Looking for spatial and contextual dimensions in constructing lived citizenship

Abstract This article concerns participation in the Swedish society among young people from ethnic minorities, the opportunities open to them and the constraints they face. It addresses the issue of how they construct lived citizenship in a medium-sized Swedish town. Drawing on the empirical material from an interview study the aim is to reveal strategies for taking advantages of opportunities and for overcoming constraints in everyday life. Analytical concepts of lived citizenship and positionality have been used to gain an in-depth understanding of young people's agency. The study points out how strategies for establishing friendships and social relationships and getting employment intersect with gender, ethnicity, age and period of residence in Sweden.

Keywords: ethnicity, gender, intersectionality, constructing lived citizenship, young people, Sweden

Introduction

Active citizenship is often referred to as labour market participation (Berkel and Møller 2002). However, there are other driving forces to participation in society as well as there are different strategies. This article is concerned with exploring participation in terms of strategies to construct *lived citizenship* (Lister 2003, 3, 2007a, 167-168, 2007b, 55, 2010, 196) among ethnically minoritized[1] young women and men in a medium-sized Swedish town. The aim is to reveal strategies for taking advantages of opportunities and for overcoming constraints in everyday life. The constraints experienced in everyday life are expressed in terms of restricted social citizenship caused by ethnically minoritizing and discrimination. The research questions are: What strategies do ethnically minoritized young women and men develop to construct lived citizenship? How can these processes be understood in the light of spatial and contextual dimensions? Additionally the aim is to discuss the scope of lived citizenship as a theoretical perspective taking stance in an empirical study. This approach positions the study in what Lister names an *empirical void* in the field of citizenship studies which is dominated by theoretical work (Lister 2007b).

Following Lister's discussion, I will stress subjective aspects of citizenship, i.e. *how people understand and negotiate rights and responsibilities, belonging and participation...* (Lister 2007b), as a central theoretical reference. Besides Lister's (2003) discussion of lived citizenship, also Anthias' concepts of location, positionality and translocational positionality (Anthias 2002a, 2001, 2002b) will be used and

related to the social categories of ethnicity, gender, age and period of residence in Sweden. I will argue that these aspects intersect when young people in the study construct lived citizenship.

It can be argued that the Swedish welfare state has failed to include ethnically minoritized citizens (de los Reyes 2006, Hagelund and Brochmann 2011, Ålund 2005). Overall, immigration to Sweden during the last decades has changed the structure of the population. Slightly more than fourteen per cent of the Swedish population were born abroad (Eriksson 2010). Despite the integration policy introduced more than ten years ago, the poverty rate among ethnically minoritized Swedish families is considerably higher than that among the majority of the people. The differences are related to exclusion from the labour market and in turn lack of access to social security systems (Salonen 2010). The rate of unemployment among ethnically minoritized men and women is higher than for the rest of the Swedish population, and especially severe is the situation of non-European citizens (Behtoui 2006, Carlsson 2009, Castles and Miller 2003, Rooth and Ekberg 2003, Räthzel 2006). The youth unemployment in Sweden has increased and is higher than the average of EU member states (Eurostat 2010). The situation is especially problematic for ethnically minoritized young people. As an example it is shown that longer-term unemployed young migrants in Sweden have poorer chances of getting employed and higher risks for unemployment than the majority of the young people together with higher risks for poverty and health problems (Malmberg-Heimonen and Julkunen 2006). They are particularly hit by different effects of social exclusion and residential ethnic segregation due to structural and ethnic discrimination (Kamali 2006a). This signals a continuous development of polarisation in terms of ethnicity. Such processes of social exclusion and discrimination in contemporary Swedish society are important points of departure when discussing the issues of citizenship and social work as elements of inequality and disadvantage which have been the context of social work practice for a long time (Sheppard 2006).

Structural discrimination and segregation are parts of migrant people's everyday lives. Structural discrimination in terms of social exclusion from the labour market and in housing areas causes distrust of Swedish politics, resignation and frustration over the lack of control in everyday life (Kamali 2006b) . Research in larger Swedish cities show how citizens position themselves related to ethnic dividing lines (Dahlstedt and Herzberg 2005, de los Reyes and Kamali 2005, Kamali 2005,

Mulinari and Neergaard 2005). The study presented explores how young women and men from ethnic minority backgrounds experience social citizenship in terms constraints at a structural level *and* at an inter-personal level due to ethnicity. They create alternative strategies to overcome these obstacles for full social citizenship. The analysis draws on an empirical study (Jacobson Pettersson 2008) conducted in a medium-sized town.

Research on constructing lived citizenship by ethnically minoritized young women and men

To understand patterns of involvement between majority and minoritized people, one must take account of subjectivity and personal choice and how they play together with structural conditions. There are a few studies in the Nordic context that address these issues. The interplay between structural factors such as access to the residential market and the labour market and individual choices of e.g. spouses were investigated in a Swedish population-wide data study, *Age at migration and social integration* (Åslund et al. 2009). The study reports how age at the time of migration affects the degree of social integration in early adulthood regarding the labour, the residential and the marriage market. The older one is when immigrating (here after fifteen years) the more contact with co-workers, neighbours and spouses with immigrant backgrounds compared to those who immigrated at an earlier age or who were born in Sweden by immigrated parents. Additionally, immigrating at a later age is connected with a more segregated life in that they relate more to people from the same country of origin than to those with other ethnic backgrounds. In contrast to this Sweden population-wide data perspective (Åslund et al. 2009) there is a bottom-up perspective taken in another Swedish study, *The art of choosing the right tram – A study of urban segregation, choice of school and young people's life plans* conducted in a multi-ethnic suburb of Gothenburg (Johansson and Hammarén 2010). Obstacles and opportunities for integration of youth are related to territorial stigmatization, identity, self-perception and modifications of life plans. It is argued that experiences of being the *other* caused by ethnicity and being socially excluded caused by living in segregated housing areas, have effect on their school situation and, in the end, on their life plans and strategies. The strategies to forge friendships in the Gothenburg study are partly similar to those in the study presented. Young people prefer friendships and social relationships with other ethnically minoritized people. There seemed to be

marked difference between the young women and men's reasoning on multi-ethnic suburbs, schools and people with other ethnic backgrounds than ethnic Swedish as being low status phenomena.

Experiences of interplay between national and local inclusion have been examined in a Danish study *Roots and Routes Migration, belonging and everyday life* (Qvotrup Jensen and Christensen 2011), a study conducted among migrants living in Aalborg East. A gap is experienced between national exclusion and local inclusion in terms of a dividing line between 'us' and 'them' which affects belonging in the local context.

In Sweden, it is investigated how ethnically minoritized young people strategically prepare themselves for entering the labour market (Knocke and Hertzberg 2000). The findings in the study, *The Children of Diversity Seek their Place* [author's translation]*,* are twofold: getting a job depends on individual ambitions and qualifications and their chances are restricted by structural barriers such as prejudices and racism. The interplay between individual recourses and social structures is embedded in intersecting social categories like class and gender (Knocke and Hertzberg 2000).

An interesting study in a European perspective is the study, *Taking Control of their Lives? The Youth, Citizenship and Social Change Project* (Evans 2002) conducted among young adults in Derby, UK and Hannover and Leipzig, Germany, which brings up the notion of individual choice. It shows how young people take control of their lives in the settings of higher education, employment, unemployment and in social life. The study reports that experiences of control and agency are not just closely related to societal conditions and institutional environments but also to social backgrounds which affect subjective choices of agency. These studies show that there are tensions referring to the labour market that affect the strategies of young people as well as they show how social backgrounds affect the choices of agency. What remains unclear though is how diverse social categories as gender, age, ethnicity and period of residence in a country intersect in young people's agency for constructing lived citizenship.

Theoretical points of departure

The major concept used in this connection is that of *lived citizenship*. In this study *lived citizenship* (Lister 2003, 3, 2007a, 167-168, 2007b,55, 2010,196) is discussed in

terms of subjective and qualitative dimensions, thus as a *subjective citizenship* that is about identity, loyalty, belonging, trust and participation. The perspectives taken are inspired by the way subjective social citizenship has been brought forth into lived citizenship by Ruth Lister (1997, 2003, 2007), stressing also the importance of *agency*. Another source of inspiration is Floya Anthias and her discussion on *position* and *positioning*. Anthias (2001) has introduced the concepts of location, positionality and translocational positionality for embracing the process of the interactions among context, meaning and practice when analysing the concept of identity (Anthias 2001, 633-634, 2002a, 275-277). Focusing on the process of location and positioning, I use Anthias' analytic concepts when analyzing strategies to construct lived citizenship. The analysis embraces a contextual understanding of lived citizenship which refers to spaces and places of importance in everyday life (Lister 2003, 3, 2007a, 168, 2007b, 55, 2010,196-198).

Lived citizenship takes its meaning from the individual's subjective experiences in everyday life, taking the social, political, cultural and local context into account (Lister 2003). This connects the understanding of lived citizenship with social spaces and local places (Lister 2003). Looking for spatial and contextual dimensions in constructing lived citizenship, the notions of spaces of location and places in the local community are identified in the analysis. In a similar line of thought Anthias (2002b) identifies the dynamic in social place and hierarchy as a process in terms of location, position and translocation. Relational belonging or location, the concept Anthias (2002a) preferably uses, says something about what and how we are, meaning what makes us experience community and how do we relate to others rather than who we are (Anthias 2002b).

> A narrative of location, … is an account that tells a story about how we place ourselves
> in terms of social categories such as those of gender, ethnicity and class at a specific
> point in time and space (Anthias 2002b).

The social positioning is always contextual and points to the social and individual. Positionality aims at the process of social positioning that oneself and others do, thus a process which combines the dichotomies of being an object positioned by others and being a subject positioning oneself. The process of being positioned is directed by hierarchy and power relations, and has an impact on people's construction of their social life. In translocational positionality (Anthias 2002a,276) the process of moving from one location to another is in focus. This concept refers to moving to another

position while still remaining in the first regarding a certain aspect or category, thus, being in between and experiencing the tensions merging as advantages and disadvantages. *A translocational positionality is one structured by the interplay of the different locations and their (at times) contradictory effects* (Anthias 2002a, 276). Space used in this context is about the interplay between social relations, a sense of community and shared everyday life experiences among the young people participating in the study (Jacobson Pettersson 2008). It refers to location and the space in between different locations. Location and translocation (Anthias 2001, 634) refer to spaces and contexts where people share experiences of everyday life and build community. The local context is the medium-sized Swedish town where the participants set out making claims and act to construct their lived citizenship. It is where their narratives are anchored. This local context is where the interviewees live and make their everyday life experiences of location and participation in society. Their experiences are affected by the interplay of aspects such as ethnicity, gender, age, social class and period of residence in Sweden. Intersection of these social categories is at the heart of their lived citizenship (Lister 2010, 196). Included also are their experiences of challenges from ethnicity and their strategies to construct a decent social life.

There is a debate going on in social science and in social work on intersectionality as a means to explore the complexity of subordination in social life. Positioning in the social sphere is permeated by the effects of the hierarchical intersecting of social divisions like class, gender and age (Anthias 2001, 2002a, 2010, Collins 2009, de los Reyes and Mulinari 2005, Mulinari 2009, 2010, Yuval-Davis 2006, Ålund 2002, 2005, 2010). An intersectional analytical approach offers tools for a researcher and a professional in social work practice to go beyond the trap of determinism and essentialism and instead to catch the dynamics of relational phenomena. Relationality and context referring to power, social division and social injustice hold a prominent position in research which takes standpoint from intersectionality. The intersectional perspective provides prerequisites for discussing social constructed divisions from various aspects, at structural and organizational levels, and in inter-subjective relations. Being aware of the interplay between the individuals, the groups, the local context and the power imbalance create opportunities for the holistic view the social work theory and the social work profession are concerned with (Murphy et al. 2009). My interest in the study is to

explore the complicated subordination and interplay from intersecting social divisions with regard to gender, age, ethnicity, and period of residence in Sweden since these social categories become pivotal to understand the interviewees' strategies to construct lived citizenship. By enhancing relationality between various dimensions in social life one elucidates the complexity of commonalities and differences within groups (Chancer 2006). There is a hierarchical order also within the categories (Anthias 2002a). This perspective differs radically from discussing intersectionality and the notion of social division as differences added one after another without taking the context and the power imbalance into account.

Disadvantages derived from social divisions affect not only people's experiences of their own social positioning and identity but also how they construct their attitudes towards others (Yuval-Davis 2006). In turn this becomes part of the process of constructing lived citizenship.

Methodological design

To use a subjective perspective brings the idea of paying attention to the meaning and the conceptualisation of lived experiences of the people we study. In this study a qualitative approach is taken, understood as *a set of interpretive activities* (Denzin and Lincoln 2011) using an overall analytical intersectional perspective supported by the analytical notions of location, positioning and translocational position (Anthias 2001, 2002a).

Time and place: the context of a medium-sized town

The study in the medium-sized Swedish town (Jacobson Pettersson 2008) demonstrates that there are no specific ethnically segregated housing areas referred to. It is rather a town with wealthy and less wealthy housing areas causing socioeconomic segregation rather than ethnic-based residential segregation. The young people in the study went to primary and secondary schools where most children in the classes were ethnic Swedes. The university in the town is permeated by almost the same conditions. Also most leisure activities for young people in town are dominated by ethnic Swedes. Under these circumstances this town seems to have the requirements for being socially inclusive. On the other hand, being ethnically minoritized youth in a medium-sized town makes one stand out more in the urban space than they would in a metropolitan municipality. In this study (Jacobson

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Pettersson 2008), it is explored how the tension between the possibilities and the obstacles of living in a medium-sized town becomes a part of the participants' strategies to construct lived citizenship.

Research material and analysis

The empirical material consists of interviews with seventeen young people from various ethnic backgrounds. I have interviewed eleven women and six men between seventeen and twenty-six years of age. The interviews were conducted during 2005 and 2007 in the medium-sized Swedish town where all interviewees lived at the time of the interview. The amount of time lived in Sweden[2] varied among the participants. There is a spread of ethnicity among young people in this town and in accordance to that no specific ethnic background is in focus in the sampling process. It is a heterogeneous group of interviewees consisting of individuals with similarities and differences regarding ethnic and national[3] backgrounds. The interviewees were collected through a combination of key persons and snowballing (Denscombe 2000, Larsson et al. 2005).

The present study is based on a selected sample of the empirical material. Four cases aim at illustrating the main dynamics, processes and narratives found in the original empirical material. The intention is not to demonstrate but to illustrate variations in the empirical material. The sample of the cases is based on diversity in social categories as gender, age, ethnicity and time of living in Sweden. I have chosen interviews with two women and two men that have lived long respectively short period in Sweden. These selected interviews become especially valuable in the way they give more flowing information about the participants' constructing lived citizenship. To extend the understanding of the excerptions from the four interviews there are summaries of the information from each person made as narratives to place the quotations in cohesion.

During the interviews, dialogues on lived citizenship and social participation were developed. I have found that to get a deeper understanding of constructing lived citizenship there is a need to pose further questions to the material. Doing so I want to elucidate the process in which the young women and men create strategies in lived citizenship. When attempting to grasp the subjective dimension and complexity of lived experiences of minoritized people using narrative-based methods provides that kind of information (Gunaratnam 2003). A narrative is given various meanings in

diverse contexts, but in everyday use it connotes a *story*. A narrative has a detailed plot, characters, and a setting (Riessman and Quinney 2005).

The four interviews in focus here are thematically analysed from a narrative perspective focusing on strategies for constructing lived citizenship. I paid special attention to the young people's subjective experiences of friendships connected to ethnicity and their expectations of getting a job, and refer to social citizenship in terms of agency and social positioning. I therefore based my analysis on the concepts of location, position and translocationality (Anthias 2001, 2002a). These analytical concepts support the exploration of the dynamics in the intersecting social categories of gender, age, ethnicity and period of residence in Sweden. The interplay between these categories appeared to be of special significance, we will see, for how the young women and men in the study act to take control of their everyday lives and construct their lived citizenship. The aim was to capture the strategies the interviewees used to construct lived citizenship through the above-mentioned concepts. The analysis is based on the two themes of building friendships and social relationships *and* getting a job. These two themes appeared in the original empirical material as to be core aspects when the women and the men interviewed construct lived citizenship whereas, they are seldom acknowledged in the context of social citizenship.

Strategies to forge friendships and get employment

In the total empirical material I found patterns showing that length of period of residence in Sweden and age at arrival influence the interviewees' strategies for making friends and building social relationships. Moreover, their expectations on their chances to get a job influence their attitudes toward their self-positioning as well as others' positioning of them in society. These patterns are illustrated in various ways and analyzed from the narratives and interview excerpts involving Theo, Inez, Hesam and Fateme. I have intentionally eliminated biographical information and changed the names with the purpose of respecting the integrity of each person.

Theo is a 22-year-old man who migrated from Greece four years ago. He lives in Sweden with his family. Despite resistance to leave Greece, today he is established with Greek people, ethnic Swedes and transnational social relationships. Compared with his former life he appreciates his life in the Swedish medium-sized town where he lives. He aims to complete a Greek electrician education to get a job.

Notwithstanding, his future plans implicate moving to a larger city in Sweden or to another country since he misses the lifestyle of bigger cities.

> I do´nt say I´ll move now but later. I might marry a Greek woman who wants to live in Greece then it would be OK to me. … To move is not a big deal to me (Theo).

It is not location in terms of ethnicity but a contextual dimension in life he asks for. He prefers not to return to Greece, but if a prospective wife wants to he will accept. Theo's ideas about moving involve diverse factors and circumstances. The latter can be understood as moving is easy for him, while his more advanced idea about moving to another place is to live in his preferred environment.

> Once I thought I should study to be a sport journalist. Then I realised it would be a very demanding job. Since I was a trained electrician I found that a better choice. I prefer to work as an electrician and have more leisure time and do other things than just work (Theo).

Emigrating to Sweden has not changed his work plans. The new national context has not made him position himself differently with regard to the labour market. His strategies are to take a supplementary examination and to get a job at his friend's firm.

Inez, a 26-year-old woman, was born and grew up in Brazil. She immigrated to Sweden two years ago to live with her Swedish boyfriend. Her family lives in Brazil. Playing music in a band has been a bridge-builder to make Swedish friends. Her ethnically minoritized friends are foremost classmates and members of a Brazilian society. Her future plans are to get a university degree and a good job, marry her boyfriend and to have kids. She sees the opportunity to choose whether to live in Sweden or in Brazil.

> The classmates in the course Swedish as a second language are from diverse countries. In the Spanish language course most people are Swedish. There are only a few that come from another country but they have lived for a long time in Sweden. … I have a friend from Russia. We started school at the same time and we see each other outside school time she is my best friend. I don't see the others because I see my Swedish friends a lot (Inez).

Throughout this part of the interview Inez illustrates her strategies for making friends with both ethnic Swedes and others. The ethnic Swedish friends in most cases know her boyfriend, while she meets ethnically minoritizeds friends at school or at church. Positioning in the Swedish society does not seem to be problematic to her.

Hesam was born in Iran and came to Sweden at two years of age. He is going on nineteen and lives with his family. Hesam has completed high school and is looking for a summer job. He has been called up for military service though his priority is to

go on studying. Living in this medium-sized town where ethnic Swedes are the majority makes his social life versatile with a mixture of people. He makes though a distinction between *thin* and t*hick* friendships. He assumes he will live in Sweden and probably in the same town also in the future.

> I have Swedish and 'immigrant' friends. I do not know many immigrant girls more Swedish. I have some 'immigrant' friends that were born here too. One is Asian so it is not exactly the same (as being Muslim author's comment) but in any way knowing about being a foreigner. Another is from an Arabic country. We have very much in common, so much that it sometimes is a bit frightening. Like when he is at home and my parents sometimes are a bit embarrassing, you know… It does not matter when it happens then because he knows what it is about. His parents do the same. It is a kind of security, being in the same boat (Hesam).

In a first analysis Hesam appears to position himself moving about freely with ethnic Swedish friends in the same mode as ethnically minoritized friends. However, this can be understood in other ways too, Hesam has lived almost all his life in the medium-sized Swedish town with relatively few ethnically minoritized people. This has not changed his experiences of dislocation with majority people. On the contrary he has learned from experiences of this translocationality that there are thin and thick relationships referring to ethnicity especially regarding male friends. Through talking about a prospective wife, ethnicity and tradition become important.

> I used to think that I am Swedish and my prospective wife will be a Swedish woman. No matter how much you try to be or seem to be Swedish you are not after all. I believe that when you get married you'll be part of the whole family. My parents become like parents to her as well. Meaning close ties and that will be a bit troublesome if the woman is Swedish. Despite this you never know for sure whom you fall in love with (Hesam).

Hesam is used to living in the space of 'being almost Swedish' and 'being stranger and Muslim', and he once thought of having a future wife as ethnic Swedish. Growing older he realises that he is and always will be positioned by Swedish majority people as *'the other'*, and vice versa, the older he gets the more he realises that his ethnic background and his origin country Iran means a lot to him. It is these aspects he refers to in his narrative of location.

> My dad is studying. When he has got his university degree he cannot be sure of getting a job in the near future. I don´t know why, for his age and his background. It depends; sometimes they do not employ migrants. For that I have thought many times of changing my first name to make it easier to get a job. I have talked to my parents about this, but they do not agree on that (Hesam).

Throughout this part of the interview Hesam uses words showing a weak position in the labour market due to his young age and ethnicity. A strategy to overcome the obstacles is the possibility of changing his name.

Fateme, 21-years-old, who came with her family to Sweden from Iran as refugee sixteen years ago, has studied at the university for a year and is working temporarily. Fateme's political interest is reflected in issues like social justice, equality and welfare distribution to disadvantaged citizens and ethnicity. Further, her vision is to study abroad. She is open to living her life in a country other than Sweden.

> I think of living in another country to meet people with a culture I am used to. I have been living in Sweden for so long and I want to experience something else. I want to meet a people that in a way are more close to me. A bigger country … Sweden is small here are very few people. I want to see the world (Fateme).

In the last part of the interview Fateme comes to what seems to be at the core of her thoughts in thinking about future prospects. With experiences of dislocation in everyday life as being ethnically minoritized in a small country, she hopes for a change by looking for a new context like living in another country.

> This is my first 'real' job. When I was at the job interview everything felt fine and normal, no problem with ethnicity. However, I have had summer jobs and then felt that I was treated differently. Sometimes I think it must be because of my ethnic background or am I imagining that? …when I was working in the home-help service … I worked in the kitchen. …and the other employed went to people's homes. They were Swedish women and older than me. One was from Iran and she was the only one who was kind to me. All the others treated me badly and got me crying. It was horrible. I was there for three weeks and was already feeling down (Fateme).

In this account Fateme tells about good and bad experiences from getting a job and being a part of the labour market. In both cases she succeeded in getting a job, but the outcomes differ. She interprets her former work mates' socially exclusive behaviour as caused by having prejudices against her ethnic background.

> My strength to overcome discrimination is from how I have been treated at home. I have always been surrounded by people believing in me. There was never anyone oppressing me or so (Fateme).

For Fateme the categories age, gender, ethnicity and length of residence in Sweden intersect. She is younger and less work-experienced than most of her workmates; she is a Muslim woman, which might have affected her relationship with her fellow workers. Fateme illustrates the importance of self-confidence in having the capacity and driving force to position herself and not be let down and positioned by others in terms of prejudices and discrimination. She brings forward individual resources to

meet structural hinders. As argued by Knocke and Hertzberg (2000) the interacting between individual recourses and social structures becomes complex when social categories intersect.

Findings and discussion

In this section the findings from each theme: *strategies for building friendships and social relationships* and *getting a job* will be presented, ending with a discussion of how these interrelate and what comes out from such interplay.

Strategies for building friendships and social relationships

The young women and men interviewed describe their positioning in a local context, the town where they live during their early adulthood. The question raised is, what strategies do they develop to construct lived citizenship with regard to building friendships and social relationships? Their strategies differ depending on whether they have been living in Sweden for several years or for merely a few years. The time-aspect intersects with other dimensions such as gender, age and ethnicity in the process of constructing lived citizenship. A major finding is how the strategy for establishing friendships and social relationships changes over time.

Different studies show that a long time period of residence in a society leads to integration to an extended degree (Leiniö 1994, Åslund et al. 2009), while a shorter time increases the likelihood of having co-ethnic friendships as found in Canada (Fong and Isajiw 2000). The women and men referred to in my study, however, show reverse pattern in that they change from used to have ethnic Swedish friends to prefer ethnically minoritized friends the older they get and the longer residence in Sweden. The experiences of being positioned and minoritized by majority Swedish people are met with resistance through self-positioning in establishing friendships and social relationships with others with similar experiences. This is what Fong and Isajiw (2000) refer to as effects of experiences of interethnic relations. The patterns found in the present study are similar with both women and men, but the strategies and causes of them are articulated with different voices. The women interviewed take control in their everyday settings by making reflected choices (Evans 2002) regarding friendships. One reason to stick to ethnically minoritized friends is the dislike of the Swedish youth culture where young people go on a drinking spree with booze. The women saying this bring out a self-positioning which can be distinguished from the

exclusionary positioning by the majority people. There are, however, contradictory narrations where women interviewed wish to make friends with Swedish classmates, but at the same time report being excluded and discriminated against. The men, on the other hand, that have most ethnically minoritized friends feel more comfortable this way, they argue. They also refer to experiences of being discriminated against by majority Swedish people and being positioned as different. i.e. as *the other*. These men seem to place the explanation beyond their own responsibility, while the women interviewed tend more to admit they themselves are *the other*. The diverse strategies can be interpreted in the way that women position themselves in an inverted order as *the other* and at the same time refer to majority people as *the others*. Neither the women nor the men position themselves in the close space of merely ethnic Swedish friends and social relationships. They all have contact with both groups, though with different strategies.

The young women and men who have lived a short time in Sweden are different from those who have lived a long time in Sweden in that they cannot offer the same time-perspective. In their situation, establishing friendships is mainly about getting to know anybody and finding their way around a new home country. Men and women in the study with long residence in Sweden explicitly distinguish between *friends* and *friends, thick* and *thin* relations in the sense of experiencing most location with ethnically minoritized people. A modified form of making an enclave stands out in the way location does not grow from closely related ethnicity, but from shared experiences of being ethnically minoritized in Sweden. There is an exception from the latter, that of being Muslim. Being Muslim and sharing values and norms anchored in Muslim traditions, strengthen the feelings of location and make everyday life easier, argued the young Muslims interviewed. This differs from interviewees with other ethnic backgrounds. There are Muslim young men interviewed that tell about being afraid to be stigmatized, referring to the Eleventh of September 2001. Similar experiences are found in an Italian study (Frisina 2010) where young Muslims purposely avoid others' differentiation and stigmatization and choose to stay with or even isolate themselves within groups of other Muslims.

Strategies for getting a job

The most important social right explored in the empirical study (Jacobson Pettersson 2008) is being able to get a job and be part of the labour market which is perceived as

the ultimate form of being fully recognized as a member of society. Employment is also a requirement for gaining control of material and social conditions in everyday life that are significant aspects of their lived citizenship. Accordingly the question raised is, what are their strategies for getting a job? A major finding is the fear and anxiety about obstacles to entering the labour market because of ethnic discrimination. This is articulated particularly by the men in the study. Three basic strategies emerged for overcoming experienced and feared constraints to getting a job: obtaining a good education, to start entrepreneurship as an alternative to employment or moving to another place. Other strategies discussed were using one's social network and whether or not to change one's name.

The narrative of the interviewees illuminate that they have high educational ambitions with the expectation of a sure entrance into the labour market, ideas which are in line with research arguing that the chances of getting a job are linked to individual ambitions and qualifications (Knocke and Hertzberg 2000). The access to education on equal terms in Sweden is highly appreciated by the women and the men interviewed. It is seen as a prerequisite to fair positioning in society. The heuristic relation between high education and access to a qualified job is well known in democratic societies. In contrast, men interviewed fear most not getting a qualified job due to ethnic discrimination despite their educational ambitions. Here the interacting between individual recourses and structural obstacles intersects with class and gender (Knocke and Hertzberg 2000). From a social class perspective, these men run the risk of not being socioeconomically positioned as they expected in view of their qualifications, due to ethnic discrimination. The women interviewed aim more for higher education than the men interviewed. They look towards the future job situation with more confidence than the men. The men in the study develop more strategies to combat ethnic discrimination in the labour market. For example, the strategy to go for entrepreneurship as an alternative to employment is discussed foremost by the men. This strategy is to overcome the constraints towards getting a job and in turn become a tool for self-positioning in society. Structural restrictions such as unemployment and ethnic discrimination in the labour market are reasons why people with start their own business (Ljungar, 2007; Abbasian, 2000). Furthermore, but not explicitly articulated in the interviews, through being an entrepreneur, one strives to be socially recognized by the majority people (Apitzsch and Kontos 2008). The women's vision as shown in the material involves employment not

entrepreneurship. The men's interest in entrepreneurship intersects with length of residence in Sweden and place. Entrepreneurship was considered by those who have lived a long time in Sweden, with the intention of taking place in a third country.

The strategy to move in order to challenge discrimination by means of resistance is considered by the young women and men with a long time living in Sweden. The women aim to move to their country of origin or to a big city in Sweden. Fateme's case illustrates an exception. The men's alternatives are to move to a big city in Sweden or to a third country, which Theo is an example of. The strategy indicates these young people's awareness of the contextual feature of lived citizenship. Moving changes the basis for social networks which play part of the strategy for getting a job. There are women that do not rely on or want to make use of their social networks in getting a job. They stick to themselves while the men intend to use their contacts. At the individual level, it is possible that the women interviewed actually rely on their own capacity, or seen from an inter-subjective angle, the women might distrust the recourses of their social contacts being able to help them. This is supported by earlier research pointing to tendencies like women's disadvantages increasing in the labour market where jobs are found through informal networks. This is due to the family, local and community based character of contacts that women use rather than occupational contacts (Granovetter 1995). Thirdly, taking a structural perspective the women's strategies shown in the material to qualify for a profession can be understood as their resistance against discrimination in the labour market, on ethnic and gender grounds. The men's strategies for getting a job are different. From interpersonal and structural levels, there exists a traditional gender power order, where men rely on male employers easily recognising the qualities of men and preferring to employ those like themselves. Research has shown that conformity, similarity and adoption are important elements in career strategies regardless of one's background. The outcomes from these processes of social divisions make a difference. Women strive to be highly qualified, even *overqualified,* which often is requested of women in order to get a job while it is not for men (Göransson 2010).

Owing to the intersecting of social divisions such as ethnicity, gender, age and length of residence in Sweden, the context of constructing lived citizenship becomes different for each one involved. However, there are conditions and experiences they share; the challenges stemming from youth and ethnicity contribute to the similar

positioning of these individuals and form their future in their constructing of lived citizenship.

Interrelating strategies for making friends and getting a job

Establishing social relationships, friendships and partnerships and entering the labour market are crucial in young people's lives. The social relationships and the social categorising and ethnic discrimination in the labour market appear to be due to the unequal power-sharing (Knocke and Hertzberg 2000). The critical question brought up is how the two themes interact in effecting experiences and strategies of lived citizenship. What links the themes together is how *agency* (Lister 2003, 2007b) and subjectivity get expressed in individual choices (Evans 2002) and how *positioning* (Anthias 2002a) comes to the fore. These issues are explored in the way these migrant youth make friends, develop social relationships and use strategies for getting a job, which make them active citizens through their self-positioning. In this process friends and social relationships partly are expected to play a role as contacts to make it easier for getting a job.

  Research from a range of countries confirm that social contacts play an essential role in the process of getting a job (Granovetter 1995). Groups which are not connected to extended social networks are disadvantaged in the labour market (Granovetter 1995). Being connected, however, has various meanings and is here discussed in terms of location and translocationality. Being located in diverse spaces at the same time, translocationality, causes tensions among social relationships and sometimes there can be contradictory recourse struggles with regard to gender, ethnicity and class (Anthias 2001). In the present study this perspective reveals interrelating dimensions between making friends and getting a job. When Hesam e.g. with a long time of residence in Sweden looks for location among ethnic minoritized friends, and origin from other countries, he regards these categories as resources. Whereas, when he looks at his chances of getting a job, he perceives ethnicity as impediments due to supposed ethnic discrimination in the process of positioning in the labour market. On the contrary, Inez and Theo have lived a short time in Sweden and they make friends with ethnic Swedes readily and often look to the future with confidence with regard to getting a job. They have recourse to their Swedish friends in the context of the Swedish labour market. Ethnicity does not come up as obstacles

in their constructing citizenship. Being in the space of a cross- national location, both see the recourse of having the opportunity to move to another country.

In the space of translocational postionality class dimensions are exposed. Parents, and sometimes the young women and men themselves, are involved in neither an economic nor a social positioning corresponding to their level of education or work skills from their former home country. Former social positions do not lead to a corresponding given position in Sweden. Interviewees have ambitions to study for academic degrees and professions for the purpose of positioning in the labour market. This strategy is to overcome structural ethnic discrimination and to construct a decent lived citizenship. What permeates the strategies for both themes is the significance of ethnicity. Additionally genderrelated differences are explored. Thus both gender and ethnic power order in the society are actively contributing to the conditions of lived citizenship. Both advantages and disadvantages in lived citizenship are experienced from the perspective of translocational positionality in society. The advantages from getting an education outweigh the disadvantages from being excluded by ethnic discrimination by classmates which is the case for Fateme, for instance. Neither women nor men give up their aims to achieve an education for discrimination reasons but they seem to compensate these disadvantages when it comes to establishing friendships.

Conclusion

The scope of the concept of lived citizenship has been elaborated by looking at empirical findings. Drawing on empirical research the study contributes to balance the deficiency of empirical work within citizenship studies as argued in the introduction (Lister 2007b). The approach used in this study broadens the theoretical and empirical discussion of citizenship by problematizing and illuminating further dimensions of lived citizenship in regard to the intersection with gender, ethnicity, age and length of residence in Sweden. The study contributes with the elaborated example of ethnic minoritized young women and men in a medium-sized Swedish town, focusing on the subjective perspective of lived citizenship. This gives in-depth understanding of lived citizenship as an extended dimension of social citizenship studies. When examining social citizenship and lived citizenship in terms of location, position and translocationality (Anthias 2002a, b) it becomes obvious that society's socially inclusive and socially exclusive tendencies are not either or. Subjective experiences in

the everyday life of ethnically minoritized young women and men are important implications for improving lived citizenship. The intersection of ethnicity and gender, together with age and length of residence in Sweden, make a difference concerning a restricted social citizenship contra full membership of society. It also makes a difference in how we understand and tackle these issues in social work.

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[1] In this text, minoritized people are understood as being constructed as ethnic minorities by the ethnic majority people. This process comprises a power relation between the two groups in terms of subordination and superiority. The notion minoritized is used in the line of thought of Gunaratnam as 'to give some sense of the active processes of racialization that are at work in designating certain attributes of groups in particular contexts as being in a "minority"' (Gunaratnam 2003:17).

[2] This implies that the period of residence in Sweden varied from being born in Sweden to having lived in Sweden for two years or more.

[3] The interviewees' ethnic and national backgrounds are Brazil, Cameroon, China, Germany, Greece, Iran, Kosovo, Lebanon, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Tunisia.