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**Understanding the role of NGOs for immigrant
integration in Sweden: a case study of Tamam**

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Abstract

Due to various reasons like globalization and conflicts many countries are experiencing high levels of in-and outmigration. Strongly increased diversified migration has evoked a multiple reactions from the receiving societies. On the one hand, civil societies may respond positively and openly towards immigrants, but on the other hand, there have been significant changes in public and political attitudes towards limiting and controlling, or even altogether preventing migration. Sweden is one of the countries which are often lifted as a good example of how to deal with social problems. However, Sweden is a country which has experienced high inflow of immigrants and refugees and immigrant integration processes does not seem to be as smooth as they could be. To facilitate such processes several NGOs have started to work with immigrant integration in Sweden. This thesis focuses on Tamam, an NGO which is working with immigrant youth integration in Sweden. The purpose of this study is to show how Tamam is dealing with their goals for immigrant integration and what results they achieved. The study is based on interviews, participant observation and secondary data analysis. The results indicate a generally broad positive expression of the outcomes of the organization by participants and various officials.

Key word: integration, refugees, immigrants, NGOs, Tamam, participation, activities

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1 Introduction

International migration now features strongly on the public and policy agenda worldwide. According to the United Nations, the number of international migrants was 214 million people in 2010 who live outside their countries of birth (around 3.1% of the world's population). The number of immigrants increased by 58 million since 1990 (United Nations, 2009). Figures for Europe show an even steeper increase of resident immigrants: in a period of only 20 years their number grew from an estimated 49.4 million in 1990 to more than 69.8 million in 2010. But differently, the immigrants share in Europe rose from 6.9% to 9.5% of the total European population (United Nations, 2009). This means that Europe has increasingly become a continent of immigration.

However, Europe consists of many different countries, and the number of immigrants and the impact of immigration differs from one country to another (Card, 2005). In addition, the policies on how to deal with the increasing number of immigrants also vary from one country to another (Castles, 2006; Entzinger, 2003).

An important feature of international mobility has specifically developed within the EU. On the one hand, the EU has granted its citizens and residents of member states fundamental rights to move and settle within the EU area. On the other hand, EU member states have developed seemingly restrictive and defensive immigration policies to keep out 'undesirable' migrants (Lubbers, 2002). This amounts to the paradoxical trend of 'free mobility' for those within, and increasing closure for those outside the EU (Pennix, 2008; Zagar, 2008).

Recently, there have been many discussions about the integration of immigrants in their host societies. Many countries are trying to develop efficient policies on how to deal with immigrants. Integration is one of the way and it appears to be a relatively new concept. According to a definition by Ferguson, (2008),- social integration is the process of promoting values, relations and institutions that enable all people to participate in social, economic and political life on the basis of equality of rights, equity and dignity (Ferguson, 2008). In the present thesis this essentially means that all people regardless of their age, religion, nationality, etc., should have the same opportunities and duties as the host population.

Integration differs a lot from two other concepts: one of them is segregation, the other assimilation. It is not unproblematic to define what segregation is, but in this thesis segregation is a simply understood as the separation of people into groups. The term is used to describe both a geographical and social division. Assimilation, in turn is a totally different phenomenon. The word assimilation defies a simple and generally accepted definition. In sociology it is intended to mean a progressive change from a more diverse to a less diverse behavior. A more recent definition (Alba, & Nee, 2003) defines assimilation as the "attenuation of

distinctions based on ethnic origin". Integration of immigrants and marginalized communities, should replace traditional concepts of assimilation and segregation (Zagar, 2008). According to Zagar (2008) the central goal of the EU integration concept was defined as to ensure the voluntary integration of immigrants, minority or other marginalized communities in a way that would recognize and respect diversity, ensure conditions for expressions and development of different collective identities and cultures based on equal rights and equality as well as highest standards of human rights.

Strongly increased diversified migration has evoked a multiple reactions from the receiving societies. At the one end of the spectrum of these reactions lie government and civil society initiatives, which respond positively and openly to the new developments of migration. These include different forms of inviting, encouraging, as well as effectively managing and legislating on mobility and diversity (Pennix, 2008). On the other hand, there have been significant changes in public and political attitudes towards limiting and controlling, or even altogether preventing migration (Zagar, 2008). Collett (2011) argues that it is clear that integration programming in Europe has a significant effect on immigrants, as well as the communities in which they live. Confrontation within society between us (natives) and them (immigrants) becomes especially visible during economic slowdowns, as jobs are more difficult to find and social welfare funding is reduced (Collett, 2011).

Arai, (2004) argues that in particular immigrants from non-European countries are faced with a high risk of unemployment during times of economic crises and the employment and income gap between native citizens and immigrants becomes significantly wider during such periods of time. This has led to anti- immigration sentiments, debates and the criminalization of immigration (Lundberg, 2011). Racism and discrimination are often considered to be the most fundamental barriers for integration in European societies and these forces are still experienced throughout Europe in many areas of society (Lundberg, 2011). There is also ample evidence that refugees and asylum seekers are victims of race-based violence when crossing the border into the EU (Akrami, 2000; Fundamental rights agency, 2007, in Lundberg, 2011). In order to tackle the problems of the immigrant integration processes, many non-government organizations (hereafter-NGOs) started to work with this issue. In this thesis I define NGOs as non-government organizations within civil society who are not seeking profit.

Kerwin (2009) argues that NGOs play an indispensable role- which has been heightened by the demise of traditional news sources- in challenging governments that fail to live up to their own values or to meet the needs of their residents (Kerwin, 2009). In 2000, the European Commission declared the need to deepen cooperation between the EU and non-government organizations (NGOs) (Lundberg, 2011). In European policy documents and directives, NGOs are frequently cited as important partners in spreading information to the public, and sharing knowledge and experience with institutions in the preparation and implementation of policies (Lundberg, 2011). Because of that, more attention has been placed on civil society's role in addressing the challenges of integration. European civil societies are considered to play a vital role with regards to integration of immigrants (Freise, 2008, in Lundberg, 2011).

This thesis focusses on Sweden, a country that has experienced rapidly increasing immigration since the Second World War. Immigrants come to Sweden from a wide range of countries and in many different capacities: some may arrive as labor migrants, others as asylum seekers, refugees, family members or students. While immigration obviously brought positive things to Sweden, such as, labour during high economic growth in the post-World War 2 period until 1970s, there is no doubt that it has also presented many challenges. The integration of immigrants and refugees in Swedish society has been a subject of many debates and constitutes one of the major political challenges that has been faced in the last two decades (Bevelander, 2011). Many studies have shown that refugees and immigrants are more likely to be unemployed or have temporary jobs and have generally lower incomes than the native population (Brekke, 2007; Statistics Sweden, 2011). In the economic literature this has been attributed to differences in human capital including native language skills, less access to native networks, and discrimination by majority population (Bevelander, 2011).

There are a lot of studies made about refugees and immigrant integration in Sweden and other countries (e.g. Bayram et al, 2009; Bevelander, 2011; Böhlmark, 2009; Pennix, 2008). These studies have tried to answer many different questions related to notions such including: the integration of immigrants into the labour market, immigrant integration into society, results within the educational system during various ages of individual immigration and many other issues related with immigration. However, there are surprisingly few studies that focus specifically on the role of NGOs work in facilitating immigrant integration in Sweden and other countries. In order to increase the understanding about NGOs participation in the immigrant integration processes in Sweden this study focuses on Swedish NGO called Tamam.

[1.1 Aim and research questions](#)

The overarching aim of this thesis is to better understand the contribution of local NGOs for immigrant integration in Sweden. The thesis draws upon insights from a case study of the NGO Tamam to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the current policies and procedures of immigrant integration in Sweden?
2. What is the role of NGO in such policies and procedures?
3. How do NGO create platforms for immigrants to meet native Swedes and to become aware of local culture and traditions?

This study could be important of relevance for policy makers and others working with integration issues, because it will contribute to a better understanding of the importance of NGOs in Sweden. Such knowledge may be used to facilitate integration processes more generally. Special attention will be paid towards an NGO called Tamam which deals with integration problems experienced by children and youth in Sweden as well as in several other countries.

1.2 Disposition of the thesis

Following this introduction, the next section of the thesis will focus upon the research design. In that section I will show why I decided to focus on Tamam, why I used that particular research design and methods, and how and from where I collected relevant data for this thesis. After the research design, I will discuss relevant theories for this thesis, before turning to an overview of immigration to Sweden since the Second World War. I will explain Swedish migration and integration policy and how these policies have adapted to changing immigration over time. I will also discuss the role of NGOs in the integration process drawing on previous research. In the results section, I will discuss my findings about Tamam, by discussing their (Tamam) working methods and how their work is seen from the perspective of refugee children, volunteers, teachers and officials from Lund municipality. And finally in the conclusion section, I will write my final conclusion about Tamam`s work towards immigrant integration, their results and outcomes.

2 Research Design

2.1 Why a Case Study

My study has a qualitative focus and is a case study. Case studies generally involve investigation and intense studying of few units in order to create greater understanding and draw conclusion about a phenomenon within a specific context (Yin, 1984). There are several NGOs in Sweden that are in one or another way working towards immigrant integration in Sweden. However, Tamam is an NGO that focuses their activities primarily on promoting the integration of immigrant children. Case studies do not aim to provide statistical generalizations or discover universal truths, but do not stand in contrast to generalization of theoretical propositions (Yin, 2009). My research will focus on just one organization, their working methods and outcomes. Because of this, I will not claim that my findings in this case represent all other NGOs who are working with immigrant integration in Sweden. However, I will argue that my results can be indicative of ways in which NGOs can contribute towards better integration processes.

2.2 Selection of NGO: Tamam

Sweden puts a lot of resources in order to make the integration process of immigrants in Sweden smoother. Help from mentors at the labour market or free SFI (Swedish For Immigrants) courses are just few of the state provided forms of help for the immigrants. However, there are a lot of studies made which say that the immigrant integration process in Sweden is far from perfect e.g. Statistics Sweden shown that immigrant children have lower grades in school than their native counterparts (Statistics Sweden, 2011). Immigrant children are also at disadvantage of a group as the immigrant adults, but what kind of help are they getting in order to integrate faster into Swedish society? During my studies in development studies in Lund I was always interested in finding out why there are a lot of problems with immigrant integration in Sweden and what civil society is doing regarding this issue.

During my studies I met several students who were actively volunteering in various NGOs. Some of these NGOs (e.g. Save the Children, Red Cross, Tamam) were in one or another way connected with my interest of immigrant integration process. Some classmates who were volunteers said that in Lund there is an NGO called Tamam that is focusing on promotion of diversity and immigrant children and youth integration in Sweden. I looked for the information about Tamam on the internet. The information which I found about Tamam made me curious; how is this organization, which is driven completely by volunteers grow so fast and what are their working methods towards the integration process? I decided to find out more about this organization. When it was time to do an internship I contacted officials from Tamam and expressed my interest to do an internship at this organization. I got an opportunity to work at Tamam for 20 weeks and to see the integration process of immigrant youth through the eyes of an NGO.

Hence, the way in which immigrants are integrated to the Swedish society has been studied in relation with Tamam work. Even if Tamam is also working in

other countries besides Sweden, I will focus just on Sweden and more attention will be paid towards Tamam activities in Lund. This decision was made because Tamam has the main office and most activity groups are established in this town compared to other cities and towns.

2.3 Data collection

My research of Tamam work and their results on integration was carried out using qualitative research methods. This approach was chosen because the study was trying to understand NGO Tamam input and effects on immigrant integration in Sweden. Interviews with key persons were conducted to provide information for this thesis. I did not choose quantitative research methods. Using quantitative research methods I could e.g. show and discuss the changing amount of volunteers and participants in the organization or the balance of money that is channeled through the NGO to fund the various projects which are dealing with immigrant integration process. But this way will not be sufficient, because the amount of money cannot measure and evaluate integration success or failure. My approach to this study is a case study design with longitudinal elements. The information which was needed to do this study consists of three different types of data: data collected from interviews, surveys, data gathered during participant observation and secondary data. Secondary data consisted of various scientific articles about immigration and integration, Tamam documents and statistical data from Swedish statistical bureau.

2.3.1 Interviews

Interviews were one of the most valuable sources for producing information about Tamam. During my internship I was able to interview the volunteers and employees (president and vice-president of Tamam) of Tamam on more than one occasion. In total, interviews were made on three occasions with 23 individuals (4 Tamam officials, 5 volunteers, 9 children (3 of them do not belong to Amaan group), 2 officials from Lund municipality, 3 teachers (surveys were sent to teachers) and 3 officials from Amaan). First time interviews and 3 surveys were made with all 26 people, second and third time interviews were made just with just a few key persons who were able to answer specific additional questions. This is an element of longitudinal approach (Bryman, 2008). For flexibility purposes, the interviews were semi-structured with open ended questions and conversational in style with key questions for guidance.

This thesis is mainly focused on the organization Tamam, interviews were also conducted with officials from Lund municipality about Tamam and their work. Further, interviews were conducted with officials from Amaan¹ about their opinion on Tamams` work methods and their result. These interviews were recorded and transcribed. These interviews allowed me to see Tamam from the officials` point of view and to understand Tamams` strengths and weaknesses from a different perspective.

¹ In Lund there is a temporary living place for refugee children called Amaan. In that place there are constantly living eight children who are seeking asylum in Sweden. Children who are living at Amaan are just one of many immigrant group, but probably the most important target group of Tamam

To understand how the people affiliated with Tamam are implementing integration policies and procedures, interviews were conducted with both Tamam officials and volunteers during my internship at this association. All officials of the association were interviewed two times, while volunteers were also interviewed twice but in the latter case the sample was chosen by a random sampling.

In order to answer the research question: “how does NGO create platforms for immigrants to meet native Swedes and to become aware of local culture and traditions?”, survey were conducted with teachers and interviews with the recipients (children and youth) of Tamam activities. All the interviews for this question were conducted using semi-structured interview methods.

During my analysis of the answers from the first round of interviews many new questions arose. In order to get answers for these questions a second round of interviews were conducted. This time “conversational” interviews (with key questions for the guidance) were conducted with the same people who participated during the first round of interviews. Longitudinal research design implies that a research sample is revisited at least two times. Data is collected on different occasions across time from the same people (or whatever the variable is) (Bryman, 2008). Given the fact that I did my internship at Tamam for 20 weeks, it was relatively easy to revisit sample group of volunteers, employers and immigrant children. Thus, my study employed a partly longitudinal design. These interviews provided more detailed information for the above mentioned research questions. In general, many respondents (with just a few exceptions) showed great positive feelings, support and trust of Tamam work (opinion of respondents about Tamam work will be discussed later in this thesis). However, these answers again gave rise to new questions. For example: “if everything is good about Tamam and their work, why is immigrant integration in Sweden still far from perfect even if Swedish state and NGOs put a lot of effort towards integration processes?” In order to answer this question, only people from Tamam were interviewed.

Throughout the thesis, the results about Tamam work towards immigrant integration are based on 23 interviews and 3 surveys. Interviews with different people were conducted in different ways. Interviews with Tamam officials and volunteers were conducted in Tamam office. The questions were asked for each interviewee personally and no group interviews were conducted. Interviews with the officials from the Lund municipality took place in Stortorget 1, Lund at Kultur och Fritidsförvaltningen. There were also interviews made one by one. Interviews with the officials and refugee children from the Amaan took place at their locale in Arkivgatan 7, Lund. Officials from Amaan were also interviewed one by one.

Interviews with the children, requires special attention while asking the questions and reviewing answers. According to Kortessluoma (2003), open-ended questions allow children to describe their views in their own words, thus eliciting their subjective frame of reference. Kortessluoma argues that children between ages 4 until 11 are a group which is difficult to conduct interviews with because of the stage of their linguistic development (Kortessluoma, 2003). Author also argues that it is very important to get to know children before actual interview. Hill (1996), argues that it is important to give information to the children about for what reason interviews will be conducted and what is research purpose. I started to

conduct interviews with the children during my fifth week of internship at Tamam. That allowed me to meet children more than 6 times and develop a bit of trust for each other and inform about my study and ask if some of the children would like to participate in interviews. However, even if me and the children had possibility to know each other, not everyone accepted to participate in interviews. I did not ask them why. I conducted interviews just with those children who wanted to participate.

Group interviews were conducted with refugee children. This decision was made because of several reasons: children agreed to participate in interview in the group with their friends (also from Amaan). All of the children requested not to mention their names or ages in my thesis. Some of the children during interviews could not speak Swedish or English. Translations were made by their friends because they required that no other adult (except me) could participate during interviews. Also some of the answers from the questions are interpreted by me, and because of the language barrier, some of the answers could not be written in the original way. Another three children who did not belong to the Amaan group (non-refugee children) were interviewed one by one during Tamam activities. Interview questions for teachers were sent and received by email. This method was chosen based on the teachers' requirements.

Many key persons from Tamam who are directly involved in actions of the association and their participants were approached not only during the official interviews but also during occasional meetings. This action was possible because of developed close relationships with the members of organization.

2.3.2 Participant observation

I did my internship at Tamam's main office which is located in Lund. In this office there are constantly four workers and two interns. Out of these four workers one of them is the president of Tamam, another one is the vice-president and two are ordinary office workers. At the Tamam office every person has his own responsibility and tasks. During the internship I was responsible for a sport activity group and the development of various cooperation projects between the Tamam association in Lund and the Tamam association in Albania. During my internship I participated in many Tamam Lund and Tamam Malmö activities, projects, annual meeting and extraordinary annual meeting. During this time I gathered a lot of information about this association like: the budget, relations with Lund municipality, the parents of participants, future plans etc. Every day at Tamam was full of "action" and I was able to identify Tamam's strengths and weaknesses. During the annual meeting, participation in various Tamam activities and taking into account previous conversations with Tamam officials gave me a ground for new questions. Tamam are doing many different activities in various different cities in Sweden. But the number of activities and volunteers and participants varies a lot from one town to another. Tamam in Malmö and Stockholm is much weaker than in Lund. What is the reason for that, will be discussed later in this thesis.

2.3.3 Secondary Data Collection

Apart from the financial information and some information about Tamam activities, the association was very "poor" in providing secondary data, because Tamam is still a very small organization and they do not have a lot of documented

data. However, in order to answer the research question: “what are current policies and procedures of immigrant integration in Sweden and what is the role of NGOs in these policies and procedures”, most of the help came from the secondary data sources outside of Tamam. First of all, secondary data from various sources was collected and analyzed. A lot of articles written by researchers about the role of NGOs, and immigrant integration as well as the statistical data were studied in order to collect background information about the integration process in Sweden and the role of NGOs. Historical and statistical information about the numbers of immigration and changing integration policies were very useful to understand NGOs development. This information allowed me to understand how and under what circumstances the Swedish state changed their integration and immigration policies, and what impact it had for the immigrant integration.

2.3.4 Reliability of sources

All of the adult interviewees (questionnaire to teachers were sent by email) had a positive attitude towards my research and I never felt that I was unwelcome or that they did not want to participate in interviews. Interview questions were clear and I did not get any impression of misunderstandings from the respondents during the interviews. During the interviews with officials from the Lund municipality and Amaan, no misunderstandings or uncomfortable situations were noticed while answering the questions. However, during the interviews with the president of Tamam and some of the children from Amaan group, some biases were noticed. The Tamam president has a strong emotional attachment to Tamam and when I asked questions that may be a bit sensitive such as “what is the reason for the poor performance of Tamam associations in Malmö and Stockholm?”, he gave me answers which were slightly different from the answers I got from the interviews with the Tamam vice-president. This gave me an impression that the Tamam president may have avoided mentioning negative things related with Tamam. In this case I tried to ask the same questions to other people from Tamam who were able to answer it, and in many cases participant observation allowed me to compare answers and information gathered through observation.

During the interviews with children from Amaan, children asked me not to mention their names and ages. This raises a question of why they wanted this, but children didn't answer why. Many of these childrens came to Sweden with the help of human traffickers and some of them literally walked to Sweden from their home countries. Most of them had been living in Sweden for less than one year. Traumatizing events from the past probably had a negative impact on their behaviors' when it comes to trusting in other people. When I asked them questions about Tamam and their work, all except one child showed great positive attitude towards Tamam. I got the impression that many answers were positively exaggerated. I might suspect that this happened because of children's “fear” (real or not) that if they say something bad about Tamam it might have some negative impact on them. I have been working at Tamam for 20 weeks and I been responsible for the sport activity group. During activities I met these children at least once a week during the whole work period. During these activities I strongly believe I could identify the real opinion of children about Tamam work.

One child who expressed negative attitude towards Tamam couldn't say what was the reason for that. He come to Sweden less than a half year ago and during

my work at Tamam I had never saw him in any of the Tamams` activities and it becomes questionable why he expressed negative attitudes if he never (at least I never saw him) participated in Tamams` activities. Thus, it remains unclear what was the reason for his negative expression.

Because this study is made with the case study research design and it deals just with one organization, I am aware that in this study I cannot generalize and the findings may not be applicable to other cases, and findings of Tamam work results and methods do not represent the all NGOs in Sweden. Tamams` main target group is refugee children and immigrant children. Because of that I am also aware that there is a big difference between immigrant and refugees and it is not good to mix these groups as one group. However, because this thesis is focusing on Tamam work towards children and youth integration in to Swedish society, I am treating the two groups as a one single group. I made that choice because, even if immigrant children come to Sweden with their parents, most of them do not participate in the Swedish labour market, have no or just a few friends from the host population, do not know Swedish language and culture, and in this account have quite similar situation as the refugee children.

3 Theories

3.1 Assimilation theory

In order to explain immigrant integration in Sweden, I will draw on reformulations of assimilation theory in debates over the 'new second generation' of non-European immigrants in the US in order to spell out a core concept and theory of integration (Alba & Nee, 1997).

From an interactive perspective, the concept of integration refers to mutual interactions between (perceived) treatment and adaptation, which result in more or less harmonious or conflicted ethnic relations between immigrant and host communities. Whereas host policies, institutions and societies constitute the treatment side of the integration process, differential resources, perceptions and strategies of immigrant communities make up the adaptation side of the process (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 1999). The interactive approach qualifies a deterministic notion of integration as a gradual shift towards parity/conformity with the life chances/cultural customs of the national population. Thus, assimilation theory in the US (Gans, 1973 in Phalet & Swyngedouw, 1999) predicts that the second and third generations of immigrant origin will become socio-economically and socio-culturally indistinguishable from the native population (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003).

Assimilation theory can be applied in the Swedish case because Sweden in the case of immigration has similarities with US, both countries experienced high inflow of non-European immigrants. Additionally, there are many studies which show that the longer immigrant person stays in Sweden the more he/she will assimilate with the Swedish society, which will lead to more similar living conditions and standards as the native population.

I am aware that the study made by Bayram, et al. (2009) shows that Turkish immigrants are not very well integrated in the Swedish society, and even younger generation have a problems with integration (Bayram, et al, 2009). The authors argue that former housing policies, discrimination or strong family and ethnic ties can be a problem of integration. But the Turkish immigrants do not represent the whole immigrant community in Sweden, also according to the theory; these problems during the course of time should disappear or at least become less noticeable. The longer you stay in Sweden, probably the ethnic ties will become weaker, and the immigrant people will blend in easier to the host society. However, in this study special attention is paid towards Tamam and their work. The majority of Tamam target group consist of children and young adults. Thus, in this case children do not participate in the labour market nor have they been living in the host society for a long time. Thus, because of these reasons another theory is arguably more relevant.

3.2 Social Integration theory

According to Blau (1960), social integration theory says that: social integration prevails in a group if bonds of attraction unite its members. Persons interested in becoming integrated members of a group are under pressure to impress the other members that they would make attractive associates, but the resulting competition for popularity gives rise to defensive tactics that block social integration. Blau (1960) argues that “a member who can provide valued services to the others, forces them to give up their defensive tendencies and manifest their attraction to him; the process in which his services are exchanged for their respect and deference gives rise to social differentiation. Alternatively, one who demonstrates his approachability obviates the need for defensiveness of others and thus frees them to express their feelings of attraction to him; the process in which his disclaimer of superordinate status is exchanged for their acceptance gives rise to social integration” (Blau, 1960).

According to this theory Tamam's way of dealing with integration should be very successful, because children who come to Sweden, do not know the Swedish language and many of them from the very beginning of arriving to Sweden, are trying to avoid interaction with the local population. That is because they do not know the language of the host society, do not have friends from the host society and other reasons. Thus, they have few chances to impress other people from outside. Tamam puts forth a lot of resources to boost learning of the Swedish language and tries to develop a friendly relationship between volunteers and immigrants. At the same time, Tamam is organizing various social, cultural and sport activities for the children. According to the theory, if you participate in the many various activities, you are increasing your chances to do something that you are good at and you will be able to impress someone, this this will lead to the easier interaction and communication with native people which will lead to easier integration to the host society.

4 Previous research

4.1 Immigration to Sweden

Massive immigration of the post-war period changed the composition of the Swedish population. In the post-war period Sweden experienced a large wave of labour immigrants which lasted until the beginning of the 1970s. Nilsson (2004) shows that the number of people who were born abroad increased from around 100 000 in 1945 to around 540 000 in 1970 (Nilsson, 2004). During the early 1970s labour immigrants decreased dramatically because of the economic situation in the country but the number of refugees increased significantly. The Swedish migration board provides data which shows that in 1984 asylum seekers in Sweden were 12000 with a gradual increase each year. The peak of refugees was during 1992 and 1993 with 84000 respective 37000 refugees coming to Sweden (Migrationsverket, 2011).

In the 1940s, 50s and 60s immigration from Nordic and other European countries was a response to demand for labor due to the rapid industrial and economic growth at that time (Bevelander, 2011). However, the “glory” days of high pace industrial and economic growth came to an end. The lower rate of economic growth and increased unemployment in the early 1970s diminished demand for foreign labor. In 1972/73 the recruitment of foreign workers was stopped (Focus migration, 2009). During the 1970s refugees and tied-movers dominated the migration inflow. In the 1980s large populations of immigrants come from Chile, Ethiopia, Iran and other Middle Eastern Countries (Bevelander, 2011). In 1990s the Soviet Union fell apart and several Eastern European countries became independent. Former Soviet Union countries enjoyed easier ways of crossing the borders in to western countries. At the same time large conflicts erupted in the former Yugoslavia. These events made masses of people flee to other countries. Many of them found their new homes in Sweden. During 1992, almost 7000 people come to Sweden from former Yugoslavia and 53000 from Montenegro (Migrationsverket, 2011).

Many people from developing European countries who were looking for better living conditions were coming from the former Soviet Union. Some of the ex-Soviet Union countries were countries that joined the European Union not so long ago (for example, Poland and Lithuania joined EU in 2004). One of the corner stones of the EU is the free movement of capital and labour (European Commission, 2012). And for many residents of countries who recently joined the EU this means open borders and an easier way to look for a better life and “fresh” start in another country. However, not all people are coming to Western European countries or Sweden for economic reasons only. People who come from the non-European countries are mainly asylum seekers, refugees or immigrants of family reunion program (Westin, 2006). All of them have their own story to tell why they left their home countries. But many of them who came not for economic reasons were sharing same wish; most of them migrated to look for a safer place to live.

4.2 Swedish migration policy

4.2.1 Labour immigrants

During the high growth of economy in Sweden during the 1940s- to 1960s many workers came from Southern Europe. At that time, Sweden did not have a guest worker program like in Germany Federal Republic or Switzerland in order to meet labour demands. Unlike other Western European countries, Sweden had a policy of permanent immigration that treated these labour immigrants as future citizens (Westin, 2006). Government cooperated closely with Swedish trade union confederation on the issue of recruiting labour from abroad. They agreed that importing cheap labour would not be allowed and that foreign workers were to enjoy the same wage levels and rights as Swedes, including access to unemployment benefits. Recruitment of foreign labour was only possible as long as the Swedish trade union confederation accepted it (Westin, 2006). Parliament endorsed an integration policy based on the need to deal with labor migrants from southern Europe. A radical break with the earlier laissez-faire system, the policy was condensed into three principal objectives: equality, freedom of choice, and partnership. Immigrants residing permanently in Sweden were to enjoy the same rights as Swedish citizens (equality), including access to the welfare system (Westin, 2006). People from other countries were free to choose if they wanted to assimilate with the majority population or they want to maintain their own culture.

During the oil crisis in the early 1970s which slowed down the economy, the foreign labour force was no longer needed in the Swedish industry. Sweden officially ended labour immigration from non-Nordic countries in 1972 (Westin, 2006). On 15 December 2008, new regulations come into force in Sweden. Labour immigration is now almost fully dependent on the needs of Swedish employers; the controlling powers of government agencies are severely restricted and the labour market is open to workers of all skill levels (Focus migration, 2009). However, if a Swedish employer needs a worker, according to the law he/she first must publish the advertisement in Swedish employment office about available working place. If he cannot find worker in Sweden, then he is allowed to look for the worker outside of the Swedish labor market.

4.2.2 Refugees

Even if labour immigrants from non-Nordic countries were stopped in 1972- to 2009, asylum seekers and refugees were accepted in Sweden. Many of refugees who came to Sweden were granted asylum on humanitarian grounds. The increasing flow of refugees prompted the government to rule that political asylum applications filed in December 1989 or later would be treated strictly in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention; humanitarian grounds for asylum would no longer be used (Westin, 2006). In 2012, 3578 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum. In all, 82% of the unaccompanied minors were granted residence permits during the 2012 (Migrationsverket, 2013). Migrationsverket (Migration office) in its article (Aktuellt om... ensamkommande barn och ungdomar) argues that since 2009 Sweden has become the single most refugee children accepting country in Europe.

For example during the first half of 2012 Sweden accepted around 1300 refugee children while the next two biggest refugee children accepting countries Germany and Belgium accepted 900 respective 850 refugee children (Migrationsverket, 2013). The migration office argues that the Swedish state has to create more places for the refugee children. Migrationsverket (2013) wrote that during the time from 2011 until 2012 the number of refugee children in Sweden increased from 2657 (in 2011) to 3578 (in 2012) which represents a 35% increase. However, during the same time new 426 places were created for refugees, which at the end of 2012 were 3213. Of those new 426 places just 19 were made for refugee children.

The Board of Labor was responsible for managing refugee integration from World War II until 1984. However, in 1985, the Board of Immigration took over. The board of immigration developed an ambitious program of integration built on the pillars of language and vocational training, dispersal to a large number of towns with available housing, and municipal responsibility for implementing the integration programs. Municipalities were to receive subsidies from the state in relation to the number of refugees they agreed to accept (Westin, 2006). This program did not work as were expected. Many refugees were placed in to municipalities with high rate of unemployment. Refugees had difficulties finding a job which led them to be dependent on social welfare support. In the 1990s, the refugee integration program was revised to allow greater flexibility in management. Refugees were also allowed to decide where they would like to live. This has meant a greater pressure on the major cities with their much stronger labor markets (Eger, 2010; Westin, 2006). In cities there are more job opportunities and at least a minimum concentration of immigrants from any given culture. This minimum level of concentration is thought to be necessary for immigrants to be able to maintain a social and cultural network within their group, but also to protect their own norm system and patterns of behavior (Andersson, 2001; McIsaak, 2003 in Cvetkovic, 2008). This policy created a situation where foreign born men and women entered the cities which already had a large numbers of immigrants.

The fundamental principles of the 1975 integration policy (which are: that all people regardless of their age, religion, nationality, etc., should have the same opportunities and duties as the host population) still apply although the terminology has changed. The concept of diversity was introduced in the 1990s because integration was no longer regarded as a unilateral process of incorporating immigrants into mainstream society but a process of mutual adjustment and adaptation of migrant minorities and mainstream ethnic Swedes (Westin, 2006).

From the end of the Second World War until recent times, Sweden saw a lot of changes in the composition of its population. First of all labour immigrants come to Sweden to look for the better life and later on because of conflicts and disasters in the various places in the world made refugees who were entering Sweden for the safer place to live. The reasons and amount of this inflow of peoples to Sweden varies from one year to another. Because of that Swedish state tried to adapt their policies of integration to meet the continuously changing situation of immigration.

4.4 Swedish integration policy

The main goal of integration policy in Sweden is equal rights, obligation and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Since citizenship is based on the *ius sanguinis* principle, in this case meaning that children born in Sweden to non-Swedish parents are not automatically entitled to Swedish citizenship. Swedish government did not require their immigrants and refugees to pass Swedish language test, integration test on Swedish history or political institutions in order to become a Swedish national (Dingu-Kyrklund, 2007). Since 2001 Sweden allowed for immigrants to have two citizenships. It was also argued that people should be entitled to vote for national parliament in the country to which they pay their taxes and where they live. Since some countries will not allow their citizens to give up their citizenship, the solution for Sweden was to grant dual citizenship (Westin, 2006). Also, foreign nationals who have permanent resident permits and are registered as resident in Sweden largely have the same rights and obligations as Swedish citizens. There are, however, some differences:

Only Swedish citizens have an absolute right to live and work in Sweden, and only Swedish citizens are entitled to vote in the Riksdag elections. A foreign citizen cannot be elected to the Riksdag either. There are also a number of posts, such as those of police officers, career officers in the Swedish Armed Forces and some safety service officers that can only be filled by Swedish citizens. The obligation to do military service only applies to men who are Swedish citizens (Ministry of Justice, 2009).

In a recent paper written by Wiesbrock (2011), he summarizes that the Swedish integration program consists of several main sections:

First, Participation is voluntary, which means that immigrants can decide by themselves if they want to participate in language training, integration test or any other activities designed to boost integration. However, immigrants who had concluded a settlement plan with the Public Employment Services are bound to actively participate in the programme in order to receive full social benefits. A failure to live up to the terms of the integration plan may lead to cuts in introduction allowance (Wiesbrock, 2011).

Second, Employment orientated introduction programs. The settlement plan lies down the specific action to be taken so as to bring the immigrant into paid employment, including tuition in Swedish language and culture as well as educational courses and vocational training. For introduction into the labour market, language skills for the immigrant are extremely important. However, without language, the process of identifying the job-seekers' qualifications and aspirations, matching them with the wishes of interested employers and providing assistance during the first stage of insertion into the workplace are very important as well (Wiesbrock, 2011). Subsidized employment programmes were introduced as well. For the employer who employed newly arrived immigrant a subsidy

amounting to 75% of employer wage costs was given (Wiesbrock, 2011), this was designed to faster introduce immigrants to Swedish labour market.

Third, Decentralization in Swedish integration policies. Swedish municipalities used to be fully in charge of providing and administrating introduction programme. In that context they were responsible for offering immigrants housing, language courses, a general introduction to Swedish society. On 10 September 2010, the Swedish government adopted a new regulation on state compensation during the introduction period. With the overall responsibility for the introduction programme having moved to the Employment Service (Wiesbrock, 2011). This means that now integration will be coordinated in a centralized manner. However, the municipalities will continue to play a role in the reception of newcomers, amongst others in respect of housing, schooling and education.

Fourth, Access to Swedish nationality. Because of a lack of Swedish language requirements and allowance of dual citizenship Sweden is very attractive for immigrants.

There are a lot of positive policies for both immigrants and refugees. But even if Sweden allocates a lot of resources to the integration there is still plenty of evidence that the integration process in Sweden is far from perfect. Jederlund (1999) argues that Swedish immigration policies have been criticized for leading to “learned helplessness” of immigrants due to the large extent of welfare services, public control and management of immigrants` lives subjecting them to a rigid bureaucratic regime (Jederlund, 1999 in Wiesbrock, 2011). Wiesbrock (2011) shows that integration policy for newly arrived immigrants have a negative effect of delaying to labour market entrance due to language training. Immigrant children as well are experiencing lower grades than their native Swedish counterparts. Some authors also argue that because Sweden does not require knowing the Swedish language while obtaining Swedish citizenship, many immigrants are not much motivated to learn the language as fast as possible. This situation can have a strong negative impact on immigrants into Swedish labour market.

4.5 NGOs and integration

In Sweden the relationship between civil society and the state, as it has evolved over the twentieth century, can be described as one of “trust-based mutual dependency”, which in turn has created a relationship characterized by consensus. Significantly, in Swedish civil society there is a high degree of formal membership and engagement (Olson, et al. 2005 in Lundberg, 2011). Sweden has long traditions when it comes to organizations and associations which ideally work with important questions in the society. NGOs have not traditionally had a role in providing social and welfare services; they have functioned instead as mediators of interests between citizens and the state or other interest groups, and have supported leisure or recreational activities for and through the population (Pestoff 2000; Wijkström 2004 in Lundberg, 2011). However, more NGOs are trying to work with integration, example: Tamam, Save the Children, Red Cross, etc. For NGOs in the anti-discrimination field, essential contributions appear to be

education, information, legal aid and human rights. As mentioned above, one of the hindrances to integration is discrimination. In 2001 the Swedish integration office got a number of missions from the government in response to a national action plan against racism, xenophobia, homophobia and discrimination. In order to deal with these problems the Swedish migration office decided to initiate dialogue with NGOs (Integrationsverket, 2001).

During this dialogue in 2000- 2001, many important ideas were elevated on how NGOs and the state should collaborate in tackling the problems of racism, homophobia, discrimination, etc. One of the points argued by many NGOs was that actions in these fields must have long term plans. During the dialog it was decided that NGOs status in Sweden must be elevated. This could be achieved through dialog and collaboration between different organizations that showed interest in specific fields, institutions and political parties and through increasing resources (increased financing) and trust (Integrationsverket, 2001). The Cooperation Group for Ethnic Associations in Sweden (SIOS), for instance, has run several workshops with representatives from government agencies, communities, volunteer organizations, universities and hospitals to raise the awareness of discrimination issues and to deconstruct the political objectives and situations related to the integration of immigrants (Lundberg, 2011). Overall, NGOs acting as anti-discrimination organizations appear to deliver largely the same type of services, which are consistent with the principles of the anti-discrimination directives issued by the EU in 2000.

In 1997 the Swedish parliament approved a new integration policy which called upon public and private sectors to take account of ethnic and cultural diversity when complying with its objectives (Diakite, 2006). The policy called for the development of plans for integration, improved equal rights and opportunities regardless of ethnic and cultural background. Municipalities were offered funds per person if they provided newly arrived refugees with Swedish language and other introduction programs (Diakite, 2006). The new policy also addressed the important role of NGOs in developing an effective dialogue to release the policy goals, and called for the creation and support of an anti-discrimination bureau throughout the country.

In 1998 the Swedish Integration Board was established with the task of bankrolling those who participated in the goals of the new policy (Diakite, 2006). The 1997 Integration Policy also called for the Swedish Integration Board and the offices of the Discrimination ombudsmen to be in consultation with NGOs that could function as local reference points to promote integration and anti-discrimination measures. But as I wrote before, Swedish municipalities have a lot of freedom to deal with the integration. As Diakite (2006) shows, Swedish municipalities have shown little- and in some cases, no interest at all in such a bureau, state support became vital to the presence of the NGO community in the integration policy.

5 Results

5.1 Tamam

Activities which led to the creation of Tamam started in 2003 with a name of IVIK group which at that time was a part of Individuell Människohjälp, IM (“Individual People Help”). This group organized activities during free time of school and helped newly arrived children with homework support. Philip Sandberg (former IVIK group volunteer and former Tamam president) showed a great initiative and was a main “driving force” in the group. The group was very autonomic in IM, and attracted a lot of new volunteers. In 2008, the decision was made to create a new association. In May 20, 2008 Tamam was created as a non-political and non-religious organization by Philip Sandberg. At the same year Sandberg was elected to be the first president of Tamam. The name of Tamam was chosen because in many languages (Arabian, Turkish, Albanian, Persian and several more) it means positive things like “good”, “OK”, “complete”, etc. and at the same time, as it is easy to pronounce in many languages. Since the association was created, Tamam started to grow at a very fast pace. Already during the year of establishment, Tamam was nominated for the integration price from the Lund municipality. During the 2009, Tamam group started its work in Stockholm and Malmö.

Currently, Tamam associations are actively working in Lund, Malmö, Växjö, Umeå, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Uppsala. At the international level Tamam is established in Mexico, Kyrgystan and Albania. From the very beginning the work of all Tamam associations, both national and international, was coordinated from the Tamam headquarters which is established in Lund. During the first years of work, Tamam was providing funding from Sweden to other Tamams` international branches. At the current time they stopped providing financial support to other member associations outside of Sweden. Right now Tamam is undergoing restructuring of the association which will lead to all member associations outside of Sweden being independent from the financial support from Sweden and free to make their own decisions.

5.2 Tamams`funding

Even if Tamam is trying to be as cost efficient as possible and the association is driven by volunteers, they still need funding. The largest part of expenses consist of cost for various projects, wages for two employees, rent for office, cost for EVS (European Volunteer Service), and education for volunteers, etc. The total cost of organization in 2012 was 1563125 Swedish kronor (Tamam, annual meeting report, 2013). The funding of the organization comes from the three major sources: State, gifts from both companies and private persons, and funding generated by the association itself like: membership fees, sales of clothing with Tamam logo etc.

The largest source of funding for Tamam is the state. In 2012, the association got 865874 Swedish kronor (Tamam, annual meeting report, 2013). Money which Tamam is getting from the state consists of two parts. According to Ungdomsstyrelsen (2012), if an association has 1000 or more members where 60% of them are in the ages between 6 and 25 years old, association can apply to get a fixed amount of money. That condition Tamam fulfilled in 2012. The second part is connected with the numbers of Tamam participants (amount of money is based on the members in association), and any increase or decrease in the number of participants will lead to changes of the funding for the coming financial years. In the case of Tamam, the association gets 60 kronor per member from Lund municipality. If we look once more at the cities (Lund, Växjö, Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Umeå and Uppsala) where Tamam is doing its activities, one can say that Tamam is present in places where universities exist (potential source of volunteers, because students are usually more engaged to work as volunteers) and potential high number of participants (thus, increased funding).

5.3 Tamams` working methods

Tamams` goal is to work with children, youth and young adults for diversity, integration, antidiscrimination and antiracism. NGOs in the anti-discrimination field mediate between contending parties in case of discrimination, provide independent assistance, and engage on behalf of victims of discrimination. In this respect, anti-discrimination organizations have certain advantages compared to governments (Lundberg, 2011). This means that NGOs have closer contact with people. Tamam was created as a non-political and non-religious organization and it is driven completely by volunteers with the exception of two people (the president and the vice-president) who are employed 60% respective 50% within the organization.

Because of voluntary work the organization consists of a very wide spectrum of people. Many volunteers have very different backgrounds from each other (different culture, language, education, etc.) which lead to different contacts outside of the organization. Thanks to contacts not only within the marginalized and/or discriminated target groups, but also within professional organizations, NGOs are able to establish networks and leverage personnel resources elsewhere. By maintaining contacts with key individuals, and decision makers, Tamam improve its capacity to access policy-making institutions. In general Tamam work is focused on antidiscrimination work, promoting diversity and support in education.

In many European countries, in relation to national, regional and local governments, NGOs provide a watchdog function through their advocacy work and by representing citizens who suffer from discrimination (Lundberg, 2011). This also is the case for Tamam. The association is providing information for the municipality about problematic cases which might be overlooked and should be solved by the municipality. As in many other countries, Tamam is also exchanging both official and unofficial information on the key issues. Tamam exchanges a lot of information about newly arrived immigrant children in Lund

municipality and refugees in Amaan (Amaan is a place in Lund in which newly arrived refugee children live until they get host families).

When I asked; what kind of information Tamam is exchanging with Amaan and schools, the Tamam president stated: *“Tamam receives information both from schools and Amaan about newly arrived children. This information is usually about children who showed interest in participating in Tamam activities and even if they do not know anything about Tamam teachers and officials are asking us to include them in our activities”* Tamam president.

When the newly arrived children come to Sweden (case of Lund) Tamam representative collaborate with the officials from the particular school and decide to do a school visit. During the school visits children are informed about all homework support and other groups in Lund. Information about various other activities is spread out during the school visits, weekly mails, advertisement in social media and fairs. The whole Tamam work in Lund consists of four major pillars as shown in Figure 1 below.

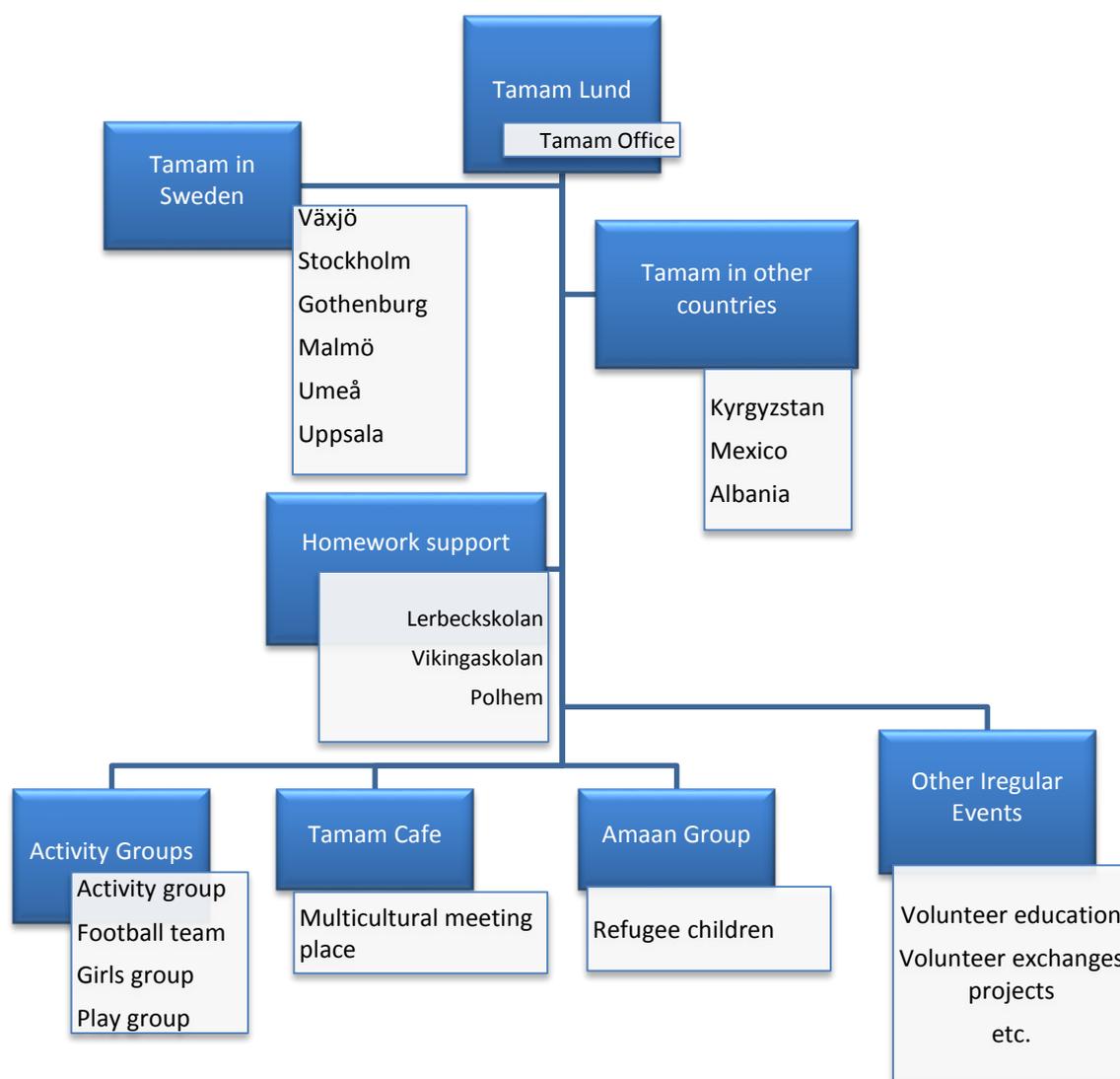


Figure 1. Structure of Tamam organization in Lund

In total there are three homework support groups in Lund and one additional group is in the process of being created. The additional group will be a group that helps participants pass the theoretical part of the driving license.

The activity pillar consists of four groups. One is the activity group. This activity group tries different sports in order to introduce newly arrived children to all the sport and art clubs in and around town. This group also organizes camps, excursions to museums, other cities in Sweden and other countries.

Other group of activity pillar is a Tamam football team. This group is one of the most popular groups in all of Tamam. It has a lot of members and plays football in the amateur league. This group members gathers together three times every week; two times for the training and one for the real game against other amateur teams around Lund. Doherty (2007) in her article argues that sport and recreation are perceived to be fun, healthy, and helpful in development of language skills and in

providing orientation to the mainstream culture, and these factors are very important for immigrant integration.

The third group is the girls group. This group is doing basically the same activities as an ordinary activity group but it is just for girls. The reason for that is to increase girls' participation in Tamam activities. As one volunteer explained:

While doing sport activities and camps with Tamam we noticed that girls participation were quite low. When we started to talk with girls why they do not participate in Tamam activities, many of the girls told that they were not allowed by their parents. We noticed that participation rate is very low by girls from the Muslim families when we organizing camps or going to swimming pool. ...The girls group was created to increase participation rate of girls. We (volunteers) sometimes go to these families (families who use to not let their daughters out for same activities) and inform them about our activity plans to make them feel safer about their daughters (Volunteer interview 3).

The fourth group is called- the play group and it takes place in Norra Fälladen (Location in Lund). This group has activities only once a week every Sunday. The participants in this group are newly-arrived children between the ages 5 and 14 years old. Activities in this group are basically games with strong focus on Swedish language.

Another pillar in association is called Tamam Café. The purpose of that is to make people from different countries to meet each other. People in Tamam Café consist of newly arrived children, teenagers and young adults as well as both Swedish and international students. The point of Tamam café is to create a multicultural meeting place which according to Tamam volunteers is lacking in Lund. Most of the Tamam volunteers believe that the more people from the different countries and cultures meet each other, the more chances there will be to break stereotypes and find new friends. The vice-president of Tamam says that: “...it is impossible to make two different people to be friends with each other if they don't want that, it just not going to happen. All what we can do is to create multicultural meeting places where people regardless of their age, religious beliefs, education, sexual orientation, working occupation and language can meet with each other and have fun” (the vice-president of Tamam).

The third pillar is the Amaan group. This group is very important both to Lund municipality and Tamam. Amaan is place for newly arrived refugees from ages between 12 and 17 years old. Officials and Lund municipality is asking Tamam to try to integrate the refugee youth into Swedish society. By that they mean that Tamam, through mentoring and empowerment projects, should try to promote integration by empowering and supporting asylum seekers and build relationships between asylum seekers and people from their host communities.

According to many different studies about immigrants in Sweden it becomes clear that the longer an immigrant stays in the host society the more he or she will be integrated. It is widely recognized that country's school system plays a major role in the integration of child immigrants, and many countries invest substantial resources in programs and interventions aimed at facilitating this process (Böhlmark, 2009). Böhlmark (2009) argues that the age of immigration to Sweden has a direct affect towards future schooling performance. He argues that the

children who immigrates to Sweden at a younger age achieve better results than the older children. This phenomenon occurs because younger children have fewer attachments with their native countries and culture and it is easier for them to learn new things. And also it can support the assimilation theory which says that the longer time you spend in other country the more you will be like native population.

Wiesbrock (2011) showed that for immigrant's time for learning new language delays other things, e.g. other schools subjects or delays entry to the labour market. According to that, for immigrants and refugees it is a vital to learn the Swedish language as soon as possible. Studies have showed (Statistics Sweden, 2011) that immigrants' children in Sweden on average have lower grades than the native swedes. Lower grades would probably hinder the children's possibilities to choose their future education in a wider sense, which in turn leads to narrowed possibilities for work occupations. That has direct impact of their integration in to the Swedish society. Furthermore, many immigrants have to wait a long time before they are given access to language training programs. The lack of resources for language teaching is often seen as a main reason for the failure of integration programs (Cvetkovic, 2009). That is why during all Tamam activities Swedish is the main language. During homework support, a lot of attention is paid towards learning the Swedish language.

Also Tamam has a small group of people who are constantly working with developing various projects and volunteer and participant exchange programs between Tamam in Sweden and Tamam family group organizations in other countries. On average Tamam is giving opportunities for around 15 people each year to work as Tamam volunteers in different countries from 20 days to one year. Tamam also has a so-called "Social Incubator" project. This project is designed to increase youth participation in social life. If a youth tries to develop a project that could be beneficial to society and especially young people, he or she can apply for founding from the "Social Incubator". When Tamam receives an application, the board decides to approve it or not. If the board decides to give a positive answer, the applicant can get up to 50 000 Swedish kronor and help by Tamam advices how to proceed with his/her project.

Here I just mentioned all the activities that are taking place throughout the whole year. In addition to that, Tamam is organizing many other irregular activities like: camps in various places in Sweden and other countries, famous "international" parties which are taking places in some of the Lund University nations, different kind of educational camps. I decided not to write more about them because these activities are irregular and it is hard to say if they will be developed more in the future.

5.4 People's opinions about Tamam

5.4.1 Children

Tamam has a lot of participants in ages between 5 and 19 years old. In order to understand their opinion on Tamam activities I am presenting findings based on interviews. I am aware that it is difficult to make any conclusion from the opinion of a child who is 5 years old. That is why during the interviews with the children, the youngest participant was 14 years old.

Interviews were conducted both with the children from Amaan (refugees) and other children (immigrants). Both groups expressed highly positive views about Tamam work.

Several children expressed: *“I am happy that I got opportunity to participate in Tamam activities. It is always fun to meet other people outside of Amaan and play with them various games”*- Interviewee 1

“I like that Tamam volunteers treat us like friends, they do not forget us when the activity is over. Tamam helped me a lot when I had to talk with Migrationsverket (migration office) ...my Swedish language is not so good, I really like that people from Tamam helps me with homework’s”. Interviewee 2

“I remember than we went for a two days trip in a sailboat, it was so fun and everything for free”- Interviewee 3

In general all the children expressed positive thinking about Tamam work. They appreciated a lot that Tamam volunteers communicated with them at the same “level” not like teachers and pupils. Many children mentioned that all the activities organized by Tamam were for free and if not the association, probably they would never have tried it by themselves. However there was one child who expressed negative opinion about Tamam. He was in Sweden less than half a year and even if I worked in majority of Tamam activities I never saw that child before. When I asked him to explain why he thinks negatively about Tamam activities, he could not explain. I am not able to accurate interpret why he expressed so, but probably he heard something negative thing about Tamam and he created such an opinion.

5.4.2 Tamam officials and volunteers

During the interview with Tamam officials, to the question why Tamam is very rarely cooperating with other NGOs, the Tamam vice-president answered that Tamam is a very small NGO and it prefers to work alone, because cooperation with large NGOs creates a lot of bureaucracy and inefficiency. The same answer was recorded from the official in Lund municipality. Official said that it is not a problem that Tamam and other NGOs are not cooperating. The official argued that there is no need to cooperate with other organizations if they are still doing good work in order to achieve their goals.

But this raises a concern about efficiency and coordination. Could it be that different NGOs put a lot of resources for one and the same target group and misses the others? Officials from Tamam say that different NGOs in Sweden have different target groups and working methods.

When he were asked why the immigrant integration process in Sweden is not as efficient as it could be, the president of Tamam argues that the Swedish state puts a lot of resources for immigrant integration in Sweden, but they are not capable to deal with the very small cases (like children from Amaan or few newly arrived immigrant children).

“It is not surprise that we (Sweden) are not doing very well with integration because we allowing so many refugees and immigrants enter our country and we do not work as much as we could to help them. Sweden is too small country to

absorb so many people in to labour market. We (Swedish people) are used that the state will take care of everything, unfortunately state have a problems with integration of immigrants and we (Swedish people) should try to help the state to tackle the integration problems. Through the cooperation between state and civil society we can achieve better results on immigrant integration. ...ordinary people must participate more in immigrant integration process, we all live in the same country and we should help more to each other”-President of Tamam

When I asked whether or not he thought if NGOs should take over the coordination of immigrant integration process from the state? The Tamam president answered: *”Definitely not, NGOs in Sweden are not so strong and we will not be able to deal with this issue in the whole country. But we (NGOs) are capable to reach the small groups of people who need help. State cannot look at the level of individuals and help them with friendly psychological support, homework support, introduction to Swedish culture, i.e. We (NGOs) and state are complementing each other, and the more areas will be reached by the NGOs the better will be for the immigrant integration”.*

During my internship at Tamam and interviews with the volunteers, it was clearly “visible” that Tamam volunteers are divided in to two “camps”. One group of volunteers were volunteering in Tamam because of self-interest, another because of high interest in working with a social work. There is a several quotes from different volunteers: *” I am volunteering in Tamam because of many reasons: I love children and I like possibilities in Tamam like, various courses, possibilities to go abroad for free, expand my contact network and etc.”.* Volunteer 1

“This year I will finish my education and its good for you CV if you can show that you been volunteering at NGO”. Volunteer 2

“With the Tamam I have been both in Kyrgyzstan and Albania. You have so many opportunities in this organization”. Volunteer 3

These were typical answers of people who were volunteering in order to get benefits for themselves. Another group of volunteers showed a great will to work for the society.

“We all siting in the same boat and we all should try to make it better. I love to work with children at Tamam and for me it just takes not more than five hours a week”. Volunteer 4

I’ve been volunteer in Tamam since the start in 2008 and I can’t imagine my free time without working with children at Lerbäckskolan” (School in North of Lund). Volunteer 5

I have worked in several NGOs and Tamam was smallest among them. But that’s it’s ok because we take decisions very fast and we (volunteers) have a lot of freedom to decide how to deal with our tasks. Volunteer 6

All volunteers showed sympathy with Tamam and many of them really liked the high level of freedom within the organization. Many volunteers said that because of the small size of the association, everyone has an opportunity to say their thoughts or new ideas and they know that their voices are heard. Volunteers also stressed that association is quite small and most of volunteers are friends with

each other even outside of Tamam activities. In this way Tamam work even more efficient because volunteers have high level of commitment and trust towards each other.

5.4.3 Amaan

Solveig Johansson who is enhetschef at Amaan said that before she started to work at Amaan, she already heard about Tamam. She said: *“When I started to work at Amaan I contacted Tamam and asked if it would be possible to cooperate. ...since then Tamam organizing activities for our children every week”* Solveig Johansson

“Many of the children when they are coming here are very shy and don’t dare to go outside a lot. I am very happy of the whole Tamam work. Children here can meet and talk with volunteers from the different countries, which I think helps them to get more confidence. The only thing which I think Tamam is doing wrong is that every activity on Friday they are doing in our place. There is no point to try to integrate children in Swedish society if you sitting between these four walls” Solveig Johanson

Since that interview Tamam decided to do Friday activities outside (if it is a good weather) or in public buildings. During this interview at Amaan, S. Johansson stressed several times that it is very important than newly arrived children should get as much social contact with Swedish society as possible and not to “close” themselves in a group of people from the same country. Tamam volunteers trying to develop friendly relationship with children from Amaan and other recipients. In This way they can avoid teacher-pupil relationship which ends at the same time then activity ends. Another two workers from Amaan also showed highly support for Tamams` work. One of them said that at the very beginning then Tamam started to work with the children from Amaan, many of the volunteers were international students. He stressed that during that time the main language during activities were English. *“We said to them that it would be much better if you use more Swedish language during activities in Amaan. ...and it did not took long time since majority of volunteers was Swedish”* Worker at Amaan

This quote shows that Tamam is a flexible association and it can easily adapt to request of recipients.

5.4.4 Lund Municipality

Enhetschef Rickard Persson who is responsible for recreation activities in the Northern part of Lund says that many years ago he read about Tamam in the newspaper about their homework support activities. Persson stated: *“At that time I contacted several persons from Tamam and asked if we can do homework support at Norra Fälladen area which I am responsible for” ...they (Tamam) said yes, and since then we had many different projects in this area”* Rickard Persson

I am really appreciate that Tamam was very helpful in creating mötesplats maggan (meeting place Maggan, which is a multicultural meeting place for everyone who are 18 years old or above)”. Rickard Persson

I am happy that three years in a row we (municipality) and Tamam are collaborating in Norra Fälladen. During summer we employ people from Tamam to organize activities for children in Norra Fälladen. Rickard Persson

During summer time many of the Tamams` volunteers who are student are returning back to their countries or other towns in Sweden. Because of that Tamam used to close their activities during the summer time. However, Lund municipality decided to employ some of the people from Tamam in order to have activities during the summer. That indicates strong support from the municipality.

5.4.5 Teachers

Teachers from three different schools (Lerbäckskolan, Vikingaskolan and Polhem) received and sent back answers to me by email. Teacher from Lerbäckskolan said that homework support group from Tamam working in their school on a “wrong” time. Teacher said that Tamam comes at the day before pupil gets they homework tasks.

“...however, I think Tamam doing very good job. Pupils can ask for the help from volunteers for a many different school subjects”. Teacher 1

“I was surprised that Tamam was able to help newly arrived children who were from Brazil, Somalia and Russia with several school subjects in their mother tongue”. Teacher 2

“Tamam is very good for the newly arrived children not just because they help them with the school task, but also with the integration into new society”. Teacher 3

“We got many positive feedbacks about Tamam from the parents of the children”. Teacher 2

Teacher from the Lerbäckskolan stressed that it is very good that some of the Tamam volunteers who are coming to their school are immigrants who living in Sweden for some time and often they can speak with newly arrived children in their mother tongue. This is very good at the very beginning of interaction because children feel less stress when they are talking with someone from the same country. Teachers also mentioned that they are a bit worried for the newly arrived children because a lot of attention is paid towards learning Swedish language and there is less time left for the children to study other subjects. And it is good that Tamam is helping immigrant children to learn Swedish language as fast as possible through homework support and various other activities.

6 Discussion

6.1 Members and location

Trbola (2011) also argues that NGOs which are oriented towards specific needs of foreigners, are generally considered to be the principle actors in the delivery of services to and social work with immigrants (Trbola, 2011). According to him state and NGOs are complementing each other's work. However, this creates a concern. As I wrote before the largest part of funding for Tamam is coming from the state. And the funding is directly related with the number of participants. As was written before, Tamam is established in the largest Swedish cities (where there are universities- potential source of volunteers and recipient group) Immigrant integration problem is more or less in the whole country. This it can make an impression that organizations like Tamam probably will not try to establish their activities in a places where is not a lot of potential members. This can be argued with taking Lund like a reference point. Lund is a town where Tamam's activity is most seen. But even there, there are over 100 volunteers, over 70 active participants and around 700 members. Thus, just in Lund Tamam is getting funding for around 700 members, but during actual activities are getting around 70 active participants. Thus, it can be taken in to account that is unlikely that Tamam could establish themselves in a small towns.

Then Tamam officials were asked could it be that Tamam is trying to establish its member associations in bigger cities only where is a lot of people to get support from the state and overlook smaller towns. The vice-president stated that even before when Tamam had 1000 members and did not have state support they tried to establish member associations in several Swedish places by encouraging local people to do that, however this strategy failed. The vice-president says that at the current time all Tamam member associations are created by the people who were volunteers in Tamam at Lund. Vice-president argued that some of the people who were volunteering in Lund and studied at the same time, after their studies they returned back home and showed interest to start a Tamam association. Vice-president stated that none of the current Tamam associations are created by the people who were not volunteers in Lund.

The Tamam officials also argued that now when they are getting state support, planning for activities and association future become much easier than before. She also said that Tamam never had an intention to achieve some specific number of members in order to get founding. She argued that Tamam was created because they saw problems in the society and they want to help people to deal with those problems and it does not really matter if they help 10 or 10000 people.

The Tamam vice-president stated that before the association got financial support from the state, the association was doing its work very well. Search for the financial support never was a main goal of association. Now they say: that because of the natural growth of association, Tamam became more visible in society and the financial support from the state adds big boost for the association.

Another consideration is why Tamam association in Lund is much stronger than in other larger cities in Sweden?

The Tamam president and vice-president explained that there are many reasons why Tamam is much stronger than in other cities. One of the explanations was that Tamam was created in Lund and it got a lot of support from the Lund municipality as well as from university. Another thing stressed by the president that managing association in smaller cities is much easier because that you are meeting recipients, volunteers, people from municipality and other key persons not only during the activities but also outside of activities, because of that you are developing closer relations which should lead to more efficient work. But this answer could create a concern that Tamam would be doomed to fail in large cities. The vice-president of Tamam had a different explanation why Tamam Lund is very strong association compare to other places in Sweden. She argued that Lund and Uppsala associations are driven by the students who are volunteering. In other towns volunteers are people who are working full time and for them is difficult to find time for some vital activities and management of association. Another thing was stressed by the vice-president was that she said Tamam associations in Lund and Uppsala is driven by the people who are very communicable and are very good managers. She said that other organizations have not as good managers as Lund or Uppsala.

6.2 Long term effects

As I wrote before, Sweden does not have a long history of NGOs that dedicate their work towards immigrant integration. Many NGOs were/are actively involved in leisure and recreation activities. However, one can say that NGOs are mirrors of the situation in the civil society. If Sweden has a problem with the immigrant integration process, someone also tries to solve these issues. Tamam is one of the NGOs that deals with the integration process. Even if Tamam is only active for around five years you can clearly see the evolution of the association according to the needs of population. From the single homework support group Tamam grow to the 1000+ member's and achieved national organization status with many different activities both in Sweden and abroad. Changes in the organization were driven by the demands of participants and society.

From the very beginning Tamam never had an intention to include everyone in their activities except target groups of immigrant children and refugees because of lack of financial capacity. At the current time everyone is welcome to all activities even if the target group remained the same. Number of participants and activities suggest that Tamam is still very much focused on some specific groups. As the president of Tamam said that state do not have capabilities to deal with the problems at the individual level and NGOs have that capacity, prediction can be made that NGOs in future will be important players to deal with a problems at the individual level.

Tamam is working five years in Lund with the children. According to the interviews there is no doubt about the positive impact of Tamam's activities. However, so far it is hard to make an evaluation concerning the long term effects of their work because of several reasons: it is difficult to conduct interviews with the children who were participants of Tamam activities since the very beginning (many of the children moved from Lund to other places), it is difficult to measure impact of Tamam homework support and help with Swedish language in the

schooling performance and overall it is very difficult to measure children`s integration in to Swedish society.

According to Tamam officials, Tamam will try to create its associations in several other Swedish towns as well as other countries. He argues that there is a demand for organizations like Tamam and they feel a lot of support from the society.

Because of the quite short period of Tamam work towards immigrant integration it is very difficult to precisely evaluate work of this organization. Both assimilation theory and social integration theory which were mentioned before are very closely related with time. Especially assimilation theory requires decades to test it. However, still one can predict that NGOs who are helping immigrants integrate to host society through language, sport and multicultural social meeting place can reduce this time.

Social integration theory on the other hand, and it is much easier to test. Many of the children both from Amaan group and outside of it are regularly going for the training for different sports (judo, badminton, etc.) which were introduced through Tamam activities. Here one can say that Tamam fits within the “frame” of social integration theory.

7 Conclusion

Even if integration process for immigrants in Sweden is not as good as it could be, still integration policies and procedures seems to be very attractive. Newly arrived people who have permanent resident status in Sweden are enjoying the same rights (there is several exceptions like they cannot work as police officers etc.) and duties as a native population. They are getting free courses for the Swedish language, help from the mentors at the labour market, enjoying the same benefits during the period of time during unemployment. Swedish state allowing to have a double citizenship and participation to integration programs are completely voluntary, etc.

However, because of discrimination, not so good results in school (immigrant and refugee children on average have lower grades than native children), lack of social network with native people, immigrants are usually presented as disadvantageous group. Usually immigrants and refugees have jobs with a lower status within society, lower wages and often they are segregated within the living places. A lot of immigrants tend to live in highly immigrant dense areas.

NGOs in Sweden were known as an organizations who work with sport and recreational activities. However, NGOs are very good at identifying problems within society. In this case, integration process of immigrants are working not so well and in order to tackle that problem several NGOs started to work with this issue. So far NGOs are working with anti-discrimination, providing information about various issues to the state, spreading awareness but also they started to work in practical way.

People who are affiliated with Tamam are not only spreading awareness about immigrants and their problems within society, they are also engaged to deal with the integration process in a practical way. Tamam is focusing on refugee, and immigrant children. A lot of focus is paid towards learning Swedish language. Many activities are designed to know native culture through interaction with local people by playing different sports, going to excursions, participating at the multicultural meeting places etc. Much help for this success come from the Lund municipality. And close collaboration between NGOs and municipalities should yield good results towards better immigrant integration process. According to this study, one can see that in order to help immigrants and any other disadvantageous group, you do not necessarily need a lot of money. Significant changes can be made if people would voluntarily participate more in problem solving activities.

This study is based upon NGO Tamam and the conclusions cannot be made about all NGOs in Sweden. In order to understand more the role of NGOs towards

immigrant integration, other NGOs must be studied. Also, studies should be made which with the focusing on NGOs work within some period of time. Time would be very important in the study and it could review the long term impact of help provided by the NGOs towards immigrant integration.

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