The myth of total incorporation?
Case study of French migrants in Sweden

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Acknowledgments

This research work has been an important step in my scholarship, and it is natural to me to thank all the people who trusted in me during these months.

First of all, my first thanks go to Britta Hermelin, my supervisor, for her guidance and assistance during this research.

I would also like to thank Lotta Hedberg of the department of Human Geography at Stockholm University for her really helpful comments and advices on the topic.

This work would not have been completed without the fourteen persons I have interviewed. I would thus like to thank all the interviewees for their precious time and their interesting interviews.

And finally, a special thank to Julia for her support.
Abstract

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2010
Human Geography, advanced level, master thesis for master exam in Human Geography,
30 ECTS credits.
Supervisor: Britta Hermelin
Language: English

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The study-case of French immigrants in Sweden.

French individuals cannot be gathered into a « specific » migration pattern, and they are all affected by the process of incorporation into the receiving country. The concept of incorporation refers to the linkages between migrants and institutions of the receiving country as well as the receiving society. French migrants are the studied population because of their particular position in Sweden, perceived as « incorporated » and « privileged » populations. The focus is made on the incorporation process, deconstructed into four key points of analysis such as the working conditions, language, housing conditions and finally the culture. Linking theories to the reality of incorporation is possible through this empirical research, where the first part is dealing with the theories and concepts and the second part relates these concepts and theories with the reality of French migrants via interviews.
The outcomes are showing that incorporation is a personal process that cannot be forced, and the tendencies are that migrants unconsciously adopt points from assimilation and integration policies, challenging the myth of total incorporation which classically defines population as incorporated/non-incorporated without taking in account that migrants can be incorporated/non-incorporated according to specific points.

Key words: Incorporation, Assimilation, Integration, Sweden, intra-European migration, international migration.
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Introduction

Sweden is today an immigration country composed of approximately 9 million inhabitants, of which 12% are born abroad or of foreign background. Through the years, the immigration tendencies in Sweden switched from Nordic labor migrants during the 1960’s to Middle East or Balkans refugees in the late 1980’s early 1990’s/ today, while at the same time opening the boundaries to European individuals by belonging to the European Union as well as accepting an increasing number of international students. Migrants, although their migration reasons can all be structurally different from each others, share a common vital experience: incorporation into the receiving country.

In this thesis, it is assumed that incorporation is a personal process influenced by the surrounding and the policies, deconstructing the process into different case study involving social spaces, housing, language, culture. The perspective of incorporation of immigrants in Sweden was first developed by the social-democratic government, where other European countries adopted a conservative type (Germany, France), liberal (United Kingdom) or combined conservative and social-democratic type (the Netherlands, Belgium) (Koopmans, 2010, 1). During its modern history, Sweden changed at least three times of incorporation policies, passing from assimilation in the 1960’s to integration since 1990’s via an era of multiculturalism starting in the mid-1970’s (Green Pedersen, 2007). All these methods that Sweden adopted are influenced nationally by governments, through policies, (Carlbom, 2006) as well as they are embedded into a wider socio-economic context partly ruled by the globalized world economy (Longhi et al. 2009). The pros and cons of each method previously adopted resulted in a switch of incorporation approach, integration thus, of which we just start to see its first results.

French individuals are the migrant group studied in this thesis. The choice of this specific group is motivated by the fact that Sweden and France are both countries belonging to the European Union, which differentiates the French migration patterns to, for example, the refugees. Finnish Swedes, Hungarians Romanians or Germans Russians are also migrating from an European country to another, but for most of them the language and the identity are rather linked to Sweden (Hedberg, 2004), contrarily to the French migrants. The interest of using such a sample of French immigrant is supported by the little cultural and identity interconnections between France and Sweden, which puts the French migrants in a particular position in the migrant populations. The French population migrating to Sweden is perceived as rather integrated in Sweden, even though some difficulties in the process of incorporation are noticeable as the analytical parts will show. The other interesting point of this thesis is that if French migrants are relatively financially privileged (SCB statistics) but might face difficulties with incorporation, then « non-privileged » population should face them too.

The aim of the thesis is to analyze the incorporation of French immigrants established in Sweden, and to describe their incorporation according to four key points of analysis. This thesis is an intensive research; a research, a work combining theories and the construction of
argumentative data through interviews (participative interviews). The collection of opinions, points of view and experiences through interviews is thus important for the conduction of the thesis and its direction.

The sampling strategy in order to reach this aim is described by Hart as ‘representative sample’ (1998: 47) and is focusing on the people’s life. The sample is useful in order to show, as an objective, that incorporation is mostly a personal experience.

Incorporation of immigrants in Sweden is framed by different laws (Bayram et al, 2009) and it is assumed that populations migrating to Sweden will be incorporated on an equal footing regardless of their origins (integration policy, Soininen 1999, Green Pedersen, 2007). The different policies adopted by Sweden through decades evolved in relation to the socio-economic changes (Bredström, 2009); on the other hand the difficulties of foreign population tend to remain the same as in the previous decades (ruled by different policies). The title of the thesis challenges then the fact that incorporation is a process which ends in a binary system, integrated/not integrated. We will see through the different aspects of incorporation that it is not possible to speak of incorporation as a binary system, and that population can be partly, totally or not incorporated on specific points. Indeed, it is possible to be incorporated on the labour market but segregated in the housing market, as well as maintaining social contacts with the dominant group is not meaning that these immigrants will be represented in the highest layers of labour market.

The research design is structured into specific key points of incorporation spitted into related discussions:

- Work.
  - Theory : What is the role of working in incorporation?

- Housing.
  - Theory : What is the role of housing for incorporation in Sweden ?
  - Analyze : The housing conditions of French migrants.

- Language.
  - Theory : What is the importance of language for incorporation in the receiving country?
  - Analyze : Languages used by French migrants in Sweden.

- Culture.
  - Theory: What policies have been used in Sweden, and why?

The deconstruction of incorporation into the four separated key points listed previously supplies the difficulty to study incorporation as a whole. To me, these points can illustrate that levels and types of incorporation may differ among migrants according to these points. These four points have been sorted in such way because of their degree of importance for incorporation, but it is important to state that this deconstruction of incorporation is a personal view rather than a trend specific to studies of incorporation.
Part I. Methodology

Interviews are the material used in the thesis to argument, discuss, support or challenge the theoretical parts. A review of this methodology is given in this part.

I.1.a. Qualitative methods.

Qualitative methods denotes the methods that accept words and text as legitimate forms of data, including discourse analysis, ethnography, interviewing, and numerous methods of visual analysis (Aitken et al. 2006: 341). Qualitative data reveal the qualities of certain phenomena, events and aspects of the world under study, chiefly through the medium of verbal descriptions which try to convey in words what are the characteristics of those data (Cloke et al. 2004 : 17). There are different approaches to qualitative researches, one can for example cite case study, content analysis, discourse analysis, ethnography, field study, life history study, participant observation, transformative research and so on (Hart, 1998 : 154). Some of these approaches use questionnaires, seen by Johnston as argument of data construction comprising a carefully structured and ordered set of questions designed to obtain the needed information without either ambiguity or bias (Johnston, 2000 : 668). Some of these approaches also use interviews, seen as conversations with a purpose which has to give an authentic insight into people’s experiences (Silverman, 1993: 91). On the other hand, ethnography, the « people writing », treats people as knowledgeable, situated agents from whom researchers can learn a great deal about how the world is seen (Cloke et. Al : 2004, 169). There is a plenty of differences into all qualitative methods, but this applied research is combining parts based on literature backgrounds with created qualitative data.

I.1.b. How are created the qualitative data?

Limited in size, it is thus not relevant to make a deep review of different qualitative methods possible to use in human geography. It is more important to focus on the different approaches of qualitative methods used in this paper, in order to make clear what is their importance in this study, their creation or collection, their limits. Interviews are one type of qualitative data which are crucial for the conduction of the thesis. If the main point of an empirical study is to apply the literature to the reality, then the interest is to find out with the interviews (reality) the relevance of literature (theory) on the specific research topic. This part thus deals with the creation, or collection, and analysis of this type of data.

In-depth interviews such as the ones used in this thesis explore various aspects of the migrant’s everyday life, their actions (Aitken, 2006 : 90), and their point of view about their situation. Interviews are based on the trust of interviewees, one considers there is no advantage for anybody to lie. Although interviewees/ interviewers do not know each other before the interviews in many cases, the question of trust is crucial for the interviews, thus for the data created which in this case are parts of the arguments brought to answer the research question. The interviewer has to put the interviewee in a climate of trust to let him/ her talk openly without feeling the least pressure possible. Cloke et al. (2004 : 151) argue that interviews can be used to construct information in an active and reflexive context. The limitation of time has to make in-depth interviews the most informative possible, questions asked to the interviewee should not be random : there is a meaning and a will to reach a point through a question. Exchange between the interviewer and the interviewee is designed as a
discussion, where research questions are asked on different ways such as big research questions or mini questions. Each big research question has a set of mini questions (Cloke et al. : 2006 : 155), with a flexible and variable structure of ideas.

The choice of interviewee is motivated by finding an interviewee likely to have the knowledge wanted, or who knows other people likely to be interviewed. Indeed, it is tricky to find French people in Sweden, an easy way to get possible interviews is through the social networks of the interviewees. In the thesis, most of interviewees have been reached through persons already interviewed. Moreover, to get new interviewees through « non-network » sources is low due to the absence of trust or reliability. Indeed, many persons will be reluctant to give an hour interview about their life to an unknown person. Contacts thus play the role of trustful intermediary between the interviewee and the interviewer. Interviews are, as Cloke et al. (2004) puts forward, a desire « to give voice » to the others as an integral research process. Since interviews are most of the time face to face discussions, there is a need to record the exchanges. This characteristic is motivated by the easiness to quote the interviewee, were note-taking will reduce the possibilities of giving exact quotations or to get all details.

I.I.c. How to find interviewees ?

Finding persons suitable to be interviewed can turn out to be difficult. French migrants in Sweden are not the easiest to find, hypothetically because of a will to incorporate into the Swedish society. In this thesis, using friend or colleague networks still appear the easiest way to find French people likely to be interviewed, and this word-of-mouth correspond to the snow ball method. Most of interviews have been done after getting contacts through interviewees, meaning that young as well as older people, students, employees, have been interviewed. Different institutions exist in Sweden gathering some French people. There is for example the Alliance Française (French Alliance) which is a Francophile association where people join it by attraction to the French culture and the will to talk French. Stockholm Accueil is another association of French expatriates in Sweden, and is mostly composed of French nationals. It aims to welcome the French migrants to Sweden, by meeting as well as giving tips on the internet about some daily life facts. The staff is composed at almost 100% by French migrants to Sweden.

The snowball effect has been, so far, the most productive way for finding new interviewees. Indeed, the relation of trust is not just theoretical, and all the interviewees were open to spread the word around them in the need of more interviews. Illustration of the snowball effect:

![Snowball Effect Diagram]

- Migrant N°9
- Migrant N°4
- Migrant N°5
- Migrant N°1
- Migrant N°14
- Migrant N°3
- Migrant N°7
- Migrant N°12
- Migrant N°6
- Migrant N°10
- Migrant N°11
- Migrant N°2
- Migrant 13
- Swedish Girl
Their relationship may differ. For instance, Migrant N°1 and N°14 know each other via a third person, but N°1 introduced N°14. Migrant N°3, N°4, N°5 are working in the same institute. N°14, N°1 and N°9 do not correspond to the « snowball effect », while N°13 has been introduced via a Swedish girl. Migrant N°2 introduced N°6 who introduced a friend, N°7.

Who are the interviewees?

The sample is composed of 14 individuals who are still living in Sweden and who have lived a minimum of 2 years in the country. All the face-to-face interviews have been conducted in Stockholm, between October 2009 and April 2010. All the interviewees have an occupation in Sweden, working or studying, and are not hosted in a Swedish family like ‘au-pair’ can be. All the migrants are born in France of non-Swedish parents, and migrated without their relatives. Trajectories of these migrants cannot be generalized, augmenting that French migrants do not concern only one type of migration. Interviews have been recorded, and transcribed via computer. The length of the in-depth interviews conducted for the thesis is comprised between 40 minutes for the shortest and 1 hour and 15 minutes for the longest. The transcription of interviews is a method that helps the researcher, who does not have to go back to the recordings in order to get an exact quotation. Transcribed interviews are also a tool in order to discern tendencies, arguments, thoughts of interviewees, as well as a useful tool for sorting and classifying interviewees in relation to the points of analysis.

Interviewee N°1 : 28 year old, arrived in Sweden in 2005 as a student. He finished his studies in Sweden, and decided to settle in Sweden after the completion of his studies. He has an engineering background and is currently working in Stockholm as a « quality & control » manager. Comes from Mâcon, Saône-et-Loire, France.

Interviewee N°2 : 27 year old, arrived in Sweden in 2005 as a student, and decided to stay in order to attend an internship required in his studies. He found a job in Sweden right after the internship. Comes from Oyonnax, Ain, France.

Interviewee N°3 : 26 year old, moved to Sweden in 2005 in order to attend an internship required by his school. He is still working where he did the internship, and is now computer/network technician. Comes from Angoulême, Charente, France.

Interviewee N°4 : 47 year old, arrived in 1983 in Sweden. She aimed at visiting Norway and the Fjords, but made a mistake with the destination. She met a Swedish man who will become her husband, and she has 3 kids born in Sweden. Her professional trajectory is impressive, passing from cleaning maid in the Viking Line boats to consultant for Anna Lindh. She is now teacher. Comes from Gap, Provence-Alpes Côte d’Azur, France.

Interviewee N°5 : 48 year old. She met a Swedish man in France through friends, and decided to join him in Sweden few weeks later. They married, have kids born in Sweden, and she is working in Stockholm where she is teacher as well. Comes from Paris, France.

Interviewee N°6 : 26 year old, he decided to continue his studies in Sweden and arrived in 2006. He wanted to work in Germany but decided to go to Sweden instead, motivated by the possibility of improving his English. He is now engineer for Scania in Södertälje and is with a Swedish girlfriend. Comes from Creil, Oise, France.
Interviewee N°7 : 38 year old, decided to live in Stockholm with his Swedish girlfriend met in France. He was doing the cleaning in Pizza Hut before starting to study in order to become a teacher. He is teaching maths and French, but had a technical degree in France. He is from Marseille, Bouches-du-Rhône, France.

Interviewee N°8 : 35 year old, decided to live with his girlfriend in Stockholm. He left Paris where he was working in a music label, to live in a calm and non-stressful environment. He has a son born in Stockholm and is working in Solna. He is from Paris, France.

Interviewee N°9 : 25 year old, arrived in 2007 in order to attend a master program at Stockholm University. She does not know if she wants to stay in Sweden, but is looking for P.hD in Sweden and Nordic countries. She is from La Rochelle, Charente-Maritime, France.

Interviewee N°10 : 26 year old, arrived in Sweden in 2005 in order to complete his engineering studies. He is now working as an industrial translator, but worked for an electricity provider. He is in a relationship with a Swedish person. He is from Chambery, Savoie, France.

Interviewee N°11 : 23 year old, arrived in Sweden in 2008. She is attending a master program at Stockholm University and plan to stay in Sweden, in order to live with her boyfriend. Comes from Brest, Finistère, France.

Interviewee N°12 : 26 year old, arrived in Sweden in 2006, in Norkopping precisely. He was finishing his studies there and moved with his Swedish girlfriend to Stockholm. He is now working as an engineer for Sony Ericsson. He is from Toulouse, Haute Garonne, France.


Interviewee N°14 : 25 year old, arrived in Sweden in 2007. He was studying history and decided to do his PhD in Sweden. He is working for an office of political analysis. He is from Paris, France.

**PART II. Theoretical parts.**

Theories and concepts are studied in the coming subparts in order to base the analyses of interviews on a literature background. The choice of the subparts and their position in the thesis is not random. The first subpart, for example, is dealing with the types of migrants that one can find in Sweden, and seems to be relevant on the first place since it is better to study incorporation of immigrants when we have seen to what kind of migration flow the interviewees correspond to. All the subparts have a short introductive comment which comforts the necessity of their inclusion in the thesis.

II.1.a. International migration: human flows over boundaries.

Migration is one form of human spatial movement, although traditional definitions separate migration from other spatial movements (Behr et al., 1982 : 2). Concretely, migration is a physical movement between sets of spatial networks (Behr et al., 1982 : 6) implying also a temporality in the moves. Migration is an event traditionally seen as a rational action tending
to maximize the individual’s net benefice (Todaro in Haug, 2008). This action can be split into two main tendencies: internal migration and international migration. Internal migration corresponds to the move inside the borders of a country, and international migration crosses boundaries (Hedberg, 2004: 25). Notwithstanding interlinkages between internal and international migrations exist in many cases, with the examples of Dutch-Belgian and Dutch-German transborder migrations. Van Houtum et al. (2006: 1) describe this example as an ‘elastic migration’, i.e. having his house in a foreign country and having active and affective life in the origin country. This example, among many others of this type, already challenges the opposition of internal/ international migration by confronting the two scales into one concept. Other authors argue that the word ‘migration’ has come to mean ‘international migration’ with internal migration being subsumed under ‘population distribution’ (Skeldon, 2006: 3).

Human flows over the borders of Europe and within its limits can be called intra-European migrations. Intra-European migrations are not new in the history of migration (Antoine already discussed migration within Europe in 1828) and are a reality of most of countries belonging or not to the European Union (Brükner, 2000). By studying the life of French individuals established in Sweden, we are clearly dealing with international migrants. Even under the spectra of European Union, notion of scale supports the discourse of this thesis: there are sociospatial categories such as international, national and local (Sayre, 2005: 2) to examine while dealing with migration. Europe is not a federation, Sweden and France are two different nations, and the only adequate term to use here is international migration.

II.1.b. Conceptualizing the French migration to Sweden: irrelevance of generalization

As we have seen, migration (of different sorts, such as international students, asylum seekers, ethnical migrants, economic migrants, forced migrants, cultural or family-gathering migrants) is a major event in life and is dependent on specific notions. It is thus important to make clear from the beginning of the thesis that there is no general trend for French migration to Sweden, but we rather should conceptualize the French migration to Sweden as a set of different types of migrants. « The experiences of all transmigrants, immigrants, sojourners, or border crossers are not the same and should not be labeled or lumped together in a manner that only fosters their continuing homogenization or generalization » (Gargano, 2009: 9). Accordingly, the coming subparts are making an overview of the difficulties and the non-relevance of making a generalization.

Migration takes place when a comparison of the outcomes of either staying at the place of origin or at the place of destination reveals the latter alternative to be more attractive (Haug, 2008: 3). A fundamental argument has been brought by Poole in 1979 by saying that migration is not caused by push factor in sending countries but by pull factors by receiving countries (Poole, 1979 in Massey et al. 2001). Even though this argument is used in a discussion about the context of economic approaches of international migration, it is possible to say that such an argument can be applied to non-economical migration since migration corresponds to a push-pull system. However, the difficulty of defining what kind of migrants we have here is representative of the complexity of the migration concept. Indeed, there is no single coherent theory of international migration but « only a fragmented set of theories developed in isolation from other ones » (Massey et al. 2001: 3). The flows of humans over boundaries are just taking advantage from the world’s globalization as well as from the boundaries opening, it appears like there is trend for individual migration specific to each individual and motivated by personal and cultural settings (studies, experience of living
abroad, attractiveness of the receiving country) in the case of French non-ethnical migrants to Sweden. Many authors put forward the notion of financial capital in migration, such as Schuerkens (2005: 2). On the other hand, terms like capital and migration are often linked together in the context of migration from developing country to developed country. Alternatively, neoclassical economics conceive migration as an event for income maximization (Massey et al. 2001:3).

Although the notion of scale is used on a geographical level to determine if whether it is an internal or an international type of migration, culture may also be analyzed with the notion of scale. For example, there are common traits that can be « ethnical », « regional » or « national ». Scale could be used as a tool to determine the cultural aspect of migration with the share of culture in globalised world. By globalized world, it is heard world-wide social relations linking distant localities in social, economic, cultural points (Kearney, 1995). Although globalization spreads cultures, we do not have in the case of French migrants to Sweden an ethnic migration motivated by identical settings and sharing the same official main language.

Indeed, it is clear that ethnic migration is not relevant in our case. Ethnical migration can be, for instance, the flows of Hungarian-Romanians reaching Hungary for a better future and trying to avoid the marginalization of being part of a minority. The type of migration concerning the French individuals to Sweden is not similar either to the massive guest workers flows that Europe have seen, such as the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian who brought hundreds of thousands of people to France on different periods (INSEE, 1999), for instance. Furthermore, the proportion of French people in Sweden is too low in number to deal with massive guest workers flows, and even the number of newcomers is irregular on the 8 year period 2000-2008 (see part III). Indeed, since the 1970s, migration flows to Sweden have consisted primarily of asylum-seekers and family reunification (Freeman, 1992).

Since we do not have a case of neither ethnical migration nor an economically motivated migration, we partly do have here a migration of individuals motivated by the increase of human capital (see previous parts). This type of migration can be called lifestyle migration. Lifestyle migration is a migration trend motivated by a « fresh start » away, escaping the monotony and routine of life (Benson et al. 2009: 2). Lifestyle migrants are of all ages and moving part-time or full-time to places signifying a better quality of life, and lifestyle migration corresponds rather to an act encompassing diverse destinations, desires and dreams (Benson et al. 2009: 2, 3). Benson et al. (2009) are nevertheless putting forward a comparison of life before/after migration, but it appears important to me not to make such a separation since lives of migrants are not totally changing with migration. Although lots of notions such as social spaces, geographical settings of the new place, language and culture may differ, lifestyle migrants can have a « fresh start » without rejecting the past.

In different discussions, the concept of lifestyle migration has been attached to two important issues of life: money and retirement. Longhi et al. (2009) link lifestyle migration with retirement in their paper about the regional impact of immigration, while Stone et al. (2007) make the connexion with incomes and qualifications of migrants. Qualification of migrant is necessary to take into account as a credible and strong factor influencing migration, as we will see in the interpretative part of the thesis. Indeed, it is noticeable that many of French migrants to Sweden correspond totally to the main specificity of lifestyle migration: change in life.
Student mobility arose during the last decades in Europe thanks to the different directives and agreements (Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees concerning Higher Education in the States belonging to the Europe Region, 1979; Lisbon Convention of 1997; The Bologna Process, 2002. - 2005, Dingu-Kyrklund) favorizing studying abroad. Students became a sample of population to take in account in the field of international migration, and many French individuals migrated to Sweden for « scholar » reasons. For instance, students from French business and engineering schools are highly recommended to study at least one term abroad. Reasons pushing many French students to reach Sweden is motivated by the fact that Sweden offers really attractive conditions such as the teaching in English and fee-free studies, hardly challenging the hegemony of studies in English-speaking countries. Students reaching Sweden with the Erasmus program can study from one term to two years in Sweden (although it is rarely mentioned, it is indeed possible to extend an Erasmus contract for one year more), experiencing living abroad, studying in a different context/ methods of teaching and improving foreign languages such as English and of course Swedish. Temporality being an important factor in migration, even temporary studies (one year, six months) in Sweden can be counted as migration. The importance of student mobility is also supplied by the fact that an important number of students are staying to settle in Sweden after completing their studies, passing from transnational students (Gargano, 2009) to international migrants. This point will be discussed in the analysis of interviews.

The transnational family is a symptom of our increasingly globalised lives, which take place across borders and boundaries (Skrbis, 2008). In the case of international migration to Sweden, we will not focus on the aspects of transnational families (families spread over the boundaries of two or more countries) but rather on international relationship, i.e. Swedish-French couples established within one nation, Sweden. Although moving from France to Sweden in order to live together is probably not the most frequent type of migration, it is not a negligible number of migrants. Indeed, with the opening of boundaries, the easier ability to cross them, international relationships are favorised and should not be cast aside.

The expatriates (employees of companies or nations living abroad as representant) represent a particular trend of migration. Expatriates are seen in international reports as highly skilled population attracted to countries where job opportunities are more prevalent and research funding more generous (OECD, 2005). However, statistical databases such as SCB don’t classify immigrants by nations and profession. Indeed, except of in the United States, no census separates expatriates from foreign citizens. It is thus difficult to have information about the number of French expatriates living in Sweden. The only way to have the most precise count of these migrants would be to contact the embassy. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to get any answer to the request.

This part quickly crosses the field of migration, since the aim is not to discuss the differences between the types of migrations we can see all over the world. The need to underline the fact that French migrants in Sweden are belonging to international migration and that they are different types of migrants is important to understand the mechanism of integration within the society of the host country. There are, in our study case, three main reasons for migration: students, marriage/relationship migration and finally, expatriates. These migrants might at the time correspond to lifestyle migrants by experiencing living abroad, however the concept of lifestyle migrant is too broad to generalize these French migrants under « its name ». We should rather focus, in the analytical part, on the differences of migration trends and their effects on incorporation. Indeed, the type of migration might influence the mechanism of incorporation. It appears like, as we can see further in the thesis, that lifestyle migration as
specificities we cannot necessarily find in the cases of international students staying for a temporary period. Incorporation passes through an ensemble of unavoidable settings such as the changes in the social spaces of migrants

II.2.a. Communities and transnational communities : Basis for a discussion

Social spaces are challenged by migration, especially in a long distance migration between France and Sweden, and changes in the social spaces can lead to the creation of new social spaces (Faist, 2000 : 10, Kivisto, 2003 : 8). The notion of community is an example of social space, and this concept is particularly important in this study since it gathers individuals sharing common values (Brint, 2001: 7). There are different types of French migrants to Sweden (part I), there are thus different types of communities. Nevertheless, if transnational communities sustain social contacts over time with activities and cross-bording activities (Wang, 2005), communities also sustain social contacts over time but rather within the boundaries. The meaning of this last sentence is that both types of community exist because their members proceed in a similar way. The point of this part is now to see which concepts (communities/transnational communities) are relevant related to the French migrants living in Sweden.

Two definitions of community must be given in order to understand the difference between transnational and non-transnational community. According to Durkheim’s « Suicide », a community is not a social structure or physical entity but a set of variable properties of human interaction (Durkheim, 1999 –10th ed.). Some variables are important in the concept of community : dense and demanding ties are seen as advantage of a community, communities are associated with recruitment into collective action networks, active attachment in institutions or involvement have been shown to have an effect of trust in each others, and finally ritual occasions help to cement group identity and to strengthen individual feelings of self-worth and vitality (Brint, 2001). If communities differ in their nature such as their reasons of existence, their strength of interaction or their media/physical nature, communities may also differ in size. Smaller size change the type of familiarities between members, allow different attitudes within the community.

The second definition of community is given by Brint (2001 : 8). : communities are aggregates of people who share common activities and/ or beliefs and who are bound together principally by relations of affect, loyalty, common, values, and/ or personal concern.

By studying the concept of community, an important cultural variable shows up in discussion and should not be neglected: social identification. Indeed, a community implies a perception of similarity with the physical characteristics, expressive style, way of life, or historical experiences of others (Brint, 2001). Social identification is thus related to the notions of confidence, safety and comfort, meaning that communities tend to be motivated by the pursuit of happiness. Although all communities are based on the same consideration (context of interaction, motivation of interaction and rates of interaction), it is possible to distinct these communities : communities of place, communes and collectivities, localized friendship networks, dispersed friendship networks, activity based elective communities, belief-based elective communities, imagined communities and virtual communities (Brint, 2001).

Transnational communities must be defined in this subpart in order to underline the differences with the community concept. In most of the cases, living abroad automatically
involves links with the origin country of migrants. These links can be characterized by the share of information or goods between the origin and the host countries, and with the new technologies (telephone, internet) migrants can maintain sustained interpersonal contacts with people remaining in the home country (Kivisto, 2003:12). This links might be interpreted as a compensation of the loss of social networks and familiar bounds in the destination country (Maya-Jariego et al., 2007 : 8). This tendency for communities can also be seen as part of processes of global integration by migrants (Castles, 2002 : 16). Through time, persons who decided to migrate may feel the need of social connections in the destination country as well as the origin country. The transformation of transnational migrants’ ties is then called transnationalism and its social aspect is defined as transnational social space (Faist, 2000 : 3). Transnational social spaces are combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states (Faist, 2000 : 4). Transnational social spaces might precisely be where social networks found their roots for most of lifestyle migrants, according to the interviews, and where social process is not static. In order to understand what is meant by combinations of ties, positions in networks and networks of organization, it is important to quote what Faist (2000 : 5) has determined: « Transnational social spaces are delimited by pentatonic relationships between the government of the immigration state, civil society organizations in the country of immigration, the rulers of the country of emigration (sometimes viewed as an external homeland), civil society groups in the emigration state, and the transnational group -migrants and/or refugee groups, or national, religious and ethnic minorities ».

Since transnational social spaces are the common of many migrants, it is important to determine what the different types of transnational social spaces are. Faist, in his really detailed and crucial article titled « Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture » (2000), makes the difference between the three main types of transnational social spaces. The first is the transnational kinship group and corresponds for example to the migrants sending money to their family in the origin country. Migrants have, in this case, an obligation of reciprocity. The second type of transnational social space is the transnational circuits, corresponding to a constant circulation of goods, people and information between origin and destination countries. This can be illustrated by the entrepreneurs using advantages of being an « insider » in the host country as well as keeping different sorts of contacts (business, networks, family) in the origin country. There are clear trends for transnational circuits, like the Indian or Chinese businessmen in Europe or America.

The third group, and not the least, is the transnational communities. Transnational communities are probably the best known examples of transnational social spaces. This group characterizes situations in which international movers are connected by dense and strong social and symbolic ties over time and across space to patterns of networks and circuits in two countries (Faist, 2000 : 9).

II.2.b. Different communities for different migrants?

The above definition of transnational communities is important in the field of transnational social space, and it is important to say that transnational communities can be created after migration in the host country by using the cited principles and mechanism. This mechanism is, according to Maya (2007 : 8), micro-communities as social spaces where potentially shared cultural understandings, symbols and histories are reconstructed in the wider macro community of the host country, characteristics that develop a shared emotional connection.
However, if people keep contacts with their social networks in the home country, they also have the possibility of creating their own network in the host country. Indeed, contemporary global migrating patterns are, as Kivisto says, capable of producing potentially new forms of social spaces (2003: 8). It is nothing but easy to answer the question if there is only one or several communities, and thus one or several types of communities in our case of French migrants to Sweden. The reason is simple: the number of French people is already too high (although French immigrants are not the most represented foreigners in Sweden, see part III) to list all the migrants, their networks, their communities. The act of internal migration already challenges all forms of communities the individuals might have been involved in, but international migration challenges them even more. By migrating, individuals must reconstruct one or several social spaces in the host country, even though it is to stay in a «bubble» (Amish in United States for instance). Communities shouldn’t then be seen as a refuse of integration/assimilation into the social sphere of the host country.

We have seen through the definitions important aspects of the community concept. These aspects, variables, structures, are some foundations of the community concept, but people still remain the main basis. Migration of French individuals in Sweden is, as we have seen on the previous part dealing with the international migration, not possible to generalize. There is no major trend, and these migrants are not corresponding to one migration flow but to a set of migration reasons. It is thus important to analyze if there is a specificity of community to specific migration trends.

Expatriates, migrants motivated by business purpose (entrepreneurs, managers, employees of multinational firms, …), diplomatic or representative missions, scientists or researchers, are difficult to classify. They are separated from migrant laborers and students because these two last ones form large groups with distinctive problems and forms of social organization (Cohen, 2002: 4). According to Cohen, it has been observed that immigrant groups as well as expatriates create their own ’enclaves’ which shelter them off from the environment of the host society (2002: 13) although not all immigrants participate on an equal degree. Expatriate communities are seen as «environmental bubbles» by this author, although it is important to keep in mind that not all expatriates can (or want) afford these «bubbles». Generally, expatriates are high skilled migrants, privileged populations (by incomes or social status) in the society and could be considered as elites in some cases. But what makes them specific to all the other kind of migrants, is that contrarily to the other migrants, expatriates gain status by moving abroad rather than lose it (Cohen, 2002: 19).

Students take place in the concept of community by their particular position. Yet the experiences of international students are inherently different from other groups of border crossers, such as non-student immigrants, refugees, or expatriates (Gargano, 2009: 9). This point of view already supplies two arguments: the particularity of the expatriate communities on one hand, the particularity of the student life on the other hand. Indeed, as Gargano argues, international students are immersed in an academic setting and begin their stay in a different social space than other migrants (2009: 10). It has been frequent, by talking with Erasmus students, to hear that they didn’t feel like living a «normal life» but rather to live in Sweden but not among the Swedes. Many students stayed during their whole sojourn in a student context: student housing, «student community» (friends, networks of people), student happenings. Like in the case of expatriate communities, the degree of participation might play an important role in the life of these student communities. Student communities can be seen as «entrance doors» for students in a new country, a social space which can lead to stronger links between members. As we will see in the analytical part of the thesis, many migrants who
came to Sweden as international students have most of their friends or social network based on student communities. Student communities are thus a « tunnel » for migrants who arrived in Sweden with the status of international students and who are now established in Sweden.

The two kinds of communities described above are parts of the community process, however the notion of context is important to take in account in the concept of community. It appears that expatriates and students are belonging to specific communities motivated by the belonging to a status (expatriates, students), but it also supply the difficulty of discerning other communities. To which communities belong those who arrived as students and are now established in Sweden? One answer, which is my own point of view, is that many people who arrived as migrants got to know people through an « entrance door », i.e. entering in a community via one person already implied in a certain community. It means that people for instance met a French or non-Swede person at a language course, at work, at school, through a friend and maintained the contacts through times while extending the social network/ entering a community.

Maintaining friendships created on a student context while the two (or more) individuals are not student anymore is the perfect example of the limits of the community concept, meaning that we switch from community to friendship when an important step has been passed over. In conclusion, communities have their own specificities, their own creation process or reasons of existence, but are crucial elements of the migrants life. Their complexity show that they respond to some needs, lacks, wishes. The degree of implication is thus crucial for the integration/ assimilation as well as for the wellness.

II.3.a. Incorporation : different methods, different results.

The coming part is not aiming to affirm if French migrants to Sweden are incorporated or not, the concept studied in this part rather leads to theoretical discussion related to the French migrants and their incorporation in Swedish society. It is crucial, to me, to give an overview of the different methods existing in order to understand the facets of such policies. Indeed, although Sweden has a particular policy, and even though French migrants are diverse in their motivations, there is a need to cover the larger area possible in order to underline that all concept contain paradoxes, ambiguity and challenges, and that incorporation should take points from most ways of thinking.

Different terms have been used in the past and present to analyze the incorporation of immigrant populations into host societies. These terms are not random and are based on national policies, which is the common of every European country. The term used so far in this thesis is incorporation, because it is one of the few neutral terms conceptualizing the links between institutions, society and migrants. Methods of incorporation exist on various forms and are in a constant evolution, may be influenced by immigrants, nationals, and politics. We will thus see what can be the different methods of incorporation, and we will deal with the method in use in Sweden.

II.3.b. Conceptualizations of incorporation : assimilation and integration

At least two terms are common in current literature to define the linkages between migrants and institutions established within the border of the host country: integration and assimilation. There are few structural differences between the two of concepts that need to be enlightened before we go deeper in the theoretical part.
Brubaker, who has put forward the return of assimilation in 2001, gives an interesting way of defining assimilation: «To assimilate means to become similar or to make similar. Assimilation is thus the process of becoming similar, or of making similar» (Brubaker, 2001: 4).

Gordon’s work in 1964 is crucial in the comprehension of assimilation. In his work titled «Assimilation in American Life», Gordon discerns seven different sorts of assimilation: the cultural (called acculturation), the structural, the marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioral receptional and civic. Other types of assimilation such as the economical and the spatial will appear later with different works and authors. Concretely, assimilation refers to the ability of immigrants to adopt the culture, values and traditions of the host country (Lalonde, 1997: 31). Indeed, assimilation as a method of incorporation means encouraging immigrants to learn the national language and to fully adopt the social and cultural practices of host countries, which leads logically to incorporation of immigrants and their descendants as new citizens (Castles, 2002: 13). Acculturation is an obligatory step for cultural assimilation, which is one of the most complex types of assimilation, and will be discussed in the part dealing with «culture».

Assimilation is sometimes linked with the concept of multicultural ideology, which has been firstly used by Berry to describe the general and fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for a society and its individual members and that such diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable way (Berry, 2001: 9). But if multicultural ideology and assimilation go hand-to-hand, it is in a negative way. Assimilation is a highly debated concept of incorporation which became a punching-ball for many researchers (for instance, Hartmann, 2005, Bolt et al., 2010, Castles, 2002). As an incorporation method, assimilation has a long and strong history behind and has been adopted and adapted to different countries around the world with different approaches. Assimilation appears like a negative method for many researchers, and we are going to see what some of the main critics related to assimilation are.

Integration is the second incorporation policy studied in this part, the coming definition of integration can help us to understand its principles. Integration refers to the inclusion of new populations into the existing social structures of the immigration country with a consequent reduction of differences in their position and relation (Heckmann, 2004: 15). In other words, four dimensions of integration have been discerned by Heckmann (2004), such as the structural integration (acquisition of rights and access to the membership, positions and status in the core institutions of the host country, i.e. education, labor market, citizenship, housing), the cultural integration (which refers to the degree of participation, i.e. cultural, behavioral and attitudinal changes), the social integration (membership, social relations, marriages, friendships, associations), and finally the identificational integration (membership of a new society on subjective levels).

Critics on assimilation arose because the concept was often used by some European countries to promote the national unity through a process of homogenization, basing their theories on an ethnocentric bias (Bolt et al., 2010: 5). Furthermore, assimilation are politically connoted because they are shaped by national discourses about migration (Glick Schiller et al., 2009: 3). For others, assimilation involves the loss of attachments to the original culture (Hartman, M. et al., 2005: 23) which is often forced by policies rather than a choice for immigrants. Indeed, assimilation has come to be viewed as a worn-out theory which imposes ethnocentric and patronizing demands on minority peoples struggling to retain their cultural and ethnic
integrity (Lalonde, 1997). The loss of minority culture has been also put forward by Alba et al. (1997: 3) who do not deny that assimilation is a State-imposed normative program aimed at eradicating minority cultures. Some other authors, such as Castles (2002: 14) for instance, strongly challenges assimilation by affirming that assimilation, as well as differential exclusion, share an important common principle: immigration should not bring significant changes in the receiving society. If the main characteristics of assimilation is aiming to absorb minorities into its Nation-oriented approach, Kivisto (2003) argues that assimilation does not erase ethnic signs. Furthermore, in classical immigration countries, long-term cultural assimilation proved illusory, with ethnic communities maintaining their languages and cultures into the second or third generations (Castles, 2002: 14). Social neglections that have been promoted by states, Hartman, D. et al. (2005: 10) advance that assimilationism strongly denies the mediating role of groups. Finally, as a conclusion to this critics-oriented subpart, I use a quotation from Bolt (2010: 5):

« Final objection to the conceptualization of assimilation and integration in the field of cross-cultural psychology is that both concepts are largely pictured as a one-way process, as if the integration process only depends on adaptation by minority ethnic groups. »

II.3.c. The Swedish model of incorporation: history and present.

We have seen in the previous part some concepts of incorporation existing and their mechanisms. Some of these concepts, and more particularly assimilation, raised negative opinions against them. In the 1970’s, with the rise of immigration flows, Sweden needed to improve its method of incorporation and the government decided not to use a concept such as the differential exclusion (the guest worker systems prevalent in some other European countries). Sweden focused on incorporating immigrants within the general welfare state structure (Soininen, 1999: 2) and decided to turn toward the multiculturalist method of incorporation then to choose integration. This part, which can be seen as a review of the history of incorporation in Sweden, is useful in order to understand the context of today’s Swedish policies of incorporation and why they have been implemented.

« The term multiculturalism refers to attempts to integrate various categories of immigrants into the host society and also give them an opportunity to keep and develop their traditional culture and lifestyle, or at least the essential part of them. Ideologically, multiculturalism has become a liberal alternative to assimilation. » (Runblom, 1994: 2). In contrast with the assimilative method, multiculturalism means recognizing rights to cultural maintenance and community formation, and linking these to social equality and protection from discrimination (Castles, 2002: 14). Multiculturalism is characterized by a multitude of ethnic groups, cultures, religions and languages, and refers to an ideal situation of peaceful coexistence between individual groups of diverse origins (Runblom, 1994: 2). As a main ideal, it was supposed that immigrants were to receive the same universal and far-reaching social rights and benefits as Swedish citizens (Bredstrom, 2009: 8, Gustafsson, 2002: 5). The government stated then that immigrants and their children would have the possibility to retain their own language, practice their cultural activities, and maintain contact with the country of origin (Regeringens Proposition, 1975, in Soininen 1999: 3). Multiculturalism also included public funding of numerous immigrant organizations, and local and regional voting rights for foreign residents (Castles and Miller 1998: 7). Finally, Sweden has defined migrants as ethnic minorities and was aiming at equality between ethnic groups while emphasizing separate existences and collectives activities (Soininen, 1999: 2).
The context of application

Contrarily to Canada, which was the first country adopting multiculturalism in 1970’s, the Swedish model has its own particular settings that will play a role in the application of multiculturalism. The Swedish model corresponds to a corporalist policy-making style coupled with a social-democratic universal welfare model (Soininen, 1999: 2). The Swedish model of cultural pluralism (multiculturalism) was implemented according to the Swedish welfare state principles: comprehensiveness (equality, welfare for everybody), social entitlement (individual has a right to a broad spectrum of social services) and universalism (it includes the entire population) (Runblom, 1994 :12). Concretely, Sweden was aiming to incorporate immigrants under the principle of equality (Bredstrom, 2009: 8). As part of the context, of which we will see further the role in the following of such a policy, it is important to add that the large public-sector employer has been an integral actor of the social-democratic labor market policy, and was used to ensure high employment, low inflation, a wage policy aimed to promote solidarity (Soininen, 1999 : 2).

When Swedish legislators decided to switch from assimilation to multiculturalism to accompany the rise of immigration, the situation of the country was stable. Most of immigrants to Sweden were labor migrants of European values (Runblom, 1994 : 10, Soininen 1999 : 10). Earlier migrants gave more to the economy than they took, and the Swedish economy was so prospering that the country was in the top 5 GNP in the world (Runblom, 1994 : 12). Immigrant labor power was needed to solve the problem of acute labor shortage in the industries and the public sectors during the period of prosperity (Soininen, 1999 : 10). Multiculturalism was specifically destined to incorporate labor migrants, mostly coming from Nordic countries, with the goals of equality, freedom of choice and cooperation (Soininen, 1999: 8). Freedom of choice was thus defined that it is only the individual who can decide to what extent he wants to adopt another cultural identity.

Crisis of the Swedish multiculturalism

However, things did not continue in this way. The economy entered in a recession cycle which has changed the situation faster than expected, and the generous state-support reforms were no-longer justifiable (Runblom, 1994 ; Soininen, 1999). Prosperity was a reason of the increasing labor migration in Western Europe, countries had to take decisions in order to manage the situation. Sweden thus closed the boundaries and only authorized family reunions and asylums-seekers were allowed to enter. Labor immigrants had been replaced by refugees, and the number of refugees arriving in Sweden was high compared to other countries (Bredström, 2009).

As a consequence of the recession on the economy, the Swedish government had to reconsider his economical model. The public sector became less attractive to the government, which was more in favor of a liberal economy. The shift to a neo-liberal direction has given the private sector a bigger weight on the economy, where the market, its actors and the individual occupied a more central position in the society (Rothstein, 1998 cited in Soininen, 1999). This change in the Swedish model is advanced as a main reason for the actual situation of Sweden (Soininen, 1999 ; Runblom, 1994 ; Green-Pedersen, 2008, Bredström, 2009). On the labor market, structural reforms in production made a turn towards more educated labor forces. Concretely, immigrant labor forces passed from being solution of shortages into one of the labor market’s largest problem (Soininen, 1999 : 10).
If economy has been restructured in Sweden, the changes in the immigrants composition will be effective decades after the proposition has been adopted by the Swedish government. When in 1982 the government decided a second parliamentary inquiry to analyze the situation of immigration in Sweden, the results were that it was not possible anymore to see immigrant and minority issues as questions solely for domestic policy (Soininen, 1999: 5). Several state commissions of inquiry have pointed out that there is a clear risk of the emergence of an ethnically and socially segregated labor market, resulting in a new form of class society divided along ethnic lines (Soininen, 1999: 7). In short, when Swedish legislators proposed the multiculturalist method of incorporation, they underestimated the social and economical effects of the changes in immigration tendencies, and consequences of these changes are seen today illustrated by the level of incorporation of immigrant populations. The changing character of immigration to Sweden, from labor migrants to refugees, the new demands on the labor market, the economic recession and the reduction of the public are the main reasons of the crisis of multiculturalism, according to the multiculturalist policy has not precluded ethnic cleavages in Swedish society (Gustafson, 2002: 5).

The proposed solution: Integration

As a consequence of the growing segregation among the Swedish population, the parliament in 1990’s reviewed its immigrant policy and proposed the alternative ‘integration’. The new integration policy reflected the increased emphasis on individual rights and individual equality (« equality, freedom of choice, cooperation »), but modified its content : « equality, the maintenance of freedom of choice which follows from the freedom and rights of citizenship and the Swedish law’s requirement of co-operation between people » (Soininen, 1999: 8). As objectives, this remodelated policy wants immigrants to be self-sufficient, self-supporting and wants their participation in the social life regardless of ethnic, cultural and social background (Soininen, 1999: 8). Thus, the same rights and opportunities which were the foundations of the multicultural policy are at the base of the integration process in Sweden : public education, social welfare benefits, public health services, political participation, interest organizations, and active labor market interventions were policies that developed during the course of building the welfare state (Bayram et al. 2009 : 2).

To summarize, the objectives of the Swedish integration policy are :

• Equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background,
• A community based on diversity,
• A society characterized by mutual respect and tolerance, in which everyone can take an active and responsible part, irrespective of background.

Part III - The four key points of analysis

In this section, four key points are proposed and are put forward as particularly important in the aim to understand incorporation of immigrants in their country of residence. In this section one and each of these four aspects will be discussed from the empirical study of French immigrants in Sweden: working in Sweden, language, housing conditions and finally the culture.
III.1.a. Working in Sweden

Working is an important factor of incorporation. By emigrating, populations might challenge different aspects of life such as the social spaces, their networks, and language. All these changes have an effect on the job seeking in the receiving country (Koopmans, 2010: 9). The competition becomes harder because of some factors such as the recognition of background, diploma, experience, which are not recognized as in the home country. Sometimes, networks can also play an influential role on the recruitment to job, where some employees can recommend a person or even applicants can be recruited thanks to specific networks (Aslund, 2010). This part is both dealing with theory and quantitative methods related to job search, and we will see the importance of finding a job as well as some aspects of the job situation of immigrants.

Refugees arriving in Sweden may be placed under the welfare program, meaning that they are financially supported by the state and live in social housing. Other migrants, which are not forced-migrants like refugees (such as the labor migrants, family reunification migrants, students, lifestyle migrants) do not get help by the state once arrived in Sweden. This means that migrants become quickly in a difficult situation where a job is needed to support the different costs of life. It is thus common, in comparison with natives or earlier immigrants with comparable abilities, to be in an immediate transition period of unemployment and lowered occupational status resulting in lower incomes (Hartmann, 1995: 1).

According to Statistics Sweden (SCB), there are 4,449,000 employed persons in Sweden and 448,000 unemployed in March 2010 (+44,000 compared to 2009). This means that unemployment rate is 9.1% for a total labor force of 4,897,000 persons. If the employed basically has increased compared to the previous year (2009), unemployment has also increased on the same period (+0.8%). Starting from this basic statistics statement, we will see the differences between natives and foreigners on the labor market in Sweden on the last couples of years. Sweden is having one of the highest levels of unemployment amongst non-European migrants within the OECD (Green Pedersen, 2007: 8). Immigrants (whether they are Swedish citizens or not) are substantially more affected by unemployment than the majority population (Gustafsson, 2002: 5).

Educational skills play an important role in the job search, for natives as well as for immigrants. Highly-skilled migration is the type of migration currently the most popular with governments of receiving countries (Castles, 2002: 10). We can see in the next table the links between high-skilled jobs and salary. Indeed, the next table refers to the level of education (in years) and the related average salary (in SEK):
This table illustrates the level of education (in years of studies post-A level) in correlation to the monthly salary (in SEK).

Thus, the longer are the studies, the higher is the average salary. The occupations with highest average monthly salary 2008 in Sweden are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Monthly salary (SEK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Securities and finance dealers and brokers</td>
<td>88,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directors and chief executives</td>
<td>73,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and development managers</td>
<td>59,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislators and senior government officials</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production and operations managers in business services enterprises</td>
<td>56,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical doctors</td>
<td>55,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and marketing managers</td>
<td>53,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing services managers</td>
<td>52,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising and public relations managers</td>
<td>51,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and administration managers</td>
<td>51,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist managers not elsewhere classified</td>
<td>50,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel and industrial relations managers</td>
<td>50,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These categories of jobs are occupations where high qualifications are required. They correspond to specific requirement. These positions are not necessarily occupied by native Swedes, argumenting the previous quotation that high-skilled migration is preferred by receiving countries. On the other hand, the jobs with average lower monthly salaries are those who do not require high skills.
This table (SCB, accessed 04.2010) is showing the occupations with lowest average monthly salary for 2008 in Sweden. These jobs are linked with qualifications, and may be done by students, young people or migrants. Indeed, migrants and minorities may face difficulties to find qualified jobs and their salaries are lower than those of natives populations, and often work in precarious jobs that require short periods of apprenticeship (Schuerkens, 2005: 8). Wages and qualifications are two separates aspects of labor market that can be linked, as we have seen previously. However, there is a possibility to see what is the average income (for 2008) of populations living in Sweden, as well as the possibility to sort the average incomes by geographical origin. The next table is thus illustrating the difference of wages between natives and others in Sweden.

Tab 1. Total income from employment and business, in 2008, men & women/ country, aged 20-64.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Income (SEK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>252 903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nordic Countries except Sweden</td>
<td>249 953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>248 462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU15 except the Nordic countries</td>
<td>243 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>213 842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe except EU15 and except the Nordic countries</td>
<td>206 864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>201 607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>139 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>130 896</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Created with data from SCB, 2010.
It would be a big mistake to affirm that there is an inequality in the wages by using this unique graph. First, because immigrants represent 12% of the total population in Sweden, consequently it reduces the number of immigrants having the best paid positions. Second, this graph doesn’t illustrate the inequality of salary for the same job/same qualifications. But what is useful for us in this graph is that European migrants, and among them the French migrants, are earning in average 243 481 SEK/year. This figure positions them at the 4th rank after Sweden, Nordic countries and Oceania in term of incomes. Unfortunately, it was not possible to get the data concerning the average incomes for more specific nationalities/countries of birth, and thus most particularly the French migrants. However, some assumptions can be put forward, such as that French migrants are not suffering from economic segregation due to the job opportunities and job positions, and that they are probably qualified.

Access to specific jobs and equality in the incomes are issues that are discussed, especially when it concerns immigrants. Unfortunately, although many researches are dealing with economic incorporation, few focus on the extent and the nature of ethnic segregation on the labor market in Sweden. Fortunately, Aslund and Nordström Skans published in April 2010 a crucial work on the ethnic segregation on the labor market in Sweden. This really interesting and deep work on the ethnic workplace segregation in Sweden on the period 1985-2002 is helpful in our case of French immigrants and their position in the labor market. Indeed, Aslund and Nordström Skans present three classes of theories and mechanisms to understand ethnic segregation on the labor market:

- Efficient matching of productive skills: Language and business culture to reduce costs. Segregation is strong in this case (example of ethnic enterprises) (Aslund et al. 2010: 3).

- Networks/referrals/social capital: The notion of network is thus totally matching, as Aslund arguments: «We know that a large fraction of the job-finding process occurs via personal contacts or networks». Furthermore, ethnic groups may prefer to work together because they get non-economic benefits to do so. In this case, segregation is strong among new migrants (Aslund et al. 2010: 3).

- Discrimination/segmentation: «That is, if some—but not all—employers are unwilling to hire minority workers at the majority wage, these minorities will to some degree be concentrated in jobs with non-discriminatory employers» (Aslund et al. 2010: 3).

To conclude this part, we have seen the working condition in Sweden. For the migrants, Sweden is an attractive county related to the wages and the opportunities. Yet, skills and qualifications remain, for migrants and natives, crucial in job seeking and consequently some populations may face difficulties to find a job. Segregation on the labor market appears like a process combining factors such as human capital, residential location, industrial allocation (Aslund et al., 2010: 1). In the case of labor market segregation, the interactions between groups do not necessarily correspond to the interactions of the same groups outside the professional context. Indeed, while some populations remain spatially segregated, for instance Iraqis or Turks (Bayram et al. 2009), Aslund and Nordström Skans (2010: 12) found out that Turks are not as segregated in the labor market as the Iraqis are. If Finns, Dans, Germans or Norwegians are not segregated on the labor market, English and Irish are almost three times more over-exposed to own groups than the groups cited above, even if they are in the same average income category. This concludes then that networks are critical in specific jobs.
III.1.b. Language

Language is considered as a factor of incorporation by many individuals. Low levels of incorporation, tolerance and understanding between communities are partly consequences of languages problems (Pattni, 2007: 2). To Bron, language is a natural social prerequisite to communicating and functioning in social and personal life in the community and in society at large (Bron, 2003: 1). In most of countries, language is one of the critical requirements to find a work. On the labor market, lack of appropriate skills are considered as a main reason of economic performance and above all that, a growing gap between employers’ needs and the local supply base (Pattni, 2007: 2).

Since 1970, measures were adopted by the Swedish state such as offering immigrants free courses in the Swedish language (Bron, 2002 : 6). In 1973, immigrant workers have the right to Swedish-language courses during the workday, paid by the employers, up to a maximum of 240 hours. It means that each migrant, whatever his background, his nationality and his culture, can attend languages classes under the principle of equality. Today, there are two ways of teaching the Swedish language to newcomers in Sweden: children and youth attend compulsory school system, meaning Swedish as a second language while adults are taking parts in courses free of charge sponsored by the State (SFI, Swedish For Immigrants). Indeed, since 1968, new immigration policy is approved by Parliament. New principles for the education of immigrant children are approved. The children have the right to learn their mother language at least two hours per week. To investigate the situation of immigrants and present proposals on cultural and social adaptation, a new immigrant investigation is started (Bayram et al. 2009: 5). Consequences of completing the courses at SFI are the possibilities to continue education and/or to find a job; where those who do not complete the course are trapped in the system of social security and then dependant on welfare (Bron, 2002 : 8).

Criticisms arose according to the efficiency of SFI. Dropping out as well as ineffectiveness and the lack of pedagogy have been pointed out. Individuals who do not manage to reach the SFI certificate are sent back, by the Employment Agency, to SFI again. It has also been argued that SFI often becomes a dead end instead of a good introduction to Sweden (Bayram et al : 2009: 18). Bron advances that the SFI standards are too high for many immigrants, while at the same time more than half of immigrants in Sweden read in their mother tongue at least once a week (2002 : 8). This vicious circle including too much expectation from the language skills and the need of immigrants to maintain their languages is a clue of the situation in which Sweden is today. My opinion on this point is that SFI is a really major advantage of Sweden compared to other European countries, for instance Germany and France do not propose language courses free of charge for immigrants. Although some critics have been expressed by authors, researchers, offering free language courses to immigrants should not be cast aside.

Language diversity is an effect of international migration on the host country. Even though Sweden is a multi-cultural country, its official main language is Swedish. Due to history and human flows over time, the new law of 2009 recognized four other ones as official national minority languages: Finnish, all Sami dialects, Törne Valley Finnish (Meänkieli), Romani, and Yiddish (The Local, 2009). However, these five languages are far from being the only languages spoken in Sweden, and some questions can show up according to the reasons of making Yiddish and Romani official minority languages while Turkish, Persian, Serbian-Croatian, Polish or even Spanish and English are spoken by many migrants.
According to the Language Council (Språkrådet, website in Swedish only), close to 200 languages are spoken in Sweden today. The position of Swedish in Sweden is similar to other main official language in Europe, i.e. that Swedish is spoken by most of people in Sweden, either as mother tongue or as a second language (The Local, 2009). Nevertheless, it appears that many Swedes are using English regularly (university, job), and English is in some cases used in companies. Language is thus an example of the effects of migration and globalization on the societies. Language has also become a key factor of integration and debates on the skills required in Swedish in order to obtain the Swedish citizenship have been existing. Moreover, language is seen as a tool for integration by Bron (2003 : 13), who argued that the too liberal policy (Swedish is not required for citizenship, in 2001) of Sweden according to the language skills reinforced the barriers between dominant and non-dominant groups. In a globalized world like ours, it is not neglectible to speak at least one foreign language, and although the official main language of Sweden is Swedish, lots of companies are open to English to attract international labor forces. There is thus a paradox, on one hand the protection of Swedish by offering courses and promoting Swedish to immigrants, and the other hand languages such as English are tolerated on different levels although Swedish remains the main language in companies and universities.

III.1.c. Housing conditions in Sweden

The choice of housing differs according to some criteria. At least two criteria confine the household’s freedom of choice: the accessibility (depends on specific institutions and the regulators of access to particular segments of the housing market) and the availability (affordability for household of particular types of dwellings) (Bolt, 2010 : 9). Then, starting from this important statement, one can discuss the housing conditions of international migrants, from students to refugees. Segregation of population, and especially in the Swedish case, is sometimes (wrongly ?) linked with the issues of incorporation of immigrant populations. If it is true that segregation may concern populations of low socio-economic position, one must take account the factors that constrain the choice of housing (Bolt, 2010 : 8).

Situation in Sweden, and Stockholm particularly

In Sweden, and more particularly in Stockholm, the demand for dwellings is much higher than the offer. While the « Million Housing Program » in the mid-1970 has ordained the construction of massive collective housing, the last few years have seen around 15-20 000 new dwellings constructed per year in Sweden. At the same time, population and immigration are constantly increasing in Sweden and Stockholm attracted many of the immigrants. The result of high demand for dwelling combined by low supply could be a housing crisis. According to SCB database (Statistics Sweden, accessed in April 2010), in 2006, there were 22 235 dwellings built, of which 45% are tenant-owned and 55% rented. As a comparison, in 1999, there were 1 247 dwellings built of which 76% were tenant-owned and 14% rented. For the year 2009, 15 250 dwellings construction started, while in 2008 21 900 dwellings construction started. Still according to the SCB database, the rent of housing between 2008 and 2009 has increased of 3.3% in Sweden, and the average rent for a three-room apartment in 2009 is 5 532 SEK (6 081 SEK for Stockholm region). Mechanism of demand-offer means that rents increase if the supply is decreasing.
Different dwellings for different immigrants?

Like in most of European countries, Sweden housing market is ruled by a separation between private (private landlords, estate agencies, financial institutions, for instance) and public sector (social housing, for instance). This means that some tenants can be excluded of specific types of housing. People who are migrating but are not student may face difficulties with finding housing, especially in the most attractive regions such as the Stockholm region. A common system for housing in Sweden is the hyresrätt, i.e. leasehold estate with a system of queuing. The housing situation in Sweden is particular, and in Stockholm one can affirm that the market is saturated (Magnusson Turner, 2008, discusses the few vacancies on the Stockholm housing market). According to Bostad Stockholm¹, in 2008 the majority of the 7600 flats allocated had a queuing time of between two and six years. According to Magnusson Turner, the waiting time for a (rent controlled) flat has increased during the last ten years (2008 : 4). The leasehold estate can be both public and private, in the suburbs or in the inner city and mixed. The choice of a flat is thus dependent on the queuing system (average weeks to rent a flat in Stockholm, 104 weeks ; The Local, accessed April 2010), meaning that being main tenant of an accommodation in the «best places» of Stockholm is depending on the offer but also depending on the time spent in the queue as well as the possibility to afford higher rents (Magnusson Turner, 2008: 5). Swedes who are aware of the problematic housing situation do not hesitate to register their newborns in the system of different housing estates. The market is, as we have seen previously, more or less equitably shared between renting and ownership, the situation is thus that around 50% of people live in «hyresrätt» dwellings. As a consequence of the low vacancies on the housing market, the competition is intense for the dwelling-seekers, and population may end up in dwellings located far outside the city centre: the cheapest dwellings are located at a consequent distance to the city centre (suburbs). On the other hand, the ability of buying a flat in co-operative dwellings (as it is in the Swedish law) is depending on the incomes. Indeed, families buying co-operative dwellings in the inner city have higher incomes than families buying the same type of housing in suburbs (Magnusson Turner, 2008 : 16). Moreover, housing costs in Sweden have increased considerably and are now ranked as the highest in Europe in terms of expenditures as share of disposable income (Magnusson Turner, 2008: 2). Thus, as a consequence, poor families are highly overrepresented in suburban areas and those with high incomes are over-represented in the city centre and areas mainly composed of single houses. It corresponds partly to the definition of residential segregation we will see further.

Students are, as we have seen previously, particular types of migrants. Their appropriation of space is ruled, in some situations, by the belonging to the student community. If the community concept exists on social sphere, the student community also exists in the housing conditions. Indeed, student housing are, as the title confirms, flats, rooms, dorms, destined to those who are students. It exists in Sweden several companies offering student housing, for example only in Stockholm county exist SSSB, Campus Roslagen, Huge Fastigheter, Kista Studentbostäder, Proventum AB, Riksten Frilufsstad, NYSS, Svenska Bostäder AB, University Accommodation Center AB. All these companies offer accommodation with the principle of queuing (1 day = 1 credit. The more you have credits, the greater are the chances to get an accommodation) regardless to the nationality. According to the SSSB rules (available on the website of SSSB, accessed in April 2010), requirements are that inviduals

have to get 15 credits from studies per semester in order to keep the accommodation they are living in. When the 15 credits are not proven, then the individual receive a cancellation letter stating that he has 3 months left of contract. For example, SSSB propose up to 8000 student accommodations in the Stockholm Region to students (and in some case, three persons families) of which the registration is possible from 16 to 49 year old. The advantage of living in a SSSB accommodation is that accommodations are quite central (Lappkarsberget, Solna, Hammarby Sjöstad, Gamla Stan, Kungshamra, etc).

Segregation and « minorities » as over-represented population.

Segregation is a frequent phenomenon in immigration cities like Paris, Rotterdam, and is also the reality of Stockholm. Segregation is defined by the relative level of spatial concentration of a population category (Musterd, 2003 : 8). Spatial segregation can also be seen as one dimension of assimilation. Spatial assimilation is the residential exposure of minority populations to members of the ethnic majority and this exposure is generally assumed to increase as the assimilation process in other domains (acculturation, socio-economic mobility) proceeds (Bolt, 2010 : 4). As a consequence of interaction between several factors (social position, political power, economical situation, migration type), it appears that Swedish suburbs are segregated and are likely to welcome the poorest populations.

In order to give a concrete example of the segregation in Sweden (but not representative of whole Sweden, though), Stockholm is the focus city since it is the economic and political capital of Sweden. There are defined “Swedish” housing areas and “immigrant” housing areas in Stockholm, delineated by difference and exclusion rather than by ethnic bonds (Byaram et al. 2009 : 17). According to Koopmans (17, 2010), the level of segregation for some populations is high in Stockholm (Turkish, Iranians, Somalis for instance). According to SCB, in some districts of Stockholm (especially the suburbs corresponding to the end of the subways lines, Tensta, Rinkeby, Norsborg, etc) immigrants (first and second generation) represent up to 80% of the population. In contrast, apparently some parts of central Stockholm have a population mainly composed of natives Swedes (Östermalm, Vasastan, etc.). To argument the fact that poorer populations are living outside the inner city, the coming table:

Tab 2. Average net incomes by municipality in Stockholm County, in 2008:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Average Net Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm County</td>
<td>248 676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danderyd</td>
<td>464 097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lidingö</td>
<td>342 439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Täby</td>
<td>297 784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacka</td>
<td>287 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaxholm</td>
<td>282 458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekerö</td>
<td>272 524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sollentuna</td>
<td>270 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Värmödö</td>
<td>262 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Österåker</td>
<td>257 751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>254 053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyresö</td>
<td>247 812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallentuna</td>
<td>244 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykvarn</td>
<td>243 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danderyd</td>
<td>Salem 235 054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lidingö</td>
<td>Solna 234 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Täby</td>
<td>Järfsälla 229 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacka</td>
<td>Huddinge 221 951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaxholm</td>
<td>Sundbyberg 220 397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekerö</td>
<td>Upplands Väsby 220 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sollentuna</td>
<td>Sigtuna 218 843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Värmödö</td>
<td>Upplands-Bro 218 529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Österåker</td>
<td>Haninge 211 467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>Nynäshamn 206 968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyresö</td>
<td>Norrtälje 203 964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallentuna</td>
<td>Södertälje 200 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nykvarn</td>
<td>Botkyrka 190 205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average net income per year sorted by municipality (2008), in SEK. SCB, accessed 04.2010
Quickly, as we can see, Danderyd is the richer district in Stockholm County, Botkyrka (Norsborg, Fittja, etc) remains the poorest. In 2009, 516 (31%) of the 1641 new comers in Danderyd are foreigners, when in Botkyrka 1642 (47%) of the 3850 are foreigners. These two extremes are an illustration of the tendency, and the median incomes related to the foreign-background of population are confirming this tendency.

The process of segregation will not be deconstructed in the thesis for two reasons: first, the limits in size and time do not permit to deeply analyze this complex phenomenon; second, the housing conditions of French populations may be particular for some interviewees (see analytical part), and none of them are segregated. An important statement must be given as a conclusion to this subpart: there is a connection, according to Koopmans (2010 : 18), between multicultural incorporation policies and social segregation in regard to the high levels of residential segregation in countries such as UK, the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden which are ruled (or have been, in the latter case) by multiculturalism: the rather libertarian policy of incorporation in these countries have contributed to the emergence of ethnical neighborhoods (see also in European Cities by Kazepov).

III.1.d. Culture

If the previous key points of analysis are concrete things in the field of incorporation (language, entrance in the labor market and housing market), culture is by far a more ambiguous concept. There is a need to define culture before analyzing the process of groups cultural relations in migration and incorporation.

The coming definition is given by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and is relatively clear: « In its wider sense, culture may today be considered as the set of distinctive traits, spiritual and material, intellectual and affective, characterizing a society or a social group. Culture includes, in addition to arts and literature, the life styles, fundamental rights of human being, systems of values, traditions and beliefs ». To migrants, culture may appear as one of the biggest gap between origin and destination country, and is sometimes put forward as an issue of incorporation (Koopmans, 2010 : 11); the question is not what differ between the main cultural traits of the origin country and the main cultural traits of the destination country, but rather how to manage the two cultures in the destination country. And this seems, moreover, the issue of the migrants to live the dual culture and then to chose an incorporation strategy (Bolt, 2001: 2).

Although there is a possibility to define culture in theoretical terms, culture tends to be a hazy term gathering many different notions under « its flag », as Faist argues, ‘a container concept’. However, it is more interesting to deal with the notion of culture in migration studies and especially in the field of incorporation through the process of acculturation (Trebbe, 2007 : 4). We have seen that acculturation was a interaction between two groups, but a wider definition must be given here in order to have an overview of the notion of culture in incorporation: « Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups » (Redfield et al., 1936 : 149).

The mechanism of acculturation must be analyzed in order to understand how assimilation into the receiving society functions. To analyze the mechanism, I decided to review the influential work by Berry titled « A Psychology of Immigration » (2001).
Acculturation is a process that entails contact between two cultural groups, which result in numerous cultural changes in both parties. The contact experiences have much greater impact on the non-dominant group and its members (Berry, 2001: 2).

Acculturation has been studied for decades now, and focus has been put on people’s reaction toward the process, their behaviors, their cultural identities (Berry, 2001: 2). In any intercultural situation, a group can penetrate (or ignore) the other, and groups can remain culturally distinct (or merge with) from each other (Berry, 2001: 2).

Distinction between these two group-level phenomena is critical for understanding the process of both cultural and psychological acculturation: if it is assumed that high contact always and inevitably leads to low cultural and psychological acculturation, then the only possible outcome is the absorption of one group into the other, with the melding of the two into a blended culture, leading to the disappearance of distinct cultural groups (Berry, 2001: 2).

At a psychological level, virtually everyone in an intercultural arena holds attitudes towards the two fundamental aspects (intercultural contact and cultural maintenance) (Berry, 2001: 3). Each group must concern itself with the views and the practices of the other. On one hand immigrants choices may be constrained by the orientations of the receiving society, on the other hand receiving society needs to consider how to change in order to accommodate immigrants. There is necessarily a mutual process involving one’s own attitude and behaviors and a perception of those of other groups (Berry, 2001: 3).

From the point of view of the immigrant groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural heritage and seek daily interaction with the other cultures, the assimilation strategy is defined (Berry, 2001: 3).

When there is an interest in both maintaining one’s original culture and engaging in daily interactions with other groups, integration is the option (Berry, 2001: 3).

In theory, acculturation is a « neutral » process, but in practice the most changes are lived by the migrant groups (Berry, 1997: 3). Through the times, acculturation have seen a separation in its content. We have seen the definition given by Redfield et al. in 1936, but some authors such as Graves (1967) deconstructed acculturation in two different ways: group/collective acculturation (acculturation is a change in the culture of the group) and psychological acculturation (acculturation is a change in the psychology of the individual). An argument given by Berry (1997: 3) in the use of this separation is that individuals do not participate to the same extent in the acculturation lived by their group, meaning that if the group can be affected by the changes in culture, individuals vary in the degree of participation. The interrelation between members of groups/individuals toward individuals can correspond to the concept of cultural communities, where people are highly connected by sharing the same values and affective relations.

Cultural traits and incorporation are linked, as we will see in the analytical parts. As Hedberg (2004: 31) affirms, cultural and economic factors often complement one another in a migration process. Nonetheless, it seems that cultural factors play a crucial role in the process of incorporation. As Bowskill (2007: 2) argues the key concern regarding to acculturation has been with identifying people’s orientations to acculturation and how these relate to psychological adaptation, that is, at a basic level, whether they accept or reject each culture. To Bowskill (2007: 3) still, the precise nature of these reactions (whether they reflect attitudes, feelings or identifications) tends to vary according to the context but are consistently
determining the kind of acculturation strategy supported by persons. This concept of strategy is what we have seen with the Berry’s definition (2001): cultural maintenance and cultural contact. To Faist (2001: 24), acculturation refers mainly to the adaptation of immigrants to core culture(s) and the entry of immigrants into primary groups of the immigration country.

Cultural traits of each country appear impossible to theorize. Although one can assume that living in Sweden and in France implies changes (of different degrees) in the culture

Part IV – Quantitative data

IV.1.a. Quantitative data: discussion and application.

The next part of the thesis is also empirical but is rather dealing with the quantitative data, and focuses then on the case of French migrants to Sweden. The part includes thus a methodological part, dealing with qualitative data, and summaries of the migration flows of French migrants to Sweden.

Quantitative data express the “quantity” of the events (Cloke & al. 2004: 17). In this work, quantitative data are giving the extensive reality of the number of French migrants in Sweden, while qualitative data are useful to answer the research question with arguments, theoretical support and of course data created such as interviews. The use of quantitative data has been argumented to be objective representation of what happen in the world (Cloke & all, 2004: 20), quantitative data are existing in a diversity of sources including textual sources (Poon, 2004: 6).

There are different ways of dealing with population quantitative data. According to Giele et al. (1998: 216), one can find quantitative data in social service offices (those who are links between welfare agencies and families). But, more classically, national census, large-scale electronic databases (Cloke et al. 1998: 65) or even hospital records are collected quantitative data. On the other hand, one can analyze data with specific statistical calculations (Lorenz for the calculation of segregation, death for specific areas calculated with probabilities, etc). Here, data used are collected by statistic bureaux in Sweden, France, European Union and one just need to access the different websites (SCB, INSEE, Eurostat) to get the data.

Quantitative data: immigration in Sweden since year 2000.

In this part, the discussion is more focused on the migration in Sweden with quantitative approaches. The focus is on the year 2008, since this year is the latest for which data is available on the different databases used for the work. According to the INSEE (Institut National pour la Statistique et l’Emploi) study (using statistics from Eurostat) on the evolution of European population in 2008, Sweden has a positive net migration rate (5.9 for 1000 inhabitants). On an European Union basis, to compare, the calculated average is 4.1 (16.3 for Cyprus, ranked #1 and -1.6 for Lithuania ranked #27).

Concretely, the number of immigrants in Sweden is high compared to the total population of the country. In 2008, Sweden hosted 1 281 581 foreign-born persons. It is the highest number of immigrants in Sweden since the beginning of the database in 2000. At this year, there were 1 003 798 foreign-born persons in Sweden.
Nevertheless, emigration exists as well and SCB has recorded the number of emigrants out of Sweden. For the year 2008, they were 45 294. It seems a little at first sight, but compared to the immigration (53 811 in 2008) it is taking weight. Moreover, when we look closer to the statistics, emigration is constantly increasing. There are thus important in and out migration in the case of Sweden, with a high proportion of asylum (SCB, accessed on the 7th of January).

On a European level, and particularly speaking, based on statistics concerning the European Union, France is not the most represented country in the SCB records.

**Tab 3. Origin of E.U foreigners in Sweden by country of origin in 2008**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>175 113</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>5 898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>63 822</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>5 686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>46 854</td>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>4 537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>46 167</td>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>3 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>19 460</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>2 774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>17 352</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1 755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>14 624</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1 725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>11 043</td>
<td>Czech Rep.</td>
<td>1 087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>9 763</td>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>7 895</td>
<td>Slovak Rep.</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>7 429</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>7 243</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>6 163</td>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Created with SCB database, accessed on 7th of January 2010.

France is ranked #11 out of 27 European countries. Although it has been increasing, as we will see further in the next part, the number of French citizens in Sweden is not really important compared to the other countries. The number of immigrants to Sweden from France is neither important in relation to France’s population and which is 63.1 millions of inhabitants (INSEE). This makes France the second largest country in population in E.U after Germany. Finland, which is not a big country in population, is the first immigrants provider of Sweden. Romania became in 2008 the European country with the biggest increase of immigrant population in Sweden, in percentage, in comparison to the year 2000.

**IV.1.b. Quantitative data: the case of French people in Sweden**

French people are not, as we discuss in the thesis, the most represented nation in the statistics from the SCB records dealing with immigration as well as out migration. The graphs below aim thus to give an overview of the French migration towards Sweden.

**Tab 4. Total number of French immigrants in Sweden on the period 2000-2008.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>3269</td>
<td>3445</td>
<td>3544</td>
<td>3616</td>
<td>3705</td>
<td>3857</td>
<td>3963</td>
<td>4075</td>
<td>4359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2333</td>
<td>2451</td>
<td>2504</td>
<td>2539</td>
<td>2606</td>
<td>2673</td>
<td>2746</td>
<td>2871</td>
<td>3070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5602</td>
<td>5896</td>
<td>6048</td>
<td>6155</td>
<td>6311</td>
<td>6530</td>
<td>6709</td>
<td>6946</td>
<td>7429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCB, accessed on the 7th of January 2010.

As a confirmation of the world-of-mouth I’ve been told since I moved to Sweden, the national statistics show that the total population registered in Sweden coming from France is
constantly increasing. The counting of French immigrants is increasing in number for every year, and one can see a higher representation of men on the period 2000-2008.

Tab 5. Number of French immigrants in Sweden by year of arrival and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCB, accessed on the 7th of January 2010

This graph shows the number of French immigrants arriving every year, sorted by sex. The stocks show that from 2000 to 2003, there is a decrease of both men and women. Stock of men is increasing from 2004 to 2008, when stock of women is irregular on the second part of the period (increasing in 2004, decreasing in 2005, then increasing from 2006 to 2008). Between 2000 and 2008, the flow of migration has been increasing in general.

It is impossible to give exact explanations to these migration flows from France to Sweden. For sure, there is no French refugee in Sweden (SCB, January 2010). However, statistics are available about the age of these migrants and all the people established in Sweden on the period 2000-2008.

Figure 1. Age distribution of French individuals in Sweden for the year 2008.

The first interesting population pick concerns the 20-44yr old and represent 4 314 migrants on the year 2008. One can assume that they are student or employed. Second interesting population pick concerns the 0-14. They are 714, but according to the statistics (SCB), there is a pick between 4 and 7yr old. It means that they followed their parents in Sweden, meaning also that these parents are employed. Third interesting population pick concerns the 60yr old and more. They were, in 2008, 1 052. Absence of data cannot show when did they arrive in Sweden, but their constant migration is strongly assumed, as well as it is assumed that migrants to Sweden are relatively young.

These three main groups show an interesting fact: there is a link between age and migration. Indeed, it appears like the 0-14 are born from parents who migrated in Sweden right after they gave birth. If we imagine that adults get children around the age of 30, then the oldest of the 0-14yr group followed their parents who are the oldest of the group 20-44. If the younger children are 4 or 7, the parents might be more or less 35yr. Then, the 20-24yr old might be students or newcomers on the work market. The 60+ year group could correspond to people
who migrated for familial reasons (indeed, according to the stats of SCB, women are more represented than men, on every stages of the database), or who have lived in Sweden for very long.

Tab 6. Age distribution by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age distrib.</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>1,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCB, accessed on the 7th of January.

IV.1.c. Problems related to the quantitative parts

Methodological problems related to these quantitative parts are numerous. First of all, SCB remains the main statistics provider due to its fact of being the only database available (and free) which can give statistics of migration/ outmigration by age, by sex, by nationality for the Swedish state. Although there are studies about migration available on the website of INSEE, they are focused on the main migration flows. Thus, Sweden always appear in “Other European countries” in their studies, contrarily to Spain, Portugal and Italy which have been important countries of origin for thousands of immigrants.

Moreover, it is not possible to create your own table with the database of INSEE contrarily to SCB. Second methodological critic, the figures take in account only people registered in Swedish national institutions such as Migrationsverket. Those who are not registered at Migrationsverket (or who do not have any personnummer), are thus not counted in the statistics.

Third methodological issue, although SCB is complete, large and detailed, their database on migration studies is starting from the year 2000. Return migration can also be included in this part dealing with methodological problems. Indeed, how to know if all the migrants registered in Sweden are still living in Sweden? Are the students who didn’t cancel their registration in Sweden still counted as migrants in Sweden? Finally, there is a detailed database available but is not accessible since it is not for a public use.

PART V – Analysis of interviews

We have seen several theories related to incorporation of immigrants, in general terms as well as more specifically Sweden-oriented. This set of theories is critical in an empirical research because the points of analyze must be motivated by literature in order to be the most relevant possible. From this set of theories I draw points that will be discussed in the coming part by argumenting, illustrating, challenging concepts of incorporation, and particularly integration.
The next part gives voice to the immigrants who are the central point of the thesis, because they live the situation day by day and are able to give a retrospective point of view about their integration. The sample of French immigrants used is thus useful in order to show that incorporation is a personal experience, but also that the integration policy adopted by Sweden has an impact on the incorporation of migrants.

Once the quantitative data are presented, the analytical part is deconstructed into four key points presented in the introduction of the thesis and explored in part II.4.a:

- Professional trajectory of French migrants in Sweden.
- The housing conditions of French migrants.
- Languages used by French immigrants in Sweden.


This part is dealing with the background, the qualifications and diploma of the migrants prior to analyze their professional trajectories. Work is a crucial step for independence, and some individuals of the sample consider that working is necessary for incorporation (Aslund, 2010).

The table 7 summarizes where the migrants completed their studies, if they are working, students, how long did they study. Then, the results will be explained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Employee</th>
<th>Complet. Sv.</th>
<th>Complet. Fr.</th>
<th>5 yr</th>
<th>2 till 3 yr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°3</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>N°6</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>N°8</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°9</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°10</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°11</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°14</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table created according to the interviews results, 2010

Student = migrants who are still student /// Employee = migrants who are working in Sweden /// Complet. Sv. = migrants who studied their final year in Sweden (but French diploma) /// Complet. Fr. = migrants who have completed their studies in France (French diploma) /// 5yr = 5 years of studies after the French A-level /// 2 till 3yr = Up till 3 years of studies, but at least 2 years after the French A-level

3 out of 14 interviewees are student. They will be completed in Sweden and will get, for two of them, a Swedish master degree. The other one is a PhD in a Swedish organization, paid by a French university. 10 out of 14 migrants have 5 years of studies post-A level, of whom 6 completed in Sweden. 4 completed in France, nobody completed their studies in a third country. The 4 others have 2 till 3 years of studies, completed in France (BTS, specialization diploma, semi-professional).
4 out of 10 interviewees are engineers, of whom two attended Ecole Centrale Paris which is the second most reputed high school in France, before completing their studies in Sweden. 2 migrants have a business/marketing degree, 1 migrant has a law degree, the all 3 completed in France.

The outcome of the classification is that French migrants in the interview study are highly qualified migrants, with specific skills. However, it is important to note that all individuals who migrated to Sweden as student (in France it is recommended to study at least a year abroad) and who completed their degree in Sweden (although the diploma is French) are now working in Sweden. Few migrants of the sample have worked in France. Indeed, of those who worked in France prior to their stay in Sweden, 3 out of 4 went to Sweden to follow their partner. There is thus a tendency to move to Sweden in order to study, although all migrants of the sample who completed their final year of studies did not go back to France. Here is the push-pull effect, Sweden attracts more than France rejects (Benson et al, 2009). The reasons why most of individuals migrated to Sweden to study is due to the combination of two main criteria, given by the interviewees: the reputation of Sweden as a nice and attractive country on one hand; the possibility of studying abroad, in English, without going to the United Kingdom, United States or other English-speaking countries, on the other hand.

Alternatively, studies were just a period of their life. When these migrants completed their studies, they could leave Sweden and start their job seeking in France or elsewhere, with an international CV and at least two languages. Nevertheless, those who studied in Sweden decided to stay for different reasons, and even those who are not completed want to stay in Sweden. The reasons may be the international relationships, the well-being in Sweden, and the possibility of working in sectors related to their background (Castles, 2002) is also a reason that made some of the migrants stay in Sweden.

Table 8: working conditions of French interviewed migrants in Sweden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>1st job Sv.</th>
<th>1st job Fr.</th>
<th>Sv. company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°4</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°6</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°7</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°9</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°11</td>
<td>X</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°13</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°14</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Migrants N°5/10/12 are students. 1st job Sv. = First job in Sweden // 1st job Fr. = First job in France // Sv. Company = Swedish company

The table 8 presents the situation of the interviewees on the labor market. Only 4 out of 14 worked in France before migrating to Sweden. Job doesn’t mean, in this sense, student or summer jobs but rather « real » jobs, as these migrants define. Out of 11 employees, 4 are working in schools, 3 of them as teachers. 4 out of 11 employees are working as engineers; one is an expatriate for a consulting company. The last one is an industrial translator. If we analyze closer, six interviewed work in Swedish companies and all the employees are
working in the tertiary sector of the economy, i.e. the production of services. This is an indicator that although they studied in Sweden, they are not all working in Swedish companies: Sony, Otis, Air France/KLM, Bain & Company on the non-Swedish side; Scania, Project Place and a small translation company on the Swedish side. Few of these migrants are in a full Swedish surrounding. Except of one teacher, all of them are in international sphere, where either the managers or the colleagues are foreigner. Even for the three other school employees, at least a third of the total employees are not Swedes. It is important to note that none of the migrants decided to work on a French/ international surrounding. There are some reasons that can explain this phenomenon, as explained right after, but in most of the cases these migrants had nothing against working in a Swedish surrounding. This means that the fact of being qualified does not challenge the fact of being foreigner, which is the most exposed to unemployment in Sweden (Green Pedersen, 2007).

The important representation of foreigner colleagues for some employees is characterized by some criteria: employees can be expatriates (Cohen, 2002), or as seen in the theoretical part, the notion of network is a reality in the labor market in Sweden (Aslund, 2010).

Table 9 : Interviewees who found their actual jobs through a contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>Network</th>
<th>No network</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°3</td>
<td>X</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°5</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°7</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°8</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°9</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°10</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°11</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Network = Employee who had a contact in the company where she/he works now /// No network = Got the job without contact in the company where she/he works now. Source : interview study

The notion of network explained here, as we have seen in the theoretical part and advanced by Aslund et al. (2010) is meaning that people were introduced to a company via a contact. The network is not specifically French centered, and can be composed of Swedes as well as foreigners.

7 out of 11 individuals work in a company where they entered via a contact. The network can be by chance, complicated, but as one interviewee said : « you have to meet the right person » (interviewee N°4). Indeed, for instance, one employee has been hired because his CV mentioned Ecole Centrale Paris and the contact have been introduced by another Centralian, the manager/CEO selecting him because he also attended Centrale. On the other hand, the network can exist because someone worked with a person who will seek for an employee later (at least half of the « network » employees got their job because an acquaintance wanted them to work). More generally, although some are most exclusively in a Swedish context, lots of employees are speaking English or even French at least once a day with their colleagues or bosses. An interviewee affirmed during the interview that the network was useful in order to find a job, because his degree would hardly compete with Swedes, although they are similar.
The working conditions are well appreciated by all the migrants. None of them suffered from discrimination, and all praise the general quality of the working atmosphere, like one engineer in a totally Swedish context affirms: «Here they like consensus. They rarely argue. I’ve never worked in France, but here it is pleasant to work. Lots of people like the style of the company» (interviewee N°6). Some tensions may appear between Swedes and French at work but appear to be due to the barrier language rather than the Swedish management, which is cited in more than half of the interviews as «pleasant, efficient and non-stressful» (interviewees N°1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10). Indeed, it has been often claimed that Swedish management was «calm, everybody listens to each others, let talk. It may take 3 hours, and maybe in 2 weeks the problem will be solved, but at least it is not inflexible like in France».

As a conclusion to this part, one can say that French migrants are all working with services jobs, are qualified and their wages is not far from native Swedes (see SCB statistics in the theoretical part). Some interviewees affirmed that they would earn more than in France for the same job in some cases (interviewees N°1, 2, 4, 5, 8), but not all of them mentioned the wages in the interviews. A better compromise, such as less stress than in France (interviewee N°2, 4, 5, 7), less hours per day (interviewee N°1, 3, 4), a work-friendly atmosphere with discussions (interviewees N°1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) and a suppleness in the hierarchy (interviewees N°1, 7, 9, 10) are also aspects of work mentioned in the interviews. The notion of equality on the labor market (Soininen, 1999) is rather respected in the case of French migrants to Sweden, due partly to their background. Lots of them (interviewees N°1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10) affirmed that knowing the right person was determinant for them in order to get the job (Aslund, 2010). However, they do not have strong connections (do not discuss personal questions, don’t meet after work, for example), out of the working sphere. Those who are in international surroundings have few Swedish colleagues. It showed up in many interviews that being mixed with Swedish is a part of the incorporation process, but it appears that even being working in a Swedish surrounding all day long is not totally a step towards incorporation, mainly because of the non-intense relations between the two cultural groups (Berry, 2001).

V.1.b. Languages used by French immigrants in Sweden.

Language has been defined by absolutely all migrants of the sample as an essential factor of incorporation (see Bron, 2003, in the theoretical part). All of them answered «to speak the language» as the first explanation of incorporation, either «to find a work or to be involved in the Swedish society».

Before entering in depth in the analysis, we must see the background of the sample. 14 out of 14 migrants have French as mother tongue, that they used in a daily basis in France, at work, in their families, with friends, in the street. Though, they all had knowledge in English, poor for some and really good for some, before migration.

Sweden attracts many students thanks to the studies/ programs taught in English. Many students who wanted to study in English but did not get the possibility of studying in the UK or did not want to move there ended up in Northern Europe (Finland, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden propose courses in English). In the case of the sample, most of the students reached Sweden because of the facilities of English improvement. The open mentality of Sweden toward internationalism is illustrated by the flow of students. According to Stockholm University, they were 100 French Erasmus students in the first term of the school year 2009-2010. This figure does not include the PhD, free-movers (French registered in Stockholm but not taking part of any exchange program), nor students at KTH and Karolinska.
Although many students had classes in English, some did learn Swedish for a year before migrating (programs were partly in English/ partly in Swedish, or sometimes migrants decided to learn Swedish for their own experience). Master students of the sample have all their courses in English, but some who went to KTH had their courses in Swedish. Nonetheless, for most of the students or those who studied in Sweden, English was mainly used. Some affirm that: « I started to learn Swedish for a year prior to my arrival in Sweden. I was really motivated to learn the language and to integrate. I thought I would be fluent after few months. But it didn’t work like that at all » (interviewee N°11).

‘Swedish for beginner’ courses offered by universities are attended by a big majority of students, and some are taking advanced classes or are attending SFI. Interestingly, the student life is mainly in English, such as courses, student community participation (parties, dinners, meetings), and student accommodations. After three years in Sweden, some still do not talk Swedish. The particular student community is perceived as a segregated village where links with « the outside » are difficult to maintain or even to create, and thus problematic if there is a wish to practice Swedish in a public space.

We are going to see in the next part that the working situation of French people is particular. First of all, the interviewees who are employees - except the expatriate - (10 out of 14) speak Swedish. The methods of learning may differ, some attended intensive courses prior to migration, some attended SFI, and some attended Swedish classes at the university. In all the cases, those who are now employed have learned Swedish or are still learning this language.

Table 9: number of interviewees who attended SFI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>Non SFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°2</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°3</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>N°4</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N°5</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°6</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°7</td>
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<td>N°8</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>N°9</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N°10</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 interviewees out of 11 attended SFI. 4 attended Swedish classes at the university. N°11 is an expatriate temporarily in Sweden. Some of those who attended SFI also attended courses at the university. All employees who did not migrate as students learned Swedish through SFI by attending courses for several months, and several hours per day. They described SFI as the basic possibility to learn Swedish, and are enthusiastic about the possibility of learning Swedish for free. Few criticized the quality of teaching or the concept (« I was with people who could speak after 3 months, like the Germans, and with people who were there for years and were not able to speak »; « When I attended SFI, I was paid! They wanted to integrate people faster, so the paid them to attend courses. It was in 1980’s, they quickly stopped and proposed free courses paid by the employer. That was totally unreal! »). The general thought about SFI is rather positive and perceived as a given hand for integration.
We have thus seen that they can talk Swedish. But do they talk Swedish at work?

Table 10: Main language spoken at interviewees’ workplaces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°2</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N°9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°10</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°11</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table created through interviews (2010)

This table illustrates the language conditions at work: most of them speak Swedish at work, but only 3 are talking exclusively Swedish at work. All the others have international colleagues who are not all taking Swedish. Some are in a Swedish surrounding but their bosses are not Swedes and talk English (2) or even French (2). The language is may be related to the type of job, and we will see in the part III.1.c that all the employees are producing services. There is then an interesting paradox that all migrants can speak Swedish (except of the expatriate), but this language is not used by all at work. There is a possibility of finding a job in Sweden without talking the language, but most of the employees are in a bi(three)lingual context at work and most affirmed that « you stay in low skilled jobs or very specific jobs if you do not speak an ‘average’ Swedish ». The process of incorporation through language is challenged (Bron, 2003, Bayram, 2009, Faist, 2001).

The use of Swedish is conditioned by the daily life of the migrants. As we have seen, the need to find individuals sharing common culture, language and references is very important for all the migrants. However, we will rather discuss the daily life as the «public social space». Some authors have argued that the public space is the most common place of incorporation (Bolt 2010, Bayram 2009, Faist, 2001), and we can say that all those who are Swedish speakers are using this language daily. Some argue that Swedish is a need in institutions, such as banks, hospitals, Skatteverket (National Tax Authority), but also in the streets, parks, bars, supermarkets, shops. The use of Swedish on a daily basis appears like a ‘practical’ process. Although some migrants have few Swedish friends, the use of Swedish is made in the public sphere. There is thus a tendency to incorporation, which is not forced and is the reflection of a will to be seen as Swedes rather than a foreigner (some interviewees, especially the older ones, affirmed that they do not want to be perceived as foreigners). Moreover, some migrants explained in the interviews that they do not want to be perceived uniquely as «foreigner», and do not like when Swedes answer to them in English even when they talk in Swedish. The use of Swedish can be interpreted as an incorporation setting.

Some interviewees have kids, are in relationship with Swedes, some are single, have kids or not, and other may be in relationship with non-Swedes. Yet, the language use in the private sphere such as relationship and families is illustrating a tendency of partial-integration.
Table 11: Relationship and family status of the interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Couple Sv.</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>CF/S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°2</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°3</td>
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<td>N°4</td>
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<td>N°5</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°6</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°7</td>
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<tr>
<td>N°8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N°9</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°10</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Couple Sv. = Couple with a Swede /// Children = Migrant who are parents /// CF/S = Couple with foreigner or single

4 interviewees were, at the date of the interview, in relationship with Swedes. The four of them speak in Swedish with their partner. Swedish is thus the language used at home, but was not necessarily the case earlier. Indeed, for the four of them there was a change of use from English to Swedish in the relationship. The switch appeared for some reasons: English was the mother tongue of none of the 8 persons composing the 4 couples; apprentice of Swedish is faster with a Swedish partner; language is a criterion of incorporation.

Three migrants have children. Two migrants are still in relationship with the father, one migrant divorced. All the three talk in French with their kids, but in only one family the kids are answering in French.

As a conclusion to the language-related part of the analysis, Swedish is spoken by a majority of migrants. They all decided to learn Swedish in order to incorporate, but those who gave up are all students. Students gave up because of the little possibilities of talking in Swedish and also because of the unclear future for them. Students of the sample affirmed that even if they want to stay in Sweden, they are likely to leave after they completed their degrees. The use of Swedish for all the others is depending on the context and the contacts with the native Swedes. It is important to note that those who are talking in Swedish with their partner are talking Swedish at work, but there is perhaps no link with the level of incorporation. It is important to note that there is a will to learn Swedish done by migrants as well as a use of this language in a daily basis (work, public space), in order to feel incorporated and also to appear incorporated to the natives.

V.1.c. The housing conditions of French migrants.

Housing can be an indicator of the level of incorporation of immigrants. If segregation concerns many of immigrants, and especially those who are on a low socio-economical situation, French immigrants do not clearly correspond to segregated individuals on the housing market (Bayram et al, 2010). It is important to state that most of them face or have faced difficulties to find accommodations in Stockholm (like some Swedes too).

Of the 14 interviewees, only three are owner of their accommodation. All these three are living downtown, in flats. Two of these three owners have been living in Sweden for more than 20 year, the other arrived in Sweden in the early 2000’s. An interesting fact linking these three persons is that they all have kids, those arrived 20 years ago are parents of three kids each, the migrant arrived in the early 2000’s has a son. Two other migrants are main tenants.
of their flats, but they are not the owners. These migrants are tenants of leased-household (hyresrätt) since the mid-2009 and early-2008. This system is, like everywhere in Sweden, not restrictive to foreigners because it is regardless of the nationality (see theoretical part, Stockholm Böstader).

There is a clear choice of living in the inner-city of Stockholm done by several migrants. Out of fourteen, only one migrant of the sample is living 20 minutes outside the limits of Stockholm (Täby), in a shared flat composed of students. Thus, five out of fourteen interviewees are either owners or main tenants of an accommodation. They are aged from 26 to 48 year old. The others are either leaving in shared flats (two interviewees) or student accommodations (five interviewees). Surprisingly, of those who are living in student dorms, four are full-time employees who are not facing financial difficulties. This phenomenon is unusual and clearly means that there is a wish from the side of the interviewees to use some methods in order to avoid living outside the city centre. Most of these migrants living in student accommodations and moved to Sweden as student before they found a job in Stockholm region. The problem is that they could not find first hand contracts in different types of dwellings, meaning that they had to sub-rent in most cases. As a migrant affirms: «I was looking on internet boards to find a dwelling. There was nothing, I had to subrent student dorms as I wanted not to live in far suburbs » (interviewee N°3). As it is argumented in the theoretical part, the average amount of years for queuing for a dwelling in central downtown is 6 years. One of these migrants moved for example nine times within five years because of the housing situation in Stockholm that do not permit the long-term sub-renting if you are not registered in the queuing lists. Another migrant moved four times in five years. In general, even those who are now main tenants of housing moved several times since their arrival in Sweden. The regulation coupled with the little vacancy of dwellings has put forward a competition to get accommodation or even rooms in shared flats. For instance, some people are ready to pay more than the regular price of a room in shared flat without having visited the flat. Landlords can receive up to twenty calls a day for a room in a shared flat.

Except of those who moved to join their respective partners, nobody was aware of the particular housing system in Sweden and particularly in Stockholm. As one arguments: « Here, if you’re not Swedish, you don’t know the system, you are handicapped» (interviewee N°1). Another interviewee will admit: « It is very difficult to get a dwelling in Stockholm, French or not. But little advantages to the Swedes that know the system and can get access to networks unknown to those who are not from Stockholm » (interviewee N°2). The reason why they want to live in central Stockholm is that they are, unconsciously, aware of the segregation in Sweden (Koopmans, 2010). Indeed, if few discussed the over-representation of immigrants in suburbs, one said « I am French and I want to integrate into Swedish society. There is no point for me to live in suburbs » (interviewee N°3). As written previously, no French migrants of the sample are segregated. Indeed, one of the migrant living in central Stockholm arguments: « There is no foreigner in the area I’m living in » (interviewee N°4). Other admit as well that they are not segregated but do not mix with many Swedes because they are living in student accommodations where student communities gathering foreigners are usual.

As a ‘solution’ to the housing situation, four interviewees who are not living in first hand contract or who are not owner of their dwellings are thinking of buying an accommodation in Stockholm region. Their argument is that they plan to stay in Sweden, and by buying their dwellings they will solve their flimsy housing condition. Financially, this investment is better because they do not pay a rent for a flat that will never be theirs, but will rather pay monthly
for something that will become theirs. Nevertheless, the system for buying a flat is also restrictive: 10% of the accommodation value must be paid at once at the beginning of the purchase, as a sort of guarantee although loans proposed by banks exist.

This bearded decision can make them moving out regularly, but there is a real will to live in the supposed ‘Swedish areas’ of Stockholm in order to be ‘integrated’, as they say (Bayram, 2009; Musterd, 2003). There is a mix with Swedes in the spatial distribution of housing, in the facts one can doubt that this mix leads to incorporation since the relations among neighbors are less and less intense (and this is not specific to Swedes/ foreigners but a general trend in individualist countries, mainly « occidental »).


One of the main points of integration is the process of acculturation, i.e. contacts between two cultural groups (Faist, 2001, Berry, 1997, 2001, Trebbe, 2007, Redfield, 1936). It has been discussed previously that acculturation has a bigger impact on the non-dominant group (French) than on the receiving society (Swedes) (Berry, 2001). The intercultural contacts are split into two approaches: the degree of contacts (participation of a group with the other) and the maintenance manifested by each group (Berry, 2001).

We must then see what the reality of French migrants is in order to analyze their incorporation into the receiving country, Sweden. To lead the analyze, there is a will to understand the need for a social network, their appropriation of social space, their interactions with the dominant group (Swedes) and how they manage their situation.

To feel at home is what these migrants seek even though they are living in Sweden and not in their native country (Faist, 2001). To reach this point, migrants have to manage the fact that they have to build everything from ‘none’. New social network, new language, new country, new cultural surroundings, different social position in the host country is the common of every migrant (Kivisto, 2003).

Inter-group relations are the main point of incorporation methods, and more specifically the assimilation and integration methods (Faist, 2001, Berry, 2001). French migrants to Sweden do, according to the interviews, not react in the same way to the process of incorporation. We will see for example that those who are living with a Swede rather follow an assimilative path than those who are single or in relationship with international individuals (Brint, 2001, Maya-Jariego, 2007). This selection is natural but influenced by the surrounding, the inter-groups relations. Cultural identity is thus a major aspect of the maintenance and the degree of contacts between two different groups, French and Swedes, and will be analyzed through the fourteen interviews (Berry, 1997, 2001, Bowskill, 2007).

All the French migrants of the sample have connections with Swedes, such as colleagues, acquaintances, partners or for few, families. This tendency is showing that there is the existence of an exchange between the two groups (Bolt 2010), but the degree and the maintenance is absolutely not of the same intensity to every migrants.

Indeed, those who have a Swedish partner are strongly interconnected with the ‘dominant group’, on a daily basis (Berry, 2001). To spend time with the partner, to talk, to meet Swedish friends of the partner is the common to these interviewees (4 out of 14 interviewees). On this perspective, one can say that the acculturation process has a big impact on the
migrant. As one will affirm: «I became Swede. I’m Swedish of French origins. To be in contact with Swedes for 20 years made me change my behavior» (interviewee N°5). Nonetheless, in all cases, these migrants admit that they do not have their own Swedish friends and that it is difficult for them to have their own Swedish network of friends. This process refers to assimilation by the migrant into the host society (Faist, 2001), influenced by the relationship.

By analyzing the different interviews, it appeared that the cultural distance is the main reason of the difficulties to engage and maintain more intense relations with Swedes. Those who are not in relationship with natives are those who face difficulties to have a network of natives.

Table 12: What nationalities are the most represented in the social networks of interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>International</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>International</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>N°1</td>
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<td>N°8</td>
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<td>N°2</td>
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<td>N°5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N°12</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N°13</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N°7</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N°14</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Created from the interview study, 2010

If some interviewees will admit that they have a rather French network of friends, most of them have an international group of friends. 11 out of 14 interviewees consider that their networks are composed international, which means that they have a strong French basis of friends, numerous foreigner friends (mostly Germans), and really few Swedish friends. Finally, even those who are in relationship with Swedes, none of them have a network of friends mostly composed of Swedes (even for those settling in Sweden since the late 80’s). This phenomenon is argued in most of the interviews by the term «cultural differences» (N°1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13).

Indeed, as one interviewee will say: «Even though we are in Europe, we have huge differences in terms of culture, behavior... Really different, we are not geographically distant but we are farther» (interviewee N°7). The inter-groups relations between Swedes are not similarly perceived by the migrants, and the reactions can be totally different (Bowskill, 2007). Even though they all seek for contacts with natives, most of them do not seek to force the process and rather stay among international or French. It seems that the behaving of Swedes is often misunderstood or interpreted through clichés by many French, which do not really know why the contacts with Swedes can exist but «are hardly working». There is thus a duality in the adaptation and the acculturation strategy (Faist, 2001, Berry, 2001, Bowskill, 2007), and integration as well as assimilation respond in some parts in this process.

This tendency may be related to the sample and not to the 7 000 French people in Sweden, but most of the interviewees said that they do not have more than 4 Swedish friends.

French-oriented friendship and migrant networks are motivated by the wish to be ‘themselves’. Most of the interviewees admitted that even if they want to be incorporated into Swedish society, they do not think they will never become Swedes (Interviewees N°1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). The perfect illustration is this quotation «I was behaving more
Swede than a Swede. It took me two years to realize that I’ll never be Swede » (interviewee N°13).

Communities may be the reaction to this lack of connections (Maya-Jariego, 2007). The frequency of the meetings among French is totally differing from singles, parents, and individuals in relationship. Yet, it appeared that most of the immigrants met regularly their network of friends, with different activities (typical French dinners, going out, or paradoxically even for Swedish Fika). They admitted that being with French people was good for them, and a necessity. Except of those who have kids in Sweden, all the others affirmed that they would probably not have stayed here (so far) if there was not their French circle of friends. It has been pointed out that they are gathering because they share specific cultural settings, references and attitudes. The language barrier is often linked to this, as well as the humor.

Cultural differences are not the only factors of the maintaining of relations among migrants. Solidarity, help, understanding of the situation appear to be important reasons for the gathering of French (Brint, 2001). It is recurrent in the different interviews that have been done that to express (your) feelings and thoughts with someone belonging to ‘your culture’ is easier than with foreigners. As an illustration, a woman who gave birth to her second child affirmed that she « got closer to French people when I had the baby because we could understand each others, we were in the same situation ». Those who wanted to avoid French people at their arrival in Sweden have today a big French community of friends. If these migrants have also Swedish friends, French individuals compose a non negligible part of their network.

It would be interesting to have the opinion of Swedes on this issue of cultural difference as criteria for low inter-group relations. Nonetheless, it is necessary to say that if migrants do not share strong relation with Swedes, it must not be interpreted as a refusal of incorporation, or as a weariness of French toward the Swedes. Inter-groups relations are not avoided in all the interviews, there is no self-exclusion, no self-segregation done by French migrants (Cohen, 2002). The daily contacts that these migrants maintain with Swedes is the illustration that there is a separation between ‘private life’ and ‘public life’, i.e. that there is no refusal of being part of the Swedish society as well as there is no feeling of rejection by natives. The outcome is that the weight of inter-groups relations is dependent on the type of activities, their causes and locations (Faist, 2001).

Most of the immigrants accepted the situation and took a positive attitude in relation to the phenomenon. Indeed, the position given by many migrants is that they feel incorporated, giving some explanations of what is incorporation to them. Despite of the few friendships with Swedes, they feel accepted in a country that helped them, and they affirmed that they are here because they want it, that they feel good in Sweden and finally that they could leave if they were not satisfied.

**PART VI - Conclusion.**

The aim of the thesis has been to analyze the incorporation of French immigrants established in Sweden via a sample of interviewees. Incorporation is understood to mean the links between the immigrants populations and the institutions as well as the society of the receiving country.
Generally, French migrants like migrants from all over the world have to live the process of incorporation in the receiving country. The case of French immigrants established in Sweden is particular for several reasons.

First of all, migrants from France are intra-European migrants. It is assumed that the cultural distance is not marked because the geographical distance between France and Sweden is not really important. It would be inaccurate to affirm that French and Swedes have a common history, share close cultural settings and so on. Even though Sweden and France are Europeans, the incorporation of French migrants was far from being easy since incorporation is a combination of several steps that have been described in the theoretical and analytical parts.

Second, French immigration to Sweden do not refers to a single type of migration but rather to few distinct types of migration such as students, ‘family reunion’ migrants, expatriates, lifestyle migrants (Benson, 2009; Dingu-Kyrklund, 2005; Skrbis, 2008) that are already difficult to analyze. These migration trends have a role on the incorporation of the individuals in question. Thus, type of migration and incorporation are linked, and these two concepts should not be dissociated when analyzing the process of incorporation.

Third, French migrants that have been interviewed are rather qualified individuals, and the international economical context seems more favorable to skilled migrants than refugees or unqualified migrants (Bredström, 2008). In a mainly tertiary economy such as the Swedish one, skilled migrants are more seen as a gain for the receiving country (Lalonde, 1997).

In the case of French immigrants interviewed, the maintain of migrant’s culture is a wish, which supplies indirectly the concept of integration as an incorporation method. The sample of interviewees underlined the fact that maintaining own culture is important in an event such as migration, for some reasons like the wellness, and also through the fact that the acquisition of a foreign culture is a non-natural process for immigrants. Despite the fact that interviewees aim at keeping their own culture in order to feel secure, they do not refuse incorporation. Indeed, there is a real will to maintain interactions with natives, to learn the main official language and to speak it on a daily basis, to maintain interactions with the receiving society, and finally to have an open access into the labor market. They seek is simply to feel at home in Sweden.

Generally speaking, it should not be forgotten that incorporation is foremost a personal process that cannot be forced by laws or rules. In this logic, it appears through interviews that French migrants are considering themselves as incorporated but will not become Swedes. Most of interviewees are able to speak the main official language, to have a daily-life integrated into the host society, and they do not live social and economical segregation. By combining the different theoretical parts and the analytical parts based on the interviews, the conclusion of this thesis is that French migrants are considering themselves as incorporated because the reality is that they are incorporated in most of the key points of analyze. They maintain their own culture and seek for incorporation on the other hand. However incorporation is a concept that is impossible to measure or to calculate, and since there are still points that will never be overcome, such as the cultural differences or the networks in the case of French migrants to Sweden, it can be discussed that reaching the final step of ‘total incorporation’ is a myth although one can affirm that their integration is successful.
Actual researches on the field of segregation tend to disconnect the bridges between incorporation and segregation, such as Bolt (2010) for example. In this thesis, analysis of interviews put forward the fact that the spatial distribution of French individuals did not have a strong impact on their incorporation.

Furthermore we have seen through the theoretical and analytical parts that incorporation was, in the thesis, deconstructed on specific key points. Thus, starting from this, it appears logical that incorporation cannot be seen as a whole but as a set of different aspects, and thus the binary system ‘incorporated/not incorporated’ is not relevant. Likewise, if incorporation is seen as a binary system, there is thus an issue on how to define that populations are incorporated and why they are/are not.

As we can see through the analysis of interviews, incorporation of these French migrants is successful in most of the points, although some problem remains. Thus, if « privileged » migrants face these problems, no wonder why less protected populations face hard processes of incorporation. Moreover, incorporation and the maintain of own culture by interviewees is not a consequence of a negative feeling according to Sweden, but rather a process that would be similar in other countries. It seems possible to study the incorporation of immigrants of diverse origins and diverse trends by applying the ‘key points’ methodology used in this thesis.

Finally, the incorporation process of French migrants interviewed in Sweden corresponds to a hybrid mix of assimilation and integration. On one hand, they do not want to be perceived as foreigners, are able to speak Swedish, tend to live in the inner-city with the ‘non-segregated’ populations and have a large access to the labor market, on the other hand their situation can be understood as rather integrated because of their maintenance of own culture, their refuse to become ‘Swedes’ and their belonging to culturally based communities. The myth of total incorporation is thus once again challenged.

VII - Reference list


SCB database: www.scb.se


