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YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS IN SWEDEN: RELATION TO SWEDISH SOCIETY

SUMMARY

In Sweden there are about 1,000 local immigrant associations. The majority of these are affiliated in thirty-odd confederations that are primarily organised on the nationality basis. The biggest confederations are those organised by the Finns and the Yugoslavs. Yugoslavs in Sweden, for instance, tend to become members of Yugoslav associations more often than Yugoslavs in other countries. About 130 local associations make up the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations. Besides, there are nine Croatian associations, which are independent organisations outside the Confederation, but there are also separate Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian, Hungarian, and Turkish associations. In this paper a model for a description of emigrant organisations' functions is developed.

1. Immigrant Organizations in Sweden

This paper is mainly based on questionnaires with confederations of immigrant associations in Sweden, which was collected in 1982, and with Yugoslav associations, collected in 1983—1984. The study on the confederations of immigrant associations was published in 1983 (1), while the study of Yugoslav associations is to be published during 1988.

It is estimated that there are about 1,000 local immigrant associations in Sweden. The majority of these are affiliated in thirty-odd confederations. In 1983 these had about 155,000 members.

In an average confederation the percentage organized was estimated at 28%, and if consideration is taken to the differential sizes of the organizations, the average percentage organized was 21%. These figures are somewhat higher than those usually obtained in interviews with individuals. The likely reason for this is primarily the tendency for organizations to overestimate their membership figures. There may also be some overlapping membership.

The number of Yugoslav citizens currently in Sweden is estimated at about 38,000. If those who have acquired Swedish citizenship and children of Yugoslav extraction are counted, the number can be estimated at about 55,000 persons (8; 13).

Yugoslavs in Sweden are members of immigrant associations to a significantly greater extent than their countrymen in other host countries. The percentage of Yugoslav immigrants in western Europe organized in immigrant associations was estimated at 6% in 1977—1978 while the corresponding figure in Sweden was 30% (2). Of 859 Yugoslav associations in western Europe in 1983, 16% were in Sweden at the same time as Yugoslavs in Sweden only comprised 4% of the total Yugoslav colony in Western Europe (8).

In my study of confederations of immigrant organizations, 141 Yugoslav associations were recorded, of which 132 were affiliated with the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations and nine with the competing Confederation of Croatian Associations. Furthermore, it is known that there is a small number of associations which is affiliated with neither of these confederations.

The member associations in the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations reported a total of almost 20,000 members in my study. The median size of the local associations was 106 members. The Confederation was established in 1970 by seven associations, which can be estimated to have had about 1,000 members. The most dramatic increase took place during the years 1975—1978 when the organization grew from about 7,000 to 17,000 members.

We do not have any data on the individual level concerning the composition of the membership but have had to rely on estimates which our respondents in each association made. Naturally, there are sources of error associated with this method.

Table 1. Membership of the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations distributed by nationality

Nationality group	Weighted means
Serbs	40%
Macedonians	21%
Croats	15%
Slovenians	8%
Others	
— Hungarians	3%
— Albanians	3%
— Montenegrins	3%
Weighted total	15,393—15,716
n	86—88

The southerly and easterly nationalities — Serbs and Macedonians — were predominant among the membership. This corresponds to some extent to estimates which have been made of the distribution of nationalities within the Yugoslav colony in Sweden as a whole.

There are only a few variables for which estimates exist concerning distributions both among the memberships of Yugoslav associations and among the Yugoslav colony as a whole. With the help of this information and with some reservation for a number of sources of error, the following groups appear to have been overrepresented among the membership: Macedonians, Slovenians, men, and young people. Croats, other nationalities, women, and older people have had a lower propensity than average to join these organizations.

A regression analysis of interview data which is more than ten years old from the project »Political resocialization of immigrants« (see 16) reveals a relationship between social status and participation in Swedish and Yugoslav politics, respectively. However, only 8% of the variation in propensity to join organizations can be explained by this model.

The members of the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations are local associations. On a middle level these are affiliated both in regional district organizations and in coordinating committees. The coordinating committees comprise partly national groupings (Slovenian, Macedonian, Croatian, and

Serbian) and partly a committee for teacher's associations. The majority of the member associations of the Confederation are more generally Yugoslav as opposed to national in character. These are not affiliated with coordinating committees.

In the decision-making structure an attempt has been made to unite traditions from Swedish popular movements with the Yugoslav delegate system. The Congress is composed of delegates from the associations, the districts, and the coordinating committees. The Congress elects a presidium, which, together with the delegates from the districts and the coordinating committees, form the Confederation Council. The Council is the highest decision-making organ between Congresses. In the organization there are in addition a number of committees, the most important of which are the women's committee and the youth committee.

Debates at the Congresses have been dominated by internal matters. In addition to purely organizational matters and matters of various activities, these discussions have primarily dealt with two dimensions — the nationality issue and the relationship between the center of the organization and the periphery.

The confederation fulfills both external functions — a channel for the organization and its members to the outside world — and internal functions. The external functions will be discussed in section 4. The internal functions can be divided into direct — activities oriented toward individual members — and indirect — activities oriented toward lending support to the associations.

Activities of the direct variety are in part the publishing of newspapers, but also a number of centrally organized cultural and athletic arrangements and participation in work brigades and summer camps. The indirect activities find expression in various courses and conferences for representatives of the associations.

The districts are built up analogously to the Confederation with a district board composed of delegates from the associations and a number of specialized organs. Activities were normally oriented toward members and were dominated by common arrangements on national holidays and athletic events.

The local associations are headed by boards with an average size of eight members. The boards normally meet once per month. In addition to the boards, there are, as on higher levels, specialized organs. The most common are athletic and cultural committees.

With respect to composition, the boards of the associations are rather like the membership. With respect to nationality, Serbs (an overrepresentation of five percentage points) and Macedonians (an underrepresentation of six percentage points) display the greatest deviations. Women are greatly underrepresented (—14 percentage points) as are the younger age groups (—29 percentage points for the group under 25 years of age). With respect to occupation, white collar workers are overrepresented at the expense of workers (+7 percentage points and —5 percentage points, respectively) when considering only those actively employed.

There were athletic activities in 95% of all associations. Most common were table tennis (86%), chess (83%), and soccer (63%). Many of the associations in which there is soccer were affiliated with the National Swedish Athletic Association and participated in the Swedish system of soccer leagues.

Cultural activities were organized in 83% of the associations. Most common were folk-dancing (73%), singing (43%), and drama (36%).

There were free activities — that is activities outside of organized groups — in all of the associations. Most common were clubs, but there were also

less regular arrangements such as parties, trips, excursions, performances, lectures, and counselling activities. There were special activities for women in 26% of the associations. In 54% courses were arranged and in 70% there were special activities for children and youths.

2. The Functions of Immigrant Organizations

A common model for viewing organizations — e.g., private enterprises and public bureaucracies — is the so-called interest model. The leadership of the organization engages in transactions with interested parties. The interested parties receive various rewards (e.g. salary for work or payment for products delivered) as compensation for their contributions to the organization. The organization is dependent for its survival on all of the interested parties finding it profitable to continue making contributions. This profitability is predicated on the organization producing a surplus.

This model has more seldom been applied to the study of voluntary organizations, but even the leadership of a voluntary organization engages in transactions with various external and internal interested parties.

The interested parties of an immigrant organization can be structured in four different spheres: 1) the internal organizational sphere, 2) the given immigrant group (non-organized countrymen, other organizations), 3) the society of the host country as a whole (government, organizations, mass media, public opinion, foreign authorities of the home country), and 4) the international environment (government of the home country, countrymen in other countries of immigration).

We will primarily concentrate on transactions with members and with government. The needs of the members can in principle be met by the organization in two different ways:

1) The direct method: With the help of resources which the organization extracts from the environment and with the help of the contributions of members, the organization can produce values which can be used as rewards for the members.

2) The indirect method: The organization can, by attempting to influence actors in the environment, attempt to induce them to provide values to the members of the organization.

The other function is what is usually called an »interest representative« function. With the viewpoint that has been outlined here, both of the functions are tied together, partly by being based in the needs of the members and partly by both requiring that values or resources are extracted from the environment. The basic distinction between interest representative and other functions has been made by other researchers who have studied immigrant organizations (e.g. 9; 10; 6).

The needs of members can be divided according to a simplified needs hierarchy into material and non-material needs. If a division of this kind is combined with the two main methods of satisfying needs, four ideal type functions for voluntary associations are obtained: 1) direct satisfaction of material needs (e.g., a consumer cooperative), 2) direct satisfaction of non-material needs (e.g., much of the »social-club« activities of immigrant associations), 3) indirect satisfaction of material needs (e.g., a labor union wage conflict), and 4) indirect satisfaction of non-material needs (e.g., pressure on government by immigrant associations for heritage language training) which an immigrant assumes can be taken:

As the basis for a somewhat different and further specification of the particular needs of members of immigrant organizations, the different roles which an immigrant assumes can be taken:

1) The role of member of a special ethnic group (the need of being together with fellow countrymen, of preserving and using one's own language, of access to information and cultural offerings from the old home country, of participating in cultural and religious activities).

2) The role of immigrant (the need of learning the language of the immigration, of learning to deal with the bureaucracy, of participating and influencing political decisions).

3) The role of member of a social category which is predominant within one's own immigrant group (e.g., if the working class is predominant, the need of higher wages, of better working conditions, of influencing the decision process of the firm).

If these three bases for needs are combined with the two methods of satisfying needs of members, six possible functions for immigrant organizations, specified for Yugoslav immigrants in Sweden, are obtained:

Table 2. Theoretically possible functions for Yugoslav immigrant organizations

BASIS FOR NEEDS	SATISFACTION	
	Direct	Indirect
Ethnic: Yugoslav	I e. g. club activities	II e. g. demands for heritage language training
Immigrant	III e. g. courses on Swedish society	IV e. g. demands for voting rights
Social category: Worker	V e. g. courses on union matters	VI e. g. demands for better working conditions

From the study of confederations of immigrant associations, it can be seen that the activities of immigrant organizations are most often concerned with functions I, II, and IV, somewhat less often with function III, and least often with categories V and VI. We think that some of the scepticism which has been noticeable within the Swedish labor movement toward immigrant associations — especially during their initial development — has been based on the false notion that they would come to devote their efforts to functions V and VI and thus constitute a divisive competitor to, e.g., the union movement.

The organization is dependent on transactions with government for both the direct and indirect satisfaction of needs. The purpose of these transactions is to attempt to induce government to make different decisions than it would have made if the transaction had not taken place — i.e., to exercise power.

In accordance with a model of intended rational decision-making (see e.g. 12), influence of this kind — power — can be exercised in one or more of three ways: 1) by attempting to influence the preferences of decision-makers through propaganda, 2) by attempting to influence the results of alternative courses of action through sanctions, and 3) by attempting to control and influence the access of decision-makers to information. Immigrant organizations are small, have limited resources, and have members who to a large extent only have limited voting rights. Thus their possibilities for influencing government through propaganda, sanctions, or information are small.

On the basis of Downs' discussion of the goal structures of bureaucrats and politicians (4. and 3. respectively) and Sjöblom's discussion of the goal structures of political parties, I believe that a group of egoistical goals (4) bureaucratic types of »climbers« and »conservers« and the goals of political parties of maximization of votes, parliamentary influence, and internal cohesion) and a group of altruistic goals (Downs' bureaucratic types of »zealots«, »advocates« and »statesmen« and the goal of political parties of realizing political programs) can be distinguished.

In consideration of the limited resources and peripheral position of immigrant organizations, it is reasonable to expect that they have the greatest possibilities of influencing decision-makers for whom »altruistic goals« are most important. This is particularly the case for bureaucratic types having the goal of implementing rather narrow policies within the immigration policy sector, in which it can be perceived as important that the immigrant organizations themselves participate.

The possibility of exercising influence with the help of sanctions is naturally prevented if one is dependent on the contemplated object of influence. Relations of dependence of this kind between government and voluntary organizations can be of an economic, political, or social/status-related nature. The opportunities for immigrant organizations to exercise influence is threatened in the first place by economic dependence. The extent of economic dependence of these organizations on government will be taken up in section 6.

3. The Confederations of Immigrant Organizations and Swedish Society

In the study of confederations of immigrant associations, I distinguished three different channels for influencing government. First, organizations can be represented in the political decision-making process. Second, direct contact — formal and informal — can be maintained with decision-makers. And third, attempts can be made to influence public opinion.

Representation can be direct or indirect. In direct representation it is the organization as such which is represented in various organs. In indirect representation members of the organization are elected to various decision-making bodies within the framework of the normal election system.

Indirect representation of confederations always concerns advisory organs in the state administration. Almost two-thirds of the confederations were represented in bodies of this kind within the Government Office (64%), and 36% were represented in the reference groups of state agencies.

On the local level, 15% to 40% of the organizations were indirectly represented in various types of organs and 44% directly represented in reference groups.

Contracts with decision-makers were considered to include letters to administrative authorities and politicians, visits paid to administrative authorities and politicians. For each form of contact it was found that contacts were more often directed to administrative authorities than to politicians.

An index was constructed from the variables for these forms of contacts with values ranging from 0 to 6, in which 0 meant that the organization had a value lower than the mean for all contact variables and 6 that the organization had a value higher than the mean for all variables. The distribution of the organizations along this index was highly skewed. Of 24 organizations, 12 had values of 0 or 1. The Confederation of Yugoslav Associations was in the upper stratum with a value of 5. Only three other organizations had the same or higher values.

On the question of which substantive issues these contacts involved, issues concerning government support to the organizations were most frequent (86%). This means that the organizations primarily attempted to extract resources from government in order to be able to carry out their own internal functions. However, several clear policy areas also had high frequencies, e.g., cultural policy (79%), education policy (71%), and social policy (61%).

Differences between organizations with regard to representation and contacts could be explained in terms of 1) the size of the organization and 2) the social status of the board. Both of these variables were of significance for indirect political representation and contacts, i. e., those most well represented and those having the highest frequency of contacts were larger organizations with boards composed of higher social status groups. However, for direct representation in advisory bodies in the administration, the status variable was of no consequence.

The majority of the respondents had both positive and negative experiences of their contacts with government (73%). Only 4% reported solely negative experiences. The most common negative experience was not gaining a hearing for one's demands. Another frequent type of negative response had to do with the decision-making process: one's own resources were insufficient, one came into the decision-making process too late, and there was too much bureaucracy and paperwork. Another group stated that political antagonisms with the authorities arose, that one met a lack of understanding or was simply thwarted.

Relatively many felt that relations with government led to the organization being directed by the authorities. Thirty-two percent stated that work was influenced and 25% that organizational forms were influenced.

Most of the confederations attempt in some way to influence public opinion. The frequency of this was particularly high for the refugee organizations, and for these this was unrelated to the size of the organization. If we only consider the organizations for working force immigrants, the percentage that attempted to influence public opinion increased with the size of the organization. Attempts at influencing public opinion on the part of refugee groups most often aimed at influencing conditions in the home country or Sweden's foreign policy while the other organizations acted on behalf of issues related to immigrant policy.

Most organizations (82%) claimed to have some form of cooperation with Swedish organizations on the central level. The corresponding percentage on the level of local associations was 85%. The working force immigrant organizations most often cooperated with labor movement organizations (The most common partners were the union movement or the study organization ABF). Proximity to the labor movement (an index with values between 0 and 4 was constructed) was strongly related to the social composition of the boards.

Table 3. Relationship between the social status of the board and the proximity of the organization to the labor movement

PERCENT WORKING CLASS OCCUPATIONS	PROXIMITY TO LABOR MOVEMENT		
	large distance	medium distance	small distance
Low (0%)	9	2	0
Middle (.1-29%)	3	2	1
High (>29%)	1	3	5

Gamma = 0.85

The Confederation of Yugoslav Associations had intensive contacts with both Swedish and Yugoslav authorities. In certain respects a tendency for the relation to Yugoslavia to have been more intense than the relation to Sweden can be discerned. Swedish guests at the Congresses rarely participated in the discussions but confined themselves to rather neutral addresses. On the other hand, it was rather common for Yugoslav guests at the Congresses to participate in the discussions or to take up controversial issues in their addresses. In a report of activities, the matter was expressed as follows: »Since we are an integrated part of Yugoslavia, we belong to the Socialist Alliance.«

In relation to Swedish organizations, there has been an orientation close to the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), however care has been taken so as not to appear as a Social Democratic organization. On several occasions attempts from local Social Democratic organizations to tie Yugoslav associations closer to themselves have been noted in the internal discussion. In this connection it should be noted that an extremely high percentage of Yugoslav immigrants who have voted in local elections have voted for the Social Democrats (5). The question of the relation of the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations with Social Democracy has also been discussed by Magnusson (8).

4. Initial Support from Swedish Society

The first Finnish association was established in Stockholm as early as 1829. During the first two decades of the 1900s, Italian and Polish organizations arose. However, it was first during the 1940s that the first nation-wide organizations were established (Estonians, Latvians, and Poles). The greatest growth took place during the 1970s. Of the 28 associations studied, 19 were founded after 1970. This growth is closely related to the new immigrant policy which the Parliament adopted in 1975. With that the opportunities for immigrant organizations to receive economic support from the state increased dramatically.

While the establishment of nation-wide organizations can primarily be related to the policy of the Swedish state, the establishment of local associations has to a greater extent followed the development of immigration flows over time.

The oscillation in the attitude of Swedish society is clearly reflected in the responses our respondents have provided to the question of whether at the time of the establishment of the organization they experienced any support from Swedish authorities or voluntary organizations. Of seven confederations established during the period 1944—1957, none had experienced such support. Of eight organizations which came into being between 1960 and 1973, two (25%) had received support. Between 1974 and 1978, seven organizations were established, three (43%) with Swedish support, and between 1979 and 1981, six organizations, five (83%) with such support.

The first Yugoslav association — Balkan, in Malmö — was established as early as 1961, but it was first during the 1970s that the establishment of Yugoslav associations got under way. During the period of five years from 1970 to 1974, 43% of the present membership associations in the Confederation of Yugoslav Associations came into existence. In recent years the diffusion has taken the form more of secondary diffusion, i. e., additional associations established in communities in which a Yugoslav association already exists.

Forty-eight percent of the variation in the year of foundation of the Yugoslav associations is explained by a regression model with the independent variables type of community (major city/small town/small industrial com-

munity), size of the Yugoslav colony, character of the association as more generally Yugoslav or as based on nationality, and whether the association is primarily diffused (first in the community) or secondarily diffused.

With a slight modification of the classification of acceptor categories in a process of innovation which Rogers and Shoemaker (11) propose, the Yugoslav associations can be divided into the following groups:

1) Innovators and early acceptors: Associations established between 1961 and 1969 composed mainly of primarily diffused associations in major cities.

2) The early majority: Associations established between 1970 and 1974 among which primarily diffused associations in small industrial communities and secondarily diffused associations in major cities were the dominant categories.

3) The late majority and laggards: Associations established in 1975 and later composed mainly of primarily diffused small town associations and secondarily diffused associations in major cities.

Of the respondents in the Yugoslav associations, 19% stated that other Yugoslav organizations in Sweden (associations, district organizations, or the Confederation) had played a positive role when the association was established. Such support from the authorities had been experienced by 15% and from private enterprises and/or associations by 13%.

Over time the three variables show two different tendencies. Support from Swedish authorities, private enterprises, and associations exhibit a bimodal curve with tops for associations established between 1970 and 1974 (20%) and between 1980 and 1983 (18%), respectively. On the other hand, the support from other Yugoslav organizations in Sweden exhibits a monotonous increase during the time period.

The bimodal time process exhibits a good correspondence with the changes in immigration flows. The time series correlation between support from the authorities and non-Nordic immigration is 0.98 for the period prior to 1975 with a two year time lag. For the period from 1975 this time lag is shortened. Thus support from authorities also basically follows changes in immigration, and the new immigration policy is reflected in a more rapid reaction pattern.

With respect to the correlates of the support variables, the following additional observations can be made:

1) The authorities have supported the establishment of national associations and secondarily diffused associations to a lesser extent.

2) Associations and private enterprises have provided significantly less support in small industrial communities than in other places. This is worth noting since the social structure of these communities is dominated by private enterprises and by organizations connected to the labor movement.

5. Economic Support from the Swedish Government

The confederations of immigrant associations were to a very great extent dependent on government grants. Of a total turnover of approximately 23 million Swedish crowns, 73% was estimated to derive from public grants. The member associations of the confederations were dependent to a somewhat lesser extent. Of a total turnover of approximately 30 million crowns, 47% was estimated to be comprised of public, primarily municipal, grants.

The increase in state support since 1975 has been extremely important for the finances of the confederations. Economic data over time exists for 13

of the organizations. Before they obtained the new grant for organizational activities they had a turnover of about 2.6 million Swedish crowns, during the fiscal year 1978/79 the turnover was 10.5 million, and in 1981, 18.4 million crowns. The share of income represented by state grants increased from 43% to 60%.

The Confederation of Yugoslav Associations had a turnover of about 2.8 million crowns during 1983/84, 66% of which was composed of state grants. Of the funds from state grants just less than half was specially earmarked, i. e. tied to certain specific purposes. It is clear that in terms of dependence on government and direction from government, the specially earmarked grants are more significant than the general grants for organizational activities. Due to the restrained economic policy of the Swedish state, there have been only marginal increases in state grants in recent years. A consequence of this is that dependence on state grants has decreased. Another consequence is that the range of services that the Confederation has been able to offer its members can be estimated to have decreased by about 2% per year during the period of 1978—1984.

The resources of the district organizations are significantly more modest. The total turnover can be estimated at 1.2 million crowns, of which 94% comes from public grants, primarily grants from the counties.

The local associations can be estimated to have a turnover of about eight million crowns. Of this sum public grants — primarily from the municipalities — comprised 39%. Of the three different levels of organization, it is the local associations which are least financially dependent on government.

The level of municipal grants was on the average 110 crowns per member but varied greatly from 0 to almost 500 crowns. The average level of municipal grants can be compared with the average membership fee which was 31 crowns per person or 57 crowns per family.

The variations in the level of grants from municipality to municipality can be related to eight different indicators of political and administrative conditions. In a multiple regression analysis none of the political indicators had a beta coefficient with the dependent variable which exceeded 0.20. However, four socio-economic indicators exhibited relationships of over 0.20. Most important were type of community and number of immigrant associations in the municipality. With respect to type of community it can be noted that the level of grants in small industrial communities *ceteris paribus* was clearly lower than in larger cities and towns. This is notable considering the strong position of the labor movement in the social and political life of small industrial communities.

6. The Patterns of Relations of Yugoslav Associations

In this section we will study the relations of the associations with external actors. These have been classified into four groups: 1) Yugoslav organizations in Sweden; 2) Swedish associations; 3) government; and 4) actors abroad.

The majority of the associations in communities with more than one association regard themselves as having good relations with the other (s) (57%). Associations located in single association communities have also established cooperative arrangements with associations within the district, even though not in the same community. Four out of five associations feel that it is advantageous to be a member of the Confederation. However, only 30% of the associations have one or more contacts per month with the Confederation.

Contact with the district organization is more frequent. The corresponding share is 62%.

Just less than 70% of the associations have some forms of cooperation with Swedish voluntary organizations. The most common cooperation partner is the study association of the labor movement, ABF. On an average board of an association, 6% of the members simultaneously have positions in union organizations and 4% in other organizations. A few associations receive economic grants from Swedish associations or utilize their premises for their own activities. Cooperative arrangements with other immigrant associations are rather common. One-sixth cooperate with Finnish associations and approximately twice as many with some other nationality.

In one out of six associations there is at least one member who has a position in municipal politics. We have conducted a limited questionnaire with the Yugoslavs who have local government positions in those municipalities in which there is also a Yugoslav association. The number of respondents is small ($n = 21$), for which reason care should be taken not to draw too far-reaching conclusions.

If these Yugoslav local politicians are compared with the members of the boards of the Yugoslav associations, the following observations can be made:

- 1) Among the politicians white collar occupations are strongly overrepresented at the expense of the working class.
- 2) The average age of the politicians is higher than that of those active in the associations.
- 3) The politicians have immigrated to Sweden earlier than those active in the associations.
- 4) Croats are somewhat overrepresented among the politicians.

Almost all of the politicians have at some time been members of an immigrant association. Three out of five are still members, and one-third have positions on the board of an immigrant association. The associations often contact »their« politicians and attempt to use them as a channel to the municipality. This is most common if the politician is also a member of the association.

Approximately half of the associations are directly represented in advisory municipal immigrant councils, and approximately half of the associations also have at some time attempted to influence municipal decisions. Attempts at influence in matters of support to the association and attempts at influence in political questions are about equally frequent. The most common political questions involve school matters. Approximately half of the associations which have made attempts at exercising influence have positive experiences. One-fourth have solely negative experiences of their attempts at influencing.

Approximately one out of three associations report having cooperative arrangements with a municipality in Yugoslavia and just as many with organizations in Yugoslavia. One out of seven associations have a cooperative relation with Yugoslav immigrant associations in other countries of immigration.

In order to describe the pattern of relations of the associations, we have chosen 11 variables, of which some have been constructed as indices of answers to several questionnaire items to which the answers have been closely correlated with each other.

Relations with Yugoslav organizations in Sweden:

- 1) Other association in the same community
- 2) Association in another community
- 3) Higher levels of organization

Relations with other associations in Sweden:

- 4) Swedish associations
- 5) Other immigrant associations
- 6) Receive resources from Swedish associations

Relations with the municipality:

- 7) Members have municipal positions
- 8) Represented in immigrant council
- 9) Have attempted to influence the municipality

Relations abroad:

- 10) Yugoslavia
- 11) Association in other country of immigration

These 11 variables were considered as dependent variables and were related to indicators of how well-established the association and its representatives are in Swedish society, the initial support the association received from Swedish society, the national composition of the association, the size, resources, and activity of the association, and a number of environmental properties. The following observations concerning relationships could be made:

A. Establishment

Of a total of 77 correlations, 16 were greater than 0.19. The greatest number of strong correlations were exhibited by age of the association (the older the association, the more well-developed the relations) and turnover of board members (the more gradual the turnover, the more well-developed the relations).

B. Initial Support

Of 33 correlations, six were greater than 0.19, just as many for each of the support variables (support from authorities, from enterprises/associations, and from Yugoslav associations in Sweden). The correlations were positive, i. e., associations which received external support at the time of their establishment had a more well-developed pattern of relations.

C. National composition

The national composition in the association was measured by three indicators: 1) national homogeneity, 2) percentage of westerly nationalities (Slovenians and Croats), and 3) percentage of »central« nationalities (Serbs and Croats). Of 33 correlations, eight were greater than 0.19. The greatest number of strong correlations were exhibited by the share of Serbs and Croats, and of these, three were negative and one positive.

D. Size, resources, activity

Of 77 correlations, 35 were greater than 0.19, only one of which was negative. This means that the larger the association, the broader its activity, and the greater its resources, the more well-developed its external relations.

E. Environment

Of 143 correlations, 27 were greater than 0.19. The greatest number of strong correlations were exhibited by the variables size of the Yugoslav colony, number of Yugoslav associations, and existence of immigrant council in municipality. Most of these correlations (10 of 13) were positive.

The various independent variables were also combined in a multivariate analysis for each of the 11 dependent variables. The 11 regression models which resulted had an explanatory power ranging from 10% to 69%. The 11 models could be grouped into four main types:

1) Models with direct effects from nationality distribution and size, etc.: The variables which were explained with these models were contacts with higher levels in the Confederation ($R^2 = 0.33$), with Yugoslav associations in other countries ($R^2 = 0.30$), and with Yugoslavia ($R^2 = 0.59$).

2) Models with direct effects from the distribution of nationalities and environmental factors: Relations with Yugoslav associations in other communities ($R^2 = 0.24$), other immigrant associations ($R^2 = 0.10$), and whether the association receives resources from Swedish associations ($R^2 = 0.69$).

3) Models with direct effects from size, etc., from the extent to which the association is well-established, and from environmental properties: If members have municipal tasks ($R^2 = 0.44$), if the association is represented on the immigrant council ($R^2 = 0.51$), and relations with Swedish associations ($R^2 = 0.48$).

4) Models with direct effects only from environmental properties: Relations with other Yugoslav associations in the community ($R^2 = 0.24$) and whether the association has attempted to influence the municipality ($R^2 = 0.19$).

It can thus be claimed that the relations of Yugoslav associations with Swedish society depend to a large extent on the properties of that society (environmental factors), though in certain contexts the size and resources of the association and how well-established it is are of importance. The distribution of nationalities is, however, of secondary importance. This is of great significance for relations abroad and with the home country as well as within and among the Yugoslav organizations.

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JUGOSLAVENSKE IMIGRANTSKE ORGANIZACIJE U ŠVEDSKOJ: ODNOS PREMA ŠVEDSKOM DRUŠTVU

SAŽETAK

U Švedskoj postoji oko tisuću lokalnih udruženja. Većina je pridružena u nešto više od 30 saveza, organiziranih prvenstveno prema državljanstvu. Najveće takve saveze imaju Finci i Jugoslaveni. U Švedskoj se Jugoslaveni češće učlanjuju u jugoslavenska udruženja, negoli što to čine u nekim drugim zemljama. Oko 130 lokalnih udruženja pripada Savezu jugoslavenskih udruženja. Osim toga postoji devet hrvatskih udruženja, koja su samostalne organizacije izvan tog Saveza. U okviru Saveza većinu čine jugoslavenska udruženja, no postoje i posebna srpska, hrvatska, slovenska, makedonska, albanska, mađarska i turska. Ovaj referat razrađuje model za opis funkcija iseljeničkih organizacija.