does not create any kind of long-sighted perspective for immigrants and ethnic minorities, otherwise unproportionately excluded from working life and general social welfare. Focus should instead, they argue, be on combating discrimination in the labour market and in working life. Others argue that ethnic entrepreneurship will increase integration in society by paving the ground for qualified employment, increasing welfare, and opportunities for active citizenship through participation in cultural and political life. Both of these standpoints in the debate suffer, however, from a lack of relevant knowledge based on thorough research.

The planned project shall investigate conditions of work, professional mobility and state of welfare among persons with immigrant background engaged in entrepreneurship compared to gainfully employed within other types of professional activity. It will be examined whether certain minority groups succeed more than others in their efforts to start up and develop new enterprises in Sweden and who would need targeted support in respect to education, financing and other types of help. It will be examined whether ethnic entrepreneurs tend to be caught within closed secondary segments of the Swedish economy. Given the growing interest among women for starting up small businesses in Sweden, also among immigrant groups, a particular emphasis will be placed on elucidating the gender aspects of achievement and gender specific opportunities and barriers.

Case-studies of technologically advance enterprises led by and organised by citizens with a migrant or minority background should offer an opportunity to clarify under which conditions certain immigrants or persons of minority background will have the capability to break out of entrepreneurial sectors with a low status. Likewise efforts will be made to clarify to which extent cooperative or network based systems will be feasible for the purpose of strengthening the competitive power and stability of minority-managed enterprises. Also here, the gender dimension is extremely important, not least considering women of migrant background, who are today increasingly often induced by public agencies to enter self-employment through cooperative or network-based forms of entrepreneurship.

Jonathan Feldman, a post-doctoral researcher, with a background within research on industrial high-technology, urban development and cultural studies, will direct the development of this project. He has previous experience from New York city with community development with special orientation towards the development of small and minority managed business within technologically advanced sectors. Comparative experience from network based and cooperative enterprising in the US will be drawn into the project.

Project 1.F
Ethnicity, work and the informal economy: Dilemmas of the public sector

While project 1.E focuses, in particular, on potentials for ethnic entrepreneurship and the creation of employment in the dynamic and technologically advanced sectors of the economy, this project can be seen as complementary in that it focuses on its most marginalised parts. Here, not least among certain service occupations, a growing informal sector is emanating, marked by low wages, part-time work, irregular working hours, and non-regulated conditions of work.

As part of his Ph. D. Dissertation, Zoran Slavnic has developed an important new perspective on this, today expanding, 'grey' or 'informal' sector of the ethnic economy. Departing from a case study of the integration of Bosnian Refugees in Malmö, he discusses the growth of the informal economy and its intimate connection with the restructuring and downsizing of the Swedish welfare system since the beginning of the 1990s. This is a relationship marked by a kind of symbiosis, where the downsizing of public welfare and an increasing degree of engagement within the informal sector become highly inter-
connected processes. Here new types of small business emanate embedded in the context of transethnic minority networks in which individuals belonging to different conflicting ethno-national groups in former Yugoslavia (Bosnians, Croats, Serbs) become involved in close cooperation. This research-perspective will be developed further during the programme-period.

Intensive comparative studies of the interdependence of welfare institutional restructuring and the growth of the informal ethnic economy and labour market will be carried through in Malmö and Stockholm. On the basis of earlier research a specific attention will be paid to the role of gender in the context of diasporic and transethnic entrepreneurial networks. The project represents an innovative contribution to Swedish and international research on ethnic relations as well as working life research.

Subprogramme II
Ethnic Conflict, Citizenship and Social reconstruction in post-communist Europe

Rationale

A wave of ethnic revivalism has swept over Europe from east to west, underpinned by stirrings for national and regional autonomy. The multinational Soviet empire has broken apart. Yugoslavia and Czeckslovakia are no more. The establishment of a ‘new world order’ is intimately bound to new supra-national projects, such as the European Union. At the same time societal cohesion would seem to be eroding, parallel to the breakdown of the great ideologies. Transnational economic restructuring, and the social and cultural crises following contemporary processes of globalisation, have given rise to cosmopolitan, but also to localist or exclusionist and self-contained, identities. The pressure brought to bear on social solidarity is especially problematic for relatively powerless individuals and groups, not least for immigrants and ethnic minorities. At the same time, dimensions of solidarity are also involved in the relationship between different parts of Europe, in particular the ‘First’ (Western) in relation to the ‘Second’ (Eastern/post-communist). Of importance in this context is not least the emergence of new social movements, as well as the changing role of older ones such as European trade union movements.

Globalisation and the transformation of economy have, at least in the short run, produced escalating ethno-national conflicts and social and political disequilibria of the utmost impact in traditionally economically weak and politically frail European regions and macro-regions such as the Balkans and a number of other parts of the Second Europe, exposed to new forces of political fragmentation and processes of reperipherisation in the global economy and the international state system.

Economic globalisation has produced dramatic repercussions in national states, particularly in Eastern Europe and in the Third World. For some centuries Europe, and from a somewhat later date the rest of the world, has followed a course in the direction of a progressing consolidation into institutionally circumscribed and sovereign nation-states based on self-contained and increasingly homogenized national identities, modes of political culture and compacts of citizenship. Great compromises, with class as well as ethnic and gender dimensions, have been a fundamental part of the bargain of their raison d’être. The material basis has been the rounding up of particular national economies, territorially bounded and institutionally specific according to their modes of economic regulation and the setup of their labour market regimes.

Today the trend is, more clearly than in any other historical period of crisis and transformation during this century, towards the erosion of the sovereignty and the institutional self-containedness and competence of the national state. But it is less clear which agencies are taking of the role of the state, its institutions and its established social compacts. Internationally, a key concept tends to become governance, i.e. a concept which aspires to capture the complex and often contradictory relationship of involved international, national and local agencies, with mostly unclear areas of competence. This ambiguity complicates action patterns in international crises, as has become particularly obvious in the Balkans during the past decade.

In this context, the question of political culture is central. The classical nation state, with its framework of identity as well as institutional setup, is being eroded both from within and from without. While the threat from ‘without’ comes from the new global economy and the ongoing supranational integration, the threat from within may come from regionalisation, but also from an erosion of community feeling, forces of different
character often occurring simultaneously and reinforcing each other. They vary in character and configuration from state to state and between the different parts of Europe. They range between the overall structurally conditioned break-up social compacts and class compromises, in the east as well as in the west, conditioning the nation states and the challenges to established homogenized national identities, depending on continuous immigration and the formation of new ethnic minorities. In the European community reactions like the new anti-immigration and xenophobic populist movements are typical (like the ‘Progress Parties’ in the Nordic countries or Front National in France). In ethnically mixed post-communist Europe, most notably in the Balkans, the reactions count dramatic features like large-scale ethnic cleansing in whole regions, which produce masses of displaced.

The overall or dominant reactions to the forces of globalisation in Europe are, however, highly different, not to say reverse in the ‘First’ and the ‘Second’ Europe. In spite of their internal crises and all their mutual conflicts, core countries pursue their economic and political integration into powerful supra-national blocks (the EU in the case of Europe). Peripheral regions in the formerly Third World, or newly peripheralised regions like those of the Second Europe, have, on the contrary, followed a course of political fragmentation and institutional collapse expressing their weakness in relation to the global economy. This is the common development inherent in the simultaneous dissolution of the Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia and there are (in spite of exceptions like Slovenia and partly the Baltic states) numerous similarities concerning their post-communist successor states. This double movement of integration/fragmentation has been condensed in the notion of ‘fragmentation’ (see further Scramble for the Balkans, work by Schierup 1999).

At this juncture great expectations are placed in the European Union among the new elites and the populations in crisis-ridden regions of Second post-communist Europe. Given that the state’s competence and capabilities are eroding, here obviously often with extremely dramatic consequences, a strengthened EU is seen as the ultimate solution to a range of economic, political and social problems. This includes, not least, the situation of the growing (actual or potential) migrant populations spawned from the growing masses of unemployed in nations with collapsing national economies (like Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, the Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia, etc.), or the millions of displaced in protracted zones of complex emergency and ethnic cleansing. In this context, it is a pertinent task to critically scrutinize the relationship between the European Union and the new post-communist nation-states. The future of the formerly socialist countries of Europe, and with them the new large groups of international migrants and displaced ethnic minorities, are today intimately tied to the wider course of European economic, political and socio-cultural development and integration processes. Any endeavour to grasp the current development in the new communist states must therefore elaborate a wider framework of reference designed to capture the dynamic and changing historical and contemporary relationships between the ‘First’ and the ‘Second’ (‘eastern’/post-communist) Europe.

Exposed to global and local forces of peripheralisation and fragmentation historically unsolved ‘ethnic issues’ are today as much alive as ever in this part of Europe. This, in turn, re-actualises with full strength the ever present and so far always ambiguous issue of citizenship, which, in most parts of Eastern, Central Europe and South Eastern Europe, has historically only found temporary and unstable solutions. Currently, in some parts of the Second Europe, the Gordian knot of citizenship in multiethnic communities has been brutally cut through ethnic cleansing and the establishment of authoritarian (albeit unstable) mono-ethnic regimes (e.g. the Balkans). In others, like for example in the Baltic states, protracted ethno-national conflicts and processes of negotiations may, in the best of cases, produce new stable compromises based on open codes of citizenship, poly-ethnic inclusion making room for ethnic plurality.

The ability to forge new compromises and pacts on social welfare will be an important part in forging stable compromises for the future. Likewise processes connected with working life and the structuring of labour markets should not be underestimated, which is a basic contention of the present research programme.

In extended parts of the Second post-communist Europe the ethnic division of the labour markets and in working life a powerful key to the current enigmas of ethnic segmentation, competition and conflict (as among ethnic Estonian,
Latvian and Lithuanian majorities and the minority Russian ‘late-comers’ in the Baltic states, struggling among them to monopolise or to dominate different ethnic-professional niches, just to mention one example.

Thus, ethnically divided labour markets and an ethnically divided working life are often an important, but overseen, dimension of ethno-national conflicts. Currently new-old problems of the relationship between settled majorities and minorities in post-communist Europe are becoming further exacerbated through new migrations. New groups of refugees and labour migrants (often undocumented ‘illegal’ migrants) insert themselves into old or newly emerging niches in the labour market and thereby enter an already ferocious ethnic competition for control and income in crisis-ridden communities, where vital institutional agencies have often deteriorated or vanished altogether in favour of the rule of informal and clientilistic networks (with successor states to former Yugoslavia as the, perhaps, most radical example). The salience of including studies on work and ethnicity in post-communism into the DESWET research-programme at Campus Norrköping therefore appears obvious. This pertains also to the prospective integration of these parts of Europe into the European Union - a process in relation to which the integration of their economies, their labour regimes and particular ethnic divisions of labour into a wider European economy and labour regime assumes a key role.

One major task of the programme is to develop a relevant theoretical, conceptual and analytical framework for the understanding of the complex transformation of multi-ethnic societies in post-Communist Europe, and thereby offer a contribution to the European research community. The so-called ‘national resurgence’ in Eastern Europe and the present tendencies to ethnification and ethnic nationalism all over Europe has brought the question to the fore. As of today, much of the scholarly as well as of the popular debate has clear overtones of primordialism and “blood and belonging”. At the same time, much of the scholarly treatises tend to stress culture at the cost of social and economic dimensions. While nations are ‘imagined communities’, subject to construction and reconstruction, it is of utmost importance to put nationalism not only in a cultural but also in social and economical perspective. The ongoing economic transformation in the wake of globalisation will change nation-building in the long run, but is also leading to marginalisation of major regions and a range of population groups, mainly ethnic minorities. In the European model, state and nation has become intertwined, and this intertwining obviously lead to various forms of institutionalisation of national myths. Such myths are politically used both regarding territorial claims to enhance resistance towards ethnic diversity among majority populations, which produce ethnically biased forms of exclusion and marginalisation from existing sources and institutions of welfare, in working life and residential areas.

Within the programme these complex questions will be theoretically analysed by a group consisting of professor Johansson, professor Schierup and an economically oriented researcher, focused on the economic consequences of globalisation.

Seen in the perspective of policy-formation and the need for forging effective bonds of solidarity and cooperation between the member states of the European Union and the new post-Communist states, this sub-programme sees as its specific task to provide relevant background analyses of value for extensive Swedish development-efforts, targeted towards different extended polyethnic regions, not least the Baltic states and the Balkans (in particular parts of former Yugoslavia). These targeted efforts already today engage a range of public as well as private actors, state authorities, institutions and a number of agencies active in research and development. Among other agencies the Swedish labour movement has developed a comprehensive engagement and a growing interest is found among Swedish employers and the employers’ organisations.

During the first three-years period of the planned programme the research activities will, in particular, be targeted at research in South-Eastern Europe, notably in extended parts of former Yugoslavia, most severely harassed by ethnic conflicts, war, ethnic cleansing and the breakdown of any functioning welfare arrangement, compacts of citizenship and regulated labour markets. Departing from the overall perspective of the overall programme, targeted at a scrutiny of the complex contingencies of citizenship, work and welfare in multiethnic societies, we endeavour to illuminate issues of particular relevance, following up problems central for
Swedish and European efforts for cooperation and integration in the region, as framed by the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, forged after the intervention of the international community in Yugoslavia and Kosovo.

Within the research program, we endeavour, in cooperation with other centres for Eastern European research in Sweden and Europe, under the leadership of professor Rune Johansson, to build up preconditions for parallel research in the Baltic states and possibly other polyethnic regions within the post-Soviet space. Given adequate funding, younger researchers will successively be drawn into and engaged within this field of research and comparative empirical studies on the transformation of multiethnic post-Communist societies in Europe developed at Campus Norrköping.

Projects and researchers

Project 2.A
Globalism and localism and post-communist nationalism in the context of European integration: Issues of citizenship and social reconstruction in historical and contemporary perspective

Nations are always 'imagined communities', subject to construction and reconstruction. In this context, nationalism is seen as something constructed but as something, which under certain social and economical circumstances might be reconstructed and used. A comparative European study of the preconditions for nationalist revival will relate to the development of the state system and its possibilities for survival, but also concern the emergence of "resistance" towards immigration within majority groups. In this connection, the evolution of ethnic nationalism is of particular interest, since it is of importance for governmental minority policy, both as regards territorial and non-territorial minorities.

This project will aim at the development of theoretical frameworks for an enhanced understanding of the contingencies of nation, citizenship and economy with reference to selected parts of post-Communist Europe. It will be carried out by professor Rune Johansson and professor Carl-Ulrik Schierup in a long term perspective, during the whole duration of the programme (3+3 years).

Within this project, professor Rune Johansson will make a study of the historical development of nationalism and localism focusing on the development of the 'citizen'-concept. Important in this study will be the institutionalisation of particular views of citizenship and the interconnection between nationalism, localism and definitions of citizenship and its exclusionist role. While professor Johansson will largely concentrate his effort on the issue of changing political cultures, professor Schierup will deal more closely with socio-economic development and the contingencies of an on-going social reconstruction in parts of Eastern Europe, marked by disintegration or collapse.

The project aims at analysing European developments in a holistic perspective. Special attention will be devoted to the Baltic countries and Northwest Russia, parallel to the development in the Balkans.

Project 2.B
Targets and perspective of the 'Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo

The starting point of and reference point for this sub-project is the current EU agenda for reconstruction in the Balkans. The project will be carried out by an interdisciplinary team (economics, political science and sociology-antropology) involving professor Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Jens Sørensen, Ph.D. fellow at DES, together with a post-doctoral fellow specialised on comparative economic analysis, Eastern-Europe and theory and analysis pertaining to globalisation and its effects.

Even though there has been some previous and on-going research that addresses the globalisation and post-communist transformation in general, and a number of social issues in particular, interdisciplinary and theoretically informed long term research is needed to follow the institutional developments with the special focus on issues that concern questions of citizenship, labour market, working life and welfare, in this multiethnic and multicultural environment. In that respect attention will be given to close long-term observation and study of the conceptualisation and implementation of the currently most clearly profiled regional solution for the Balkans, namely the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

The aim is to identify the interplay between
different actors, discourses and political concepts in the process of agenda-setting and institution building. Although the Stability Pact implies the stronger role for the EU than for the international financial institutions (IMF, the World Bank), it also implies the region’s broader integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. This also means that a wider circle of multilateral institutions (WTO, ILO, UNDP, USAID) will be involved in the process of the articulation of the real policy issues and choices. This will be investigated through the comparative reading and analysis of different documents and policy papers that concern the Stability Pact. The aim is to describe and evaluate the policy-making process behind the instruments designed to enhance economic development and cooperation in the region, especially regarding the consequences in terms of labor market and welfare regimes. There are two extreme choices. On one side the European social democratic approach which sees the solutions for the problem of unemployment and inequality in strategic industrial policy approach combined with raising competitiveness and adjustment to post-Fordism through modernization and education of the labour force. And on the other side the predominantly American model of a perfect flexible labour market as promoted by the mainstream economic approach and advocated by the IMF.

The interdisciplinary research group will, in particular, investigate the so called ‘Bosnian paradigm’ of reconstruction and the resulting development of labour relations, social protection and its conditions for setting up a functioning pact of citizenship. Bosnia has, so far, been the only actual regional model for the regional solutions offered by the Stability Pact (reference to Westendorp in Wall Street Journal Europe), but also the case of Kosovo will be studied in detail as, after the intervention in 1999, there are now concerted efforts to include this region intensively into the central field of action of the international community. The development of citizenship, welfare and contingencies for regenerating conditions for a functioning working life will be analysed in both of these cases. A common feature of the two sub-regions is the existing cleavages between different ethnic groups, with both a gender and a generation perspective, as well as in terms of newly made divisions between ‘those who stayed’ and the returning refugees from neighboring states or from the refugee-receiving countries of the European Union. This is to be set against the Stability Pact’s outspoken pledge for multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural respect and tolerance. A special attention will be devoted to studying and evaluating the character and results of the extensive Swedish involvement in the two sub-regions (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo).

In particular the research groups plans to, in a long term perspective, study and evaluate Swedish and European Union projects for the return and positive reintegration of refugees in these multiethnic regions. For this purpose there will be a need for further funding from Swedish and international agencies, so that additional research may be drawn into the interdisciplinary cooperation of the project group. An obvious source of funding for this purpose would be SIDA (The Swedish Development Agency), with which conjoint DESWET research program has already an established cooperation. There is also here an obvious connection with the research in other sub-programmes, most notably the research on ‘ethnic business’ involving local ethnic and diasporic business networks, often with a background in former Yugoslavia, and often oriented towards investment and entrepreneurial activities in the regions of origin.

Subprogramme III
Modes of citizenship in cities and border crossing regions

Rationale
The sub-programme focuses on the dynamics of social exclusion and its consequences in relation to what in recent research falls under the purview of the concept of citizenship and social exclusion. Social exclusion is a complex concept that encompasses a variety of aspects, from labor market exclusion to political marginalization and the complete absence of cultural participation. The complex of background factors which describe the concept varies, which means that the concrete conditions in one place, both spatially and historically, do not necessarily lead to the same processes in other situations and locales. It is therefore difficult to determine an abstract and universal definition of the term ‘social exclusion’, or describe general conditions relevant for its creation. Social exclusion should be thought of as a phenomenon that is embedded in specific
contexts, and therefore its expression must be described in terms of time and space in each specific case. Socially excluded groups often find themselves trapped in a state of so-called ‘truncated citizenship’. Both social immobility and truncated citizenship are complex phenomenon connected both to institutional developments and the direction and effect of specific political structures, relationships, and types of policy instruments. Notably in the European Union as a whole, as in Sweden, immigrants and ethnic minorities, and in particular immigrant and ethnic minority youth, represent the most vulnerable groups in society.

Since the 1980’s the issues of immigration and ethnicity have increasingly become of interest to researchers involved in the discussion of social exclusion. A central and important contribution to the discussion has been Ralf Dahrendorf’s warning as to the emergence of a new, large and socially marginalized so-called ‘underclass’ in Western Europe, containing a large proportion of immigrants and ethnic minorities of immigrant background. Dahrendorf argues that the basis for this development lies in the restructuring of the economy, which has in conjunction with the retreat of the welfare state, which has occurred since the mid-1970’s, resulted in a definite ‘exclusion’ of selected population groups from those formal citizenship rights that were written into the national social contract in the post-War period. In this perspective, one can speak of a form of ‘social exclusion’ from full citizenship, from the full range of rights which come with formal citizenship status. The concept of citizenship applied here is that developed by the British sociologist T.H. Marshall in his classic work Citizenship and Social Class. Marshall’s conception of citizenship and social theory form the basis for the major portion of recent empirical studies and theoretical discussions within the social sciences when addressing issues of citizenship. Marshall's conception of citizenship provides the foundation for the EU Commission’s definition of 'social exclusion'.

The social marginalisation that Dahrendorf addresses in his work takes many forms. The drastic plight of the permanently unemployed, the growing number of homeless, the 'feminisation' of poverty and the decreasing economic resources of single parents, the unemployement of the young and their cultural neglect in segregated urban areas are just some of the expressions of this 'new poverty'. These can be taken as signs of the extent of social exclusion present in the member states of the EU. The problem of social exclusion has become a common European concern. The degree of social exclusion seems to have developed in tandem with a series of other phenomena, which have occurred on the margins of the national system of labor market regulation and social welfare instruments. For example, the construction of new low wage employment niches and informal urban economic enclaves, as well as the consolidation of the exclusive professional networks, and what has begun to be called 'occupational ghettos'. To this picture should be added what Hans Magnus Enzensberger calls a 'molecular civil war', occurring between more or less criminalized 'urban tribes' in the economically and socially polarized and segmented metabolises of Europe.

Many of the forms of social exclusion in our time take the expression of an explicit ethnification. In other words, forms of exclusion which specifically or to a very high degree effect visible or less visible minority groups, groups whose members generally have immigrant backgrounds. This type of social marginalization tends to define itself in ethnic, racial, or cultural terms, and can be described as a form of ethnic social exclusion.

With their increasingly defined ethnic differentiation, the geographic zones of poverty in many of the large European cities have acquired an unfortunate similarity to the urban ghettos found in the USA. These are defined by political marginalization, cultural isolation, institutional helplessness, and the loss or absence of basic social rights of citizenship.

When it comes to the issue of social exclusion within the post-industrial labor market, the international discussion is dominated by two theoretical perspectives. Both perspectives focus attention on the processes of segmentation which occur in the cities of the USA. The first approach is represented by the work of the wellknown US sociologist, William Julius Wilson. In a series of famous studies, Wilson draws attention to the lack of a necessary connection between job creation and structural change in the post-industrial city, and in the residential patterns of urban inhabitants. Wilson demonstrates how de-industrialization and the relocation of services and production within the city has resulted in the impoverishment of the highly concentrated black
residential areas and the development of a new 'underclass'. The second perspective is represented primarily in the work of Saskia Sassen. Sassen discusses the recent development of a new division of labor in what she calls the 'global' city. According to this perspective, the post-industrial labor market has resulted in a shift from industry to service sector production in those city centers which serve as hubs in an international global network of information and financial service markets. The new emphasis on services and information technology creates two new areas of employment that exist alongside one another, a high wage sector characterized by the provision of financial and information services, and a low wage manufacturing and service sector of sweatshops and small businesses. The polarization of these two areas of the labor market results in an increasing social exclusion and differentiation between persons engaged in the different sectors of the city economy. The low wage sector, which also includes jobs such as unregulated cleaning and childcare services, as well as mass manufacturing in the garment industry, is populated mainly by new immigrants that arrived in the USA from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean in the late 1970's and 1980's. The result has been a steadily growing ethnic differentiation within the city economy, and a corresponding social exclusion along ethnic lines both within and across the two main employment sectors.

Both of these theoretical perspectives inform the analysis used in the current programme. They each form a part of an important description of recent changes in the city economies in Europe in general, and in Sweden. The complexity of the post-industrial developments they describe depends in large part on an analysis of structural changes in the labor market, the organization of production and employment, and the shift in demand towards highly educated and specially skilled labor. At the same time they describe the different types of selection mechanisms in the labor market which take the form of ethnic or racial discrimination, linked to the new complex forms of social exclusion. Wilson's focus on a deepening spiral of unemployment, poverty, and ghettoization, as a result of de-industrialization, can be combined with Sassen's emphasis on the expansion of the service sector and the creation of an unregulated, low wage, employment sector, which emphasizes trends in ethnic social margin-alization. These are two sides of the same development in the large cities of North America and Europe. These processes are very much in evidence dependent on the place of the city within the new global marketplace. While in some cities de-industrialization is the dominant reason for changes in the labor market and the degree and form of social exclusion experienced by persons in specific city regions, in other cities there is instead a clear trend towards the development of an unregulated low wage sector and the corresponding mechanisms of social exclusion.

Projects and researchers

Project 3A
Immigration, The Labour Market, and The Post-Industrial City. A comparative project on social exclusion and immigrant youth in Europe

This project, directed by professor Aleksandra Ålund and carried out together with senior researcher Erik Olsson and post graduate researcher and doctorand candidate Magnus Dahlstedt, is an empirical study of conditions for immigrant youth in Sweden. The planned study is part of a larger European research network (Migcities) investigating processes and factors that contribute to the creation of unemployment and social exclusion.

The planned study focuses on the conditions in the urban regions of Stockholm and Malmö. Two districts in each city have been identified for further research attention. Using recent theories on ethnic differentiation and spatial segmentation in the post-industrial labor market, the study will analyse how local institutions address social exclusion and at the same time facilitate integration. The project will study how local factors influence the educational and employment expectations and preferences of immigrant youth.

An innovative research design of the project is particularly suited to the formulation of recommendations for social policy and labor market initiatives which would improve the representation of immigrant youth in the labor market. Using an integrated approach to the study of the relationship between post-industrial urban labor market processes and local housing environments the findings will develop an understanding of social exclusion and integration as cumulative process. The research design is interdisciplinary (sociology, urban geography, social anthropology, and political science), and uses both qualita-
tive and quantitative analysis of collected material. The study is planned to be carried in cooperation with researchers at the University College of Malmö, urban geographers affiliated with the University of Uppsala and a sociologist at Umeå University.

The issue of immigrant integration in the labor markets of the EU countries is principally a question of the possibilities and impediments present to the children of immigrants and later generations. Are coming generations following the employment patterns of the majority populations in these countries or are they experiencing social and spatial patterns in the labor market which differentiate them into minority groups in these societies? This question defines the importance of the conception of social exclusion for immigrants and their children. The concept of social exclusion describes those processes whereby specific social groups are effectively impeded from utilizing economic, political, and sociocultural resources otherwise available to persons in the society.

Unemployment rates for immigrant youth are much higher than that for ‘Swedish’ youth. This is particularly important in the context of increasing residential segregation, leading to high concentrations of poverty and low service provision in specific residential areas. While several studies conducted throughout Europe support these conclusions, this picture is by no means predetermined. Research conducted in both Europe and North America in recent years reveals that this process of social exclusion as the outcome of unemployment, segregation, and service and infrastructural deficiencies can be overcome.

Swedish research on the extent of social exclusion reveals that social and ethnic factors, as well as conditions in the local environment play an important role in determining the educational and employment possibilities for youth of immigrant background. The majority of immigrant youth live in urban city regions. These urban spaces are the primary arenas for the articulation of the cumulative processes of national variation in infrastructure development, local variation in service provision and employment possibilities, and the expression of individual experiences which result in social exclusion or integration.

The central question of the study is to develop an understanding of the process by which young persons with similar ethnic and cultural back-
difference in resources and constraints to labor market activity present at the local district level. The different concentrations of persons of immigrant background and their ethnic grouping becomes one of a set of factors which can be considered in the analysis. In similar research conducted in the US, demographic factors have been demonstrated to be of considerable importance when determining employment possibilities. High geographic concentrations of minorities can lead to both marginalization of local residents from services and the general labor market, but also the creation of ethnic economic enclaves.

Based on the description above, the project is designed to address four different levels of analysis: The National level (reports and other written material, official statistics compiled in cooperation with the researchers engaged in project I.A), the city level (reports, existing analysis and other written material plus a rich material from the urban-grographical database GEOMETRO, managed by professor. Roger Andersson at Uppsala University), the level of the city district (similar material and methods and interviews with municipal administrators, employers, teachers and representatives for unions and a range of organisations and local NGOs), and the individual level (qualitative in depth interviews and quantitatively oriented surveys).

Project 3.B:
The informational society, the post-industrial city and the multiethnic local community. A case study of Järva-fället and Kista Science Park in metropolitan Stockholm

This project, directed by professor Carl-Ulrik Scherup, will be developed in cooperation with a group of senior and postgraduate researchers connected to Campus Norrköping and the Royal Swedish Academy of Technology (KTH) and local authorities in the city-region of Järva-fället in Stockholm. The project will, according to plan, be carried out in cooperation with urban geographers associated with the University of Uppsala. New doctoral students, oriented towards urban ethnic studies and labour market and studies of qualification and technical education with a focus on migrants and minorities will progressively be drawn into the study through the post-graduate programme of DES.

The project focuses on technological, social and cultural development in the Kista city-area of metropolitan Stockholm. Here, one of the World’s most developed and dynamic science parks, the largest in northern Europe, and according to qualified judgements the fifth largest in the world, is located. Kista Science Park is also situated in the middle of an urban region and a suburban setting (with Kista, Husby, Akalla, Rinkeby and Tensta, altogether named Järva-fället) which is characterised by an outspoken cultural mixture, a high percentages of immigrants, and numerous minorities of different ethnic and national backgrounds. It is a highly ethnically divided urban labour-market and residential area, marked by high unemployment and segregation, and economic and social exclusion following ethnic lines.

The post-industrial IT-sector is still growing rapidly in Kista and added to this comes a planned development of a new IT-university demanding very high investments. The university is planned for 6000 students within a period of five years. In Kista a form of post-industrial city is growing forth which involves advanced high tech as well as post-industrial differentiation and marginalisation.

The project shall investigate how the dynamic development of technology and high tech education will influence this environment marked by a hierarchic social differentiation and polarisation following ethnic divisions. What will be the effects in terms of the local labour-market, the opportunities for employment, and the education and social and cultural competence of the local poly-ethnic population? To which degree will the local labour-market experience further dualisation? Or will a new more differentiated division of labour develop? The expansive growth of the post-industrial city gives new opportunities for an active and positive policy of integration, at the same time as there are a number of problems and potential conflicts concerning opposed interests and alternatives of development. The dynamic development in Kista provides a particularly good opportunity to analyse the complexity and dynamics in the development of the multiethnic and multicultural post-industrial city. Kista is particularly interesting in this respect as we do not only encounter a growth of employment here, but also a very impressive investment in advanced education with immediate consequences for the local housing market, representing a challenge for urban, social and cultural planning.

With its point of departure in Kista’s demo-
graphic, socio-economic and cultural change and shifting urban character the project aims at studying the effects of the mentioned IT and educational development efforts. Focus will be on work and employment, but also questions concerned with housing and cultural life will be studied. Particularly important within the project is to elucidate the dimensions and importance of local integration policy targeted at immigrants and ethnic minorities. The question raised here is to which degree it is possible through social planning and public policy efforts to influence conditions of work/employment and conditions of life in the post-industrial city.

Project 3.C
Partnership for multi-ethnic inclusion (PfMI). A project on Local Citizenship, Participation and Community Integration in Metropolitan Stockholm

This Swedish project is part of a larger European programme on urban studies and ethnic Relations sponsored by MOST/UNESCO. It is led by professor Aleksandra Ålund in cooperation with researchers at DES/WET (post-graduate researcher and doctorand candidate Magnus Dahlstedt and professor Carl-Ulrik Schierup), Umeå University (senior researcher Lars Göran Karlsson), Växjö University (post graduate researcher Nihad Bunar), and Uppsala University (professor Roger Andersson and post doctoral researcher Irene Molina).

Research within this programme is carried out simultaneously in 21 European Cities. In Sweden extensive research takes place in metropolitan Stockholm, closely following the propositions of the conjoint European programme, concerning its general theoretical approach and its methods of data collection. The central central concern is to examine existing practices for multi-ethnic inclusion.

This will be done on the background of extensive field work and data analysis, recording current forms of social exclusion in Swedish urban society. The aim is to examine different types of programmes and community action for multi-ethnic inclusion at the local level, some of which could hopefully be described as ‘best-practices’. The intention is, through active dialogue with a range of local stakeholders, to stimulate the development and dissemination of such practices. Swedish experience is continuously discussed within the context of the larger European network of researchers and urban stakeholders (local politicians and authorities, non government organisations, etc.).

Two local areas (Järva-Fältet and Jordbro) belonging to metropolitan Stockholm are the objects of particularly intensive long term studies. They are both parts of the city, where large sections of the population have a recent immigrant background, and they represent, each in their way, important examples of current Swedish problems and strategies of local urban development in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. They are areas where, currently, a number of initiatives have been launched in order to combat social exclusion and ethnic segregation through local community effort and enhanced citizens participation. These initiatives include official national funds targeted at initiatives of local Swedish communities to combat social exclusion through citizens' participation.

On line with the idea of the European urban research programme as a whole, the intention of the Swedish Study is not simply to present a conventional evaluation of these initiatives. The projects follows the forms of local participation these initiatives give rise to and, on the basis of a long term commitment, the project will pursue a productive co-operation among researchers, policy makers, civil servants and non government organisations, concerning issues of social inclusion and multicultural community integration. This co-operation is taking place in relation to the local communities studied and the greater metropolitan Stockholm region. The Swedish experience is continuously related to the international experience in the context of the larger European co-operative framework set up by the MOST programme.

Project 3.D:
The City as a border-crossing region. The example of the Swedish-Danish Öreund region in comparative European perspective

The discussion of urban studies, and more specifically, of the comparative study of Stockholm and Malmö (Project 3.A) opens up another, but in certain aspects related, field of research, namely that of regions, especially cross-border regions. There is an obvious interconnection and interdependence between cities and regions, economically, socially and politically. The erosion of the national state and the ongoing political integration of Europe make for regionalisation and in-
increased self-government, or, indeed, subsidiarity. Intricate questions arise concerning the prerogatives and competence of cities, regions, states and the EU, and these questions have a direct bearing on the situation of immigrant groups.

In the case of cross-border regions, such as the Öresund (Copenhagen/Malmö) region, the problem comes to the fore. Such regions are developing in different parts of Europe, and may change the position of the cities involved, generally former regional central places, as the Öresund region case. This will affect the population of the cities in question, and particularly the immigrant population. Since such regions have been partitioned by state borders, they may well have different traditions concerning integration and welfare policy. Moreover, the development of a local, regional citizenship, including the immigrants, is complicated by the complex governance situation, prevailing in such regions, involving on the one hand the European Union and the states, on the other of regional and city authorities. Within the framework of the programme and its third subprogramme, Josefinan Süssner, a post graduate researcher and doctoral candidate at DES will deal with regional questions.
Relation of the programme to previous research of the involved research groups

The *DES/WET*-consortium has a long-standing experience in research on international migration and ethnic relations. The leading and senior staff of the programme have directed or participated in major international and national research projects and programmes with relevance for programme in question. The differentiated competence among the leading and senior staff together with a number of well-qualified doctoral students forms a basis for a further development of earlier research oriented towards current topical issues of European integration.
The partners to the project and the research setting at Campus Norrköping

Campus Norrköping at Linköping university offers unique possibilities for a programme of this kind. The programme offers opportunities of integrating the resources of two important research initiatives, i.e. the WET section of the National Institute for Working Life and DES at Campus Norrköping/University of Linköping. The aim is to be able to fully exploit the strength of interdisciplinary research.

WET is an important initiative, which will add competence to the studies of the welfare state and of work and society in Sweden. This newly started research unit will include renowned researchers within these fields with both European and Swedish competence.

DES is also newly started, today including two professors, a couple of senior lecturers, eleven doctoral candidates and two research assistants. The department is the only Swedish institution which is empowered to issue doctoral degrees within the field of ethnic studies, and has been met with great interest both from different governmental boards and from the research community. It cooperates with the University College of Malmö and the University College of Söderåsén, but its closest cooperation partner has from the inception been WET. The Department’s research is tuned into the questions of political participation, migration and nationalism, and ethnic participation in working life, while projects concerning immigrants and the educational system as well as other individual projects under way.

Both DES and WET have a wide-spread international network, involving contacts with all major Universities in Sweden and Scandinavia as well as the number of universities and research centres all over EU-Europe and parts of Eastern Europe. There are also numerous contacts and developed cooperation with research networks, institutions and individual researchers on ethnic, work and welfare studies in, particularly, North America and Australia.

On the local level, there are discussions with the local authorities, the so called MIMER initiative, to develop a composite centre on ethnic studies of national importance and international standing in Norrköping, based on cooperation between local actors including DES, the Department of Thematic Education and Research also located to Campus Norrköping, SIV, the Swedish National Board of Integration and local authorities.

As for cooperation with partners within the academic field, the Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University College of Malmö, Sweden, is paying for some of their students to follow the post-graduate courses at DES, as is the National Defence College of Sweden. Negotiations with the University College of Söderåsén, Sweden, for a similar agreement are under way.
ThemES Occasional papers and reprints on ethnic studies

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