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*Turkish Associations in Metropolitan Stockholm:
Organizational Differentiation and Socio-Political
Participation of Turkish Immigrants*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Research Questions and Methodology

Since the 1970s when multiculturalism was accepted as the official integration policy, Sweden encourages immigrants to organize themselves along with their ethnic identities. Ethnic migrant associations are accepted as one of the main channels of immigrants' social and political participation to the Swedish society. Today, Turks are among the immigrant communities with the widest network of associations in Sweden, with respect to quantitative indicators such as number of associations and members. In this study, general characteristics of the Turkish migrant associations in Stockholm and the process of their organizational differentiation since the beginning of 1990s (as illustrated by the emergence of women and youth associations, religious foundations and Alevi associations, etc.) are investigated. Through these two questions, we also aim to find out the extent to which the national and local Turkish associations in Stockholm function as the channels of social and political participation. We focus on three types of association in the study: socio-cultural associations (or Turkish cultural associations), women's associations and the youth associations. We have selected these three types for following reasons. Turkish cultural associations, which started to be established in the 1970s, are the most predominant type of Turkish associations in Sweden. The development of women's associations represents women's attempt to make their own voices heard against the Turkish cultural associations, which have patriarchal characteristics. Youth associations, on the other hand, are important with regards to understanding the organization

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of second generation. Furthermore, the National Federation formed by the local Turkish cultural associations continues to maintain its claim of representation of both women and youth, and this means that the organizing of women and youth is not free from conflict and tensions. In this sense, we suppose that focusing on these three types of associations enables us to evaluate organizational process of the Turkish migrants in terms of gender relations, generational differences, organizational representation, and the conflicts brought about by them.

Methodologically, the study is a quantitative analysis based on in-depth interviews. We have conducted forty semi-structured in-depth interviews with the representatives of Turkish associations (chairmen and/or executive board members) in Stockholm between March and June 2008. We designed the selection of participants in a way to include sample from all types of associations. Besides, using participant observation technique, we joined several official meetings, holiday celebrations and dinner parties, which were organized by the Turkish associations during the period of our field research. Through these activities, we gained more extensive knowledge on the activities of the associations. Another method we resorted to for the same purpose was to scan through periodicals, handouts, introductory or informational booklets, which were published by national federations or local associations. Although participant observation and periodicals were not among the main data sources of the study, they have helped us to enrich our comprehension about the organizations and their characteristics.

In in-depth interviews, with regards to organizational differentiation and socio-political participation, we have searched for answers to following questions: What kinds of activities are organized by the Turkish associations? What is their profile with respect to indicators such as leadership, financial support and membership? What is the rate of participation of Turks to the activities organized by their migrant associations; is it possible to speak of differentiation in the types of participation depending on the age groups or gender? What can be said on the types of participation in women's and youth associations? To what extent does the financial support provided by the Swedish state affect the activities and organizational differentiation of the Turkish associations? How does the decline of Swedish corporatism as a process continuing more than twenty years affect the organizational life in the country in general, and more importantly the operation of the Turkish associations in particular?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Sweden as an Immigration Country

Sweden is one of the best examples of a transition from ethnic homogeneity to multi-ethnic population structure in continental Europe (Runblom, 1994, 624). Although it was an ethnically homogeneous country until 1945, post-war immigration policies have drastically changed this situation and Sweden, in a relatively short time, has become an immigration country that hosts an ethnically diverse and large immigrant population. Today, 13 percent (1,200,000 people) of the total population of 9,2 million are foreign born. This figure exceeds 20 percent when the Swedish-born persons with at least one foreign-born parent are included. One out of every eighteen people in the country is a foreign citizen, one out of every eight was born outside of Sweden and one in five has a different cultural background.

This remarkable change in Sweden's population structure can be evaluated with reference to four migration waves, which originated in the mid-20th century and each of which is characterized by a different type of immigration and immigrant (Westin, 2006). First one is the refugee migration between the years 1938 and 1948, which should be considered within the framework of population movements caused by the Second World War. During this period, Sweden hosted refugees from neighboring countries such as Denmark, Norway and Estonia. Second is the labor migration that took place between 1949 and 1971. As of 1940s, Sweden started to employ foreign workers through reciprocal agreements to meet the labor shortage caused by the post-war economic growth. As a result of this policy, a large number of immigrant workers from Nordic countries and Southern European countries settled in Sweden in 1950 and 1960s. As Camauër indicates, immigration became a part of Swedish labor market policy during this period (2003, 73). This period also coincides with the beginning of labor migration from Turkey to Sweden. The first immigrant worker groups from Turkey, majority of who were from the Kulu district of Konya and to a smaller extent from Istanbul region, arrived at Sweden at the beginning of 1960s. In those years, the amount of immigration Sweden received reached a remarkable magnitude for a country known for its ethnic and cultural homogeneity (Akin, 2006, 30-1).

Due to economic depression which affected all European countries in the 1960s, and the demands of Swedish unions for labor immigration to be regulated, Sweden revised its liberal immigration policy. As a result, a more restricted immigration policy was adopted at the end of 1960s, which required non-Nordic workers to have work and residence permits in order to enter the country. The restrictions set at the beginning of the 1970s almost brought an end to non-Nordic labor immigration and the latter was replaced with family reunification and refugee immigration. In the third period which lasted from 1972 to 1989, a

large number of people from Third World countries immigrated to Sweden through these two ways. The fourth and last period of population movements towards Sweden started at 1990s and is characterized with a more restrictive refugee policy compared to the former periods. The main forms of immigration to Sweden in this period are refugee immigration and family reunification. As an illustration, at the beginning of 1990s, the number of those, seeking refuge in Sweden and mostly composed of war victims from ex-Yugoslavia, exceeded 200,000. In 2000s, on the other hand, Sweden has witnessed the immigration of those coming from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo through family reunification, and of those from Iraq who seek refuge particularly since the US invasion in 2003, and to a lesser extent those from European Union (Westin, 2006).

B. People from Kulu and Others

People from Kulu are one of the first and most well-known immigrant communities in Sweden. As mentioned above, although the beginning of labor migration from Turkey to Sweden coincided with the period when Sweden actively pursued the foreign labor recruitment policy, most of the Turkish workers made their way to Sweden through "spontaneous chain immigration" rather than through official channels. Sweden signed its agreement with Turkey for recruiting Turkish workers in 1967, and opened an official bureau in Ankara following this. However, only a few hundred workers from Kulu would migrate to Sweden through this channel for a long period of time (Akin, 2006, 33-4). The first group of workers to come from Turkey was composed of young men from Kulu who received work and residence permits and settled in Sweden in 1966. Their characteristics were rural background and low level of education. Their number reached a few hundred at the beginning of 1970s. Their original aim was to make as much money as possible in a short period of time and to go back to Turkey. However, immigration from Turkey continued in the following years and return migration did not reach a considerable amount. Due to the restrictions brought to non-Nordic labor immigration in the early 1970s, labor immigration from Turkey to Sweden was formally ended and replaced by family reunification. Many families from Kulu, mainly wives and children, immigrated to Sweden throughout the 1970s by this latter way, and family reunification continued in the following periods, even to a lower extent.

Despite the numerical majority of the immigrants from Kulu, it would be mistaken to suppose that the Turkey-origin population in Sweden is a homogeneous group which has congregated through labor immigration. On the contrary, beginning from the 1960s, Turkish immigrants migrated to Sweden through labor immigration, family reunification and asylum. And today they

constitute a complex population composition with different ethnic and religious identities. This composition is usually simplified as Turks and Kurds in ethnic terms, Muslims (Sunni and Alevis) and Christians (Assyrian Orthodox) in religious terms; however, in reality the picture is more complicated. In addition to Turks, other major groups are Kurds and Assyrians. Assyrians, who migrated to Sweden from the southeastern part of Turkey in the second half of the 1970s, sought asylum on the grounds of religious persecution, and were accepted to Sweden on humanitarian grounds. Kurdish refugees, on the other hand, started to immigrate to Sweden at the beginning of 1970s, and their migration together with the participation of their family members has been the main population movement from Turkey to Sweden in the post-1980 period (Lundberg and Svanberg, 1991, 15). In addition, Sweden has also become a destination for political refugees from Turkey. Although their number did not amount as much as the other groups, many people immigrated to Sweden through political asylum in the years following the military coups of 12 March 1971 and 12 September 1980.¹

TABLE 1
Turkey-born population in Sweden, from 1960 to 2007

1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2007
202	3768	14.357	25.528	31.894	38.158

Source: Westin, 2006; Statistics Sweden, Population statistics.

This overall migration pattern makes Turkey-born immigrants one of the largest foreign-born groups in Sweden (tenth in 2004). According to 2007 figures, the number of the Turkey-born people residing in Sweden is 38,158 (20,422 men, 17,736 women) (vide supra, Table 1) and it is slightly over 60,000 when second generation included (54 percent first and 46 percent second generation). More than half of this population (35,000) is living in the Greater Stockholm metropolitan area. The number of Turkey-born immigrants who became Swedish citizens increased after Sweden accepted dual citizenship in 2001. According to 2007 data, 74 percent (28.132) of the Turkey-born population in Sweden are Swedish citizens. It is estimated that the Turkey-born population is equally distributed among ethnic Turks, Kurds and Assyrians and hence each of these ethnic categories constitutes one-third of the total immigrant population originating from Turkey (Westin, 2003).²

¹ The coups of 12 March 1971 (Coup by Memorandum) and 12 September 1980 are the second and the third military coups in the political history of the Turkish Republic after the 27 May 1960 coup.

² Since Swedish census does not register either ethnicity and religion or language, it is not possible to know exact patterns.

Due to their rural background and low education level, the areas of employment of Turkish migrants, to a major extent, have been limited to cleaning and industrial work. General characteristics of the Swedish labor market also reinforced this tendency. It is widely known that immigrants in Sweden experience serious difficulties particularly in acquiring white-collar jobs. In order to be employed in occupations where there is no labor shortage, immigrants are required to have a good level of Swedish or certificates from related authorities proving that they meet the necessary requirements (Erder, 2006, 97). In conclusion, most of the Turkish migrants, both males and females, could find employment opportunities in blue-collar jobs in industry and service sectors. Female Turkish migrants have been employed more in cleaning jobs at schools, hospitals and restaurants. Turkish labor market has widened with the second generation. "In the second generation jobs like junior nurse, supermarket cashier, day care centre nurse, fast food shop- and pizza parlour proprietor are represented. However, any decisive break with manual labour has not occurred" (Berg, 1993, 43). Although Turks in Sweden largely satisfied in terms of living conditions and material wealth, they have been regarded by native Swedes as ethnically distant and foreign (Westin, 2003, 175), and this has reinforced their conviction that they are not respected, neither accepted, by the Swedish society (Akpınar, 2004, 4).

C. Swedish Multiculturalism and Migrant Associations

As Freeman indicated, multiculturalism is "less a choice than an unintended and often most unwelcome outcome" in the West (2004, 961). Choosing multiculturalism as an official integration policy, Sweden became one of the few countries that are an exception to this general tendency, along with Australia, Netherlands and Canada. With the regulations made in the 1970s, traditional assimilationist attitude towards foreigners was abandoned and Sweden began to be viewed as an ethnically pluralist society. 1974 constitution recognizes the right of religious and ethnic minorities to preserve their culture and promises to provide a remarkable amount of financial support for this aim. As a further step, "Immigrant and Minority Policy" adopted in 1975 officially declares that Sweden is a multicultural society. "Immigrant and Minority Policy" is based on three aims which were formulated with reference to the ideals of French Revolution as equality, freedom of choice and cooperation. The aim of equality means that immigrants should be equal with native Swedes with regards to rights, duties and opportunities on the basis of the general social welfare policy. Freedom of choice indicates that immigrants are entitled the right to maintain and develop their cultural heritage and that the necessary initiatives are to be taken in relation to this. In practice this means mother-tongue education for immigrants'

children and ethnic media. The aim of cooperation, on the other hand, refers to the harmony between majority population and the immigrant and minority groups. Within the framework of this aim, immigrant and minority groups are to be perceived as partners who would contribute to social development, and encouraged to organize themselves around state-sponsored associations.

These policy goals, especially the third one, have provided the legal basis for the establishment of migrant associations and collective organization of immigrants. In terms of the organizational representation of immigrants, two basic qualities of the concept of ethnic pluralism introduced by the "Immigrant and Minority Policy" are (i) the encouragement of the establishment of migrant associations (ii) on the principal of ethnicity. It can be argued that these priorities have brought forward two basic consequences in terms of the development of migrant associations. First of all, the priority attached to ethnicity has led ethnic identity to become the main organizing principle in the organizational representation of immigrants. As Soysal indicates, despite the evaluations of the official Swedish authorities that immigrants are expected to integrate as individuals rather than collectivities, it is clear that the tools adopted to promote this integration reinforce ethnicity (1994, 47). Furthermore, ethnicity-based classification itself functions as a policy instrument in Sweden (49). In this sense, Ålund and Schierup state that immigration policy of the 1970s has established ethnicity as a collective ordering principle and thus ethnicity became the basic category that determines the membership of immigrants (1991, 19). Within the framework of this membership model, immigrants have been classified according to their ethnic identity and each collective ethnic group has founded their own ethnic immigrant organization consisting of national federations and their local affiliates. However, it is important to remember that organization on ethnic basis is not a compulsory way of organizing imposed externally by the state. Rather, as Schierup correctly states, the promotion of ethnicity to the ordering principle has been largely internalized by immigrants themselves and "ethnic absolutism" became "the minorities' own dominant ideological discourse" (1991, 134).

It is difficult to think of the foundation and development of migrant associations in Sweden without state support and official steering. It is so not only for the principle of organization but also for the quantitative development of migrant associations. As we have mentioned above, encouragement of the establishment of migrant associations was among the priorities of the ethnic and cultural pluralism formulated in the 1970s. Swedish state adopted collective organization of immigrants as an official policy after 1975, and made the necessary institutional regulations for the implementation of this policy. The

remarkable amount of financial support distributed by the state in this period became one of the most important – for some even the main – stimulus behind the foundation of associations. Through its official policy for the collective organization of immigrants, Sweden has turned into the European country where the level of organization among immigrants is the highest (Soysal, 1994). This development can be illustrated by the increase in the number of associations. National immigrant federations started to be founded at the end of 1970s, when the Swedish state began to offer subsidies for the organization of immigrants. In the second half of the 1980s, the number of national federations was more than 30 and local associations more than 1500. Shipper records the number of national migrant associations by the 2000s as more than 131 (2007, 10). When we set aside those organizations representing groups which have minority status in Sweden and hence get support directly from the government, the number of national federations receiving financial support from National Integration Bureau is 57 by the year 2005 (Benito, 2005, 33-5). This picture points to the existence of a large associational topography, which is constituted by migrant associations and fragmented along ethnic lines. On some occasions, there appears more than one national immigrant federation which claims to represent immigrant groups with the same ethnic identity and this increases the population of organizations even more.³

The roles migrant associations are expected to play in the Swedish political system can be evaluated with reference to policy making model of the country. Sweden is one of the conventional and stable corporatist countries of Europe. On account of the strong corporatist tradition in the country, some scholars even prefer to characterize Swedish welfare state as “corporatist welfare state” or (corporatist) “bargaining society” (see, among others, Freeman, 2004; Wallerstein and Golden, 1997). Although Swedish corporatism has been eroded with regards to its institutional framework as well as its practices in the post-1980 period, the regulations put forward to ensure political participation of the immigrants have been shaped under the influence of corporatism. An important characteristic of Swedish corporatism is the role of social organizations in the political decision making processes. Social organizations are viewed as the natural representatives of different social segments and have an important role in decision making processes as the “formal partners” of the state. They have a right to represent themselves in research commissions and advisory committees through participatory regulations of the state. In this respect, some scholars like Carey and Carey argue that social organizations in Sweden “provide a means by

³ Kurds, Iranians, Bosnians and Assyrians are examples of immigrant groups that are represented by more than one national federation. Founding a second national federation in 2003, Turks have also joined these groups.

which the interests of different groups within society are accommodated and offer ways other than through the ballot for a citizen to make his influence felt" (1969, 472). That is why social organizations in Sweden – first and foremost the workers' and employers' organizations for sure – are said to carry as much importance as the political parties in terms of political participation. Evidently it is this corporatist mode of representation that lies behind the Swedish policy emphasis on migrant organizations. In accordance with this model, migrant organizations are too considered as actors that represent the interests of their own ethnic and national groups. Officially, the most basic aims of the migrant associations are, to function as the partners in a dialogue which is to be established with the institutions of Swedish society and to exert influence on decision making processes in line with the demands and interests of their ethnic migrant communities. These aims also involve policy formulation to improve the rights and status of immigrants. In order to achieve this, migrant associations have been given certain rights by the state. As the most important among others, national federations have the right to represent their constituencies in the advisory committees affiliated with the state bodies. Thus, they have *officially* become formal partners of the state particularly in issues concerning immigrants (Odmalm, 2004, 475).

Although migrant associations are viewed as the channels through which immigrants exert political influence on decision making processes, it is very contentious whether in practice they really function as such. As Hedetoft (2006, 5) points out, there is an apparent and tangible gap between political rhetoric and practical policies in Sweden with regard to immigrant policy, and migrant associations are not an exception to this. Indeed, the very contradiction between official view on the migrant associations as expressed above and the actual roles migrant associations play in practice could be a good way to illustrate this gap. To begin with, the official view of the 1970s to turn migrant associations into corporatist negotiation partners did not completely come into effect and was finally abandoned in the 1990s with the fall of corporatism. Hence, corporatism has never become the main characteristic of the decision making process in the area of immigrant policy, which is among the most important issues for immigrants (Lindvall and Sebring, 2005, 1067-9). Instead, immigrant policy has always been kept outside the political debate and remained as an area where politicians and bureaucracy have always dominated. The researches on migrant associations present similar findings with regard to the ways they operate in practice. According to these findings, associations are far from functioning as channels that enable immigrants to represent their demands in the political processes. The local associations are preoccupied with sports and cultural activities, rather than political issues. Only a small amount of national

federations has been successful in functioning as “pressure groups” by carrying the demands of language and education of their own ethnic groups to the political agenda (Soininen, 1999, 697). Issues such as preserving cultural identity, relations with language and motherland are given priority in the agenda of migrant associations (Camauër, 2003, 75). In this sense, the role of migrant associations in the organizational life of the Swedish society can be summarized through the formula “minority culture preservation” (Malm, 2005, 28). In view of that, some authors imply that these organizations can be viewed better as social clubs or ethnic foundations than as pressure groups (Odmalm, 2004, 481). Existing literature points at the political inactiveness of migrant associations as well as a number of factors that pave the way for this result to come out. However, instead of listing these factors in this section, it would be more meaningful to discuss them in relation with our research findings in the next section where Turkish migrant associations are examined.

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Turkish Associations: Foundation and Differentiation

Turkish cultural associations

It can be said that there were mainly four types of Turkish associations in Stockholm from 1970s to 1990s: socio-cultural, religious and political associations and sports clubs. Socio-cultural associations (or Turkish cultural associations) were the first type of associations founded by Turks and they have formed the backbone of the organizational network of the Turkish associations. They were born out of Turkish workers’ need to have a place to come together without having to spend money. Leaving aside the first examples that were established in 1960s but were closed down due to lack of interest, Turkish cultural associations started to be founded in the first half of 1970s, with the cooperation of Turkish migrants and some authorities in the local immigration service.⁴ For example, the first local association that became a member of the current national federation (The Federation of Turkish Workers’ Association, Turkiska Riksförbundet, shortly TR from here on) was founded in 1973 (Lundberg

⁴ Arslan Menguc, a journalist who has lived in Sweden for a long time, describes the need to organize in those years as follows: “On weekends, Stockholm Train Station, T-Centralen resembled a Turkish town. Everyone from those who had problems to those looking for jobs, from those who wanted to hear from hometown to translators, everyone came to T-Centralen. Those who did not have such reasons had another reason to come there. That was: to be a Turk! ... Stockholm [Train Station], like in any other major European city, was filled with Turks everyday, but especially on Saturdays and Sundays. ... That is why we also met at T-Centralen, discussed Turkey’s problems and exchanged newspapers and magazines. These meetings that took place on weekends started to become regular, and an organizational basis was forming. We were sick and tired of meeting at cafeterias. We were looking for a place where we could drink our own tea and coffee and boil beans. ... At the end, we decided to establish “Turkish Worker’s Union in Sweden” (2007, 143-4).

and Svanberg, 1991, 20).⁵ Local Turkish associations were anticipated to function as cultural clubs that would provide Turks living in nearby neighborhoods to socialize in a cultural atmosphere which they are accustomed to. Thus, in these years, song festivals in which local artists participated, folk dances and meetings for information exchange were among the prevalent activities organized by Turkish Associations. These associations, which eased newcomer Turks' first encounter with the Swedish society, soon turned into closed communities dominated by those from Kulu (Lundberg and Svanberg, 1991). In their study on Turkish associations in Stockholm, Lundberg and Svanberg (1991) identify the way in which Turkish cultural associations function with the term "coffee house". According to the authors, right after their foundation, Turkish associations turned into cultural clubs which function as (Turkish) coffee house. Although formal structure of the associations complied with the expectations of the local authorities, their basic function was limited to being a "coffee house" for their regular visitors, almost all of whom were men. This situation became a source of conflict between associations and local authorities which consider youth and children as primary categories. However, in spite of the institutional pressures of the authorities who provide financial support as well as of the attempts of the executives, Turkish associations persisted in preserving their coffee house character at the local level.

In the second half of the 1970s, when migrant associations started receiving state support, establishment of Turkish cultural associations accelerated. Emphasis on ethnic identity in their names draws attention; they are usually named "Turkish Cultural Association". Turkish political refugees, intellectuals and most of the non-Kulu migrants have avoided contact with these associations, on the ground that they could not be active or influential. The distance between Kulu Turks and other Turks was not evident only in the associations. Particularly urban Turks, who felt uneasy with the label "Turk from Kulu", have avoided interaction with Kulu migrants outside the associations as well (Akpınar, 2004, 6). Actually, the same thing can be said for Kulu Turks. Kulu Turks have also been active participants of the construction of that distance. Above all, "being from Kulu" has always played a significant role for people from this region (Kulu) not only in the construction of their primary relations but also in the associational context. Evaluations of our informants who are board members in Turkish cultural associations point that being from Kulu has played a key role in the determination of who are likely (and not likely) to be given important positions in the associations. Although Kulu migrants claim that they look out for a balanced and fair distribution in the executive boards, the number of those is not few, who

⁵ Assyrians and politically active Kurds have founded their own associations, but inactive Kurds from villages of Kulu have joined Turkish associations instead of forming their own.

think that they have been kept away from important positions in the associations since they are not from Kulu. Some of those non-Kulu migrants have established their own associations through their own social networks, but these associations, which are few in number, have not proved to be significant among Turkish associations.

As with many other migrant associations in Sweden, the gathering of Turkish associations under a federation took place at the end of 1970s, when organization of immigrants came under state support. First, two separate federations were founded in 1977, and then TR, which continues to exist today, came into presence by merging of these two federations in 1979. TR started publishing "Yeni Birlik" by uniting "Birlik" (Union) and "Sila" (Home-place), the publications that existed before the merge. Yeni Birlik has been publishing since 1979 without interruptions and it is unique among Turkish migrant communities in Europe with regard to duration of publication. In 1985, TR, as a Stockholm-centered federation, had 22 local associations and 7884 members. 15 of the local associations were located in the areas of metropolitan Stockholm with a high density of Turkish population (3 in central Stockholm, 12 in suburbs), and 7 were in other cities. In 1988, TR with 9000 members in 27 local associations has become the sixth biggest immigrant federation in Sweden with regard to membership rates. Today it is still among the ten biggest national federations in Sweden in terms of the number of both members and local affiliates.

In respect of their political interest, Turkish associations in Sweden display a considerably different character in comparison to other Turkish associations in Europe. It is known that in many cities in Europe, the associational life of Turks has taken shape in line with the basic political divisions and ideological fault lines of Turkish politics, and hence, largely reflecting them. Moving from this point, some scholars even argue that studying Turkish civil society outside national boundaries would be also an effective method to get better understanding of the Turkish politics in motherland (Argun, in Jacobs, Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2006, 151). Even this is the case in many European cities, we can assert that this method would be far from effective for Turkish associations in Swedish context. It is true that the Turkish cultural associations in Stockholm have also been affected from the divisions in Turkish politics; particularly in 1970s and 1980s the political polarization in Turkey was somewhat reflected in these associations. However, except for a couple of associations with explicit political character, political divisions were not decisive in the development of Turkish associations in Stockholm (and in Sweden in general). As a matter of fact, the vast majority of Turks have been committed to one national federation (TR) for their organizational representation. In this sense, it can be said that the common Kulu

identity and kinship relations have proven to be superior to political stances.⁶ Organizational steering of migrant associations by the Swedish state towards particular fields by means of funding as well as other instruments may also be referred here as another reason that explains the development of Turkish associations this way.

Attitudes of the associations towards the Swedish state also present interesting findings which may help understand their political character. Especially TR has been in cooperation with official Social Democratic policy in many issues, which can also be recognized partially by a close look at its organizational charter. Although local associations have sometimes taken a more critical stance towards local political parties and politicians, publications by TR have functioned as ground where official Social Democratic policy is explained and defended (Lundberg and Svanberg, 1991, 40-1). Even though actual situation in immigrant policy and in other issues is criticized, criticisms have not been usually much more than a call to the official Swedish authorities for the application of the official goals identified in the immigrant policy. On the other hand, it can be argued that the proximity to Swedish Social Democracy is no exceptional (or unexpected) case as compared to other migrant associations. Immigrants in Sweden have been seen, so to speak, as the natural voter base of the Swedish Social Democrats, which is also evidenced by the long-lasting absence of political competition among other political parties for immigrant votes. Moreover, Swedish Social Democrats, right from the beginning, have tried to build connections with different migrant associations in order to gain electoral support of immigrants (Odmalm and Lees, 2006, 9).

Political and Religious Associations

In 1970s and 1980s, there were several left-political associations in Stockholm founded by Turks who settled in Sweden fleeing the military coups of 12 March 1971 and 12 September 1980.⁷ Among political associations, we should also note

⁶ A comment made by a board member of the Turkish Federation whom we interviewed is very explanatory in this regard: "*Since nearly 80 percent of the Turkish society (in Sweden), I do not know if it reflects the average, are the people that came from Kulu, I mean, either rightist or leftist, they are relative at last.*"

⁷ Although establishment of the left-political associations usually took place in 1970s and after, it is necessary to indicate that politically active Turks have been present in Sweden since the middle of 1960s. For example, one of the first socialist publications by Turks, "Belleten", started to be printed in 1967. Other socialist publications with similar qualities were "Turkey" which was being published in the same years by those who were close to Mehmet Ali Aybar – a socialist leader in Turkey of the 1960s, and "Birlik" (Union) which was being published by a Maoist group at the beginning of 1970s (Akin, 2006, 52-3). There are also publications with shorter lifespan that coincides with the period between the end of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s. "Halk" (The People), a monthly political magazine published by "Turkey Workers' Unions", Ilerici Genclik (Progressive Youth) as the organ of "Turkish Social Democrat Youth Club", and "Yolumuz" (Our Way) which was published by "Turkey Workers' Union", are examples of these kinds of publications. It is possible to come across such political publications until the end of 1980s.

those ones founded by Social Democrat Turks and by the followers of ultra nationalist MHP (Nationalist Action Party). The most well-known among left-political associations are "Union for Progressives of Turkey in Sweden" (İSTİB) which was founded by the followers of Turkish Communist Party at the end of 1970s, and "Stockholm Solidarity and Cultural Association for People of Turkey" which has gathered the members of Dev-Yol (Revolutionary Path) around it. Unlike Turkish cultural and religious associations, left-political associations have been mostly named as "Turkiyeliler" (people from Turkey) in order to avoid emphasis on ethnic identity. In their statutes, these associations have defined themselves as the "democratic mass organization" of the people from Turkey, and have identified their main goal as to protect and improve the rights and cultures of immigrants from Turkey. Therefore, with regard to their official goals, they can be said to be oriented rather to Sweden than Turkey. However, in practice, developments concerning Turkey have carried an important place in their agendas. The main reasons for that can be referred here as the expectations of active members of the associations, who were still banned from politics in 1980s, to return back to "motherland" and liveliness of the political ties with Turkey. They have kept associations' interest towards Turkey alive. In time, as travels to Turkey become possible, as political bonds weaken and as the return myth loses its charm, this situation has changed to some extent and the idea that activities of the association should mainly be towards the Swedish society has become prevalent.

Up until the mid-1980s Turks were the largest Muslim community in Sweden. Their numerical superiority and the length of their stay in Sweden have provided Turks a privileged status in terms of the representation of Muslims before Swedish society. "For many Swedes, both individuals and authorities, they were *The* Muslims. They represented the Muslims in both official and unofficial contexts, their opinions were heard, they received, or at least directed, almost all financial or other *help* to minorities of Muslim background, etc" (Sander, 2004, 219-20). In 1990s, the level of heterogeneity has increased among Muslims and Turks lost their numerical superiority (219-20). This situation led to the disappearance of their "natural leadership" they used to enjoy up to that date in terms of the representation of Muslim identity, and arising conflicts have mostly resulted in non-Turks establishing their own associations (234). Religious associations gained importance among Turks in 1980s, when they still constituted the significant majority of the total Muslim population (approx. one third of all the Muslims). They also have been established and dominated by Kulu people to a major extent, just like socio-cultural associations. Although one can come across religious associations before 1980s, they were either inactive or very small and lacking appropriate space for religious services. Therefore,

communal worships such as Friday prayer were performed in association clubs under the leadership of those with religious knowledge. After 1980, religious associations have become fully active and with the first half of the 1980s, religious services have started to be given by imams sent out and paid for by the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs. Today in Stockholm, there are seven Turkish-Islamic associations of this kind. These associations are affiliated with "Sweden Muslim Federation" (Svenska Muslimska Förbundet, SmuF), which was established in 1982 and is one of four officially recognized Islamic federations in Sweden. Other religious movements which have succeeded in gaining recognition among Turks are Suleymanli movement, and Fethullah Gulen movement which has an increasing impact particularly since 2000s.

Photo 1: The prayer room of a religious association



Studies on migrant associations refer to the connection of religion to ethno-national identity as the primary factor behind the importance immigrants give to the religious associations (Moya, 2005). According to this, the significance of religion as a marker of ethnicity is generally reflected in its weight in migrant associations. It can be said that this assumption is valid to a great extent for Turkish religious associations in Sweden. Above all, Turkish religious associations in Stockholm have developed as part of the Kulu migrant community. They have been regarded as the continuation of "Turkish Cultural" associations and been named, with a few exceptions, as "Turkish Islamic" associations. Although one may come across Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds especially in communal worship such as prayers, religious associations can be said to function

mainly as places where Turks come together, speak their own language and celebrate their religious holidays and traditions. Even some complain that it leads to communication problems with Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds, it is clearly the Turkish language which is used in association prayer rooms. Among our interviewees from religious associations, only one executive stated that they use also Turkish and Arabic but their common language is Swedish. He continued that they present themselves as "Swedish Muslims" since they have a more cosmopolite structure with regard to both executives and ordinary members. Other religious associations, in terms of language as well as their executive and member structures, carry the stamp of "Turkish Muslim" identity. Considering this, we can argue that Turkish religious associations in Stockholm also play an important role in terms of second generation. As indicated by Sander, it is important for most of the Turkish Muslims that their children get brought up in line with their specific Turkish form of Islamic cultural and religious tradition (2004, 332). Koran courses, religious talks and similar activities organized by Turkish-Islamic associations for the youth and children both serve this goal and also in this way enable language and tradition to be transmitted to the second generation.

Organization Process of Youth and Women

The differentiation of the organizational network formed by Turkish associations took place after the second half of 1990s. In this regard, women and youth have established their own local associations and national federations by breaking free from Turkish associations and TR. This process has been partly determined by the Swedish state, and therefore, has simultaneously developed in parallel to the establishment of youth and women organizations of other ethnic immigrant groups. The emergence of women activities in the federations through women committees or sections, coincide with the beginning of 1980s (Knocke and Ng, 1999) and the first immigrant women federation in the country was established in 1984. Youth committee, in a similar manner to women's committee, has first come into being in 1980s under the roof of national federations and these committees have later achieved autonomy as a separate federation. Until this differentiation took place, the number of women and young people in the executive boards of national federations were very few and their impact was limited. In this sense, some authors emphasize that organizational differentiation of national federations in form of "women" and "youth", and later on these committees' achievement of autonomy as national federation, took place with special encouragement by Swedish state (Knocke and Ng, 1999).

In addition to national women's federations, it is also necessary to mention about the women's national multicultural organizations that have been

established around Sweden. The first example of it is RIFFI, founded in 1968, which represents immigrant women who came to Sweden from different countries. RIFFI continues its activities in Stockholm with a few employees and many volunteers. Besides various cultural activities, they have concentrated on the activities towards integration of immigrant women which are Swedish and English language education, women's employment, and women's psychological and health problems. Another entity besides RIFFI that brings women together with different ethnic immigrant groups is the women's committee of SIOS, the umbrella organization for national immigrant federations in Sweden, which was founded in March 8, 1992. Among the primary goals of SIOS' women committee involves the organizational activities in order to enable immigrant women to have equal rights with other sections of society.

If we consider organizational process of Turkish women in Sweden, we can speak of two main groups as local associations and national federations. Both women's associations and federations have indicated that they have preferred a separate organization from men's because they could not voice their own demands in mixed organizations where men dominated the administration and the clubhouses. The first group consists of women associations are the ones which Turkish women have formed with their own dynamics. Although they are few in number, they have a rich profile and activity scale with regards to their qualities. The first of these associations was "Isvec Turkiyeli Kadinlar Dernegi" (Association of Women from Turkey in Sweden) founded in 1978 mostly by women who have immigrated to Sweden for political reasons. According to organizational character of the association, which is not active at the moment, women from all nations who have completed seventeen years of age can be a member to this association. Many of the women associations in this first group are multicultural women's associations which were regularly founded in 1990s by women who have at majority migrated from Kulu, Turkey. One common characteristic about these associations is that all of them established by Turkish women in order to find solutions to the problems of all immigrant women in. Today, together with the immigrant women from different countries, they carry out counselling services for women, foreign language and computer classes, cultural handicraft courses, projects for specific goals and tutoring for children. Although some of these associations are members of national Turkish federation or Turkish Women Federation, not all of them have this kind of membership.

In the second group, we can mention the women's federations that are formed at the national level. Although TR was established as early as in 1979, it draws our attention that Turkish women could only establish two federations at once and only in 2007. The first of these is the "Isvec Turk Kadinlar

Federasyonu" (Turkiska Kvinnoförbundet Sverige, TKF), which has been formed with the transformation of the women's committee of TR that had been active since 1985. The other one is "Isvec Turk Ulusal Kadin Federasyonu" (Svensk-Turkiska Kvinnors Nationella Riksförbundet) which has become active in the same year. The conditions to become a federation, which requires one thousand members and women's associations in different cities, have led to an increase in the number of Turkish women's associations countrywide in a short time. Different from the multicultural women's (local) associations, the former federation leads activities and studies aimed at Turkish women in Sweden, whereas the latter intends for all Turkish-speaking immigrant women in the country. Since they were founded at the end of 2007, and have completed their first year without any activity due to the procedures, hence their activities started in 2009. Up to now, these two national women's federations have organized activities such as March 8 Women's Day and holiday dinner parties, along with project training.

The last issue we will mention under this subtitle is the organizational activities of the Turkish youth. Organizational process of the youth has started, with the foundation of a youth committee within TR in 1983, with the encouragement of the state. Youth has separated from TR and established their own federation in 1996. In 2008, Isvec Turk Genclik Federasyonu (Turkiska Ungdomsförbundet-TUF) has 33 associations and 3800 fee-paying members between ages 7 and 25. According to 2007 data, this number reaches 5500, when age limit is lifted. The youth federation which differentiates significantly from the TR and Turkish women's federations does not define itself as an "immigrant" federation, but rather as a "youth" federation of Sweden. In this sense, one of the fundamental goals of the youth federation is, in their own words, "not abiding by ethnic federation and activities but enable Turkish youth to turn their faces towards Swedish society"⁸. Therefore, it is often emphasized that the youth federation is independent from TR regarding the administration and main objectives. Its activities are related to sports, education, culture and integration which are mostly aimed at second and third generation Turkish youth.

And Others...

The level of differentiation among Turkish associations in Stockholm, in addition to the youth and women associations, has increased even more with the emergence of "Alevis Cultural Center", "Association of Atatürkist Thought" (ADD), and several cultural associations such as football fan clubs, from the second part of 1990s on. The emergence of first two ones was largely conditioned by the

⁸ Interview with the former president of TUF, Selcuk Unlu.

developments in Turkey. The organizing of Alevi⁹ in Sweden emerged partially as a reaction to the Sivas massacre (*Sivas Katliamı*) in 1993 where 37 Alevi intellectuals were murdered by Islamist fundamentalists. Alevi association in Stockholm was founded two years after this event. AKM defines its main goals as to explain Alevism and Alevi culture and to represent Alevi in Sweden. AKM also established "Sweden Alevi Federation" in 2008 by coming together with five other Alevi associations in Sweden. AKM indicates that it has an ethnically diverse member profile, with foremost Turks and Kurds, and prefers the term "Turkiyeli" (people from Turkey) to define its member base. The emergence of "Association of Atatürkist Thought", on the other hand, can be regarded as an expression of discontent with the rise of political Islam in Turkey as well as with the increasing influence of religious movements (Suleymanli, and especially Fethullahci movement during 2000s) over Turkish migrants in Sweden. It was established in 2003, a year after pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in Turkey. It describes its goal as explaining Atatürkist thought to younger generations living in Sweden in opposition to Islamist movements. However, among the Turkish community including the second generation in Stockholm, political mobilization around Atatürkist thought is not common and hence ADD has not achieved to be an active organization thus far. Developments in the home country had one more visible effect on Turkish associations in this period. From the beginnings of the 1990s, some of the Kurdish people who had come from central Anatolia and passed as Turks in the daily life up to that date, have affirmed their ethnic identity and ceased to participate in Turkish associations. Their politicization was brought about by the developments in Turkey regarding the Kurdish question – i.e. armed conflicts escalated in the early 1990s and rising political tensions. The sports fan associations which appeared at the beginning of 2000s, on the other hand, are not only fan clubs in the narrow sense, but function as socio-cultural clubs that provide their members to come together in a familiar cultural atmosphere.

In conclusion, it is possible to gather Turkish associations in Stockholm under five categories: Socio-cultural, religious, political, women and youth associations. It is difficult to estimate the total number of Turkish associations and the distribution of different types. A number of reasons for this difficulty can be listed. First of all, exaggerating the number of associations and members has become a method for immigrants in order to receive larger financial aid since the 1970s when the process of organization started. Considering the situations we have come across during the field research, we can say that Turks are among the immigrant groups who decisively stay faithful to this method. Also, the

⁹ The second largest religious community in Turkey after the Sunnis.

priority given to women and youth related issues has led many Turkish associations to establish their own women and youth associations with the same aim. Although they are not active except for those activities organized very rare or occasionally, executive boards composed of women and youth provide these newly established associations an official character, which in turn results in a serious increase in the number of associations. In addition to these, it seems that the decline of organizational life in Sweden in the 1990s has blurred the very distinction between the "active association" and the "association on paper". In order to receive financial aid, associations prepare projects in the areas given priority by the state and to realize these projects with a certain amount of participation is regarded sufficient to be an active organization. Limited participation of the members in these projects and in other similar activities, on the other hand, is not a fact that can be solely explained in terms of the decline in organizational life, but also should be searched for in the sphere of structural problems that are characteristic features of the Turkish associations since their foundations such as "disconnection between the leader and the grassroots". Therefore, below section, where we aim to touch upon those structural problems, may also help us explore the culprits behind the limited participation and other important issues.

B. Turkish Cultural Associations

Leaders and membership

It is known that the people taking initiative in the establishment of migrant associations are usually those who have attained an above-average level of education (Jaakkola, 1987, 207). In this respect, it is accepted that the more educated persons in the migrant population, the more increase in the number of potential leaders, which will have, in turn, a positive effect on the overall process of organization of the migrants (Vermeulen, 2005, 35-6). With respect to educated migrant population, one of the first occupational groups that come to mind is the teachers. In Stockholm, Turkish teachers have played a significant role in the foundation of Turkish associations, as well. For instance, the local association which was the first affiliate of the current federation was founded by the cooperation of Turkish teachers and Swedish authorities. Later on, many teachers as well as people with higher education and academic degrees have been active in the executive board of the federation. This may be referred as a conscious choice given that the TR regards itself as the representative of the Turkish people and needs well-educated persons in its relationships with the institutions of the Swedish state. The current president of the federation stated in our interviews that they valued the diversity in the executive board very highly, and that they are happy to see people from different occupational groups such as

academicians, lawyers, businessmen, trade unionists and politicians as members of the board. Board members of the local associations, on the other hand, usually have intermediate level of education and are either self employed or employed in the public or private sectors. Therefore, they are more close to the average of Turkish migrant community in terms of both educational level and occupational position. In this respect, we can argue that there is a difference between the local associations and the federation in terms of the leader profile and the positive relation between the level of education and taking initiative in the leadership is valid rather at the level of national federation. An exception to this is the fan clubs and family associations emerged in the 1990s as a result of the associational differentiation. Unlike Turkish cultural associations, it is possible to come across, in the executive boards of these associations, educated middle class persons such as architects, businessmen and teachers.

As compared the general characteristics of the Turkish migrant community, former presidents of the Turkish Federation display a different profile not only due to their education level and occupational situation but also on account of their experience and level of knowledge. It is understood that the amount of time they spent as the president of the federation has provided them with a certain degree of honor and respect before the Turkish migrant community. Without a doubt, one must not forget the role of the Turkish Federation in the attainment of this honor and respect. Being the central organization of the Turkish migrants in Sweden, it acts, more or less, as the representative of the Turkish migrant community and function, in some way or other, as the institutionalized voice of the Turks in Sweden. The local Turkish associations, however, are far from functioning as the representative or spokesman and preserve their traditional "coffee-house" character. There are definitely more than few people among the executives of the local associations as well as other Turks who regard the former federation presidents as the "mentors" or "opinion leaders" of the Turkish migrants. Indeed, according to some participants, popularity and respectability of the former federation presidents have been so influential as to effect the development of the Turkish associations. They contend that, owing to their popularity and respectability, they were able to hold people together and this was one of the factors that ensured the Turkish associations to remain under one roof without falling into political divisions since the 1970's. One of the participants further argued that the Turkish federation owes its power and influence not to the members but to the talents and abilities of the persons in its executive board:

"If you consider the issue from the side of the Turkish Federation of the Worker's Associations, that is from the side of the Turks, if you approach it so, in my opinion, ... there was a difference between the base and the top regarding

politics. The difference was this: the people at the top really knew the issues, could interpret them, and were willing to contribute to political processes. But the needs were different at the base, people here were not even aware of such needs. Actually the reason that the federation was even more powerful than it should have been was this: this was because the people at the top were really good, they knew what's what, they were sharp in politics. Otherwise, there were no serious demands from the base really."

On the basis of our findings about leadership, it can be added that associational activity among Turkish community does not have a real social base and many of the local associations depend on a few people who take on leadership tasks and other responsibilities. All the chairmen and executives of the cultural associations we interviewed were composed of first generation migrant men. The leadership of the associations is usually performed by the same people. We came across some directorate members who were performing the same duty for over twenty years. Most of the chairmen we interviewed told us that they have difficulties in finding executives and candidates in the general assembly, and that even unwillingly they continue their chairmanship, since otherwise associations would have to face the danger of closing down. They referred to the problem of leadership and administration the associations are facing through complaints and comments like "if I leave this place today they will close it down tomorrow" or "as the elections approach you can't find people to run for the directorate". In this context, it is worthwhile to note that there is a tangible and clear contradiction between the numerical superiority of Turkish associations compared to many other migrant associations in Sweden on one hand and the difficulty of finding active members to deal with the associations on the other. Some of the chairmen told us that even the directorate members themselves avoid taking up associational work, and hence, in practice, much of the association's work is left to them alone. One of the participants, who said he accepted to become the chairman of the association so as to prevent its closing down, told us that this is the "work procedure" of the Turkish associations. He complained that he has to shoulder all the work on his own:

"Let me tell you about the Turkish association, how we do it. Now I am the chairman of this association. We are nine people, I am the chairman. All the activities, all the work are done by the chairman. I call my friends to a meeting, I explain them things; these other nine friends of mine listen to me, say okay or no. This is the work procedure of the Turkish associations. In the Swedish associations, in the other associations I work, I am only the person who has the authority to sign. I have a secretary, a bookkeeper; I mean I have a lot of people working for me. For example, in the management of the building I live, I have three gardeners. I mean the person responsible for the place we live. I have two secretaries, two bookkeepers. These do all the work, they write down all the work they do and they attach a note that to the concern of the director. They put it down on paper for the director to know, and then they put the paper in my mailbox. Then, they say, we will have a meeting on this and that issue. We go and have a meeting. I listen to my friends to find out who researched on

that issue and why, and what things had been done. We make a decision about it there ... This is the principle by which the Swedish people work. But, in our Turkish associations, not only in ours but in all of them, the chairman does everything. Now, what am I in the association? Am I the chairman, the bookkeeper, money register, a sports activity, a cultural activity!"

The associations do not hire salaried personnel due to financial problems. The chairpersons of the associations told us that although they had salaried personnel before, they had to continue their associational activities completely on the basis of voluntary principle since the mid-1990s, when the Swedish government cut financial aid. Voluntary associational work leads to the problem, as mentioned above, that in practice the whole work falls on the shoulder of a few people. The few voluntary staff including the chairpersons, however, can attend the associations only in their spare time and this is not enough to overcome those tasks which are necessary to become an active association such as event organizations, project work and communication with other institutions. Therefore, most of the chairpersons in the interviews stated that, although it doesn't seem very possible due to financial difficulties, all associations really need a few professional executives who would only deal with associational work. According to our participants' assessments, professional executives will help the associations to be active as well as enable them to earn respect in the eyes of the state and its administrative mechanisms, which in turn will increase their bargaining and negotiation powers. One participant says:

"Actually two or three people in the association, especially in the executive board, need to have the association as their only work. If the association is your only work, there is nothing you can't do in Sweden, you can do it. ... [But] because everybody works voluntarily, or strives to do so, they can't be productive. So, because of this, the opinion of the Swedish government about the associations is becoming negative. If there were professional people, if you could prove you were doing some stuff, you would be valued more in Sweden, both economically and in terms of what they think of you. In Sweden, if we as an association had been very active, we could see the person we want, make an appointment with whom we want. But since there is nothing like that, we have difficulties in establishing dialogue with the Swedish authorities; it is not like it was before."

Another issue we encountered very often during our interviews was the overlapping of leadership; i.e., the case where a person, in addition to his original duty of chairmanship of an association, is in the executive board of a second association or of the national federation (TR). For example one participant who took part in our survey as the chairman of an association, told us that he was also in the executive board of a fan club and of the national federation, in addition to his own Turkish culture association. Even though pointing out to a problem about leadership and taking initiative, this situation can also be assumed to have a positive effect in terms of the strengthening of

communication and cooperation between Turkish associations. After all, through these persons, who take up administrative duties in more than one association, inter-organizational ties between the Turkish associations, and consequently the network of formal relationships, are growing wide. Nevertheless, one must not overemphasize the positive effect of this situation, as the informal ties between the executive members of the associations, established through kinship or countryman-ship, seem to have already provided enough opportunity for strong communication and cooperation between the associations.

Despite difficulties in finding leaders and executive board members, the number of associations' members is relatively high. Due to the information we have gathered from the federation's president, the TR has over 13 thousand members in around 40 affiliated local associations. The number of members of the local associations, on the other hand, generally varies between 250 and 750. In the recent years, in accordance with the governmental policies, some local associations have founded their separate women's and youth associations and transferred their female and young members to these. As a result, some local associations experienced a partial fall in their member numbers. It must be stated, however, that the member numbers are not very suitable indicators to understand effectiveness of the associations and the way in which they function in practice. As mentioned above, increasing member numbers without seeking an actual increase in the rate of participation has been a tactic that the migrant associations in Sweden resorted to in order to receive higher amounts of financial aid. Another means used for the same purpose is the practice of "family membership", which also holds true for Turkish associations. Moreover, since the membership register is not being updated, it does not reflect the changes in the membership base up until now. The number of active members, on the other hand, is rather low in comparison to the total number of members; for example, members who pay membership fees in the majority of the local associations are between 100 and 200. The clubhouses of the Turkish cultural associations are being rented out as "coffee-houses" and the person who runs the place, in turn, covers part of or all of the rent for the association. In doing so, the associations come up with a solution to the problem of collecting membership fees from their members. For example, a chairman of an association with 600 registered members informed us that the membership fees are normally not collected, the rent for the building is covered by the coffeehouse keeper, and that when they are financially in need, they are obliged to collect membership fees at the expense of "having a fight" with the members. Taking all these points into consideration, we can say that the assumptions available in the literature on migrant associations such as "the number of the members of the migrant associations determines their power and effectiveness to a large extent" are not

valid for the Turkish associations. Because, even those local associations which are not capable of organizing any activities and about to being closed down, have rather high membership numbers due to the reasons mentioned above.

Goals and activities

As Schoeneberg points out, migrant associations do not usually limit their activities to the achievement of a singular and specific goal. Most of their organizational charters are formulated in such a way as to include more than one goal and most of the associations offer a variety of activities and opportunities for the participation of their members (1985, 417). As we shall see below, the extent to which Schoeneberg's words about activities and participation applies to Turkish associations is highly questionable. However, as far as her argument regarding the diversity of the goals formulated in the associations' charters considered, we can contend that the Turkish associations in Sweden represent a good example. Their charters include a wide range of goals that were formulated in accordance with the main principles of Swedish immigrant policy (equality, freedom of choice and solidarity). These goals, only with slight differences, are repeatedly found in almost all associations' statutes. One of the most basic goals of the Turkish cultural associations is to perform the tasks necessary to realize the main principles of the Swedish immigrant policy in the district of the association. Another goal, which derives from the principle of solidarity, is to contribute to the development of cooperation and friendly relations between Turkish migrants and native Swedes as well as other migrant groups in the district. The goal of organizing such activities that preserve and foster Turkish migrants' own cultural traditions, on the other hand, grounds on the principle of freedom of choice. The associations also adopted the goal of helping Turkish workers find solutions to the problems they may have with local authorities and other institutions. Other goals found in the associations' statutes are, to deal with education related problems of the Turkish worker's children and to inform members – through conferences, panels and similar organizations – about the rights and duties to which migrants are entitled by the Swedish law. Regarding these goals, it can be said that the Turkish cultural associations are oriented to Sweden rather than Turkey, and that they aim to improve the status of Turkish migrants in the Swedish society in compliance with the basic principles of the Swedish immigrant policy.

Despite that the goals found in the statutes assign the role of representative or spokesman to the associations, most of the executives of the associations informed us that in practice they do not play such roles, and that the associations assume rather socio-cultural functions. In this respect, the national federation may be referred as an exception, as the chairpersons and executives

we interviewed had the common opinion that the TR sought to act as a representative or a pressure group particularly in issues concerning education and the mother tongue. On the other hand, the opinion that the local associations do not have a serious role in such matters was widely common. For example, according to a participant active in a fan club, the local Turkish associations do not assume a particular or direct role in the process of integration; however, they are still important since they fulfill "psychological" and "social" needs of their members even at the expense of their isolation from the Swedish society. Some other chairpersons, on the other hand, stated that the associations had no purpose; they did not organize any activities in the recent years, and further that they kept standing just to preserve their associational existence. To give an example, our question "what is the goal of your association" is responded by a participant with the words "the association does not have any goals right now; it only has a symbolic goal". Another participant commented on the same issue as such: "the association doesn't have any goals, any aims, the aim is to keep the association open, so some people come here and see each other. We have no other expectation". Such considerations are meaningful since they shed light on the recent state of the process of decline or downfall that the Turkish associations are experiencing since the 1990s. On the other hand, the majority of the participants pointed out that, despite the problems the associations are facing, the association clubhouses, which function as "coffee-houses", play a considerably important role since they enable members to gather together and socialize in a familiar cultural environment. Some respondents emphasized that this type of socialization has a "therapeutic" effect on the members. For example, a respondent active in the national federation's executive board, denoted the positive effects of the associations on the members with these words: "today associations function to eighty percent through therapy, while associational activities amount only to ten percent". Another association's chairman said, likewise, that the association's clubhouse, where the members come together after work, is a "health center" that is useful in solving the problems encountered in work and family life:

"In our association this is what we do: we do not close down our association, whatever the expense is. I mean, even if we don't get any help from anywhere, we use the money we collect from our own members to pay the rent so that we don't close our association. Because our people need the association. ... Association means for us in Sweden a Health Center. I mean medicine. The association works like this: our association treats all our friends who are either well or not well. Our friend who has a problem comes to the association and pours his heart out. Say you have a problem, you want illumination on a subject, you come to the association, you talk to a few people. If there are people who know about the subject, you ask them, or you say, for example, I have a military issue or I have a bureaucratic problem there. ... Somebody helps you. There are many friends of ours who went through the same stuff. At least they lead you the way. For example, say there are friends who have problems with

their families, who are going through a separation, who have problems with their kids. This friend comes to the association, and pours his heart out. For example, he comes to me, and says, brother so and so, we have a problem with someone, then I let him in, I help him. ... This is the thing about our association, the association, this is why I called it health center; it treats our people."

Photo 2: The club-house of a Turkish cultural association



Some other interviewees were not that much optimistic about the influence of the Turkish associations on their members. These respondents, who were highly disturbed by the way in which the associations currently function, claimed that the Turkish cultural associations led to the separation of the Turkish people from the rest of the Swedish society. The literature on migrant associations suggests that role of the associations in the integration process depends on, to a large extent, their basic orientations as well as the activities they offer to their members. Accordingly, while ethnic associations aiming to preserve tradition and culture are supposed to lead rather to the segregation of minority groups, those associations, which facilitate their members to interact with members of the host society, will produce rather integrative social consequences (Schoeneberg, 1985, 419). During our interviews, we observed that our participants also had a similar line of reasoning regarding the effects of the cultural associations on Turkish people. In this respect, while almost all respondents were disturbed to a certain extent by the functioning of the associations as the coffee-houses, some were evidently taking a more critical stance against this situation. For example, a participant, who was a chairperson in a family association, put forward the argument that the cultural associations did not aim to encourage Turkish people

to communicate with Swedish people, quite the opposite, they led to the isolation of the Turkish people from the Swedish society:

"There are things and aspects in which the [Turkish associations] are successful, but there are also things in which they are unsuccessful, for example, considering their gathering people together just to waste their energies. I don't know if the positive sides are greater than the negative sides though. Now, what are the positive sides? They have prevented our people from feeling lonely... I mean, the possibility to come together and have a chat. Or else, I mean, they helped those of our people who had language problems. ... Things like these. Of course these are all positive things. But, apart from this, like I tried to explain before, you establish club houses, you collect people there. You know, we say that their actual goal is to make us mix with Swedish people, but we do the contrary. What do we do: we take our people, put them into the clubhouse, in the clubhouse our friends are playing cards and rummikub, right, or they sit down talking about cars or other stuff. In this way they don't even meet the people outside, their Swedish neighbors. ... In fact [the associations] are places that have more negative sides than positive sides. I mean when you think about it this way, [they] really harm our community greatly."

Either positive or negative, it is for sure that the effect of Turkish cultural associations on their members is provided by the socialization and communication that take place in the local setting (i.e. clubhouse), rather than through activities organized by the association's administration. Besides, in the recent years, many associations have come close to a point of losing their capacity to arrange any activities, in respect of both human capital needed for organization and financial resources. Most of the chairpersons we interviewed considered the 1970s and the 1980s as the "golden age" of the associations in terms of activities. They emphasized that the associations were more active in those years in both political and cultural respects. While the period between the 1990s and the 2000s was being considered as a period of decline in terms of activities, the 2000s, for many of the socio-cultural associations, refers to a stage where they cannot even organize an activity – except for their clubhouses which are being run as the coffee-houses.

Several factors can be mentioned regarding the importance of the period between the mid-1970s and the beginning of the 1990s for Turkish associations. Firstly, as mentioned above, the state had actively supported migrant associations during this period and establishment of the Turkish associations was accelerated since the mid 1970s as a result of the financial support granted to migrant associations. On the other side, the increase in the number of associations in those years was also corresponding to a practical need as well as state subsidy. Particularly the 1970s was a period when migration from Turkey continued intensively through family reunification, and when the independent migrant community among Kulu people in Stockholm was in the stage of

development yet. The associations had been assigned the function of preserving migrants' cultures in accordance with the goal of "freedom of choice". In practice this was combined with the need of first generation migrants, who had just arrived in Sweden and were lacking language and other skills, to get socialized in a familiar cultural atmosphere. These factors together had given to the associational life of that period a spirit and dynamism, which would disappear to a large extent in the later periods. Activities such as holiday celebrations, folkloric events, film screenings and song festivals had enabled associations to play a relatively active role in the cultural lives of the Turkish migrants. In the same years, drama and painting classes for children and sports events for the youth such as football and wrestling tournaments had broadened the member profile of the associations partially, which was normally limited to adult men. Even if we do not know how often these activities were organized and how widespread they were, at least we can assume that they had carried the associations a few steps further from being mere coffee-houses. In our interviews, the participants indicated a couple of factors responsible for the disappearance of this spirit and dynamism in the later periods. One of these factors is the cutbacks in the financial support granted to the associations, in connection with the general ideological shift in the 1990s. Another reason is that the second generation Turkish youth has more opportunities to come in touch with the Swedish society as compared to the first generation, and hence, do not need the Turkish cultural associations as a means for socialization. According to the participants, another factor that plays a certain role in the decline in the involvement in associational life is that Turkish television became accessible in the 1990s thanks to the developments in media technologies. Regarding our participants views, we can assume that the ties established with the motherland through Turkish television channels have diminished the need for face to face interactions within the associational setting to a certain extent. A chairman of an association says the following:

"Now the Swedish government says, the first generation that came here, needed cultural activities, but now such things are over, people can protect their own culture by their own means. They approach the matter like this. ... (The government says now), if you want to preserve your culture, do it with your own means, it is not like in the past. In the past ... there was no television, so such events were a real necessity. And the Swedish government was supportive of them then, they said there is a new generation, they can't speak Swedish, they have to preserve their culture, they have to watch their own television, they have to read their own newspapers. It [the government] was helping such places, so these people gather in these places ... so that they do not harm Sweden, they thought. Now like I said, for example the youth can go out ... there are a lot of young people. Their friends are Greek, Swedish, Arab and Yugoslavian; I mean they don't have any problems. They go out to cafeterias, to parks etc. to satisfy their needs. But people older than thirty-five or forty-five still need these places."

Nearly all of the participants of the associations are adult men. Put aside the adult men who gather up in the clubhouses after work, there are almost no activities in the associations for the participation of children, young people and particularly women. In our interviews we asked the chairpersons to count the five most recent events organized by their associations. The answers we obtained suggest that the most common events organized by the associations are summertime picnics, celebrations of the national and religious holidays of the motherland, information dissemination meetings about work and retirement, and visits by politicians during election periods. Relatively more active associations also occasionally organize computer courses and supplementary classes for children to help them out with school. Young people come together at the clubhouses, usually on the weekends, to watch football games. However, it is clear that the category which has the weakest connection with the associations is women. Studies about migrant associations indicate that women are excluded from the power structures of the traditional migrant associations (see, for example, Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). We can say that this is a correct but incomplete argument for the Turkish cultural associations in Stockholm, given that in the Turkish cultural associations the absence of women is valid not only for the power structures but also for the entire environment of the association as such. Concerning women, there are either no activities, or limited to a few examples such as women days and Turkish cuisine presentations, which are organized by the association executives from time to time and which reinforce their traditional roles. It is also possible to find female participation in summertime family picnics as well as in the celebrations of national and religious holidays of the motherland. However, apart from these activities, the associations function all together as gathering places for adult, or sometimes for younger, male members. And for the migrants from Kulu, such a gathering is close to participation of women by its very nature. Therefore, it is not just an outcome of the recent years but a characteristic that the Turkish cultural associations have acquired since their very foundation. In the past there had been attempts to turn the association clubhouses into places where women also could participate, but these had failed due to the patriarchal character of the Turkish migrant community. And that the association clubhouses gained a coffee-house character had meant nothing but the inscription of women's absence. During our interviews, we observed that the executive members of the associations have somehow accepted the absence of the women, even though they told that they are disturbed by the present situation where the men is almost only category to participate. For example, a chairman commented on this issue as such:

"We didn't really give women such a chance. More correctly, our women didn't want to be in such a place either. ... Women, I don't know if it has to do with education or culture ... , are usually introverts, they don't want to be in places like this, especially the women here. ... Maybe, if women had been given more opportunities in the past, if they had been considered more, they may have been more active too; however, I think, it is men who are to blame about this."

Another chairperson indicated that it is a handicap of the Turkish migrant community not to include women in associational works:

"In our society it is a handicap, it unfortunately is. We don't want to include our women within associational works. The ones that come, since they feel lonely due to one reason or the other, come to one or two activities only, and then they don't come anymore either. This is something about our society. It is still the same today, there is still little that has changed. Surely, our women's organizations have started coming into the scene. We didn't have women's organizations before. We and the youth organizations were all together. Due to Swedish state policies, the associations have to establish their women's and youth organizations and even children's organizations. ... It wasn't like that before. I mean an association could organize activities not only for children and youth but also for women. But, like you said, to what extent the youth, women and children could participate in our associations is another problem. We couldn't include our women in these activities, it is the same today. Our women enter the scene only when they organize an activity on their own."

The lack of activities for women and youth also refers to the financial crisis that the associations are facing. The associations need to organize projects and activities directed at women and the youth in order to receive subsidy from the state. Participants tell us that the state expects the associations to organize such activities as Swedish language courses and courses on job seeking techniques, which would help women enter the labour market. Activities recommended for the youth, on the other hand, are anti-drug use seminars, computer using, supplementary courses for school work, etc. Nevertheless, as we mentioned above, most of the associations lack the organizational capacity necessary to organize such activities, and therefore, they try to cover for their expenses through inter-associational means. Expenses such as clubhouse rent and others are covered by the member-fees collected from a small number of active members, by the rent collected from the coffee-house keeper and sometimes by the aids received from the national federation that has a larger budget. On the other hand, it is obvious that growing financial problems in the recent years are forcing the associations to make a choice. Apparently, the associations will either, maintaining their current situation, function as coffee-houses henceforth too, which serve exclusively the first generation Turkish male migrants, in which case the expenses will be covered as a whole through inter-associational means, or somehow change their current characters so as to be able to benefit from state subsidy. One chairman listed the options in this respect as follows:

"The institutions in Sweden tell us, we may help you and pay the rent for your clubhouse only when you use this place as a youth association. They say, the number of the youth need not be hundred or two hundred, it is enough for us when eight or nine young people show up at the clubhouse everyday. If our members accept it this way, this clubhouse will only be for the youth, then the older members will not be able to use it. If the older members say we will pay for the expenses of the clubhouse ourselves, for example we charge three hundred crowns as membership fees, if we charge one thousand instead, if they accept that, then we can use this association as it is, by financing it on our own without getting any help from the state. It will be decided in the congress, by the members."

Another association's chairman made the following assessment regarding the financial problems that the associations are facing:

"I assume, gradually things will be done in the way Germans do, everyone will take care of his own association, everyone will pay the rent for his association on his own."

Turkish associations and the issue of representation

Most of the chairpersons whom we interviewed with stated that the migrant associations are an important tool to increase the bargaining power of migrants in their relation with Swedish state and the other institutions, but further that, as the representatives of the Turkish migrant community, they could not make use of this tool very effectively. For them, one of the main reasons for this is the lack of extensive support from the grassroots. According to the assessment of our respondents, Turkish associations have failed to mobilize grassroots, and in the absence of a powerful grassroots support, the attempt of the executives alone could not prove to be enough to turn Turkish associations into powerful bargaining tools. Actually, the disconnection between the grassroots and the top is a significant problem present not only in the Turkish associations but also in the majority of the migrant associations in Sweden. As we mentioned earlier, migrant associations in Sweden are organizations founded not from below through migrants' own initiatives, but from above largely with the government support. An immediate outcome of this mode of organization has been the emergence of a gap between the ethnic leaders and the grassroots. And even this gap alone points out that the associations have only a limited organizational capacity, right from the beginning, when it comes to mobilize their grassroots. During our interviews, the executive board members have pointed out that they were unsuccessful in their attempts to overcome this distance and to include grassroots in associational works. Some participants argued that this and similar problems present in the Turkish associations resulted from the weakness of democratic traditions in Turkey such as organizing and seeking right as well as the common rural origin and low educational profile of the Kulu migrants as a factor that reinforces this weakness. In any case, however, the lack of strong

support from grassroots was referred by the majority of the participants as one of the most important characteristics of the Turkish associations. As told by one participant who actively works in the Turkish Federation and in a local association, *"(in Turkish associations) we could in no way activate the grassroots, this is our whole problem; grassroots has not become active"*.

The thing which is referred as the most disturbing by the respondents in this respect was the management of the associations as coffee-house. According to them, associations' functioning as cultural clubs centered on coffee-house means nothing but a missed opportunity on the part of Turkish migrants. With the words of a chairman:

"In the past such associations were a necessity, but we used the association as coffee house rather than as an association. If we had used the association really as an association, if we had done something when Sweden was still Sweden, the (Turkish) community here would have been better educated and more enlightened now. But like you see, our people still play cards and rummikub. That is also a necessity but Sweden doesn't pay us for that. ... Like I said, we could have trained our members better; we could look after the young better. ... I think we could not use (the associations) well enough."

Another participant who works as a directorate member in a religious association made a similar comment on the issue:

"There are still ... some problems (that we have hardship) in solving; there are some problems that a civil society organization needs to solve. We are so weak here, here we are very weak. We couldn't become such a power. ... If we could, then maybe, we as a community would be better off in respect to education and success ..."

The participants emphasized that due to the existing problems, the associations thus far could carry out the task of representation only formally, and that they could not be very effective in areas such as *immigrant policy*, where they are supposed to be so. Some chairpersons indicated that the state had also certain responsibility for this situation to have arisen. According to this, the inability to make use of the migrant associations as effective tools of participation and representation is not only due to a lack of strong grassroots dynamism. It is also because the state, as apparently opposed to the promises of its own immigrant policy, ignored the associations in the decision making processes. Moreover, according to this view, the question of representation prevails in all migrant associations to some degree including those of Turks. A participant, who came to Sweden as a political refugee and is more experienced in politics in comparison to the average Turkish migrant, commented on the issue as follows:

"Because the problem is a political one in essence, I think there is nothing migrant organizations can do except for giving voice to their problems. And I don't think that these are seriously debated and considered within society and decision making mechanisms as well as within political processes. ... Neither associations nor the federation could really have an influence on immigrant policy. They didn't listen to them, for example, they put limits to education in mother tongue, in spite of migrant associations' arguments. Say, for example, there was financial aid for the associations by the state in the past, they continuously cut it down, now there is almost none. ... Our associations and the federation are performing their representation duties formally, but that's all. I really don't think they are influential or that they are being taken into account."

Despite the existence of such critical and negative comments, there were also directory board members and chairpersons who preserved their optimism about the roles that migrant associations could assume in Sweden. These persons indicated that the associations can still turn into a powerful bargaining tool once the active participation of members is achieved. Let us finish this section with one of these optimistic views. A respondent, who is in the directory board of the national federation, has answered our question "are the associations capable of solving the problems of migrants" as follows:

"Of course they are. (For example housing, education, discrimination in the workplace and so on) They can help with many issues. For example we say that we have 750 members in our association. If we took the 750 signatures and went out as the Bredeng association, we could see whoever we want to see and we could talk about whatever problem we want to talk about. Say, for example, we could go and bargain with an electricity firm. When I say to them, I have 750 members and if you sell us electricity for this price these 750 will make contracts with your firm and buy your electricity, then, our members will definitely make profit from that. This can also be done with a telephone firm, with a water firm, with a petrol station. ... Sweden is very advanced in this area, I mean in associations. Only if we want it, like I said, if the Bredeng association with 750 members becomes an active association we will make an appointment with the Swedish prime minister tomorrow, in only one day."

C. Turkish Migrant Women Living in Sweden

Like Erder argues in her study, in the years when migration started from Turkey to Sweden, the term "worker" referred to either "sexless" persons or to "formal" workers, which implied that these were "male" workers (Erder, 2006: 301). Women, who were the wives of the workers, were considered to be 'dependent' or 'passive' population, as they were not expected to participate in the labour market in the host country (Erder, 2006: 302). However, according to the Swedish law, women, who immigrated to the country by way of family reunification were also legal people holding individual rights to work and housing. As a matter of fact, some studies suggest that migrant women took up inferior jobs to be able to participate easily in the labour market and, by the end of the 1960s, migrant women were not ranked as much as Swedish women in the high

income jobs but they were on the top of the list when labour market participation is considered (Knocke, 2000). On the other hand, neither the fact that migrant women were economically engaged and participated in the labour market to a large extent, nor they had equal rights with migrant men, prevented them from being represented as a "problem" (Knocke, 2000; Erder, 2006). This approach, which Ålund defines as "problem ideologies", displayed most of migrant women as helpless, less educated, suffering due to their traditional roles and victims who experience violence from their husbands, instead of understanding the mechanisms by which women were disempowered and socially, as well as structurally, placed in a secondary position (Ålund, 1989). The situation worsened by following an increase in the unemployment rates in Sweden by the end of the 1970's, as migrant women were among the first groups to be laid off and begun to experience unemployment intensively. In this respect, many scholars indicate that the Swedish social welfare system led to the marginalisation of migrant women, pushed them down the hierarchy of the labour market and raised their invisibility in the society (Knocke and Ng, 1999; Erder, 2006; Wadensjö, 1975). As a result, migrant women are exposed to a "triple exploitation"; they are being exploited not only due to their "migrant" situation, but also due to their "class" positions and being "migrant women" (Erder, 2006: 305).

After giving some brief information about the situation of immigrant women in Sweden, we can now focus on Turkish women coming from Kulu region. In her study, Akpınar first of all states that working outside the home was a different experience for women coming from Kulu (2003: 206). Studying the labour market participation regarding the first and the second generation migrants, she indicates that the image of "traditional, male-dependent women" has gradually changed. First generation migrant men did not mind their wives working outside home, even though they were not used to it. Sachs explains this phenomenon with the argument that men from Kulu perceived working life in the public area and private life at home as two different spheres regarding their own rules (1983:128). On the other hand, starting to work after arriving to Sweden has led to the strengthening of Kulu women's belief in gender equality (Akpınar, 1988). Consequently, traditional gender relations peculiar to the life in Kulu, has changed after women's participation into labour market in Sweden; and men started to play a more visible role in the division of labour in the household. However, even though the shift to the nuclear family model with both parents working outside the house, gave rise to a change in the gender related division of labour in the household, Erder points out that this situation was being perceived as a temporary "extraordinary situation" by most of the Kulu men (Erder, 316). She indicates further that in spite of this "extraordinary situation",

men regained dominance and excluded women from decision making processes when they were dealing with work related issues and/or taking family decisions. During the interviews we conducted, we observed that women experienced a similar exclusion while trying to organize themselves within associations. The next section will go further into this issue.

Gender Relations and Associations

When we look at the organizational processes of the Turkish women, we notice that the gender relations within the Turkish community leave women outside the decision making mechanisms. To put it another way, men hinder women from having a say in such fields as associations, where activities take place concerning the Turkish community. A woman, who wants to come together with her friends, describes the difficulties they face when they want to use the Turkish cultural associations for this purpose as follows:

"Normally we would meet at someone's home, and then we said to ourselves, Turkish women need to have a place, then we tried with the associations but they didn't accept us. We found a clubhouse; they said, what will women do in social clubs? This is the way our Turkish men think they always think from bad. We could have turn that place into a family association, families would come, it would be open to everybody, and youngsters would be helping each other there... On the other hand, I am good with paperwork, I know about bureaucratic work. I could have helped people with that kind of work in that association. It could be a recipe or there could be something else one wants to teach another. For example, I could give them computer or math lessons. We as women couldn't use the associations, when I say we couldn't, I mean they didn't let us."

The distancing of women from associational activities is not only bound to the existing Turkish cultural associations, but men who do not let their wives go to the women associations contribute to this estrangement as well. For instance, the president of a local women association, which was founded in 1994, tells us her own experiences:

"This association was founded in 1994. It had 30 members when it was established. It was easy for us to reach women, we had talked to women in our neighbourhood, in our district. The women we had reached were women with losses anyway; most of them were divorced women. They came to us in larger numbers. But because of this we had faced big reactions; the husbands of the married ones didn't send [their wives]. They thought that we would influence them in a bad way, that we would open their eyes and corrupt them. However this had lasted three years, then they finally understood our goals."

In our interviews with three of the longest serving presidents of the Turkish Workers' Association Federation, we asked them why women would participate less both in the national federation as well as in the local Turkish cultural

associations. One of them suggested that it were women who did not want to take part:

"The former associations didn't make it any difficult for women who wanted to enter the federation. In fact, decisions were taken in the congresses of the federation so many times to enter women in the executive boards of the member associations... I mean women didn't come. This is about the level of education, because many of the migrants come from rural areas there was no organized action among men, and there was none among women."

Another former president pointed patriarchal structure as the main problem of women's low participation:

"These associations are associations founded by men and for men, when this is the structure it can't be otherwise. We opened up that place [as men], those are all empty talk whether women came or didn't come.. It is clear; we are not from the moon. In this respect, we cannot be differentiated from Turkey. This is the first fact, the patriarchal structure continued in the associations as well. Let me also say another thing, this is not the same for other ethnic groups, for example concerning the Chileans. On the other hand, the thing we call the women's federation is not something that happened on its own, from below, with its own dynamics. It was the state that wanted it to happen."

It must be noted that in the years when the Equal Opportunities Act, which was passed in 1980, had began to occupy the national agenda in Sweden more intensively, it encouraged the establishment of women's committees in the migrants' federations (Knocke and Ng, 1999). Support from the Swedish state firstly to women's committees within the organizational body of national federation, and secondly for the foundation of a separate women's federation, has undoubtedly been effective for the organisation of women. However, it is also hard to argue that women's demands were being looked out by the male dominated executive boards of the national federation or by the local Turkish cultural associations, if there had not been an encouragement by the state. Then, so far, the decisions taken by the male administration in the name of women have not been far reaching and were rather limited to some superficial activities. For instance, a former president of the national federation answered the question about what they were doing for women in the federation as follows:

"For example we have organised several activities related to language; this is an issue important to both men and women. You tell me for example a women's issue, ask me if we have brought up a women related problem. (Did you deal with the issue of violence against women?) Yes we did, it had become a project. We organised several meetings and prepared posters. You take some of those posters, those are sample posters. (Have you done anything related to women's shelters?) Hmm, when it comes to that issue, you say to the state give us money, we will built shelters, but then there was no money. But we still manage to deal with that issue within our own mechanisms. (How do you deal with it?) We take it in to our hands. (What do you do?) We intervene. I experienced it

once, we just go to the man and tell him: you can't do this brother, this would have consequences for you, don't continue to behave like that! We try to achieve a consensus."

It is obvious that the men in the federation's administration do not make enough effort to promote the participation of women in the associations, even though they admit that the existence of a patriarchal structure within organizational activities place women in a secondary position. These examples indicate, therefore, that alongside a changing gender perspective towards gender equality, there is a structure which resists changing. For instance, one woman from the Tensta region, tells us that there exist counter-mechanisms of gossip and exclusion that prevent women from taking effect:

"Women have more rights in Sweden, but women are being put silent and often, people do not come out and tell you, explain to you or complain that their husbands are treating them that way. I think this is because of the environment, people are silent because they are too concerned about gossip and about what the others might say."

Taking all of them into account, it is possible to say that the incentive policies of Sweden had positive effects on Turkish women's organizational processes both for women associations and women federations. However this effect cannot be generalized to whole organizing process of women, because establishment of some of the women associations were based on women's needs and their congregation by their own initiative. In this respect, we can assert that there are three main types of women associations. "Turkish Women Association of Sweden" can be considered as the first type of this kind of associations. This association was established by women who were urban and educated and used to participate in politics in Turkey, unlike the women who came to Sweden by the means of family reunification. Women organized in this association wanted to maintain the political activities, as they used to perform in Turkey, together with the Turkish women living in Sweden; hence they tried to organize women from Kulu. However we learn from Latife Fegan, who was in the association throughout the 10 years of time, that these efforts resulted in failure:

"In short, our efforts to formulize the demands of them [women from Kulu] on behalf of them failed. We abandoned our [dining] culture nights. Number of our members rapidly decreased. 12 September coup had already happened. We were the first and single association which explicitly took a stand against 12 September and husbands of our members banned women to come to the association" (Yeni Birlik Magazine, 1988: 9).

As a result of abandoning of that aim, concerns of members shifted to other areas, the association lost its active structure in years and ceased its function. According to another respondent who used to be in the same association and

continued her activities in other mixed associations, women from Kulu had prejudices towards politicized women in that period:

"In here, all of the women coming from Kulu have prejudices towards politicized women. According to them those women are dangerous women. Independence of women results in danger and conflict in family; therefore they keep their children away from our children. Actually all of these women are working and they recognized many issues. In here, women learned much faster than men did. They can accommodate themselves to society much easier and they pass tangent to men".

The second type of local women organizations is the multicultural local associations established as from 1990s by Kulu women. The common elements of these associations were that they were established by women, who were dismissed, divorced or were exposed to discrimination in society, in order to provide solutions to the problems they experienced. Moreover, although Turkish women organized these associations, women from different nations started to work together and followed a multiculturalist policy. The Chairwoman of one of these local associations, tells how they come together as follows:

"A teacher had come from Turkey and he had just given lectures on religious culture in Alby. Afterwards we said that "Why don't we have social activities in there as well. Federation of Workers' Association was established in 1960s and there were not any women in them. Men ruled them. There were only Turkish women in the association when it was established, there were approximately 20 Turkish women, and many of us were unemployed. Then most of us found job by the means of the association. Now we have 400 members however not all of new-comers join to it".

Most of the multicultural women associations perform activities basically in two areas. One of them is the activities like fancywork, knitting, trips (visit to home country) and dining parties which can be entitled as "cultural activities". Second group of activities can be gathered under the title of "integration-based works and counselling services"; in that sense we can mention about language, computer, vocational education and informative courses in particular topics which are given in the associations to improve the integration of immigrant women to Swedish society. Besides, counselling services are provided for women to overcome the problems of their private and business lives. Respondents noted especially that; the main reasons of such counselling activities of women association were derived from the facts of unemployment, loneliness, lack of social environment which lead women to go into depression. In one of our interviews, a Kulu woman, who lives in the region of Tensta, told the effect of unemployment on Turkish women as follows:

"Unemployment affected second generation much worse. I used to work 8 hours but working duration was decreased to 4 hours. Now I work overtime but

it is not officially reported. I am affiliated to the union however the union, in contrast to past, does not help us that much. The reason why we are affiliated to the union is to be able to benefit from our unemployed compensation. In fact I did not receive any major assistance from the union. They push people into stress and wore them out, I think so, I don't know. Our [Turkish] women should not stay at home and go into depression. Our women are sick; since they are sick they are at home. It is not good as well; many of them suffer psychological diseases because of their problems. Since it is so, they can't work."

Another respondent thinks that women go into depression more than men since men have their own businesses such as pizzeria and restaurants, and hence they are less affected from unemployment. According to our respondents, women work in those restaurants and are severely underpaid so that their dependency to men maintains.

On the other hand, it was also argued that problems of Turkish women are not only related with unemployment but also they are sourced from low education, social environment and discrimination; by which Swedish State does not work enough on these issues:

"There is no support to women, for instance women do not have a social environment, they don't have anybody, and they don't have someone from their family. It is difficult to integrate in Swedish society, their culture is different from ours, languages and religions are different. There are so many women who have health problems, especially psychologically. Even if they find a job, it is not the job that they want; so their psychological health is affected negatively. Women do not have adequate education; it was not enough to establish such a women association to deal with these issues. I mean Swedish State should have handled these issues and have started a bigger project"

The third type of local women associations established by women's self initiative are the ones established in 2000s to assemble women around a special and specific aim. "Turkish Women association of Jordbro" is one of them established by second-generation women in 2000s. The aim of the association is to assist second and third generation women to be more successful in education and business life, in other words to assist them to be integrated better into Swedish society. Besides it is also significant, because it is the only women association established by second-generation women. The fourth and last type of local women organization that we will mention about is the local associations established in order to affiliate to women federation after its establishment. Since they were established at the end of 2007, we were told that the activities of these associations were limited yet due to being a quite new association when we made the interviews. These associations defined their aim as "performing activities that will assist to establish equality for women in all areas of life" which is similar to women's federations.

So far, we tried to explain how local women associations and women federation were established by also focusing their aims, activities and differences from each other regarding the gender relations as well. Before accomplishing this part of women's organizations, we will also look closer to participation of women to associations to have a comprehension of their future.

Participation of Turkish Women and the Future of Turkish Associations

Although women federation was established more recently, in 2007, we mentioned that there are also local women associations which have been performing activities for women since the early 1990s. Those associations which had 20 members in the beginning, achieved to have approximately 400 members recently. So, one may ask that to what extent Turkish women participate in these women associations which have members of hundreds? How the chairwomen of the local associations see the future of these organizations? Answering such questions does not only give us an idea about organizational progress of Turkish women but meanwhile it, also, enables us to shed a light on the actual problems of these associations.

Many of the interviews that we made, point out the fact that there is a serious trouble in participation of Turkish women both to local associations and national federations. Our respondents commented differently on this issue; some of them said that the source of the problem was their [Turkish] culture; for instance, according to evaluation of President of "Alby Women Center", the main reason of low participation of Turkish women in associations was due to cultural habits:

"Do you know that our Turkish women are very passive, I need at least 15 to 20 women to maintain this place; there are some women but very few. Our women are all time at their home, they deal with their housework. They spare most of their leisure time at their home and family. They do not participate in an education seminar and benefit from it. Our purpose is not to keep them in here for hours. [By showing other women] Look! All of them are foreigners; they are always in here in their leisure time. Our Turkish women should also come. We are very connected to home and children. If a Turkish woman wants, she can do anything she wants."

President of a multicultural women association in Tensta, where many immigrants live, agrees with the idea that women's participation in associations is very few, however she notes that if the relevant activity is "friend's meeting or entertainment" women's participation becomes the opposite:

"Entertainment arouses most interest. Sometimes I feel very lonely. We have meetings at evenings; some of friends use their husbands and children as an excuse, so I have to participate in them alone. I say it is o.k. and I go myself. However, after that, they slip from their mouth that "I was at sightseeing"... On

the other hand, compared to Turkish women, participation of Swedish is very high."

Women's interest in entertainment activities which was stressed by many chairwomen of the associations and presidents of the federations is commented by our respondent as the result of a lack of social environment. The newly established local associations together with women federation try to overcome the problem of women's low participation in association activities by organizing the meeting and the entertainment facilities together at the same event. For example, some respondents gave the idea that first making the education seminar and then putting a dining entertainment on the program, solves the low participation problem to some extent.

Another major problem of the local women associations is the financial deadlock that associations experience year by year and the necessity to look for new ways for their existence. President of "Multicultural Women association of Tensta" articulated that despite the increasing number of the members, their financial problems increased since 1977, due to the decreasing financial aid given by the municipality:

"In the beginning there were 20-25 members. We started with the English and sewing courses. Now there are 325 members, number of the members has constantly increased. When it was established, the state was giving [financial] support, however state changed its policy as from 2002 by saying that associations would make their own economy by writing projects. They made it very difficult, right now, they do not make any financial help except projects. Projects last for a year. Now a Swedish volunteer helps us to write projects. It is not difficult to get the money but they ask every penny of it after it is accomplished."

Cutting down the complimentary aids given by the municipalities did not only push women associations into hardship, but also the rest of the migrant associations. Therefore many women associations are not sure about how long they can maintain their existence in the long term. A similar complaint is voiced by the chairwoman of "Women association of Alby" as such: "We cannot find any financial aid and we cannot afford rent of the clubhouse. Maybe tomorrow we will need to shut the door and leave this place".

Let's have a look at this financial picture from the aspect of women federations. One of the two women federation established at the end of 2007 received 200.000 SEK and the other one received 300.000 SEK in 2008 (Akturk-Drake). Since women federations have been organized at the national level, they do not have any restrictions in receiving financial aids, however, they seem to have different problems. In comparison to multicultural women associations,

these women federations are concentrated either on Turkish women or women who can speak Turkish, which means a single ethnic identity. This situation let the Turkish Women Federations to limit their activities with "ethnic issues" rather than seeing the common problems that they share with other women living in Sweden. Another difference of women federations from multicultural women associations is the composition of executive boards in which there are more educated women. The members of executive boards of women federation do not represent the first generation Kulu women.

Besides those, the last phenomenon that we will mention is again related with gender relations. We noticed in our interviews that many of the executive board members of women federation were sensitive to gender equality like it was for the chairwomen in the local associations. However according to a member of executive board in the federation, although there is a consensus on gender equality, it isn't always performed as such in practice:

"I say yes to feminism, I am a feminist in a sense as well. However, as women, we should supervise ourselves first. If a man reaches to a level it is related with women giving them way. For example, on the other day we were sitting in the Turkish Women Federation, when a man walked in, and at this exact moment the atmosphere changed. Some women invited him to chair the session. Why is that? Why a man is asked to lead the women federation meeting? This is a gender-related situation. A lady ought to be beautiful, smart, slim, sweet and experienced but a man ought to be educated, and that is the only necessary qualification. Men help each other but women never do. You may criticize this very well but I don't know if it provides a solution."

From the interviews so far, we can suggest that in comparison to women federations, gender sensitivity is better internalized in the local women associations due their close contact with women and organizational experiences about women's lives since the beginning of 90s. Another point worth to mention is that, although 50 years would have passed since the first migration from Turkey to Sweden in a few years, the federations are still mostly run by the first generation Turkish migrants. That is to say, at majority, younger people in the second and third generations, who were born and grew up in Sweden, are indifferent to national federations; instead they participate in Turkish Youth Federation which defines itself not in "ethnic" terms but as a youth federation of Sweden. Hence, this situation raises questions marks in our minds concerning the future of national federation and women federations.

D. Turkish Youth in Sweden and Their Organizational Progress

According to the 2000 statistics, 60.026 Turkish migrants live in Sweden aged between 0 to 25 who were born in Turkey and came to Sweden and/or were born

in Sweden (Westin, 2003). Although international migration to Sweden has been under focus since the 1970s, studies on the second and third generation immigrants have started more recently. Berg (1993), in his study on second generation Turkish migrants, assumes that the "youth" conception of immigrants coming from the region of Kulu is different from the Swedes' due to three reasons; low degree of individualization among Turks, the maintenance of post-figurative position of Turkish culture that is depending on age and sex and finally high degree of social control among Turks. Therefore according to Berg, second generation Turks, being exposed to a condition that he calls "double normality", have been trying to carry out together both the Turkish culture that they live in at their homes and Swedish culture in which they grow. By his detailed and a good reference study called "Under One Roof", Narrowe notes that in comparison to Swedish culture, the discourse of "we" instead of "me" is stronger among Turks and he explains in details how the decision-making mechanisms and gender relations work in this respect (1998). Westin (2003), in his study, touches on the problems that young immigrants and especially Turks experience in Sweden. Similarly to Narrowe, he stresses that gender relations may create problematic situations especially for young girls. Besides from that, he classifies problems of Turkish youth under three groups; inadequate command of Turkish and Swedish, low degree of university education and their employment in particular sectors of the labour market. Stating that education has a very significant role in obtaining a good position in the labour market, some writers note that education of immigrant children has a key function in terms of their integration to society (Westin, 2003; Ålund, 2004). Besides Ålund, in her study on second generation immigrants, emphasizes that children of those came to Sweden by labour immigration have much higher unemployment rate than their Swedish peers. Another issue that Ålund points out is that discrimination against immigrants is fed from different sources such as social welfare policies and media, and youngsters are pushed in sub-cultures in the places where they cannot be integrated to the society (Ålund, 2004).

If we look at the associations formed by Turkish youngsters, it can be asserted that the youth committee emerged in 1983 as a result of state incentive is similar to formation of women's committee in national Turkish federation. Organizing of youth committee as a separate federation –Turkiska Ungdomsförbundet (TUF)– occurred in 1996. TUF has 33 member associations in Sweden; 16 in Stockholm, 8 in Gothenburg and 3 in Malmo. The main characteristic of TUF that distinguishes it from other Turkish associations and federations stem from its self-definition not as an "ethnic federation" but as a "youth federation" of Turkish youngsters in Sweden. Therefore the executive board attaches importance to use sources of Sweden as much as possible in

order to make joint activities with other Swedish organizations which they consider as successful. According to Selcuk Unlu who was the president of federation in 2008:

"Aims of ethnic groups are more different, they mostly try to solve the problems of the country they came from. They do not look at Sweden and it results in a problematic situation".

The fact that TUF's facilities are considered as successful by the state can be understood also from the high amount of financial support, in comparison to other Turkish federations. While national Turkish federation (TRF) received 566.000 SEK of aid, TUF received about 638.000 SEK in 2008 (Aktürk-Drake). It is possible to classify activities of the federation under four main titles; *sport activities* such as organization of ski and football tournaments, publication of half Turkish-half Swedish *Euro-Turk Magazine*, organization of national days of Turkey such as 23rd April and 19th May as *cultural activities* and *educational activities* such as seminars. As board members of TUF expressed, since youngsters do not have a good command of Turkish, Swedish is used as the language of communication at most of the TUF's facilities, although executive board want to perform every activity in Turkish and Swedish together. However as it is understood from the name of the Euro-Turk Magazine and its publication which is half Turkish-half Swedish, TUF, on the one hand promotes usage of Turkish by youngsters and on the other tries to strengthen their connection with Sweden. In that sense it distinguishes from national federation that makes publications heavily in Turkish.

We understand from the interviews that participation in the activities organized by TUF is quite high. President of TUF says that especially the trip and entertaining activities are the most favourite, as in other Turkish associations, and he notes that about 1.000 people participated once in the dining party. Unfortunately, he expresses that the education seminars do not have such participation which worry them about:

"We have not organized a party for two years. Unfortunately people participate more in parties. It is something nice for youngsters to meet in a place but I prefer to allocate money from the budget for long-term activities. I think that a seminar should be accompanied by a nice activity, otherwise they do not participate".

It is remarkable fact that many people occupying administrative positions of TUF are continuing their high education, they have a good command of Swedish and make successful career plans about future. Moreover, it encourages us to think that the youth federation will be more long-running than the other Turkish

federations since they access to new members and they encourage youngsters, who are able to assume the role of president in the future, to participate more in the activities. Nevertheless, it is not possible to see a similar profile in the executive cadres of local associations because as we mentioned above the ratio of university education of second generation Turkish youth is low and they generally work in manual-labour intensive sectors such as fast food, pizza shops (pizzeria), baby-sitting and supermarkets. Therefore, while having a profile that cannot be generalized to local Turkish youth associations, youth federation appear as both a "role-model" and a "leader" for the youngsters.

When we look at youngsters' interest in politics, the activities of the youth federation in this area also attract our attention. For instance, Unlu says that they organize lectures of politics to increase Turkish youngsters' participation in politics. In addition to that, by inviting representatives of parties defending different political views, they encourage youngsters to meet with politics and work in this area. By considering all of those, it would not be wrong to say that youth federation has a successful structure and displays a different profile than other associations and federations established by Turks.

Finally, it is necessary to mention some of the youth association members under TUF which established for different purposes. One of them is "Youth Association of Alby" which performs activities for the Turkish youth in the region of Alby. This association performs activities for youngsters aged less than 21 years old and it won a prize due to its successful projects. These projects are about various topics such as discrimination, no-drug campaigns etc. What is different about this organization is that, girls and boys organize their activities separately and use the clubhouse in different time periods. This division might be explained with various reasons where the membership to the Youth Islam Federation of the executive board members can be counted as one of them. Another association displaying a different profile is the "Association of Turkish Academicians". Stating the main aims of the association as working in order to help to increase the rate of university education of Turks and assemble university members under a roof. The president, Habibe Erdis, mentions that the enrolment rate of university education of second and third generation Turkish youngsters has increased especially in the last years and explains how working with Turkish youngsters succeeded:

"In the beginning I was against to associations, I was criticizing it; I was saying that 'Why do you [Turkish people] assemble under the same roof since you want to integrate. If you do not have a dialogue with Swedish people and if you group only among Turks how you can get yourself accepted by them or how you can accept them'. But afterwards I realized that if we assembled together and

the executive board was composed of reasonable people, we could orient people and make beneficial works. For example it would be easier to encourage young people to continue their education rather than marrying in young ages and explain them that the marriage would be the following step... and we saw that it worked!''.

In conclusion, it is remarkable that local youth associations affiliated to TUF have different profiles and aims. On the other hand we should also note that not all of the local associations affiliated to TUF perform much activity. Because some of these associations are not just youth associations, but meanwhile local family associations affiliated to national federation and/or women federation, therefore although they are affiliated to youth federation, actually they may not perform activities for youngsters.

4. CONCLUSION

As we have seen, Turkish associational network in Stockholm does not maintain a considerable mobilization of the Turkish community. Especially in the local associations affiliated with the national federation, the burden of management has often fallen on to the same shoulders throughout the years. Local associations maintain their Turkish village café character. They do not serve as spokesmen or pressure groups and their chairmen can not be regarded as local political leaders of Turkish community by any means. However national federation is more close to play this role and acts as an institutionalized voice of the Turkish community in Sweden more or less. Associations have no relation with other ethnic groups except religious associations where Muslims with different ethnic background participate in the religious services. However, the tendency can be clearly recognized that most of the Turkish migrants prefer their own religious institutions to perform their religious services. Local associations belonging to the national federation bear the mark of "first generation". They are obviously associations of the "first generation" and the participation of second generation is characteristically low except some recreational activities occurred in the club context such as watching football matches. Their low level of participation can be explained partially by the assimilation to the language and culture of host country. However, it is also closely related with that local associations lack any explicit agenda towards second generation. In this sense, they have only a limited function in the maintenance of ethnic identity, or so-called minority culture preservation, which is indicated by some works as one of the main roles migrant associations play in Swedish society (Malm, 2005).

Organizational process of Turkish women, on the other hand, has been more complicated as compared to other categories. Although first organization of women was established in the late 1970s by the political women who came from

Turkey, majority of the women associations started to emerge at the beginning of 1990s with the initiative of Kulu women. Latter associations have been significant in three dimensions; first of all they are organized from the bottom and provide practical solutions for women's problems; secondly, they can be considered as the first organizational reaction of women against the patriarchal structure within the Turkish cultural associations and the national federation which let them to organize by themselves and for themselves; and thirdly, they display a multicultural characteristic and are open to all women in Sweden, which leads, in turn, to a more comprehensive understanding of "integration". Unfortunately, local women associations are face to face with financial deadlock due to latest state policies about financial support. Our interviews also display that despite women federations' late appearance; still, it was an essential need for women to organize separately as a federation due to women's inferior position in the national federations. However, Turkish women's federation, as in other ethnic federations, target their own ethnic identity, namely "Turkish women and Turkish community" as their priority, which seems to cut down its relationship with other immigrant women who might come up with similar problems. Last but not least, it is worth to mention that neither male dominated organizations nor women organizations have close relations with the youth in the second and third generations. However, we can assert the youth federation as the rising organization of Turkish community due to many aspects; such as using the Swedish sources as much as possible; for organizing activities both regarding to Turkish and Swedish cultures and finally considering themselves as a "youth federation" of Sweden rather than an "ethnic" federation limited with the facilities of the country of origin.

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