

Immigrants' Political Representation in Canada and Sweden:

A comparative case study

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ABSTRACT

The increasing trends of immigration in the affluent North nation-states from the global South has led to the growing awareness of the problem of immigrants' political integration and their resulting participation in the existing political systems of this nation. The importance of this subject is underscored by the challenges posed to the established understanding of nation and citizenship, on one hand, and the problems connected with the need to simultaneously ensure immigrants' rights and to spearhead their integration into liberal-democratic frameworks of political participation. Subsequently, this study aims to deal with the aforementioned problems and their related issues by focusing on the concept of political representation as a key determinant of the degree to which immigrants may hope to achieve parity and solidarity with native-born citizens of their host nations. The attainment of this objective will be guaranteed by the implementation of a case study-based comparative research in which such nation-states as Canada and Sweden will be selected as key cases. By specifying respective independent and dependent variables of analysis, I focus on institutional and social capital/resources-related variables of immigrants' socio-political integration, so as to conclude that Canada's greater relative efficiency in the course of incorporating immigrants into the structures of political participation and representation may be attributed to the policies fostering the naturalization of immigrants with higher socio-economic status. Thus, paradoxically enough, whereas Canada's integration policies towards immigrants do not correlate with the higher voting activities and presence of immigrants in national representative bodies. At the same time, the study concludes with appropriate observations as to the importance of social class divisions within immigrant communities themselves, which can be assumed to be exerting an impact upon the structures of socio-political incorporation of immigrants and their participation in their host nations' political life. In so doing, the development of more inclusive strategies of immigrants' socio-political incorporation could be seen as integrating the need for increasing immigrant communities' social capital and guaranteeing their members' equitable access to labor market and business activities. Altogether, this combination of factors may be assumed to have a favorable impact upon the overall social integration of immigrant communities.

Key Words: Canada, Sweden, immigrants, incorporation, representation

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Table of Contents

- 1. Introduction.....1**
 - 1.1. Purpose of the Study.....3
 - 1.2. Outline of the Study.....4
 - 1.3. Limitations and Challenges of the Study.....6

- 2. Background.....7**
 - 2.1. Political Incorporation of Migrants in Canada and Sweden: A Comparative Overview.....7
 - 2.2. Multiculturalism, Diversity and Immigrants’ Political Participation.....10

- 3. Literature and Theory Review.....13**
 - 3.1. Political Integration of Migrants: Major Theories.....13
 - 3.2. Multiculturalism and State Policies.....17
 - 3.3. Socio-Economic Status and Institutional Determinants.....21

- 4. Definitions.....24**
 - 4.1. Political Incorporation.....24
 - 4.2. Political Inclusion.....25
 - 4.3. Political Participation.....26
 - 4.4. Political Representation.....27
 - 4.5. Political Opportunity Structure.....28
 - 4.6. Definitions of Immigrants in Canada and Sweden.....29

- 5. Methodology.....32**
 - 5.1. Comparative Case Study Research as an Analytical Approach.....32
 - 5.2. The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison and Case Selection.....34
 - 5.3. Independent and Dependent Variables.....36
 - 5.4. Hypotheses.....38

- 6. Data and Analysis.....39**
 - 6.1. Socio-Economic Status of Immigrants in Canada and Sweden: A Comparison of Data.....40
 - 6.2. Voting Turnout of Immigrants in Canada and Sweden.....49
 - 6.3. Institutional Variables.....52
 - 6.4. Discussion.....54

- 7. Conclusion.....55**

- 8. References.....56**

- Appendices.....**

1. Introduction

The recent decades have been marked by the steady rise in the proportion of migrants arriving in the developed Western nations and establishing their demographically significant communities there. For instance, according to the OECS and UN combined data, between 1990 and 2013 the number of international migrants residing in the nation-states of the developed North rose from 82.3 to 135.6 million, representing an absolute increase of about 53 million people and a proportionate increase of 65 per cent out of the total international migrant stock (OECD and UN-DESA, 2013). This situation should be combined with the steady population growth of migrant communities which may often be put in contrast with the declining birth rates of the respective nation-states' established populations. Thus, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's data published in 2011, "minorities – defined as anyone who is not a single-race non-Hispanic white – made up 50.4% of the nation's population younger than age 1 on July 1, 2011" (Passel et al., 2012). Similar demographic patterns may be uncovered in other developed nations' contexts, e.g. in the United Kingdom where, according to some reports, non-white ethnic groups may comprise close to 33 per cent (i.e. one third) of the population's total number by 2040 (Brown, 2013). This would mean that the situation of a multi-ethnic 'melting pot' that used to be seen as unique to the U.S. and other Anglic settler states may become a new normalcy across Europe, ushering in a new cultural and political reality.

Given the substantial change in demographic composition of the global North societies that are poised to continue in the years and decades to come, it may be pertinent to inquire whether the patterns of minority representation in political systems of these nation-states would be likely to reflect the ongoing transformation of respective societies' changing demographics and national identities. In fact, the importance of this question is further underscored by the need to show whether the programmes and agendas of social integration of migrant communities in the global North may succeed or fail in the future years to come. Undoubtedly, the correct answer to this question may enable one to predict if the development of migrants' political participation would contribute to the greater cohesion and stability in the developed nations.

As it was already mentioned in the early part of this Introduction, the bulk of the global North nations dealing with the problem of migrant communities' social and political integration may be divided into two main groups. The former one includes those societies that have come into being as a result of persistent transnational migration flows that would involve mainly white European populations at the time of their formation. It was only later in their history when transnational migration patterns would skew in favour of predominantly non-white migration. The latter group may be seen as 'originally' culturally and ethnically homogeneous societies of Europe that encountered mass migration flows from the global South in the aftermath of WWII or, in the earliest cases (e.g. those of France or the United Kingdom) in the Inter-War period (Dubet, 1989; Panayi, 1994). Thus, their political systems would have to cope with the establishment of the newer migrant communities within a shorter time frame than would be possible in the case of the settler nations with their already developed migrants' integration structures. Accordingly, one may assume that in both cases certain challenges and inadequacies may arise that can complicate appropriate integration processes. It is the treatment of these challenges that may allow for a thorough investigation of the differences in respect of the policies and approaches adopted, and political outcomes attained.

The case studies of the two aforementioned groups of nation-states that would be used in the context of this study include Canada and Sweden, respectively. The choice of these nations has been motivated by two major factors. On one hand, Canada has been historically remarkable as a prosperous Northern nation with a relatively small population and a relatively strong commitment to ethno-cultural diversity and equality. As opposed to other settler states, e.g. the U.S. or Australia, inter-ethnic relations in Canada has been characterised by a rather low frequency of conflict-implying situations and related 'cultural wars', making one wonder as to exact causes of such inter-ethnic tranquility. On the other hand, Sweden has been unique in terms of the speed of its transformation from a homogeneous, predominantly North European nation-state that had dabbled in eugenics-informed policies of population control till the late 1960s to mid 1970s (Spektorowski and Mizrahi, 2004) to the society notable for its increasing internationalisation and universalist individualism (Soininen, 1999). Hence, an inquiry into these cases of political integration of migrants and their respective policy implications can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the logic of processes under consideration.

1.1. Purpose of the Study

Hence, the immediate purpose of this study is to carry out an all-out comparative analysis of the state of migrants' political representation in both Canada and Sweden with a view to reaching a conclusion as to comparative efficiencies of these nations' respective policies. The use of comparative approach may be expected to result in a structured and focused comparison of the cases under consideration, enabling the researcher to reach some informed and theoretically salient conclusions with regard to possible uses of that analysis in effective policy-making contexts. Following the discussion of the method of structured, focused comparison presented in George and Bennett (2005: 67-72), one may find it imperative to devise relevant research strategy as embodied in "a set of standardized, general questions of each case" as well as to present "variables of theoretical interest" to explain immediate findings of the study (George and Bennett 2005: 69). It is these issues of great importance that will now be dealt with in this particular sub-section.

The research objectives that are to be attained in the course of this study are directly related to the need to identify which of the two countries selected as case studies achieved the greatest success in the course of integrating migrants in the national political system. As both nations are governed in accordance with representative democracy's principles, it is thus the degree of migrants' representation, both descriptive and substantive (Bird, 2009), which is to be seen as a major outcome of the success of such political integration. Subsequently, in order to gain a more comprehensive glimpse of the causal links between participation level and overall socio-political situation, one needs to identify and analyse salient factors and causal links that have made respective integration processes possible. The use of the structured, focused comparison method within the case study-based framework is expected to enable the researcher to attain these respective obstacles as well as to prepare grounds for subsequent scholarly discussion.

Proceeding from the aforementioned, the following research questions may be proposed as specific representations of the research agenda:

- **Which of two selected country cases proved to be more successful in incorporating migrants into national political system?** – The criteria for

‘success’ in this regard will be specifically presented in the course of discussing relevant theoretical variables of this study.

- **What are the causes and factors underlying the more successful incorporation of migrants into political systems?** – As it was already mentioned, an inquiry into this matter will proceed in accordance with the variables provided so that a more holistic account of the problem can be presented.

Thus, the questions presented here would comprise two aspects of this study’s subject, which in turn points toward the need to develop multifaceted frameworks of the scholarly analysis of the problems of political integration of migrants.

1.2. Outline of the Study

Given the purpose of this study and its research agenda, the following structure of this thesis may be presented here. The study will begin with a thorough discussion of the research problem raised in this Introduction, with a particular emphasis being placed on specific features of the policies developed and implemented within both Canada and Sweden with a view to spearheading migrants’ political integration. Such aspects as institutional structure of migrants’ political participation (e.g. their electoral participation) or their comparative level of parliamentary and local representation are to be extensively discussed in this regard. In the course of presenting relevant statistical data, certain reflections will be provided on commonalities and divergences of the approaches followed by both nations’ political structures in this regard. This would be further facilitated by the use of extant statistical data that would refer to the primary sources of this study. Due to these data, some empirically informed observations may be made as to the degree and extension of migrants’ participation in the political systems of both nations under consideration.

The next section of the study will deal with both literature and theory review, with a stress placed on the need to integrate various theoretical approaches in the course of their application to complex issues of minorities’ representation and overall political integration. In particular, *integration theories* that focus on the political-legal status of immigrants in their relations with the political system, but largely neglect the cultural component in the issue of

political representation, may be bolstered by the study of the role played by the state under consideration in its capacity as an agent of fostering cultural diversity in political representation. These approaches can be further complemented by the theories related to the process of general political representation which touch upon *agent-structure relationship*. For example, *resource-based models* consider socio-economic status of individuals as being the essential factor of political participation based on such characteristics of individual as age, gender, marital status, education and employment in assessing the higher possibility of political participation. Moreover, *institutional models* could potentially contribute to the research as it emphasizes to what extent the political system creates possibilities for larger inclusiveness and participation of individuals and social groups therein. Therefore, the section under consideration will devote significant efforts to the objective of seamless integration of these aforementioned theories and developing a holistic research approach. In so doing, such meta-theoretical discussion would be connected with the practical implications raised by this study.

Section 4 of the present study will encompass the discussion of primary definitions that would be necessarily employed in the course of responding to appropriate research questions. Their all-out consideration will provide for a clearer and more coherent understanding of the discourse-related issues that are likely to arise when dealing with the problems of minorities' political integration. Thus, within the framework of this study, such conceptual formulations as *political incorporation*, *political inclusion*, *political participation*, *political representation*, and *political opportunity structure* will be properly discussed, differentiated from one another and applied toward the development of this study's research agenda. Finally, the definition of 'immigrants' in both Canada and Sweden will be compared and contrasted, so as to get a glimpse of their legal and societal implications and intricacies. Overall, the proper account of the conceptual definitions used in respect of this study will help in the course of substantiating its general research design.

The section dedicated to the study's methodology will consist of a thorough analysis of the problems of comparative case study analysis of the problem under consideration. In particular, the independent and dependent variables of the study's research approach will be unveiled and properly presented. The final section, which would be the largest in the course of the study as well, will be focused on the discussion of potential and actual correlations between the variables introduced in Section V, with the emphasis on their theoretical and

practical policy-related implications. The general Conclusions to the study will include both the summary and discussion of its relevance for further research and policy making.

1.3. Limitations and Challenges of the Study

Last but not the least, certain limitations and challenges inherent in this study's research design and overall methodology need to be considered. To begin with, it is evident that the main limitation of the study is connected with the selection of only two case studies, which may be unrepresentative of the majority of nation-states belonging to each of the two respective groups. This means that the results of this study cannot be conceivably extrapolated to any other nation-state of the global North without carrying out additional respective case study. Moreover, the statistical data presented in connection with this study are necessarily limited to the number of national and select local elections, which would mean that its validity would be limited to these cases alone. Finally, a focus on representation adopted in the course of this study may be detrimental in respect of other elements of political participation if its importance may be exaggerated.

As for the challenges that this study's research design presents, first and foremost, they are connected with the necessity of combining the analysis of statistical data relevant for the research problem under consideration, on one hand, and the more abstract concepts of political participation, on the other. It is due to successful solution of this problem that the attainment of this study's stated objectives may be possible. Finally, the necessity of carrying out a comprehensive analysis of the correlations between the study's variables would raise the question of potential existence of other variables that may influence such analysis's outcome. However, given the scope and the focus of this study, it is improbable that such variables may be successfully uncovered and integrated in its research design. This would by itself pose the greatest challenge, and simultaneously limitation, in the course of dealing with this study's major issues and their implications.

2. Background

2.1. Political Incorporation of Migrants in Canada and Sweden: A Comparative Overview

The process of political incorporation of migrant population in the two nations under consideration has proceeded through several stages that may be directly connected with a gradual shift towards greater inclusiveness and multiculturalism in both Canadian and Swedish societies. Hence, it is necessary to present an account of the trends in the direction of general inclusion of migrants into relevant political processes based on the data available.

In Canada, the growing visibility of minorities' participation in the extant political system may be traced back to the late 1950s, with Douglas Jung, the first minority MP and a female descendant of Chinese migrants, having been elected to represent the riding of Vancouver Centre in the Canadian Parliament (Bird, 2011). However, after Jung's defeat in the 1962 election, no more than two visible minority MPs were present in the Parliament until 1993. It was only with that election when a sizable caucus of 13 visible minority MPs became part of the Parliament, subsequently growing to 22 out of 308 Parliamentary seats as of the 2008 election (Bird, 2011: 208). The 2011 federal election produced yet more substantial Parliamentary diversity, as the proportionate rate of visible minority MPs rose from 6.8 to 9.4 per cent as far as the total representation in the lower House is concerned (Crawford, 2011). It is worth noting that 19 out of 111 MPs who were elected for the first time in their career may be viewed as belonging to the visible minorities' categories while 10 more visible minority MPs were retained from the previous Parliamentary convocation. Hence, in general terms, the growth in numbers and proportion of visible minority lawmakers may be seen as progressive one.

As for Sweden, the situation with respect to political representation of immigrants and their descendants at various levels of governance appears to be largely in line with the aforementioned case of Canada. Thus, for the period between 1979 and 2002 the percentage of 'foreign-born' regional councilors rose from 3.7 to 6.9 per cent whereas the respective representation statistics at municipal level experienced a median increase from 2.5 to 6.5 per cent (Dahlstedt, 2006). Even though a significant discrepancy between the overall share of immigrants in Sweden's population (11.8 per cent as of 2002; Dahlstedt, 2006: 2) and

aforementioned representation levels is evident, one should still note that such figures may point toward greater empowerment of immigrants in regard of local politics since late 1970s. With regard to immigrant representation at national level, it should be noted that Sweden's migrants' under-representation problem may seem to be more severe here than at regional and municipal levels, with ethnic minorities' Riksdag representation rate being close to 1.5 per cent in 1998, with 8 persons being elected (Banakar, 1998), and then rising to approximately 3 per cent in 2006, with 17 Swedish MPs having had immigrant background at that time (Statistics Sweden, 2006). A part of this issue may be explained by the fact that immigrant populations may have become accustomed to placing greater emphasis on local and regional electoral activities as opposed to national ones, as their participation in these electoral contests became a norm after the 1975 electoral reform when even those migrants who still held foreign citizenship were allowed to participate in local elections and other political activities (Bäck and Soinen, 1998). Thus, in general, one should still note that the development of migrants' political representation in Sweden would still take place in the direction of the latter's progressive increase.

As for the issues of general participation of immigrant population in political processes, the data available demonstrate that electoral participation of migrants would in general differ as far as national cases of Canada and Sweden are concerned. In particular, the degree of participation of respective migrants' groups in voting activities may vary in accordance with country-specific dynamics. For instance, according to Black (2011), in Canadian legislative elections migrants' patterns of voting and overall participation would be somewhat different from those of native-born voters. While in average migrants and native-born Canadians would tend towards parity in respect of their participation in the 2004 federal election (in that instance, 85 per cent of foreign-born voters went to the polls, as opposed to a slightly higher share of 87 per cent for Canadian-born ones), a certain time-determinable differentiation in regard of voting patterns may be detected. As asserted by Black, "among immigrants who had been in the country for up to 10 years, 71% voted in the 2004 election, and among those in the country between 11 and 20 years, 68% voted; however, of those in Canada for 21 years or more, 92% voted" (Black, 2011: 1166). Such situation may testify to Canadian government's success in terms of progressive naturalization and political integration of migrants whilst showing that a time-based factor may override subjective concerns of policy makers.

In a similar vein, the situation in Sweden may likewise show how political participation of migrants has gradually become more intense as the internalization of Swedish political culture and general increase in institutional venues available for migrants, both possessing and lacking formal Swedish citizenship, proceeded to shape the political climate within Swedish migrant communities. For instance, in the period between the successive national elections of 2002, 2006 and 2010 immigrants' voting participation would in generally be characterized by general increasing trend: whereas in 2002 only 65.6 per cent of naturalized foreign-born residents of Sweden turned out for the election, in 2010 their percentage rose to 71.3 per cent (Bevelander, 2014: 10). On the other hand, the degree of electoral participation of non-citizen foreign-born residents would on average remain uniform: in 2002 only 35.2 per cent of these latter attended the poll, and in 2010 their voting pattern remained as low as ever, with only 36.3 per cent expressing interest in the electoral process (Bevelander, 2014: 10). While the aforementioned data would primarily refer to municipal elections held in those respective years, it could still be evident that political participation patterns of Sweden's foreign-born residents would generally point toward the importance of intra-group differentiation in respect of this socio-political process, raising the issue of relevance of a cohort analysis of the latter situation.

That said, in spite of tangible differences in terms of comparative participation and representation of migrants' communities in Canada and Sweden, certain preliminary observations may be raised here. To begin with, it is evident that a process of time-based integration and consequent naturalization of respective migrants in their new host countries' societies would have an impact on the latter's respective readiness to partake in electoral processes, both as voters and potential representatives. On the other hand, a tangible pattern of under-representation is just as evident here, with even relative increases in migrants' political participation and representation failing to catch up with their appropriate demographic growth so far. Still, one may assume that in relative terms, Canada would fare better in regard of mobilizing its immigrant electorate as well as in ensuring higher levels of representation for the migrants' constituencies. Even though one may superficially claim that such situation is likely to result either from the unique condition of Canada as a 'traditional' settler state or from the lower degree of comparative ethnic diversity in Sweden as opposed to the former, it would still be prudent to turn towards a thorough analysis of relevant factors and historical conditions that may have left their mark on such situation. Such analysis

would be likely to rest on both current and historical data referring to the research problem discussed in this study.

Therefore, it may be recommended that an emphasis should now be placed on historical differences in the formation of migrant residents' political participation structures in both Sweden and Canada, with a particular attention paid to comparative perceptions of multiculturalism, diversity and equality in these two societies. In so doing, both common and divergent features of the respective nations' institutional frameworks for the political participation of immigrants and their descendants may be unearthed and analyzed. Hence, a proper context of the phenomena under consideration can be duly discerned here.

2.2. Multiculturalism, Diversity and Immigrants' Political Participation

The development of modern structures of political integration and participation of migrants' communities in both Canada and Sweden has been historically conditioned by the varied challenges having arisen out of the concerns of both policy makers and migrants' own pressure groups with respect to the issues of cultural diversity and/or assimilation. The late 1960s to early 1970s were marked by growing anxieties of visible ethnic minorities of both Canadian and Swedish societies as to the modicum of cultural diversity that may be permitted under the conditions of a universalist and democratic state. Thus, in Canada the growing emphasis on the need to take into account the cultural diversity-related concerns of immigrant communities was engendered by the corresponding process of Quebecois cultural and political awakening that was widely seen as a challenge to the traditional Anglo-centric system of political participation (Harney, 1988). In particular, the growing claims of East European migrant communities as to the recognition of their legitimate cultural and political concerns on par with those of the Quebecois gave rise to the public recognition of equal worth and social participation of ethnic groups other than both Anglo- and Franco-Canadians in the formal political discourse (Breton, 1984). Simultaneously, the need to undermine Quebecois independentist movement gave rise to the governmental emphasis on a pluralist, rather than biculturalist, nature of the Canadian society (Harney, 1988: 65). It was presumed that such an approach would provide for both the satisfaction of the Quebecois' legitimate grievances on the part with those of other ethnic groups *and* preserve the unity of the

Canadian society as a distinct and multicultural polity. Thus, to a certain extent, this political strategy was seen as resulting in a more stable nation-building project than it would have been the case had the biculturalist project triumphed.

As for Sweden, its policy makers' transition from assimilationist to the more comprehensive integrationist approach would basically coincide with the increasing diversification of the nation's population that resulted from the 1960s and post-1960s immigration waves. Whereas previously the relative majority of immigrants came from the nations widely assumed as being culturally similar to Sweden itself, the greater participation of migrants from such regions as South Europe, Middle East and even Latin America that progressively became the case in the 1970s made the Swedish authorities more receptive to the need of devising a political incorporation strategy that would be more fitting to that qualitatively novel situation (Runblom, 1995). The 1970s immigration rights reforms, which aimed at both the provision of greater equality for immigrant workers in respect of socio-economic rights and their greater participation in Sweden's socio-political rights may be seen as conducive to the formation of this new approach. In particular, the 1975 electoral reform that allowed for introducing full-scale voting rights for "resident aliens" (including newcomer immigrants) in county and local elections may be seen as one of most striking examples of the policies aimed at political and social incorporation of immigrants in Swedish society (Bäck and Soininen, 1998). Further policies facilitating political integration and participation of newly arrived immigrants that may be mentioned in this respect included the greater specification of the original concept of 'freedom of choice' that was included in the 1970s institutional framework for immigrants' rights to cultural diversity. According to the 1980s revision of that plank of immigrants' rights, the acceptance of cultural freedom of choice should not result in the fostering and proliferation of "customs that conflict with Swedish law" as well as minority cultural conventions that would run counter to the socially accepted norms of universal education, democracy and women's and children's rights (Soininen, 1999: 690). In so doing, Swedish policy makers of that time made steps towards overcoming the possibility of developing communalism that would have precluded a full-scale integration of immigrants into Swedish society.

Another notable aspect of the problem under consideration would include the problem of citizenship. In Canada, as noted by Bloemraad (2006), the main approach towards immigrant naturalization would rest on the prioritization of skilled immigration, with the 'points' system being in place for determining the applicants' "job skills, education, language

ability, and other personal characteristics” (Bloemraad, 2006: 674). At the same time, as opposed to the U.S. practices, Canadian immigration authorities have consistently focused on achieving greater levels of immigrants’ social integration, rather than on policing potential and actual ‘illegal aliens’. In case of Sweden, immigrants’ naturalization framework is both more liberal than those of other European nations and more rigid than in case of Canada. While Swedish citizenship continues to be based on the *jus sanguinis* principle, meaning that children of non-Swedish citizens born in Swedish soil are not automatically entitled to Sweden’s citizen status, it is notable that acquisition of Swedish citizenship is much simplified in comparison with other European (including other Nordic) nations. For instance, as opposed to Canada, no significant language proficiency tests for applicants to citizenship are as of now in existence in Sweden while subsistence requirement was effectively abolished as well (Bevelander and Spång, 2008: 117). Whereas in Canada immigrants’ naturalization system is specifically aimed at providing greater opportunities of citizenship’s acquisition for immigrants with greater social capital (e.g. language proficiency, education and subsistence capacity), there is no emphasis on stringent social thresholds for immigrants’ naturalization in Sweden, which may arguably result both in greater equality and lower effective socio-political integration. As it was already mentioned above, relatively lower level of political participation and representation of immigrants in Sweden may be seen as a testimony to that claim.

Hence, having presented an overview of empirical situation with regard to immigrants’ participation in political systems of Canada and Sweden as well as the policies and approaches implemented by the respective governments in order to facilitate and entrench such participation, it may be evident now that a meta-theoretical explanation of these countries’ differing situations is warranted. To this end, the following section will be devoted to the review of possible approaches to be utilized with regard to analyzing the problems in question.

3. Literature and Theory Review

The analysis of the phenomena of immigrants' political integration and participation would by its very direction aim at dealing with analytical and general scientific concepts that have been already developed and implemented by the scholars that have already grappled with the problems presented within this study's research agenda. Consequently, it is necessary to present a comprehensive overview of the theories related to the notions of immigrants' naturalization and its efficiency so as to enable one to develop a research approach that could point toward primary causal factors of the latter. It is this objective that the current section of the study seeks to fulfil.

3.1. Political Integration of Migrants: Major Theories

While the concept of political participation that would prove to be one of the central elements of this study's conceptual framework is necessarily vague, it appears as though several equally valid definitions of participation have been provided by various scholars. For instance, Sydney Verba (1978), one of the founders of contemporary discipline of comparative politics, argued that "[b]y political participation we refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions that they take" (1978: 46). On the other hand, Margaret Conway (1985) attempted to present political participation as "those activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities, or the policies of government" (1985: 2), which would still lie within the framework suggested by Verba but incorporate a wider share of citizenry's potential political actions. At the same time, Daiva K. Stasiulis (1997) remarks that the tendency to constrain the definition of political participation to the issues of formal electioneering may be rather detrimental to further development of scientific research in this respect. However, given the inherent limitations of this study (see Introduction), one may find it inevitable that it is the elections-centered definition of political participation that needs to be emphasized within the context of this research. Thus, a focus on the theories presenting immigrants' electoral participation as a measure of political integration would seem to be rather natural.

Consequently, an issue of motivation to participate in voting activities would emerge. In most general terms, the problem here lies in a differentiation between individual and group-based motivations. While Verba (1978) was comfortable in assuming that the major motivation to participate in political activities would be overwhelmingly individual in its scope and objectives, most contemporary scholars tend to disagree with such claims. For instance, Fowler and Kam (2007) strive to include the factor of possible interest for benefits for others from that of self-interest in the course of modeling possible involvement of individuals in political participation. In their opinion, social identification, which is based on the “desire to improve the welfare of certain groups in society, possibly at the expense of other groups” (Fowler and Kam, 2007: 813), was as likely to motivate potential political actors to engage in relevant activities, as would their self-interest or even a sense of altruism. Thus, “social identifiers”, as these authors prefer to call this category of actors, may be assumed to be increasingly group-motivated in their relation with larger political processes.

As far as ethnic or racial identity may be concerned as a marker of social identification, it appears as if Leighley and Vedlitz (1999) might belong to the ranks of those scholars who had been trying to elucidate various factors that may influence group-based participation in political activities. Having tried to delineate potential factors that may have influenced differing participation trends across four major racial groups of American society (i.e. Anglo-Americans, Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Asian-Americans), Leighley and Vedlitz presented an overview of various theories pertaining to such factor analysis. Thus, in their opinion, five main ‘models of minority political participation’ may be properly established. Connected with such factors as socio-economic status, psychological resources (e.g. “political interest, political efficacy, trust in government and civil duty”; Leighley and Vedlitz, 1999: 1094), social connectedness (i.e. the degree of attachment to one’s community), group identity, or consciousness, and group conflict (i.e. the level of “in-group identification and out-group hostility”; 1999: 1096), all these models may be seen as varied expressions of the analysis that may be oriented towards unveiling significant variables behind patterns of group-based political participation. Having carried out a quantitative analysis of potential relevance of each of these theoretical models to the ends of discerning the basis for minorities’ political participation, Leighley and Vedlitz concluded that the factors of socio-economic status and psychological resources would appear to be more significant than group consciousness/group conflict models as far as minority participation is concerned. However, at the same time, the authors note that the very nature of

minority participation would preclude references to some uniform participation factors, as each specific minority group may be assumed to follow some of respective models in determining its participation patterns.

In this regard, a rather old study of political participation-related motivations of some migrant communities resident in Sweden may be indicative of the problems inherent in trying to determine any universal variables of minorities' political participation. Bäck and Soininen (1998) tried to establish the factors that may be responsible for the trends of electoral participation of immigrant voters observed since 1975. According to their findings, “[n]either proximity to the Swedish political system (Finnish and Danish voters compared with Chilean or Iranian voters), the national groups' length of stay in Sweden (earlier waves of immigration compared with arrivals in the 1980s), and the type of migration (labor or refugee) seem to be unequivocal predictors of a particular group's voting behavior” (1998: 35-6). Subsequently, the authors refer to their early 1990s study of political participation of resident non-citizens and naturalized Swedish citizens belonging to four significant migrant communities of that period (i.e. Chilean, Iranian, Finnish and Yugoslav), in order to show how some other factors might spur these groups' members to increase or limit their participation in Swedish municipal elections. Accordingly, Bäck and Soininen assumed that two main explanatory factors might suffice to account for actual and potential differences in electoral participation of the groups in question. In the first instance, the authors refer to “the varying degrees of integration into the Swedish majority society, i.e., the degree of participation and social interaction with the surrounding society and its institutions”, while “cultural orientations” typical for the group in question are regarded as being the second explanatory factor.

It should be noted that Bäck and Soininen view social integration as constituting primarily not of formal adoption of certain ethical and political values and principles, but of participation in labour markets, engagement with widespread civic associations in the capacity of their members and exposure to mass media and other channels of socialization (Bäck and Soininen, 1998: 38). Thus, a more materialist understanding of social integration is inherent in this approach. On the other hand, a “cultural orientations” category is by itself more nebulous, referring primarily to varied combinations of ‘group’- and ‘grid’-derivative cultural positions, which are subsequently determined in accordance with the extent of a group's control over individual, on one hand, and the degree of normative control over individual behavior resulting from intra-group values (Bäck and Soininen, 1998). Hence, the

authors mentioned such distinct cultural positions, or “ways of life”, as egalitarianism, hierarchy, individualism and fatalism, each of which is determined by its particular combination of ‘group’ and ‘grid’ factors. Thus, egalitarianism is presented as “a result of a combination of strong group relations and minimal normative prescriptions, i.e., a weak grid”, fatalism as a cultural orientation under which its adherents “cannot influence the formation of rules and regulations, but still feel bound by them,” etc. Thus, it may be seen from the data provided in this study that ‘individualists’ and ‘egalitarians’ were more likely to participate in elections than the groups designated as ‘hierarchalists’ or ‘fatalists’. Together with the emphasis on associational integration as an important part of immigrants’ political integration (it was shown that in the early 1990s a second-generation migrant citizen was as likely to engage with any political association as it would be the case with native Swedish citizen), such approach would be likely to demonstrate that political integration and relevant political culture could go hand in hand in respect of ensuring immigrants’ political participation.

Some other approaches toward the issues of immigrants’ political participation need to be referred here as well. For instance, Tillie (2004), in the course of the study of political integration of migrants in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, observed that “the degree of ethnic civic community” may serve as a substantial predictor variable of the level of immigrants’ participation in political system (2004: 531). In that case, the degree of civic community would be intrinsically connected with the concept of social capital. As presented by the author, “[s]ocial capital at the group level can be understood as the resources embedded in the structure of the organisational network of a community” (Tillie, 2004: 531). Accordingly, the main determinants of a given community’s successful social capital development would include the number of organizations involved, the variety of activities carried out by such organizations and/or groups, and the level of organizational density at the community’s level. Tillie asserts that while social capital variable (presented as the degree of organizational membership across different ethnic communities) is rather important, it cannot be regarded as the only determinant of political participation, as the case of Amsterdam itself demonstrates (Tillie, 2004: 535). On the contrary, individual determinants of political participation (such as gender, education, ethnic membership, cross-ethnic membership and trade union membership, and social activities in the social network of the particular respondent) need to be taken into consideration if the wider account of political integration of immigrants’ communities may be carried out. Thus, Tillie’s approach enables one to see how the

combination of group-based and individualized political motivation may result in either lower or higher level of political participation on behalf of immigrants than it would be the case if only one of such classes of variables were emphasized.

Thus, a preliminary review of integration theories and relevant approaches towards the problems of migrants' political integration with a focus on political participation showed that the process of political integration of immigrant communities would rest both on associational integration as a part of accumulating social capital and individualized factors such as socio-economic status or the degree of socio-political engagement with the political community of the host nation-state. Hence, it is necessary to focus on the potential impact of various state policies aiming to foster greater cultural and political integration of immigrants while propping up their opportunities for political participation.

3.2. Multiculturalism and State Policies

As observed by Michel Wieviorka (1998), the very idea of 'multiculturalism' as a desirable state of contemporary society is fairly recent, dating back to the 1960s to 1970s political practices in Canada. Several definitions of multiculturalism have been proposed since then, with the focus on cultural pluralism as a positive characteristic to be cherished and promoted uniting them all. Thus, the 1980s to 1990s definitions of multiculturalism incorporated such concerns as "the acknowledgement and promotion of cultural pluralism as a feature of many societies," "the coexistence of several cultures in one country," or the mere presence of significant "cultural and social differences in relation to the unicity of the mainstream...of archaic societies" (cited in Wieviorka, 1998). The 2000s saw a focus on multiculturalism as a condition of the society that "consists of several cultures or cultural communities with their own distinct systems of meaning and significance and views on man [sic!] and the world" (Parekh, 2000: 13). In the political plane, multiculturalism gradually came to be regarded as a set of policies and an appropriate political-ideological perspective that aim that development of a "*normative framework* that prescribes a *proactive public role* in facilitating positive ethnocultural relations and interethnic unity" (Good, 2009: 6). As opposed to earlier assimilationist model of immigrants' citizenship acquisition, multiculturalist policies of citizenship would not put an exclusive emphasis on respective

immigrants' perceived ability to assimilate into a host society, thus representing a major shift towards the more flexible integration of migrant communities into the latter.

In respect of the attitudes of both scholars and policy makers as to comparative efficiency of multiculturalist policies, as opposed to assimilationist ones, in respect of the potential for immigrants' political integration, it should be noted that there may be distinguished two primary approaches on the matter. The former, represented by German Chancellor Angela Merkel's assertion that multiculturalism was an "utterly failed" endeavor (*Bild*, 2010), focuses on the alleged inadequacy of multiculturalism as a policy approach in curbing interethnic conflict and emerging socio-political radicalism in some of Europe's new immigrant communities. The proponents of this approach basically argue that "liberal multiculturalists'" assertion that "states can adopt multiculturalism policies to fairly recognize the legitimate interests of minorities" while avoiding erosion of "core liberal-democratic values" was rather "utopian" (Kymlicka, 2010). Rather, multiculturalism became gradually identified with the factors exacerbating, rather than ameliorating, interethnic tensions. For instance, Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2009) observe that multiculturalism-oriented policies, while costly and often cumbersome, did little to both decrease the degree of prejudice aimed at immigrant communities in the Netherlands and make immigrants trust the Dutch socio-political system and its specific institutions and values. Similarly, the 2008 Council of Europe report reflecting on the perceived failures of multiculturalism demonstrates that concerns over multiculturalist policies' viability are no longer limited to fringe political circles (Kymlicka, 2010). While stopping short of calling for a return to more assimilationist policies, the adherents of this approach recognize that multiculturalism has largely failed to deliver on its promises, being skeptical as to the need for its continuation at the policy level. Of particular importance is the growing juxtaposition between liberalism and multiculturalism, as the latter's liberal opponents (e.g. Joppke, 2004) argue that multiculturalism, with its obsession over minority-majority relations and a focus on involuntary social statuses, would undermine the very foundation of pluralist liberal society.

In contrast, the proponents of retaining and developing multiculturalism-oriented policies argue that the latter's decriers fail to notice that multiculturalism would in fact contribute to greater socio-political integration of immigrants into the broader polities of their host societies. The perspective presented by Wright and Bloemraad (2012) may be typical in this respect. The authors strive to overcome a usual anti-multiculturalist argument that "implies that there is a zero-sum trade-off" between "integration and national attachment on

one hand, and multiculturalism on the other” (2012: 77). Having carried out a comprehensive analysis of subjective perceptions of immigrants’ attachment and trust in political systems of the two nations (the U.S. and Canada), the authors found out that in fact a polity pursuing a more multiculturalist approach (i.e. Canada) would fare better in respect of garnering political trust of immigrants than the one with less multiculturalist policies (the U.S.). Thus, as the case of Canada demonstrates, immigrants may be expected to benefit more from multiculturalist approach toward their political incorporation than it would be the case with more assimilationist policies.

On reaching such conclusions on the efficiency of multiculturalism as a socio-political integration strategy, it is now necessary to dwell on the specific multiculturalist policies that may be seen as facilitating immigrants’ socio-political integration into their host societies. To begin with, Kristin R. Good (2009) defines “official multiculturalism” as “a normative model that implies a positive role for the state in addressing barriers to ethnocultural-minority access to common political, social, and economic institutions” (2009: 48). Within the context of Canadian socio-political integration environment, official multiculturalism “serves as a positive instrument of change aimed at the removal of barriers that preclude the involvement, equity, access and representation of all citizens in Canada’s institutions” (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 7). Thus, whereas earlier concepts of multiculturalism adopted by the Parliament of Canada invariably focused on cultural heritage preservation, the latter’s contemporary version conscientiously focuses on the elimination of traditional barriers to political participation of Canada’s immigrant residents. As for particular policies that may be regarded as expressions of Canada’s official multiculturalism, it appears as though a number of governmental departments and their services had been instituted in order to facilitate the attainment of the aforementioned normative goals. In the first place, the “official multiculturalism” program as understood within the framework of the Canadian Government’s cultural heritage-related concerns used to be administered by the Multiculturalism and Citizenship Department in the early 1990s, which was followed by that of Canadian Heritage (Good, 2009). The main objective of these departments has been to engage in four-pronged multiculturalism strategy that would include such essential planks as the increase of ethno-racial minorities’ participation in decision making processes, the combatting of racism as a structural phenomenon, elimination of substantive barriers to equal participation of all ethnic groups in public institutions, and the provision of guarantees for the responsiveness of public institutions to the needs and concerns of ethnic diversity (Good,

2009: 49). Thus, this multi-pronged approach towards multiculturalism-related issues would point towards the great importance ascribed to the problem of multiculturalism at national level.

As for municipal and local programs aimed at ensuring multiculturalism-informed socio-political integration of immigrants in Canada, one should note that several policy types may be available to Canadian municipal authorities in this regard. Thus, Good (2009) assume that municipalities may engage in nine major multiculturalism-related policy types, of which only three may be seen as explicitly socio-political (Good, 2009: 53). For instance, municipalities may opt to install “*a separate unit of government to manage diversity and organizational change* in response to immigration”, “provide *grants* to community organizations”, or “increase their *political inclusiveness* by establishing mechanisms whereby immigrant and ethnocultural-minority preferences enter council deliberations on policy matters” (2009: 53). Thus, given the plethora of socio-political instruments available to Canadian municipalities and other local authorities, one may expect that the structures of official multiculturalism of contemporary Canadian polity may continue to play a leading role in facilitating immigrants’ political incorporation.

As to Swedish experiments with multiculturalism, it should be noted that the concept’s development in Sweden’s political environment has been historically connected with the gradual retreat from assimilationist policies that used to be the rule until the early 1970s. In particular, the adoption of the concept of “equality, freedom of choice, and cooperation (*jämlikhet, valfrihet, samverkan*)” with respect to the treatment of immigrant populations has gradually led to the emergence of a Swedish version of multiculturalist policies. As noted by Runblom (1995), its main tenet was based on the assumption that a provision of equitable political rights for new migrants and the lessening of bureaucratic hurdles in respect of citizenship acquisition for the latter would proceed in line with the adoption of Swedish values of liberal equality and representative democracy. In the words of Borevi (2010), the promoters of Swedish multiculturalism were certain that “the implementation of cultural pluralism should take place within the tradition of Swedish welfare policy, including comprehensiveness and universalism” (2010: 12).

However, the relatively low degree of immigrants’ political participation that was already mentioned in this study may lead one to conclude that such political equation would in the end fail to work. Still, while all Scandinavian nation-states were noted for participating in a certain retreat from multiculturalism to civic integration, Sweden may be regarded as the

one that retained a greater residual commitment to multiculturalism's implicit assumptions of them all. For instance, as opposed to both Norway and Denmark, Swedish residence/citizenship policies do not tie "residence permit or citizenship acquisition to the individual's participation in an integration course or passing of an integration test" (Borevi, 2010: 16). At the same time, the early 2010s legislative initiatives would entrust Swedish municipal authorities with providing immigrant-oriented civic participation courses that would ostensibly enable immigrants to gain knowledge of Swedish political system and its corresponding values (Borevi, 2010). However, in spite of these innovations, Swedish immigrants' political integration has remained the closest to multiculturalism-informed ideals than those of other North European countries.

To conclude, the comparison of implementation of multiculturalism-based models of political participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada and Sweden would testify to both positive features and the flaws that may arise out of multiculturalism's application in potentially tumultuous policy environments. Hence, the explanation of such situation would require a greater emphasis on the influence of additional determinants that may have likely shaped the way in which structurally similar multiculturalist policies led to diverse outcomes.

3.3. Socio-Economic Status and Institutional Determinants

The importance of individualized and institutional determinants of political integration cannot be overstated as these two sets of elements are commonly regarded as constituting the basics of individual motivation for engaging in political activities. It is especially evident in respect of minorities, including immigrants, as it is both socio-economic benefits and institutional capabilities that could make them either participate or opt out of 'mainstream' society's political life. Consequently, it is necessary to provide a brief review of main approaches toward the aforementioned determinants and to situate the respective conclusions within the multiculturalism studies-informed framework that was already dealt with above.

In the first instance, socio-economic status has long been recognized as one of the key elements of predictive analysis of political participation. Thus, Verba and Nie (1972) emphasized that the possession of higher levels of socio-economic resources (e.g. income or

education status) was more likely to motivate respective individuals to engage in political activities, including voting behavior, than the lack thereof. This observation seems to have been further corroborated by the grand study of citizen participation factors carried out by Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie (Verba et al., 1991). The latter demonstrated that individuals' decision to engage in political participation-relevant activities may be seen as reflection of their accumulated socio-economic resources that would motivate potential voters/candidates to partake in political actions. Whereas this earlier model was primarily concerned with explicitly socio-economic resources that were seen as constituting a primary variable influencing political activism, its more developed version, presented as a resource model of political participation (Brady et al., 1995), would include some additional variables that may enable one to clarify potential resources relevant for political participation. This latter includes time, money and 'civic skills' as major variables that need to be taken into account when analyzing political participation trends. Under the authors' definition, time and money are seen as the resources that are regarded as "prime resources for investment in political participation," whereas civic skills are presented as specific "communications and organizational capacities" that may be "essential to political activity" (Brady et al., 1995: 273). Hence, one may find it certain that the combined possession of relevant resources in excess of some social minimum would be likely to render their owner more capable of engaging in 'mainstream' politics. Some of the latest studies of this subject matter suggest that the possession of respective resources would indeed have an overriding impact on immigrants' readiness to participate in voting activities. For instance, Bevelander and Pendakur (2009) demonstrated that the majority of immigrant voters included in the 2006 Canadian Election Survey Data would largely have the voting patterns that were similar to those of their native-born peers belonging to the same educational and income social groups. Thus, one may assume that the importance of socio-economic and cultural resources in determining current trends of political participation needs to be borne in mind when dealing with relevant subjects.

While a number of criticisms have been levelled against such resources-centered models of political participation, its key merits would include a materialist attention to socio-economic and cultural resources underpinning all modes of political activities. In conjunction with the aforementioned social capital concept, their introduction into political analysis may help to demonstrate how the possession of such resources may allow for more proactive political participation if the importance of group-based sharing of such resources may be

properly understood. Analogously, the focus on resource-based models of political participation can elucidate the problems arising in the course of the implementation of multiculturalism-based strategies of socio-political integration, especially as far as immigrants are concerned here.

On the other hand, institutional models of political participation, particularly the ones pointing at the importance of group-based social mobilization, may likewise be useful in respect of the analysis of minority political participation. Thus, these theoretical models are especially relevant with respect to the situations wherein both Canada and Sweden may find themselves in respect of immigrants' socio-political integration. The conditions under which the majority of immigrants would find themselves at the cross-section of both ethnic and non-ethnic civic associations may be seen as greatly beneficial to their integration into the larger political community whereas the prevalence of exclusively ethnic associations may be rather harmful. Given that Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) regard voluntary associations as an important component and conduit of political mobilization, one may presume that the predominance of ethnically centered associations can be seen as detrimental to the adoption of liberal norms of equality and solidarity, which is the stated aim of both Canadian and Swedish policies in regard of immigrants' political integration. Accordingly, the proper attention to these concerns should feature high among the relevant research priorities.

Having thus concluded this review of theoretical concepts presented in the professional literature on the subject matter, it is possible to conclude that a viable methodology of research should include the concerns presented in both group-based and individualized models of structural determinants influencing the propensity to participate in political activities on behalf of individuals and their communities. In particular, the tendency toward the combination of these two aspects of the problem may be especially fruitful given the complexity and multi-faceted nature of the contemporary social integration processes. It is in these conditions that should be addressed within each and every meaningful analytical approach to be adopted in this regard. However, before doing so, a comprehensive overview of definitional apparatus to be utilized is necessary. This will be carried out in the following section of this study.

4. Definitions

The analysis of theoretical aspects of the research that needs to be carried out in order to focus on substantive, as opposed to the secondary, components of this study. Accordingly, this chapter will provide a discussion and overview of some essential theoretical constructs that need to be included in the overall research design in order to ensure its holistic character. Given that proper definitional constructs are necessary in order to conceptualize the subject of discussion, one could assume that the development of such definitions would constitute one of most important parts of this research.

4.1. Political Incorporation

As observed by Minnite (2009), the concept of *political incorporation* is simultaneously assumed to count among some of most useful analytical tools in dealing with immigrants' political integration and to entail some of most vague implications, potentially limiting its analytical usefulness. While such scholars as Wong (2006) stress that the use of political incorporation paradigm might lead to excessive diffusion of conceptual aspects added to the latter, some other authors (including Minnite herself) tend to argue that the notion of political incorporation would remain to be one of the essential elements of political analysis with respect to immigrants' participation. Thus, assuming that this latter group of scholars might be more justified in its assumptions than the latter, it would now be necessary to present their understanding of the concept of political incorporation.

Minnite (2009) differentiates between the definitions of political incorporation that tend to emphasize political *inclusion* and the ones proceeding from the proclamation of the necessity of political *absorption*. For instance, one of most recent inclusion-oriented narratives of political incorporation may be seen in the example of Browning et al.'s (2003) attempt to treat political incorporation as an "extent to which group interests are represented in policy making" (2003: 11). Accordingly, the authors present "policy responsiveness" on behalf of dominant policy makers as an outcome of an appropriate minority's mobilization, which may take form of either "protest strategy" or "electoral strategy" (Browning et al., 2003). The latter choice would in turn be stipulated on internal dynamics of the governing

socio-political coalition and its receptiveness to the signals from below. Some of the barriers that may likewise arise in the course of such strategic socio-political struggles may include “interethnic competition for coalition leadership and power, elite strategies for developing policies that coopt minority challenges, and modes of representation that do not lead to empowerment” (cited in Minnite, 2009: 50). Consequently, the process of political incorporation and its final outcomes can be assumed to be developing in sharp opposition to certain socio-political forces and factors aiming to preclude its unfolding.

A more thorough and precise definition of political incorporation was produced by Ong and Meyer (2004). In their opinion, the process of political incorporation can be most adequately seen as “the development of the capacity to mobilize effective political action in response to perceived political opportunities in a host country” (Ong and Meyer, 2004: 4). A similar definition may have been provided by Ramírez and Fraga (2008), who would regard political incorporation as “the extent to which self-identified group interests are articulated, represented, and met in public policymaking” (2008: 64). While this approach is notably wide-ranging in its emphasis on the importance of effective participation in various forms of political action, for the purposes of this study it is certain that a focus on electoral activities is advisable. Thus, following the approach presented by Jones-Correa (2005), political incorporation is to be viewed as a process of increasing participation in formal electoral politics, both as voters and as candidates, under conditions of immigrants’ naturalization. However, in case of Sweden, the process of political incorporation is sure to be inclusive of ‘resident aliens’ lacking formal citizenship, as the latter are entitled to the right to vote in municipal elections of their residence.

4.2. Political Inclusion

The discussion presented above as to the definition of political incorporation may be continued in the further take on *political inclusion*. It should be noted from the very outset that, just as it was the case with political incorporation, the concept of political (or socio-political) inclusion has historically proved to be rather elusive. Bevelander and Pendakur (2011) underscore that “the concept of inclusion is linked to that of exclusion,” as “both are concerned with societal resources” (2011: 74). As such understanding of social inclusion would center on the interchangeable character of both tangible and non-tangible societal

resources, it is clear that socio-political inclusion could thus be conceptualized as a measure of access to such non-tangible societal asset as decision-making power (Bevelander and Pendakur, 2011: 75). This conclusion could be further verified by the assertions of such authors as, e.g. Burchardt et al. (2002), in whose opinion an act of casting one's ballot in either general or local vote would comprise a modicum of political inclusion because such activities represent an expression of individuals' attachment to their respective political community. Subsequently, the definition of political inclusion that would be utilized in the context of this study is destined to incorporate the aforementioned concerns by focusing on the intersubjective attachment of potential voters belonging to immigrant communities to electoral process in their host nations and relevant political institutions.

One should further observe that a proper focus on electoral participation, primarily expressed via acts of voting, would further correspond to this study's overriding research objectives. Therefore, the narrowing of the notion of political inclusion to its electoral aspect would seem to be both justified and methodologically correct. Accordingly, it is this definition that would be consistently used within the context of this study.

4.3. Political Participation

As opposed to the concepts of political inclusion and political incorporation, that of political participation would by its nature encompass a wide degree of both electoral and non-electoral activities that are as a rule associated with a group's participation in national political life. The discussion of the problems inherent in immigrants' political participation in their new host countries appears to be omnipresent in relevant sources, some of which have already been dealt with in preceding sections. On the other hand, some more novel reflections may be introduced here. For example, Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009) emphasize that various phenomena of political participation are intrinsically connected with the notions of political incorporation (see above) and would represent the twin processes of involvement of immigrants as actors in respective political systems and these systems' responsiveness to their appropriate concerns and grievances. Thus, according to the authors, immigrants' political participation assumes that immigrants become involved in the respective political system in the capacity of "representatives, advocates, litigants, activists, or protestors", with the influence of political system playing the role of a primary factor of change in their

structural political roles (Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009: 17). It is this approach to political participation that may enable the broadest interpretation of the phenomena of immigrants' political activities in the developed nations.

On the other hand, some other perspectives on political participation of immigrant communities need to be referred to here as well. Thus, Zapata-Barrero et al. (2013) point toward the need to perceive immigrants' political participation, whether in the form of "voting or running for elections" or engaging in "demonstrations, protests, hunger strikes, boycotts" (2013: 2), as constituting one of four key pillars of immigrants' incorporation into the social fabric of their host nations. Not incidentally, three other pillars that are referred to in that study include the corpus of political rights extended to immigrants in question, the latter's formal identification with their host society, and adoption of political values required and nurtured by the society under consideration. It is this approach that can lead one to view political participation as being part and parcel of some larger social integration processes. Similarly, Adamson's (2007) emphasis on ideologically conditioned nature of most extant definitions of political participation could both lead one to become aware of their inherently politicized character as well as to focus on salient features of political participation that could hardly be conceptually disputed. Undoubtedly, electoral activities belong to this latter category.

4.4. Political Representation

The concept of political representation, as it is evident from the discussion already presented in previous sections of this study, is inherently correlated with the notions of political participation and integration. At the same time, as demonstrated by Bird (2003), whereas the construct of political representation is built on the assumption that their chosen candidates may adequately represent voters/electors, the empirical reality of representative democracy would often demonstrate significant failure to correspond the motives and inclinations of elected representatives to those of their ostensible constituencies. One of most substantial elements of the situation under consideration lies in the phenomenon of systematic under-representation of immigrants and other ethno-cultural minorities in the political representative structures and institutions that has remained a fact in spite of repeated efforts

of the authorities to alleviate this problem. Thus, the elucidation of this problem is to be this study's chief scientific concern.

Within the context of this study, immigrants' political representation is regarded as a substantial component of the latter's participation in the political structures of their host countries. Representation may be seen as the arrangements by which some persons stand or act for others. Whereas the 'direct democracy' concept has historically been relatively popular, especially at times of political upheavals, the political practice of the majority of contemporary mass societies has demonstrated the tenacity of representative political forms, whether democratic or markedly illiberal, so that the functional validity of representation-centered political forms can scarcely be put into doubt. Accordingly, the emphasis on political representation as a political construct would testify to the coherence of this study's research approach, as it was already presented herein.

4.5. Political Opportunity Structure

The idea of political opportunity structure can be seen as just as vague and potentially excessively broad as any of the concepts already referred to above. In particular, Gamson and Meyer (1996) list such forms of defining political opportunity structure as involving "institutional structures," "rules of representation," or "dynamics aspects of political environment that change to allow or encourage the emergence of challengers" to the dominant configuration of political power (Gamson and Meyer, 1996: 275). In the words of Green (2002), "opportunity structures are multifaceted, covering almost any environmental or contextual feature that might shape, enable, or constrain collective action" (2002: 22). Thus, such elements of political opportunity structure as governmental institutions or state's relationship as an agent to the larger political structure may lead to the development of specific configurations of socio-political interactions within the respective society. In this respect, Tarrow's (1994) definition of political opportunity structure as "consistent, but not necessarily formal or permanent, dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations of success and failure" (1994: 85) may appear to be rather pertinent as far as the research agenda of this study is concerned.

Accordingly, in this study political opportunity structure is to be presented in accordance with the exogenous variables that may influence the state's receptiveness to integrate demands and grievances of a potentially discontent political minority (in this case, immigrants) into its larger participation structure. In this respect, several approaches have already been presented. For instance, Tarrow (1994) refer to such elements of the progressive political opportunity structure as increasing access to political participation, "evidence of political realignment within the polity", "availability of influential allies," and "emerging splits within the elite" (1994: 165). It appears as though the increasing political empowerment of immigrants in both Canada and Sweden would largely correspond to such operationalized model of political opportunity structure's dynamics. For instance, the increasing assertiveness of Quebecois separatists/autonomists in Canada would lead to the political realignment wherein the concerns of the Liberals were centered on the need to garner the support of Canada's other ethnic minorities in order to prevent the 'bicultural' split of the polity. Likewise, in Sweden the increased popularity and importance of leftist and left-liberal intellectuals in the circles of policy makers would lead to the transition from a rather isolationist post-WWII model of welfare state to the one based on a more inclusive and anti-racialist thinking. This, in turn, enabled the increases in immigrants' political rights epitomized in less stringent naturalization procedures and the provision of a right to participate in municipal elections even in the absence of formal citizenship. These examples demonstrate how the changes at institutional and ideological level could favor ethnic minorities in their quest for greater political opportunity.

4.6. Definitions of Immigrants in Canada and Sweden

Last but not the least, the definition of the political actors to be included into the general analysis of the problem under consideration needs to be presented in order to define the scope of social groups that should be included into a general analysis of the issues treated in this study. In particular, the combination of legal and socio-political approaches towards the definition of key actors whose participation is to be analyzed in this research would allow for the greater coherence in dealing with relevant socio-political issues.

In Canada, given its points-based system of immigrants' status definition, certain hierarchy of immigrants' rights and responsibilities may be established. In most general

terms, an immigrant is defined as one of “persons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas” (Statistics Canada, 2010). While such definition is necessarily broad, it may be put into context by the respective definitions of second class referring to various ‘classes’ of immigrants under Canadian legislation. Thus, the current Canadian legislation provides for three classes of immigrants that may be seen as representing various expressions of the attempts of Canadian authorities to strike a balance between the priorities of demands of economic development, family reunification concerns, and purely humanitarian sensibilities. Thus, family immigrants may be defined as “foreign nationals who are close relatives or family members of Canadian citizens or permanent residents of Canada, with such sub-categories as spouses, common-law partners or conjugal partners being at least 16 year old; dependent children of either aforementioned permanent residents of Canada or of their spouses and/or partners provided that these latter should be less than 22 year old; fathers, mothers, grandparents, or orphan brothers/sisters/nephews/nieces that are unmarried and less than 18 year old; and other relatives by blood regardless of their age if the prospective sponsor has no living relatives in Canada at the time of application (Border Connections, 2008). Such categorization of potential family migrants would be expected to both enable a relatively smooth family reunification and prevent abuses of such process.

On the other hand, economic immigrants may be seen as a category of immigrants whose admission into Canada is motivated primarily by their relevant occupational skills. This category of immigrants is in turn divided into two sub-classes. Whereas the former includes those economic immigrants that are expected to be admitted to work in their appropriate occupational position, the latter, also known as ‘business immigrants,’ encompasses those entrepreneurs, family business owners and other potential investors in Canadian economy, whose entry into the national economic life may be expected to result in substantial benefits for the latter. Accordingly, this sub-class of economic immigrants enjoys a more relaxed admission procedure than it is the case with those immigrants expected to engage in occupational work. Finally, refugees and asylum seekers are regarded as the third main group of immigrants whose admission is primarily motivated by humanitarian aid-related concerns. In turn, refugees may be divided into government- and private-sponsored ones, which may be sponsored by individual Canadian citizens who bear the responsibility for such refugees for the duration of at least after one year after his/her admission to the

country (Lynch and Simon, 2003: 58). Such practice may be regarded as a form of precaution against possible abuses of the refugee's situation.

As for Sweden, the legal status of immigrants has been enshrined in a number of legislative acts and corresponding guidelines adopted by respective governmental institutions and organizations. For instance, the 2002 Swedish Government's report on integration policy with respect to immigrants' population defines an immigrant as the concept that "refers to those migrating to Sweden themselves" (Regeringskansliet, 2002: 2). In contrast, the notion of "people of foreign extraction" is used to refer to those who "have migrated to Sweden themselves and to those who were born in Sweden and have at least one parent who has migrated to Sweden" (ibid.). Thus, it is evident that the definition of immigrants and their descendants would strive to be as inclusive as possible given the Government of Sweden's preoccupation with ensuring a smooth integration of both newly arrived and entrenched immigrants into the socio-political and socio-economic canvas of Swedish society. Hence, the policies of immigrants' integration and naturalization pursued by Sweden should be seen as proceeding from the assumption of an equal treatment of all newly arrived residents of Sweden, irrespective of any point-based framework of naturalization. This would by itself stand in sharp contrast with the Canadian practice of effectively segregating various categories of immigrants and refugees in accordance with certain pre-determined criteria and the guidelines derived from these latter.

Accordingly, the clearer understanding of socio-political aspects of immigrants' integration in both Canada and Sweden would greatly benefit from the precision of the definitions related to the subject matter, some of which have been briefly presented and discussed above. Of particular note is the interdependence between the processes of political incorporation, participation and representation that has been pointed out above. Therefore, one may provisionally infer that the development of the scientifically valid and reliable instruments for the purposes of establishing exact variables influencing the relative efficiency of political participation and representation strategies in Canada and Sweden would greatly benefit from the introduction of such definitions. It is expected that these latter could be used to elucidate some of the issues that need to be raised in the course of appropriate discussion of the latter. Hence, the transition from the discussion of individual concepts and their definitions that have been dealt with in this section to that of a more thorough and systemic methodological basis for the study's research agenda. This latter discussion will enable one to

demonstrate the problems inherent in such aspects of the study as case selection and determination of independent and dependent variables.

5. Methodology

The main problem to be solved in the course of establishing a proper methodology for the purposes of dealing with the issue under consideration is likely to consist in determining a relevant research approach that would be aimed at the development of the proper understanding of the problem under consideration. Consequently, in this section, the main attention will be focused on the need to present a holistic and comprehensive research approach that would enable one to solve the problems alluded to in previous sections of the study. It is this issue that would merit a close deliberation in this part of the paper, and its solution will be closely connected with a theoretically informed understanding of major problems of contemporary comparative politics and larger corpus of social sciences.

5.1. Comparative Case Study Research as an Analytical Approach

The development of modern social studies has been closely intertwined with the search for scientific methods that would enable the new generations of researchers to discover explicit and implicit connections binding together “independent stable factors” of social development and specific outcomes observed by these researchers (George and Bennett, 2005: 8). The advances in case studies and the development of scientific realist paradigm have led many scholars to renounce orthodox preoccupation with excessively quantitative, statistical methods that used to be regarded as universally preferable in comparison with so-called ‘small-n’, case-specific qualitative studies. The paradigmatic shift

briefly mentioned above has gradually led researchers of social and political phenomena to turn from the earlier, rather biased definition of a 'case' as "a phenomenon for which we report and interpret only a single measure on any pertinent variable" (Eckstein, 1975: 85) to a more generalizable definition of "an instance of a class of events" (George and Bennett, 2005: 17). This latter definition would enable one to see cases not as isolated instances of mere historical or anecdotal importance; on the contrary, they could now be acknowledged as being specific elements of a certain generic class of phenomena. This recognition would in turn facilitate the investigation of cases as indicative of relevant classes of events, as it would now be assumed that their study might help in adding to generalizable knowledge on respective subjects. In so doing, contemporary case studies-based approaches to social and political inquiry may benefit from the discussion of historically and geographically specific phenomena as representative of certain generic tendencies and/or processes.

The comparative potential of case studies research is further substantiated by the fact that such research invariably involves the study of an issue(s) presented as contextualized within a certain bounded system. Accordingly, while within-case analysis of a specific bounded system may represent one of most conventional instances of case studies approach, the potential possibility of cross-case comparison among several bounded systems of reference (i.e. cases) raises the question of developing comparative case studies approaches. Accordingly, it is due to such feature that the formulation of this study's research design may have become possible.

As to actual strengths of case studies as a means of scientific analysis, it appears as though George and Bennett (2005) managed to present the most comprehensive account of the advantages of case study-based approaches as far as their application in social and political sciences are concerned. To begin with, case studies are presumed to enable the researcher to attain a higher degree of conceptual validity than it would be possible if purely quantitative methods were used. This situation is allegedly achieved due to the fact that, unlike statistical studies that often risk "conceptual stretching" because of attempts to mathematically measure potentially immeasurable phenomena (e.g. political incorporation), case studies "allow for conceptual refinement," which proceeds in accordance with the grouping of individual cases into appropriate sub-classes of phenomena. The latter could subsequently be examined in accordance with particular variables or explanatory sequences that may distinguish some of these sub-classes from the others. Thus, as opposed to statistical

methods of inquiry, case studies approaches could result in more refined and less stretched concepts, thereby enabling one to identify appropriate variables with relative ease.

In a similar vein, the use of case studies approaches could be expected to result in greater heuristic potentialities for identifying novel variables and developing new hypotheses on the basis of these latter. While the use of statistical methods may assist in identifying certain deviant cases that would not fall in line with pre-established research design and its respective variables, the dependence of such methodological approaches on pre-generated databases or their equivalents means that they are generally ill-equipped to present and substantiate novel hypotheses incorporating such allegedly deviant cases. Hence, in the absence of additional fieldwork, such statistically determinist studies are likely to be inferior to case studies-based approaches in that regard. Accordingly, the development of case studies-based research approaches could be assumed to result in easier hypotheses development and thus in a more diverse research landscape.

Finally, the capacity to explore and analyze causal mechanisms can be seen as one of most decisive strengths of case study-based approaches to political studies. As observed by George and Bennett (2005), “within a single case, we can look at a large number of intervening variables and inductively observe any unexpected aspects of the operation of a particular causal mechanism,” as well as establish whether certain conditions might preclude its normal functioning (2005: 21). In contrast, quantitative methods of analysis would leave out the discussion of contextual factors that could not be presented as codified variables of respective quantitative research design. Thus, in this regard, it is evident that the development of any significant research strategy involving the possibility of deviant and unexpected variables’ occurrence could benefit from the utilization of at least some elements of case studies-based research approaches.

5.2. The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison and Case Selection

After outlining basic prerequisites and strengths of case studies research, it is now possible to turn towards the discussion of specific method to be used in the context of this study. Given that the specificity of the research objectives established in Introduction would necessitate a certain focus on particular aspects of immigrants’ political participation and

representation, it may be assumed that such method should both enable the researcher to standardize the data available from each comparable case and allow for specific emphasis on certain aspects of the cases involved. Proceeding from these two criteria, one may presume that such requirements for both structure and focus of the study in case would necessitate the introduction of the method of structured, focused comparison as presented and discussed in George and Bennett (2005). Accordingly, a brief discussion of this method and its methodological implications should be necessary here.

The core idea behind the method of structured, focused comparison (hereinafter referred to as the MSFC) involves adherence to two crucial requirements with respect to case studies and their planning. One of these requirements emphasizes the need for a discussed case or group of cases to belong to one and the same class or sub-class of events, the character whereof would depend on the research problem under consideration. For instance, as far as the situation under consideration is concerned, the cases to be subsumed into the relevant research strategy should be characterized from the perspective of their belonging to one specific class of political phenomena, i.e. the ones related to the concepts of political participation and representation. Similarly, the second requirement that needs to be fulfilled in order to make the study adhere to the provisions of the MSFC-based approach would proceed from the notion of a focused selection of cases that need to be connected with some successive research strategy. Both these requirements are clearly fulfilled in respect of the present study as it is evident that the development of the study's research questions has proceeded in accordance with the need for certain focus on particular aspects of political integration. Furthermore, it has enabled the researcher to point toward the important predictive variables that would be likely to establish causal mechanisms governing the interactions between salient factors of immigrants' political participation and representation across both cases in question.

Accordingly, one may stipulate that the selection of cases of Canada and Sweden for comparison may be motivated by the fact that these two nations are representative of two qualitatively different approaches towards immigrants' naturalization and citizenship acquisition. Whereas Canada is known for pursuing a more selective approach toward these issues, Sweden has been on the course toward relaxing citizenship acquisition requirements for immigrants. Moreover, as opposed to Canada, Sweden has been remarkably constructive in regard of extending the right to participate in municipal elections to non-citizen immigrants under condition of their permanent residence in respective areas for specified

amount of time. Thus, one may assume that Sweden has proved to be more liberal than Canada in respect of immigrants' political integration. At the same time, the basis for the inclusion of case studies of Canada and Sweden into a single study may be supported by the fact that both nation-states are reported as having encountered serious challenges in the sphere of introducing and developing their multiculturalism-related policies, which may have forced both polities to resort to more civic integration-informed perspectives on immigrants' political integration. In turn, this discussion would necessitate an overview of theoretically salient variables that may have an impact on the unfolding and analysis of the problems of current research. Thus, these issues will be properly dealt with in the next sub-section of this study.

5.3. Independent and Dependent Variables

The presentation of the variables of a case study-based research is of great theoretical importance, as it is understandable that no significant explicative interpretation of the empirical data to be presented in the context of this study may make sense in the absence of objective criteria for determining appropriate causal mechanisms and their influences. Hence, the purpose of both independent and dependent variables as explanatory constructs would lie in the elucidation of these very conditions. One may thus presume that the introduction and analysis of theoretically salient variables of this research should proceed in accordance with the principle of differentiation between independent and dependent variables as well as following the need for structural explanations of the choice of variables to be considered in the course of this research.

The definition of variables to be used in a current research will provide as follows. The rate of representation will be presented as a dependent variable defining the degree of political incorporation of immigrants within socio-political systems of their respective nations. The selection of representation as a dependent variable is justified by the fact that as both countries in question have been developing as representative democracies, their political systems appear to have been determined by widespread recognition of the legitimacy of this principle of governance. Consequently, the selection of political representation at national and regional/local levels as a dependent variable of political integration would seem to be conducive to the better understanding of the logic of immigrants' political participation at

large. Hence, the focus on political representation will allow for both structured and focused approach towards the impact of immigrants' political incorporation frameworks on their general integration into political systems characterized by the dominance of representative democracy.

As to the independent variables that may be seen as expressions of causal mechanisms having an impact on a degree of immigrants' political representation, these can be hypothetically divided into two major groups – those that could be seen as *agent-related* (focusing on migrants' personal and group-based characteristics) and the ones that may be characterized as *structure-related* (aimed at elucidating and cataloguing relevant state policies and institutional arrangements). Agent-related variables can include, for example, the type of the prevalent migration (labor migration or refugee-related one), the demographic characteristics of migrants (educational level, economic status, employment, country of origin, etc.), etc. Structure-related variables can include political rights of the immigrants (e.g. process of naturalization, the right of dual citizenship), and characteristics of political and party systems of the country. The correlation between independent and dependent variables is based on the simple causation, i.e. independent variables (causes) are assumed to be determining higher or lower probability of variance in their dependent variable (rate of political representation).

After presenting various theoretical considerations as to the factors that are likely to influence the representation of immigrants' in the political systems of their host nations, it appears as though four major independent variables are likely to exert their influence on the independent variable in question so that a clear causal relationship between these latter may be hypothesized. Two of these variables may be presented as socio-economic status of immigrants themselves and their electoral participation in the capacity of voters, thus belonging to the category of agent-related variables, whereas two others can be regarded as representative of structure-based ones. These latter include political opportunity structure (as presented in Section 4) and institutional framework for naturalization and citizenship acquisition. The selection of these two variables is motivated by the need to focus on the state's effort to facilitate and systematize immigrants' political integration policies, which can be assumed to be constitutive of institutional dimensions of the latter's political participation features. Accordingly, it may be assumed that the increase in the degree of these variables would positively correlate with similar developments in respect of the dependent variable of this study, as this would testify to the presence of substantive causal mechanisms between

them. In the event that no correlation or negative correlation may be uncovered, the conclusion on the lack of positive impact of respective variables on immigrants' political participation could be justified. In turn, such situation may put into question the assumptions on relevance of social capital-related and purely institutional policies for the purposes of socio-political integration of immigrants in Canada and Sweden.

5.4 Hypotheses

The analysis of variables presented above may enable one to formulate several hypotheses that could be pertinent to the essence of this study. These would be presented as follows.

Hypothesis 1: Higher socio-economic status of immigrants is likely to result in higher degree of political representation. The core of this hypothesis is connected with the resource-based theory of political participation that was already discussed to a substantial extent in Section 3.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of voter turnout are positively correlated with greater degree of immigrants' participation. This hypothesis is connected with social capital concept, as it is assumed that the existence of ethnic solidarity on behalf of immigrants may result in their active participation in the electoral processes provided that their compatriots may be elected.

Hypothesis 3: More liberal system of citizenship acquisition and naturalization is likely to result in a higher degree of immigrants' political representation. Here the key assumption is connected with the institutionalist approach according to which more thorough institutional arrangements are likely to result in a more perfect political representation climate.

Hypothesis 4: A more extensive political opportunity structure would correlate with higher rate of political representation. This hypothesis is directly based on the notions typical of political opportunity structure model that was discussed in Section 4 of this study.

Therefore, the analysis of causal mechanisms possibly connecting independent and dependent variables of this study will proceed as follows. In the first part, certain data with respect to the independent variables of this research will be presented and appropriate analysis thereof will be performed based on theoretical recommendations of the MSFC. In so doing, certain common and divergent patterns of the development of these variables in

societal contexts of Canada and Sweden may be presented. The second part will be devoted to the analysis and discussion of potential correlation between political representation of immigrants in respective polities and the results obtained in the course of analyzing appropriate independent variables. Subsequently, one should assume that a successful attainment of this goal may result in a better understanding of intricacies of these variables and the presence or absence of specific causal connections between them all. In so doing, the provision of informed answers to this study's two research questions specified in Introduction may become both easy and possible.

6. Data and Analysis

The presentation of the variables outlined above would require the appropriate presentation of the data that would enable one to draw certain conclusions as to the causal connections between independent and dependent variables of this study. With this in mind, the following data presentation will focus on comparative changes in aggregate socio-economic statuses of immigrants in Canada and Sweden so that some preliminary observations on possible improvements or failures in terms of the latter's income and educational situations may be presented. This will be followed by comparative analysis of the data pertaining to political participation of immigrants as voters in the course of major national and, where possible, local/municipal elections. Similarly, the observations as to the importance of political opportunity and naturalization/citizenship acquisition policies will be provided here as well. Finally, the statistics of immigrants' political representation will be compared and contrasted based on the cases of Canada and Sweden, to be followed by a thorough discussion of possible correlations and causal mechanisms that could exist between the aforementioned independent variables and the dependent variable of this study. In so doing, the attainment of objective conclusions as to the presence of correlation between these respective variables may become possible.

6.1. Socio-Economic Status of Immigrants in Canada and Sweden: A Comparison of Data

As the importance of the SES as a variable potentially influencing chances for immigrants and minorities' political participation has already been established in Section 3 of this study, it is now necessary to dwell on empirical data demonstrating relative capacity of Canadian and Swedish societies to maintain and bolster positive change in respect of immigrants' SES. The following data will focus on such important dimensions of the SES variable as income, education, occupational prestige (measured as a degree of skilled versus unskilled occupations in the general structure of immigrants' employment), and general health situation. All data pertaining to these aspects of SES model are derived from the databases provided by Statistics Canada and Statistics Sweden, respectively.

Table 1: Income of immigrants, by sex, landing age group, immigrant admission category, years since landing and landing year, 2011 constant dollars (Statistics Canada, 2013)

Years since landing	Statistics	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
0 years since landing	Total count (persons)	144,810	149,725	153,495	167,630	148,785
	Mean with income (dollars)	18,500	20,000	21,000	20,000	20,000
	Median with income (dollars)	9,700	10,700	10,600	10,700	10,900
	Total with income (persons)	82,510	84,435	82,750	92,635	83,040
1 year since landing	Total count (persons)	156,820	160,890	166,335	181,350	
	Mean with income (dollars)	26,000	25,000	25,000	26,000	
	Median with income (dollars)	18,700	18,200	18,300	19,100	
	Total with income (persons)	106,390	104,555	107,255	120,210	
2 years since landing	Total count (persons)	160,165	165,730	171,725		
	Mean with income (dollars)	28,000	28,000	28,000		
	Median with income (dollars)	20,000	20,000	21,000		
	Total with income (persons)	106,005	107,940	113,795		

Table 2: Income of immigrants by world area, sex, immigrant admission category, education, language ability, and landing year for tax year 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013)

World area	Statistics	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total, world area	Mean with income (dollars)	31,000	30,000	28,000	26,000	20,000
	Total with income (persons)	111,155	112,935	113,795	120,210	83,040
Africa, Middle East and some islands of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans	Mean with income (dollars)	30,000	27,000	25,000	22,000	15,900
	Total with income (persons)	20,550	20,050	20,485	21,935	14,135
Asia, Australasia and Pacific	Mean with income (dollars)	27,000	26,000	25,000	23,000	17,500
	Total with income (persons)	54,235	56,225	56,945	62,770	44,275
South America, Greenland, some islands of the Atlantic and Pacific United States	Mean with income (dollars)	30,000	29,000	27,000	24,000	18,600
	Total with income (persons)	13,895	13,780	13,265	13,595	10,045
United States	Mean with income (dollars)	55,000	54,000	51,000	48,000	44,000
	Total with income (persons)	3,590	4,065	3,690	3,520	2,715
Europe except the United Kingdom	Mean with income (dollars)	35,000	34,000	33,000	30,000	26,000
	Total with income (persons)	14,810	14,420	14,750	14,120	9,210
United Kingdom	Mean with income (dollars)	57,000	54,000	53,000	49,000	48,000
	Total with income (persons)	4,035	4,365	4,650	4,255	2,650

The data presented in these two tables may be characteristic of the dynamics of income mobility on behalf of the immigrants who would manage to ‘land’ (i.e. to gain a right to permanent residence) in Canada. It is evident that in general, in the course of adapting to the conditions of Canadian society, these ‘landed’ immigrants would progressively accumulate larger incomes, thus significantly improving their relative income status. The lack of data for the years past that of 2011 may have substantially diminish the possibility for

more precise evaluation of the current state of income mobility among Canada's landed immigrants; however, it may be hypothesized that its general upward trends would be poised to continue.

Table 3: Labour force survey estimates (LFS), by immigrant status, educational attainment, sex and age group, Canada, 2009-2013

Immigrant status	Educational attainment	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Landed immigrants	Total, all education levels	55.9	56.3	56.4	57.5	57.3
	No degree, certificate or diploma	28.2	27.5	27.3	28.4	28.1
	High school graduate	52.4	52.8	53.0	52.3	52.3
	High school graduate, some post-secondary	54.7	54.5	56.0	56.8	55.8
	Post-secondary certificate or diploma	64.0	63.5	62.9	64.6	63.8
	University degree	70.0	70.0	69.7	70.1	70.1
Born in Canada	Total, all education levels	63.3	63.3	63.5	63.3	63.3
	No degree, certificate or diploma	36.3	35.6	35.6	34.9	34.9
	High school graduate	64.5	64.4	64.4	63.8	63.1
	High school graduate, some post-secondary	65.5	65.9	65.1	65.6	64.8
	Post-secondary certificate or diploma	72.9	72.6	73.0	72.1	72.2
	University degree	79.1	78.5	77.8	78.0	77.6

As these educational attainment statistics are based on the result of the 2006 census, they would be relevant to the discussion of the dynamics of immigrant population's educational status in-between Canada's parliamentary elections of 2006, 2008 and 2011. As one may observe, the differences between landed immigrants and native-born Canadians in terms of their educational attainment are rather substantial, pointing towards the importance of socio-economic integration for the purposes of alleviating this situation. In particular, there is a significant difference in respect of the highest levels obtained in terms of educational attainment and employment rates for respective groups by immigrant status. Still, these differences are not so high as to posit that there may exist an unbridgeable gap between immigrants and native-born Canadians with regard to the possibility of obtaining more advanced educational proficiencies and, accordingly, increase one's employment status.

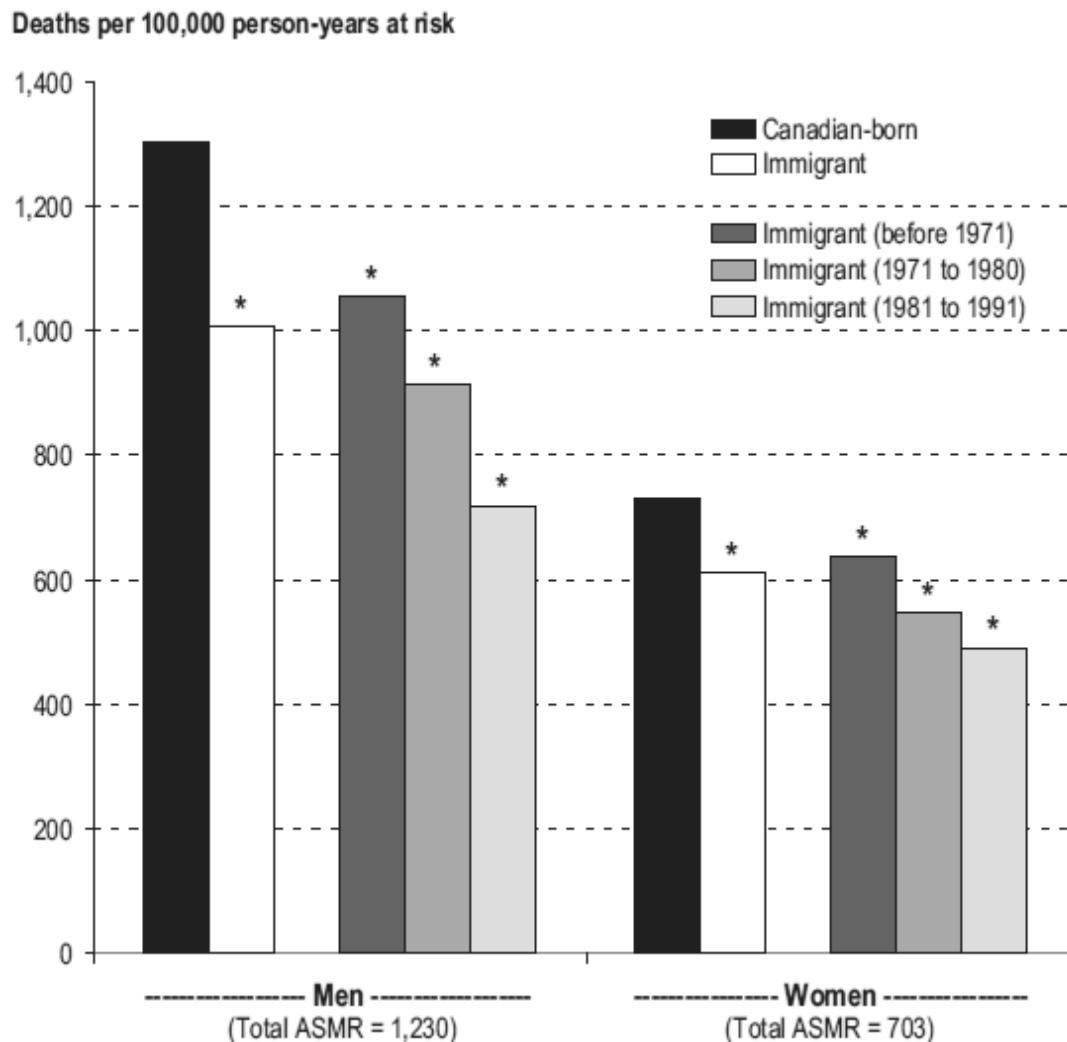
Table 4: Immigrants' Relative Occupational Status, according to 2006 Census Data

Selected demographic, cultural, labour force, educational and income characteristics (277)	Total - Immigrant status and period of immigration	Immigrants	Before 1991	1991 to 1995	1996 to 2000	2001 to 2006
Total - Citizenship	6,186,950	6,186,950	3,408,420	823,925	844,625	1,109,985
Canadian citizens	4,691,440	4,691,440	3,079,600	724,045	679,130	208,670
Canadian citizens only	3,999,295	3,999,295	2,695,800	602,380	540,435	160,685
Citizens of Canada and at least one other country	692,145	692,145	383,800	121,665	138,700	47,980
Not Canadian citizens	1,495,510	1,495,510	328,815	99,885	165,495	901,315
Total population 15 years and over by labour force activity	5,841,245	5,841,245	3,408,415	801,365	744,665	886,790
In the labour force	3,634,850	3,634,845	1,949,270	559,415	530,150	596,015
Employed	3,383,710	3,383,705	1,857,075	518,260	485,860	522,515
Unemployed	251,140	251,140	92,195	41,155	44,290	73,500
Not in the labour force	2,206,395	2,206,395	1,459,145	241,955	214,520	290,780
Participation rate	62.2	62.2	57.2	69.8	71.2	67.2
Employment rate	57.9	57.9	54.5	64.7	65.2	58.9
Unemployment rate	6.9	6.9	4.7	7.4	8.4	12.3
Total labour force 15 years and over by class of worker	3,634,845	3,634,845	1,949,270	559,410	530,150	596,010
Class of worker - Not applicable	87,800	87,795	26,995	14,355	15,530	30,920
All classes of worker	3,547,045	3,547,050	1,922,275	545,060	514,620	565,095
Wage earners	3,026,195	3,026,195	1,590,415	476,380	449,870	509,530
Self-employed	507,420	507,420	325,150	66,355	62,480	53,430
Unpaid family workers	13,435	13,435	6,715	2,320	2,270	2,135
Total labour force 15 years and over by occupation - National Occupational Classification for Statistics 2006	3,634,850	3,634,845	1,949,270	559,415	530,150	596,010
Occupation - Not applicable	87,800	87,800	26,995	14,355	15,535	30,920
All occupations	3,547,050	3,547,050	1,922,275	545,060	514,620	565,095
A Management occupations	358,950	358,945	230,905	45,955	42,705	39,380
B Business, finance and	620,450	620,450	357,140	92,305	83,210	87,790

Selected demographic, cultural, labour force, educational and income characteristics (277)	Total - Immigrant status and period of immigration	Immigrants	Before 1991	1991 to 1995	1996 to 2000	2001 to 2006
administrative occupations						
C Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	325,920	325,920	146,470	47,725	67,210	64,515
D Health occupations	208,690	208,690	124,050	30,810	26,040	27,780
E Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	253,995	253,995	148,640	31,870	33,330	40,160
F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	91,580	91,580	53,465	12,790	12,095	13,230
G Sales and service occupations	837,880	837,880	402,500	146,385	131,120	157,875
H Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	464,375	464,375	272,430	70,120	59,610	62,215
I Occupations unique to primary industry	67,570	67,570	40,380	8,605	8,555	10,025

Thus, it is evident that there is a certain correlation between the time of residence of respective immigrants in the nation and their degree of prestigious occupational status. In fact, this correlation may be demonstrated on the examples from management to health occupations. On the other hand, in respect of natural and applied sciences, occupations in arts, culture, recreation and sports, and sales and service occupations, it could be noted that the number of employed persons who arrived in Canada in the period of 1996 to 2000 does not substantially differ from that of those whose time of arrival would fall on 2000 to 2006. Such situation may be attributed to both relatively low prestige of the latter occupation category and the growing need for professionals in natural sciences.

Figure 1: Age-standardized mortality rates (ASMRs) for immigrants, by sex and period of immigration, compared with Canadian-born cohort members, non-institutional population aged 25 or older at baseline, Canada, 1991 to 2001



While these data would be substantially limited to the immigrants having arrived in Canada before 2001, it is still evident that the average age-standardized mortality rates for immigrants who ‘landed’ in Canada in most recent decades would be substantially lower than those of earlier arrivals. While such outcome may undoubtedly be attributed to the general advancement of healthcare provision industry, one may be justified in assuming that such development was simultaneously an indication of a growing SES of immigrants in Canada, being thus an expression of their general social integration.

As for Sweden, its income distribution statistics demonstrates that, in contrast to Canada, the nation did not manage to guarantee a constantly increasing standard of material conditions for its burgeoning immigrant population. As a result of the trends of the 2000s

economic development a substantial income gap arose in respect of the distribution of wealth between Swedish-born and foreign-born individuals. Thus, according to Statistics Sweden (2013), whereas average income growth for Swedish-born households in the 2000s amounted to 40 per cent, that of foreign-born residents would gap behind, amounting to mere 27 per cent. Given that “the percentage of the population with a low economic standard increased from 8.4 percent in 1999 to 14.4 percent in 2011,” this would mean that foreign-born population would now be at risk of disproportionate material privation in comparison with the conditions of the Swedish-born citizens. The following table would represent the comparative percentage of persons found to be at risk of material deprivation as differentiated between Swedish-born and foreign-born persons.

Table 5: Percentage of Swedish-born and Foreign-born Persons Found to be at Risk of Material Deprivation, 2008-2012

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Material deprivation					
Total					
Men and women	4.6	4.8	3.9	4.2	4.4
Foreign background, total					
Men and women	11.1	12.1	10.8	10.7	11.0
Foreign background, foreign born					
Men and women	11.0	11.4	10.5	10.0	10.2
Foreign background, Swedish born with two foreign born parents					
Men and women	11.3	14.3	11.9	12.7	13.2
Swedish background, total					
Men and women	3.5	3.6	2.8	3.1	3.2
Swedish background, Swedish born with one Swedish and one foreign born parent					
Men and women	5.6	7.0	6.1	5.3	6.7
Swedish background, Swedish born with two Swedish born parents					
Men and women	3.4	3.3	2.5	3.0	2.9

Thus, it is evident from this table that the percentage of foreign-born residents as well as those belonging to the Swedish-born category but having one or two foreign-born parent(s) that experience material difficulties in recent years is substantially greater than those of citizens with Swedish background. This situation would raise the problem of structural inequality in respect of access to material resources that could have an adverse impact upon

the ongoing socio-economic integration of the foreign-born residents and their descendants into Swedish society. The following table may demonstrate a more holistic essence of this problem based on the correlation between equalized disposable income on one hand and the country of birth and number of years in Sweden on the other.

Table 6: Equalised disposable income by country of birth and number of years in Sweden

Median values in SEK thousands, 2012 prices.

Country of birth and number of years in Sweden	1991	1995	1999	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Margin of error (±)	12/11 in %
All persons 20– years old	156.2	142.9	157.1	165.1	184.8	191.7	204.9	205.2	209.4	212.3	217.2	219.3	2.0	1.0
Born in Sweden	157.4	145.0	160.2	169.0	188.8	196.9	211.5	212.3	216.3	219.3	225.0	227.6	2.3	1.2
Foreign-born	141.8	123.8	135.5	140.9	155.1	159.1	167.4	163.7	168.9	167.8	172.3	174.3	4.3	1.2
Nordic countries excluding Sweden	158.6	143.4	155.2	159.4	181.1	181.6	191.0	179.7	198.1	193.9	198.4	211.8	12.1	6.8
1–10 years in Sweden	145.3	120.8	167.7	156.6	165.3	167.0	193.3	149.6	171.9	189.5	177.6	180.8	57.8	1.8
11–20 years in Sweden	138.9	129.8	150.4	139.0	170.0	175.7	183.3	198.6	200.5	198.7	205.0	259.1	34.5	26.4
21– years in Sweden	164.2	148.9	155.7	160.9	183.6	184.6	192.2	181.5	201.5	194.4	198.6	211.5	12.2	6.5
EU27 excluding Nordic countries	144.9	141.9	155.4	163.7	175.1	181.0	192.3	192.3	188.5	195.3	180.1	189.1	11.5	5.0
1–10 years in Sweden	133.9	115.8	134.2	139.2	183.1	164.9	182.5	166.0	170.2	172.1	166.1	168.0	18.1	1.1
11–20 years in Sweden	140.6	133.6	138.2	142.8	172.7	167.5	186.4	185.9	199.9	190.7	201.4	203.7	37.0	1.1
21– years in Sweden	156.6	157.5	168.8	181.9	172.8	194.5	194.8	194.6	196.2	210.6	183.9	197.5	14.5	7.4
Other European countries	123.9	101.0	117.9	122.7	145.8	152.5	158.6	161.5	155.4	166.5	174.2	173.3	10.0	-0.5
1–10 years in Sweden	109.1	94.7	104.3	114.6	131.8	146.0	144.2	132.1	133.2	134.1	141.6	154.3	15.7	9.0

11–20 years in Sweden	121.6	100.6	118.4	122.2	143.8	149.2	163.6	175.3	158.9	184.9	182.1	178.2	13.7	-2.2
21– years in Sweden	143.1	136.6	138.8	157.1	158.7	172.2	171.0	156.0	171.4	164.3	191.5	184.7	17.2	-3.6
Other countries	124.0	105.1	116.5	122.6	133.0	136.7	143.0	136.8	141.0	141.3	153.1	152.4	6.6	-0.5
1–10 years in Sweden	115.5	98.4	102.9	106.8	110.4	120.3	114.3	112.0	118.1	116.4	124.9	127.2	6.5	1.9
11–20 years in Sweden	129.3	118.2	124.6	125.3	135.1	138.5	155.0	145.4	140.4	142.7	157.2	160.4	12.8	2.1
21– years in Sweden	149.3	136.8	145.0	148.1	162.6	161.5	180.1	177.0	191.1	180.7	193.7	196.9	10.7	1.7
All persons 0–19 years old	139.5	123.5	135.9	143.6	163.1	170.6	183.7	185.0	187.5	191.0	198.5	200.1	2.7	0.8
All born in Sweden	140.7	124.8	137.3	144.8	165.0	172.1	185.4	186.6	190.0	193.5	201.4	203.4	2.6	1.0
With parents born in Sweden	:	:	140.4	148.5	170.1	177.4	191.7	193.3	199.3	205.3	211.2	213.0	2.7	0.9
With foreign-born parents	:	:	103.3	114.0	120.0	123.8	129.9	123.5	123.2	131.2	135.4	139.7	6.7	3.1
With one domestic and one foreign-born parent	:	:	134.1	145.9	160.6	158.6	183.8	175.3	174.1	180.0	189.7	193.2	8.4	1.8
Foreign-born	120.9	99.9	115.1	120.0	123.7	135.5	127.2	133.5	129.4	124.5	128.2	133.1	11.3	3.9

The statistics presented above clearly points toward the fact of gradual slowing of the rate of the growth of disposable income for both Swedish-born and foreign-born residents of the country in the 2000s to 2010s, while showing that it was the foreign-born persons that lost the most in disposable income growth within this period. Accordingly, the combination of the greater poverty rates and lower shares in income distribution may be seen as showing that the effects of the 2000s to 2010s economic development on the SES situation of foreign-born residents of Sweden would be mostly negative, leading one to assume that their effect on overall social integration of such persons should be generally adverse.

Similarly, the situation with educational attainment of foreign-born persons has become rather less promising than it could be the case with respect to Canada. The following

table may enable one to gain a better understanding of the educational attainment gap existing between foreign-born and Swedish-born residents of Sweden.

Table 7: Level of Education by Country of Birth and Sex, 2008. Ages 25–64

Country of birth	Sex	Population (number)	Compul. ed. (%)	Upper sec. ed. (%)	Post-sec. ed. less than 3 yrs (%)	Post-sec. ed. 3 yrs or more(%)	No information about ed. (%)
All	Total	4 847 121	15	46	14	22	2
	Women	2 389 451	13	45	15	26	1
	Men	2 457 670	17	48	14	19	2
Swedish-born	Total	3 988 350	14	48	15	22	0
	Women	1 952 612	11	47	16	26	0
	Men	2 035 738	17	50	14	19	0
Foreign-born	Total	858 771	21	37	13	22	7
	Women	436 839	22	36	13	24	6
	Men	421 932	21	38	13	21	8

Similarly, occupational prestige available to foreign-born residents of Sweden may be seen as relatively diminished, as only approximately 70 per cent of highly qualified foreign-born applicants were able to get employed in skilled occupations corresponding to their respective proficiencies (Statistics Sweden, 2009). This should be counterpoised to almost 90 per cent for Swedish-born applicants, as presented in the same study. Together with the findings on greater risks for material deprivation suffered by foreign-born and persons with foreign background, one may subsequently conclude that the final, health-related aspect of the SES model likewise point toward the existence of substantial integration gap between this category of residents and the rest of the Swedish society. In so doing, one may assert that the development of such gaps between immigrants and native-born citizens may potentially result in a dislocation of the very process of social integration that is currently pursued in Sweden.

6.2 Voting Turnout of Immigrants in Canada and Sweden

Having thus dealt with the various aspects of the SES as a variable potentially defining immigrants' attitude to political system of their host nations, one could now turn to the discussion of the comparative voting statistics that may be important for the purposes of

determining causal mechanisms of immigrants’ political representation in both Canada and Sweden. The discussion of the importance of respective findings will follow in the wake of presentation of statistical data pertinent to the subject matter.

Table 8: Voting Rates by Immigrant Status and Country/Region of Birth, 2011 Canadian federal election

	Both sexes	Men	Women
	<i>%</i>		
Immigrant status			
All	66.5	65.6	67.4
Canadian-born	67.1	65.9	68.3
Established immigrant	66.3	66.8	65.9
Recent immigrant	51.1	51.2	51.0
Country of birth			
Western/Northern Europe¹	76.6	78.5	74.7
United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand	75.2	73.8	76.4
Southern Asia	68.1	68.2	68.1
Southern Europe	67.8	69.2	66.4
Canada	67.1	65.9	68.3
Eastern Europe	62.8	62.6	63.0
Africa	62.2	67.2	56.4
Caribbean, Central/South America	61.0	60.0	61.8
Southeast Asia	58.5	59.0	58.2
Other	57.2	58.9	55.8
Eastern Asia	54.1	53.5	54.6
West Central Asia and Middle East	53.4	52.7	54.3
1. Excludes the United Kingdom and Ireland.			
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011.			

The table under consideration demonstrates certain features that may be of note within the context of analyzing the problems of immigrants’ political participation. As underscored by Uppal and LaRochelle-Côté (2011):

Compared with more established immigrants and the Canadian-born citizens, recent immigrants (those who immigrated to Canada in 2001 or later) were less likely to vote. The voting rates were 51% for recent immigrants, 66% for more established immigrants and 67% for the Canadian-born. Turnout rates also differed across regions of birth, as immigrants born in West Central Asia and the Middle East (53%) or East Asian countries (54%) had lower rates, while people born in Western/Northern Europe (77%) or ‘Anglosphere’ countries (United States, United Kingdom (U.K.), Ireland, Australia and New Zealand) had the highest rates (75%).

Similarly, even though overall voting rates of male and female immigrants were similar enough, one could note that substantial differences may be detected when taking account of the factors of belonging to ethnic groups coming from diverse regions of birth. This enabled Uppal and LaRochelle-Côté to observe that “[m]en born in Western and Northern Europe (excluding the U.K. and Ireland), Southern Europe, Southern Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa had higher voting rates than women from these regions... In contrast, women who were born in Anglosphere countries or in West Central Asian and Middle Eastern countries had slightly higher participation rates than their male counterparts” (Uppal and LaRochelle-Côté, 2011). Hence, this observation may point to the possible impact of political traditions and alignments of various immigrant communities in respect of their attitude to the process of voting and general political participation patterns.

The case of Sweden demonstrates a far lower degree of immigrants’ commitment to electoral processes, as the average voter turnout of immigrants was observed to decrease from approximately 60 per cent to less than 35 per cent in the period between 1976 and 2002 (Benito, 2005). The following table may enable one to get a glimpse of general dynamics of immigrants’ voter turnout at municipal level in this period, with another one focusing on their participation in national elections.

Table 9: Participation of Swedish and Foreign Citizens in Municipal Elections, 1976-2010

Year	Swedish Citizens, %	Foreign Citizens, %	Difference, %
1976	90.4	59.9	-32
1979	89.0	52.0	-37
1982	89.6	50.6	-39
1985	87.8	46.8	-41
1988	84.0	41.0	-43
1991	84.3	38.7	-45
1994	84.4	38.4	-46
1998	78.6	34.5	-46
2002	77.9	34.4	-44.5
2006	81.5	36.7	-44.8
2010	84.2	35.8	-48.4

Table 10: Voter Turnout by Place of Birth of Swedish Citizens in Riksdag Elections

	2002	2006	2010
Born in Sweden			
Men	81.8	84.2	86.6
Women	82.6	85.3	87.9
Total	82.2	84.7	87.3
Foreign born			
Men	66.4	65.2	72.6
Women	68.4	68.4	74.0
Total	67.5	66.9	73.4

Thus, it is interesting to note that whereas the sample of municipal voter turnout where immigrants lacking citizenship were included has shown general lack of interest in participation in political process at municipal level, naturalized foreign-born residents of Sweden would largely demonstrate far greater interest to participation in voting process in Riksdag elections. At the same time, their participation has shown signs of substantial increase only in the most recent election whereas it was stable or even decreasing between the elections of 2002 and 2006. Still, a marked feature of foreign-born citizens' participation in Swedish general elections has been that of a substantial gap between participation rates for Swedish-born and foreign-born citizens. For instance, when comparing recent Swedish and Canadian general elections, one would find it possible to observe that the gap between Swedish-born and foreign-born citizens, on one hand, and the one between native-born Canadian and 'established immigrant' citizens, on the other, would be different by more than 11 per cent. Such a great gap would testify to comparative difficulties encountered by the Swedish state in the course of integrating its foreign-born citizens into its body politic.

6.2 Institutional Variables

The discussion of the agent-based variables presented above would now have to be supplemented by the proper discussion of potential impact of structure-centered variables on immigrants' political representation. As it was already discussed in Introduction, Sweden would ostensibly provide a far greater modicum of political opportunity to its immigrant

population due to the presence of the ability to participate in local (i.e. municipal) elections without the requirement for formal citizenship. However, as it may be seen from the statistical data of immigrant participation in such elections that was provided in the previous sub-section, very few immigrants lacking Swedish citizenship have effectively made use of this right since its formal introduction in 1976. Hence, it would be more probable to hypothesize that this formal political opportunity did not have any significant impact upon Swedish immigrants' political integration. Similarly, it is not possible to present any conclusive evidence of the potential impact of such political opportunity on the number of immigrant MPs and local councilors alike. The following table presents an account of effective lack of representation of immigrants lacking Swedish citizenship at municipal level.

Table 11: Elected Candidates by Country of Citizenship, Swedish municipal elections

	1991	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010
Africa	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Asia	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Europe, excluding the Nordic countries	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4
North America	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Other countries	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
South America	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Sweden	99.4	99.2	99.0	98.9	99.0	99.0
The Nordic countries, excluding Sweden	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5

As one may see, with the exception of certain instances of election of candidates coming from South America and non-Nordic European nations, the absolute majority of councilors elected in this period were either of Swedish or of the Nordic European citizenship (99.0 and 0.5 per cent as of 2010, respectively). This observation could be used to substantiate a conclusion as to effective irrelevance of Sweden's ostensibly liberal political opportunity structure to the chances for immigrants' representation at the local level. While the situation with the representation of foreign-born Swedish citizens in municipal and county councils is far better (see Section 2), it is still evident that just as the participation rate of Canada's 'recent immigrants' would be far greater than that of Sweden's non-citizen immigrants enfranchised at local level, so would it be the case with the gaps existing between the representation of naturalized and Swedish-born citizens. Accordingly, the institutionalized political opportunity structure of Sweden would not lead to greater participation and representation for many of its immigrant residents.

Likewise, the relatively easy system of citizenship acquisition that is typical of Sweden's naturalization practices did not result in a greater degree of participation and representation of immigrants in its political system. While 29 out of 308 incumbent Canadian MPs belong to visible minority category, representing 9.4 per cent of total members of the current Parliament (see Section 2), only 17 out of 339 MPs of Sweden's 2006-2010 Riksdag were characterized as having foreign-born background (Statistics Sweden). Given that Canada's points-based system of economic immigrants' naturalization is far more stringent than the Swedish system that lacks emphasis on admission and naturalization criteria to the extent that is typical of Canada. However, it is evident that the Swedish successes in terms of increasing immigrants' political participation and representation would be less substantial than those of Canada. Hence, one may provisionally assume that no significant correlation between formal political opportunity structure and naturalization/citizenship acquisition policies, on one hand, and the degree of political representation attained by immigrants and persons of immigrant descent, on the other, may be established based on the data utilized for the purposes of this research.

6.2. Discussion

The data presented and analyzed in the context of this study demonstrates that Canada's greater degree of political participation and hence representation of immigrants and persons of immigrant descent may be provisionally correlated with the relatively more advanced socio-economic status (SES) of Canada's immigrant population in comparison with that of Sweden. While both these nations are characterized by the relatively high degree of social integration of immigrant population, it appears that Canada has attained greater success in this respect. Simultaneously, voter turnout, or electoral participation, may be seen as a secondary variable predictive of general trends in the direction of greater or lower representation of immigrants. In contrast, institutional variables may be seen as playing a role close to negligible, as in spite of relatively more liberal policies of Sweden with respect to immigrants' naturalization and political participation, Canada, which does not follow any policy advanced to the level of Swedish practices in this respect, is apparently characterized by a greater level of immigrants' political participation. Thus, one may conclude that in this case, agent-related variables are more important than structure-related ones.

7. Conclusion

The analysis of the data presented in this study as well as the theoretical review of the literature and methodology pertaining to the issues under consideration would allow for the following conclusions with regard to research questions posed in the context of this study:

1. The incorporation of migrants into political system as measured in terms of their representation has been more successful in the case of Canada. While Sweden has more advanced and progressive naturalization and local political participation policies, it appears that migrants resident in Sweden and its foreign-born citizens may feel less motivated to participate in national politics when compared to their peers in Canada. This greater efficiency would find its expression in the higher degree of national political representation, which is characteristic of Canada, as well as in low degree of immigrant representation in Sweden's municipal councils.
2. The analysis of causal mechanisms that may be responsible for greater potential of Canadian political system for incorporating immigrants into its representative bodies would lead one to conclude that socio-economic status (SES) of immigrants in question and their effective voter turnout/electoral participation could be more likely to be responsible for varying levels of political representation of immigrants in both political systems. In contrast, institutional variables such as naturalization and citizenship acquisition regulations are less likely to have an impact on political representation rates of immigrants, thus being relatively superfluous in the context of developing the models of immigrants' political representation. Thus, Hypotheses 1 and 2 are considered proved, as opposed to Hypotheses 3 and 4. Accordingly, one may recommend that the development of policies relevant for the purposes of greater socio-political incorporation of immigrants should prioritize the amelioration of their socio-economic conditions, as opposed to mere legal-political frameworks of action.

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Appendices

List of Tables and Figures:

Table 1: Income of immigrants, by sex, landing age group, immigrant admission category, years since landing and landing year, 2011 constant dollars.....	40
Table 2: Income of immigrants by world area, sex, immigrant admission category, education, language ability, and landing year for tax year 2011.....	41
Table 3: Labour force survey estimates (LFS), by immigrant status, educational attainment, sex and age group, Canada, 2009-2013.....	42
Table 4: Immigrants' Relative Occupational Status, according to 2006 Census Data.....	44
Figure 1: Age-standardized mortality rates (ASMRs) for immigrants, by sex and period of immigration, compared with Canadian-born cohort members, non-institutional population aged 25 or older at baseline, Canada, 1991 to 2001.....	45
Table 5: Percentage of Swedish-born and Foreign-born Persons Found to be at Risk of Material Deprivation, 2008-2012.....	46
Table 6: Equalised disposable income by country of birth and number of years in Sweden.....	47
Table 7: Level of Education by Country of Birth and Sex, 2008. Ages 25–64.....	49
Table 8: Voting Rates by Immigrant Status and Country/Region of Birth, 2011 Canadian federal election.....	50
Table 9: Participation of Swedish and Foreign Citizens in Municipal Elections, 1976-2010.....	51
Table 10: Voter Turnout by Place of Birth of Swedish Citizens in Riksdag Elections.....	52

Table 11: Elected Candidates by Country of Citizenship, Swedish municipal elections.....53