

The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities

Evaluation of the Impact of Inclusion Policies under the Open Method of Co-ordination in the European Union:
Assessing the Cultural Policies of Six Member States

Final Report

Sweden



An Evaluation Project under the EU's Social Protection and Social Integration Policy

By Professor Antoinette Hetzler with Marcus Persson and Elin

Lundin

Institute of Sociology, Lund University

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Foreword and Acknowledgements

This Working Paper is one in a series of country reports submitted under the ECMI project “The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities: Assessing the Cultural Policies of six Member States of the European Union” (hereafter OMC Project). The OMC Project was conceived by the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) and established with the generous support of the European Commission’s Directorate of Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities and under the European Union’s Social Protection and Social Integration Policy (Grant Agreement VS/2005/0686). The present Working Paper was researched and authored by colleagues at the Institute for Sociology of the University of Lund, Sweden.

The OMC Project evaluates the National Action Plans (NAPs) of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden under the European Union’s Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) on Social Inclusion in terms of cultural policies and their impact on the social inclusion of ethnic minorities. The OMC Project is a twelve-month effort which began in December 2005. It focuses on three domains of social exclusion:

- Education,
- The media, and
- Public participation.

The aim of the OMC Project is to enhance cultural policies and NAPs with the overall goal to promote greater inclusion of members of ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti groups in the socio-economic life of the European Union. The specific purpose of the OMC Project is to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of these policies in the six member states through the piloting of an index of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICIs).

The problem of indicators has been a central part of the social policies adopted under the Lisbon Strategy (2000) including the OMC on Social Inclusion and ongoing efforts to develop and refine social indicators continue under the auspices of the European Commission. One of the main objectives of the OMC Project is to contribute constructively to this effort in the area of cultural indicators.

The parties most deserving of recognition for the contents of these Working Papers are the members of the six country research teams who are listed on the front page of each report. ECMI would like to thank every member of these teams for their hard work and continued interest and support for the OMC Project. The research teams have benefited from consultation with several external experts during the research. First and foremost, the OMC Project and the research for the country reports could never have been conceived without the unique modelling of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness as well as the personal and energetic dedication of Prof. Francois Grin, Director of the “Economics-Language-Education” Observatory at the University of Geneva, formerly Acting and Deputy Director of ECMI. At the same time, the application of Prof. Grin’s model could

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ECMI hopes that these Working Papers will prove useful to researchers interested in or participating in the ongoing research on the social exclusion of ethnic minorities and the development of cultural policies within the European Union. Any inquires related to these reports should be address directly to the main authors of each Working Paper who are also individually responsible for the content of the Papers. A list of contact details as well as further information about the OMC Project can be found by visiting the homepages of the OMC Project at www.ecmi-eu.org.

Dr. Tove H. Malloy
Scientific Director of the OMC Project

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The position of ethnic minorities, their integration and assimilation into the society where they exist, along with ethnic majorities, has been an area of conflict, an area of discrimination, and an area of social tension. This report examines a policy of inclusion working next to a policy to fight exclusion as Sweden tries to establish a dual program including “soft” measures within culture and “hard” measures within the structural-economic sphere to counteract poverty and abuse as a means to promoting inclusion in a multicultural society.

Sweden’s National Action Plan (NAP) does not expressly refer to ethnic minorities. The goals reflect a concern with poverty, education and substance abuse. Two years after accepting a NAP in 2001, Sweden adopted the Agenda for Culture 2003-2006 (Agenda 2003) as a companion to the NAP. The Agenda 2003 emphasizes the concept of the equal value of all people and attempts to promote inclusion for all residents in Sweden premised on the shared value of equality among all citizens. Both the NAP, which focuses on the reduction of those at risk for exclusion, and Agenda 2003 with a focus on inclusion, developed strategies to reach their goals. Similar strategies and goals show that both the NAP and Agenda 2003 emphasized children, language and work. In all three areas the NAP and Agenda 2003 use strong rhetoric that supports the values of strengthening integration, improving access for participation and enlarging collective meeting places for all individuals.

Both the NAP, which focuses on the reduction of those at risk for exclusion, and Agenda 2003 with a focus on inclusion, developed strategies to reach their goals. Similar strategies and goals show that both the NAP and Agenda 2003 emphasized children, language and work. In all three areas the NAP and Agenda 2003 use strong rhetoric that supports the values of strengthening integration, improving access for participation and enlarging collective meeting places for all individuals.

This report discusses three main areas of life that are bridges between cultural indicators of inclusion and processes of fighting exclusion. These areas are education with an emphasis on language, media and political participation. Each area is presented in a chapter and is structured by presenting the goals within each area, the actual situation and the possibility within each area of developing measurable cultural indicators.

The results discussed in the report have not been able to point to a successful integration pattern for Sweden. Yet we have been able to show that the programs designed and in place in Sweden are indeed significant and have as a goal both to move individuals and groups out of a vulnerable position and into a position with strong resources.

I. INTRODUCTION

Social inclusion should be the outcome of a successful policy to prevent poverty and exclusion. The EU member states have been cooperating on efforts to prevent poverty and social exclusion since 2000. To this end, two national action plans have been drafted, one in 2001 and one in 2003. These national action plans show how the various member states set their priorities for achieving the goals reached in the Nice European Council. The goals or objectives that the member states agreed upon were quite general and included vague policy statements that were hardly controversial. These objectives are:

1. Promoting participation in employment and access by all to resources, goods, service and rights
2. Preventing the risk of exclusion
3. Helping the most vulnerable
4. Mobilizing all relevant bodies

We are attempting to look at the national action plans and what they have achieved by looking at them in relationship to how and with what effect do the national action plans include cultural policies directed towards minority ethnic groups. We do this by assuming two propositions. The first assumption is that ethnic minorities are vulnerable groups in the EU member states and most apt to be victims of social exclusion. The second assumption we make is that culture is an important instrument in combating social exclusion and eventually its consequences for poverty.

We mean that the specific national action plans adopted to come to grips with poverty and social exclusion have, if not directly, indirectly introduced cultural policies within their plans. Our intention in this report is to assess to what degree there are specific cultural programs/policies designed to help meet the agreed upon objectives of the Nice European Council. Our project is embedded in conceptual and methodological difficulties, which we will discuss throughout the assessment. However, we believe by performing a pilot investigation forming what could be considered a set of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICI) among various member states we will be performing some of the necessary ground work so sorely needed within the European Union to assess valuable cultural policies which address intercultural challenges in the area of ethnic minorities.

This report is on Sweden. In this introduction we will present the Swedish National Action Plan designed to meet the objectives of preventing poverty and social exclusion. After an analysis of how these policies relate to cultural policies and to minority groups, we will look at the Swedish Agenda for culture 2003-2006. This agenda on culture is a program adapted by Sweden and based on the democratic view that emphasizes the concept of the equal value of all people. This basic principle, the equality of all people means that culture is for everyone. It is a part of being a citizen. The agenda states "This is at the core of Swedish cultural policy. Culture is too important a matter to be a concern of the few; culture cannot be forced to live under market conditions."

We will compare the agenda concerning poverty and social exclusion with the agenda for culture and attempt to specify where they overlap.

Chapter two gives a broad view of the current economic, demographic, political and geographic situation in Sweden and attempts to look at both the National Action Plan and cultural agenda of Sweden within a theoretical context focusing on the concept of social exclusion.

The following three chapters will be devoted to each of the areas in which culture and ethnic minorities meet: *Education, Media* and *Political Participation*. In each section we will attempt to point out policies that promote access of minorities groups towards integration and where possible if access has increased. The direct costs for accessibility are difficult to assess but will be provided where available. Chapter five is devoted to the results from special studies of group and individual interviews with individuals representing or working within organizations dealing with the specific situation of cultural policies and social inclusion of ethnic minorities.

The report will conclude with an evaluation of the role of cultural policies directed towards ethnic minorities in reducing social exclusion.

Efforts to prevent poverty and social exclusion

There are two national action plans, one taken in 2001 and one in 2003. The plans represent the cooperative measures taken by each member state to prevent poverty and social exclusion. The plans are based on the idea of an open method of cooperation as a steering method to bring about best practices between the member states without resorting to an EU directive or other legal tools to bring about compliance. As was pointed out above, the objectives are vague but represent basic values. It is up to each member state to decide, given their particular situation how to implement the objective. Each member state was required to prepare a report on implementation and also to present data for the common EU indicators, known as the “Laeken indicators”.

In June 2005, (“Sweden’s report on measures to prevent poverty and social exclusion”, Annex 1 to the minutes of the Cabinet Meeting held on 22 June 2005, Stockholm. We will term the report, “Report 2005” in this text.) Sweden continued to summarize its taken measures to combat poverty and exclusion and detailed projections for 2005 and 2006 national goals based on the 2005 Spring Fiscal Policy Bill. Report 2005 goes through social and economic developments since the 2003 plan was submitted, gives an evaluation of goals and the extent to which they have been achieved and describes the implemented measures as well as examples of good practice prepared together with a Swedish group called the Network against Social Exclusion. The Network against Social Exclusion includes a large number of organizations in the field of social policy as well as organizations in other relevant areas of society.

Our short presentation of Report 2005 will be done with a focus on National Action Plans taken by the Swedish government. One of the most important factors influencing social exclusion, or even the fact of social exclusion is that the Swedish economy is growing but between 2000 and 2004 less people in Sweden were in employment and more were unemployed. Moreover, Sweden's labour market is still gendered-segregated and women income is just over 80 percent of men. Sweden is "one of the countries in Europe with the largest proportion of inhabitants who were born in another country". The average employment rate among persons born outside of Sweden is 57% for women and 62% for men. For Swedes it is 72% for women and 73% for men.

Another area where social exclusion of ethnic minorities can be seen is in the need for financial assistance. The number of people needing social assistance has decreased in Sweden since 1995 but very slowly and in 2005 represented about 6 percent of the population. But as the Report 2005 points out "During the 1990s, the financial assistance system increasingly became a subsistence system for people born outside Sweden who had not yet entered the labour market." (p.6). It is indicative of social exclusion that only 2 percent of the Swedish-born population over the age of 18 received financial assistance compared with 11 percent of the foreign-born population. Even more telling is the fact that two-thirds of all households (ages 18-64) that received financial assistance for more than 10 months were born outside Sweden. Report 2005 also points out that life expectancy in Sweden has increased and suicides have decreased but the percentage of individuals that suffer from alarm, worry and anxiety has steadily increased since 1991 as has psychosomatic symptoms among school children.

The National Action Plans (NAPs) taken by Sweden were taken with the aim of substantially reducing by 2010, the number of people at risk of exclusion because of social and/or economic vulnerability. As the report states, reduction of risk was to be achieved, irrespective of ethnic background. The goals for doing this were stated as:

- 1) The proportion of individuals whose income is lower than the basic social assistance allowance and the proportion of those whose income is under 60 percent of the median income are to be reduced. Also,
- 2) the proportion of people in families with children whose income is under 60 percent of the median income is to be reduced;
- 3) The proportion of girls and boys who leave compulsory school with incomplete grades is to be reduced;
- 4) the proportion of women and men who satisfy the requirements for general eligibility for admission to higher education and employment is to be increase;
- 5) the proportion of girls and boys who have experimented with drugs, use alcohol or smoke is to be reduced;
- 6) the number of women and men with substance abuse problems who undergo treatment is to increase; and
- 7) homelessness is to be reduced among both women and men.

Within Report 2005 concerning progress towards meeting the NAPs, the Swedish government states that “integration goals must be mainstreamed into all activities. One of these goals is *equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all irrespective of ethnic and cultural background*” (p.9). However, no statistics are kept in Sweden with reference to ethnicity as a manner of principle. Thus integration goals are measured by monitoring statistics relating to “persons born outside Sweden” or persons “who were born in another country”. But even these statistics are not available for all of the indicators in the action plan. This means that our work on inclusion of ethnic minorities suffers from the lack of clearly defined statistics concerning ethnic minorities. When available, persons defined as having a Swedish background are those born in Sweden with at least one parent born here and persons with a “foreign background” are individuals born outside Sweden or born in Sweden with both parent born outside Sweden.

When looking at the success of Sweden in meeting its NAP, we find that we only have information on the foreign born relating to the percentage of girls and boys leaving compulsory school who meet the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school and in the measurement of employment. In both these areas the year 2001 is compared with 2003. The results show that school children with foreign background do far worse than the children coming from a Swedish born background. But for all children with the exception of boys with a Swedish background, the number of students with competency decreased during the years investigated. For Swedish boys it remained the same. Employment decreased for both those born in Sweden and foreign-born, but more so for the foreign-born.

The primary NAP, called the target of social justice, to reduce the dependency on social assistance by half between 2001 and 2004 (from 115,200 to 57,600 by 2004 was in 2003 85,000) and the goal has not been reached by 2004. But the government does not think this is an impossible goal and assumes it will be reached by increasing employment among persons born outside Sweden and other groups with a low employment rate.

The government has also introduced other national action plans, including equality between women and men, and integration policy to be applied in all social sectors to help people so that they can support themselves and play their part in society. Other national defined goals delineate the value structure of the Swedish society and are vaguely expressed as 1) to define basic democratic values, 2) to promote equal rights and opportunities for women and men and 3) to combat racism, xenophobic and ethnic discrimination. The method or measures to achieve these goals are primarily focused on promoting employment. In 2004 Sweden took an action plan for employment that specified an inclusive labour market with emphasis on those groups whose participation is below normal (immigrants, young people and the elderly). Labour market policies were introduced nationwide in 2000 to give individuals being excluded from the labour market because their skills do not meet the requirements of the “knowledge” society an “Activity Guarantee” which put them into occupational training. An institution of a lifelong learning policy with measures in several policy areas was instituted at the same time. Despite this battery of measures unemployment continued to increase. Between 2001 and 2003 long-term unemployment among the young was also increasing. This was seen as a

serious problem that could easily lead to exclusion. As a response the National Labour Market Board set a target of cutting the long-term unemployment rate among young people by 50%.

Economic support for implementing the national employment strategy is complemented by the European Social Fund's Objective 3 program.

The NAP developed for health services confirms the right to a permanent and dependable relationship with the health service together with the guarantee that each individual patient will be treated with respect and consideration in his or her contacts with the service. This cost SEK 9 billion for the period 2001-2004 to local authorities was extended and an additionally SEK 4 billion was allocated to local governments to reinforce primary health service, elderly care and psychiatric care and in 2005 these funds were included in the general government grants to the local authorities.

Concerning schools the government instituted special programs in highly segregated areas. The Swedish agency for School Improvement is charged with improving the situation in pre-schools and schools in segregated areas. Although the agency concentrates on pre-school and compulsory schools it also looks at upper secondary schools. The government has allocated SEK 70 million for 2006 and SEK155 million for 2007 to reinforce measures in schools in segregated areas.

There is also a NAP for preschools to ensure that all children whose native language is not Swedish are given support to improve their ability to communicate both in Swedish and in their native language. Also there is a four-year pilot project involving subject teaching in the pupils' mother tongue in grades 7-9 of compulsory school in segregated areas to improve the education situation.

In conjunction with the strategic approach in the 2003 Swedish action plan to raise awareness of the EU's efforts to combat poverty and social exclusion and to increase support at local levels and with other relevant authorities and organizations, many individuals and organizations were involved in producing the national action plan. Those organizations working on developing NAPs for Sweden were adamant on the need to not only articulate goals for combating poverty and social exclusion but to also disseminate users' own experiences. The government created a Users Committee was in 2003 to strengthen user influence in connection with the implementation of the NAPs. In addition in 2002 the Government set up a Popular Movement Forum in order to create a meeting place for a dialogue with representatives of social movements and other associations.

In all these initiatives for implementation, the Government stressed the integration principles embodied in democracy. The Users Committee focuses its efforts on the most socially and economically vulnerable users (homelessness, drug abuse and psychiatry). It aims to mobilize all actors to combat economic and social vulnerability.

Sweden has developed ambitious national action plans based primarily on alleviating poverty through increasing work and life-long learning. Focuses on culture and social inclusion of ethnic minorities are touched in work on school improvement as well as on

integration into the labour market. The creation of a User Committee and a Popular Movement Forum are also indicative of instituting dialogue and opening meeting places as an integral part of national action plans.

From the implementation statistics given for the time period between 2001 and 2004, we have seen that foreign born students and foreign born adults fair worse, both at school and in the labour force than Swedish born. There are a number of new initiatives in 2006 and 2007 that point to new implementation schemes to gain the objective of preventing poverty and social exclusion. The indicators for reaching NAPs which can be compared are of low-income earners differentiated by age and sex, household types etc. The only other measure for indicators presented in the appendix of Report 2005 is of poorly educated people and those unemployed at least two years in 2003.

Agenda for culture 2003-2006

The agenda for culture taken by the Swedish government in January 2003 (referred to here as Agenda 2003) can be seen as a companion to the National Action Plans. As the Ministry of Culture proclaims when introducing Agenda 2003 “With this cultural policy agenda for 2003-2006, we are entering into a period in which the majority of proposals, reforms and political efforts will have a very clear direction: to reach as many as possible of those people who today, for different reasons, are excluded” (p.3).

Agenda 2003 stated that it was with accessibility that culture, embracing a wide heritage is an “educational institutions in the service of the public” and as such should be free of charge. This would encompass museums as obviously as it did libraries. One of the goals of the agenda for culture was that

- From 2004, the majority of national museums in Sweden will have free entry.

The logic of free entry to museums was explained simply as an important breakthrough in the field of cultural heritage. It was hoped that such a reform as free access to museums would “lead to a broad discussion not only about the right to meet, extend one’s knowledge of and make use of cultural heritage, but also about our need for non-commercial public spaces (Agenda 2003, p.5).

Accompanying the reform to free access for everyone to a common cultural heritage, Agenda 2003 specified the principle of “children first.” The agenda points out that access to culture shows a class specific trait, where some individuals are excluded already as young children. Agenda 2003 specified that Sweden wanted:

- To promote the further improvement of activities in municipal and cultural schools and to stimulate a broad recruitment of pupils.
- To improve the ability of pre-schools to meet the cultural requirements of the curriculum.

- To promote both fiction and non-fiction literature in the classroom and to promote more school libraries of good quality
- To give children and young people special priority in connection with the free entry reform at museums.
- To initiate a review of the situation of children's culture in Sweden in 2003.

Democracy at the work place in Sweden always invoked cries for more integration of culture into working life. The National Public Health Committee found that participation in cultural activities is also good for one's health. Agenda 2003 also wanted:

- To promote culture once again as a natural element of work places and working life
- To analyze the consequences of equal conditions for physical activity/exercise and culture in working life
- To integrate culture into the rehabilitation of people who are on long-term sick leave and other employees.

The role of artists-/cultural workers according to Agenda 2003 needs a special effort. The committee on social insurance suggested a Theatre Alliance that would provide employment alternatives for cultural workers. The Agenda specified that during the period of 2003-2006, the government wanted:

- To discuss and test the role of artists in contexts other than those traditionally encompassed by culture life together with cultural workers, artists organizations and employers. Introducing professional artists and cultural workers to work in schools, at work places or in completely untested environments is also a means of making culture available to more people.

Agenda 2003 recognizing the Swedish state as a country characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity acknowledges that the government wanted:

- To make 2006 the "year of Multi-culturalism"
- To increase knowledge about artists/cultural workers who were born abroad and
- To commission the Multicultural Centre to study and analyze the way in which cultural institutions and other actors have achieved diversity policy objectives.

Furthermore, the Agenda 2003 aimed at strengthening the conditions for quality work in landscape and architectural design so as to promote international exchange and cooperation, increase the dissemination of culture, encourage new ideas and contribute to artistic development.

Common lines of development

Although the National Action Plans of Sweden developed in 2001 and 2003 to fight poverty and social exclusion under the European Union's Open method of Coordination (OMC) does not specifically focus on the role of culture in bringing about social

inclusion, the passing of the Swedish Agenda on Culture (Agenda 2003) clearly ties together the role of culture in fighting social exclusion. Sweden has established a long tradition within official cultural policy. Since 1974, the official policy concentrated on the political distribution aspects of culture, demographically, socially and geographically. In 1996 the Swedish parliament accepted a national goal for cultural policy in Sweden that it would “work for cultural equality so that everyone would have the possibility to participate in cultural life and cultural experiences to further their own creativity.”

The Cultural Council (Kulturrådet) has since 1983 regularly recorded the cultural habits of the Swedish population through a series of Cultural Indicators which would “take the temperature” of cultural life in Sweden. The latest report was taken in 2002. The report from 2000 was found alarming and pointed to the fact that the 1990s was a period of cutbacks in cultural events in Sweden because of the economic recession of 1990s. Despite the years of cutbacks, statistics showed that during this period the Swedish population's interest for culture increased. The interest for culture attested to the fact that culture is a strong political and social power. But the statistics from the 2000 study showed troubling signs that pointed towards social exclusion. Reading among children and among blue-collar workers had decreased. Museum visit also showed a class difference. Concerning reading, the workers union (LO) pointed out that in the 2000 study it was possible to see the beginning of a class and gender profile in the cultural habits of the Swedish population. Although the trend in the 1990s of children reading less continued into the 2000's, children in families with low incomes were even more affected. It also showed that while men turned their backs on cultural events, women increased their participation. This tendency continued. In the study from 2002, the majority of cultural events investigated were attended by those with higher education. The only exceptions were meetings of clubs, religious events and singing in a choir.

Agenda 2003 is an attempt to establish national action plans in cultural life so as to increase integration. A comparison of Report 2005 and Agenda 2003 shows similar emphasis on:

- Children
- School
- Work

In all these areas, there is a strong rhetoric for strengthening integration and improving access and meeting places. Equality as a basic value is important and continually invoked as the value which defines social inclusion and which with democracy is the basis of the Swedish society. As we have seen in this summary, specific operationalized goals exist concerning the use of financial assistance, outcome of compulsory education, decreasing unemployment, raising lower incomes, increasing free access to museums and extending home language access and free pre-school. In some areas, specific programs are charged with reaching the goals. In other areas, resources are made available to local and regional authorities to create specific programs to best deal with local situations.

Statistics gathered for *The Cultural Thermometer* are, as was mentioned for statistics on national action plans, not, on principle, kept on ethnic minorities but do exist in some areas in the wide category of distinguishing between foreign-born and Swedish-born. This admirable principle in Sweden of not recording individuals in terms of their ethnic origins, but working for the inclusion of all living in Sweden as equal, makes it difficult for us to examine policies which might counteract exclusion at a general level but might not be effective at a micro-level for certain ethnic minorities. To counteract this we have included a chapter (Chapter 7) in this report that deals with responses in focus group interviews from stakeholders regarding ethnic minority groups. We have also included a brief analysis of relevant media debates.

II: SWEDEN TODAY: AN EXCURSION INTO THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

July 2006, over one million one hundred and sixty thousand adults in Sweden between 18 and 64 were unemployed or under-employed. 246,000 were openly unemployed. These represent Sweden's formal statistic of the unemployed. In addition, 143 000 were in government work programs, 220,000 were on long-term sick leaves or on early disability pensions and said they could work given the right job; 196,000 were latent unemployed, that is persons that wanted to work but did not actively engage in searching for a job plus students that wanted to work were actively applying for jobs; 94,000 were hourly employees who were searching for jobs and 252,000 were part-time unemployed who applied for jobs or wanted to work more. This is over 20% of the Swedish population between 18 and 64 who in some way wanted more from the job market than their current situation provided. This overview of the situation today serves as a good background to understanding both Sweden's national action plans (NAPs) regarding social exclusion and Agenda 2003.

There are a number of concepts that began to circulate during the 1990s and attempted to describe the effect on individuals on changes in the labour market. Concepts such as "weak", "vulnerable", "marginalized" or "excluded" are all concepts that have been used in different contexts to describe a process of no longer participating in a manner that perhaps earlier was considered normal and natural.

Within Sweden, full employment has traditionally been considered an accepted societal goal during modern times. The transition in the beginning of the 1990s to a societal goal of price stability and low inflation even at the cost of full employment (employment-equilibrium thesis) had the negative consequence of creating a group of individuals no longer competitive within the labour market. More and more individuals found themselves unemployed or out of the labour market. The concept of "social exclusion" or "marginalization" therefore had an empirical reference in the status of being unemployed. Of course, the situation of being unemployed also has a time dimension. In a well functioning labour market there is always a degree of unemployment in connection with changes of job, entry into the labour force, cyclical work etc.

Without too much of a diversion, the assessment of Sweden's method of working with social exclusion must be seen within a theoretical framework that places the individual and the social structure of his society together. After all, it is usually the individual's accommodation to a changed structure that accounts for how we use concepts such as social exclusion.

Göran Persson, Sweden's prime minister, said in an interview with Swedish National Radio on New Year's day 2000 that the primary task for the government was to bring down open unemployment from 5% to the promised 4%. In order to do this, Persson meant that Sweden needed economic growth similar to that of 1999, about 2%, which according to Persson would produce 60,000 to 70,000 new jobs. In the following discussion on the reduction of unemployment Persson added an exception:

“And we need to find measures for people who despite positive economic growth do not find a job. These are often the long-term unemployed, people that are getting up in age and people that live in those parts of Sweden that are no experiencing economic growth.”

Persson talked about *measures* for people that don't find a *job*. He also defines a circle of people that might have a tough time finding a job and in the need of assistance “measures.” In fact, we do see that these ideas influenced and are well represented in the NAPs adopted by Sweden in 2001 and 2003 regarding social exclusion. The question remains, however, if an individual is weak or vulnerable because he belongs to a group that risks being the object of governmental measures or programs. Or is an individual weak or vulnerable because he belongs to the group that was employed?

In an interview in a national Swedish daily newspaper (Dagens Nyheter) in the beginning of the year 2000 the Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells talked about the development of society. He talked about the flexibility within the world economy that makes it impossible to avoid an economic crisis and he names a serious problem.

“The enormous growth assumes that we can trim our production systems to the degree that all dynamic parts are integrated. At the same time two thirds of the planets populations are excluded. That is how many people according to my calculations are economically superfluous in today's world”¹

Castells means that in today's globalized world, productions systems create exclusion for two-thirds of the world's population. These people are at risk of being excluded or marginalized in relation to a system of production.

Perssons and Castells, a prime minister and a social scientist, are talking about the same thing but emphasize different aspects. Persson implies that the production system is not sufficient to produce jobs for everyone. This is a shortcoming that can be compensated

¹ Of course, in the continuation of the interview Castells did say, “If we are not successful in reprogramming our system so that we can integrate other values and interests than the economic, we will experience a very violent reaction.”

for by instituting measures for those without a job. Castells means that many will be excluded when a network society is formed according to principles to maximize economic growth and that this system is not sustainable. Both acknowledge the concept of exclusion. Social exclusion is a process, a process of definition of both social inclusion and social exclusion. Castells (see footnote 1) means that values other than economics must be built into a social structure. Agenda 2003 states that culture “cannot be forced to live under market conditions.”

In the Swedish society, theories and programs for developing tools of social inclusion are based on a history of a highly developed welfare state with organizing principles such as equality, justice and security. Organizing principles, however, within the economic sphere of the market and working life have changed in a dramatic way. In Sweden, as in other developed countries (sometimes referred to as “first” nations) we have witnessed increased competency demands on workers, fewer jobs, minimal new employment and an increase in temporary and project employment. Job security legislation has been watered-down and a just-in-time mentality has put its mark on the labour market.

It is now time to ask other type of questions. Are equality, social justice and security unobtainable goals? Can we build a theory about a society undergoing social change, where a survival of the economic system seems to imply a necessary setback for basic societal integration mechanisms?

These questions are highly relevance as we look at the integrative programs suggested by Agenda 2003, which are based on value of culture as integrative mechanism and look at the extensive programs designed to alleviate poverty and combat exclusion as a response to a changing labour market.

Theories focusing on the development of working life and individuals’ reactions have shown that we can now began to see what relationships within working life will produce a new type of inequality and which individuals will become vulnerable to exclusion:

- 1) Individuals in work with high demands and few decision-making possibilities who moreover lack social and economic basic security; and
- 2) Individuals in work without the possibility to develop their competency and social work situation so that work is not seen as having a meaning or purpose other than economic survival.

In the Swedish society, we have already experienced during the late 1990s and early 2000s two concrete forms of this exclusion: the long-term unemployed and the long-term sick/early pensioned. We can also see the societal reactions to this type of exclusion within the NAPs, programs to increase competency among the long-term unemployed and programs designed to improve levels of competency in the compulsory educational system. We also have seen development of occupational rehabilitation programs for the long-term ill. Moreover, in Agenda 2003 we have seen a goal to bring culture into the work place, to increase reading among blue-collar workers, and to open up cultural institutions as meeting places.

A change in the definition of the vulnerable

On the 26th of March 2006 at a press conference, the Swedish Minister of Integration, Jens Orback presented the government's new program for a stronger and more effective integration policy. This is a ten-point program described as the biggest individual investment in integration in the history of Sweden. The program is directed towards, school, education, individuals on financial assistance and development in segregated areas to fight discrimination. Since just these areas have been part of the measures instituted both in the NAPs and the Agenda 2003, one can draw the conclusion that the earlier and on-going programs are not sufficient to expand social inclusion for the foreign born. We will return to this in chapter six. At this point we want to take-up the background for this new program as it is explained in the press release and relate it to the statement made by the Prime Minister on New Year's Day 2000.

The press release point out that the background to the program is to be found in the economic backlash from the first half of the 1990s in Sweden. The backlash meant that 100 000 employees were forced to leave their jobs. The description of those most affected by this backlash changes somewhat from the group defined in 2000 by Mr. Persson. The group is now defined as those that came into the labour market late, "not the least, the foreign born." The press release goes on to state that at the same time Sweden took in a large number of refugees from the war ravaged former Yugoslavia. By using the point of highest unemployment, 1995, the Minister of Integration is able to talk about an improving situation where improvement in employment has increased for the foreign born as well as the Swedish born. But he concludes by saying that rates of employment are still unacceptable large between the two groups and something has to be done. Mr. Persson defined those unable to find a job as the long-term unemployed, the elderly and those living in areas without economic growth. In 2000 there was no mention of the foreign born, yet six years later we are informed that this group was the group most affected.

This document from 2006 is one of the first directed towards ethnic minorities, the foreign born, and can be seen as a change in definition of those excluded from the labour market or a recognition that the excluded are often the foreign born but that this was not previously formally acknowledged. The reasons for this unique investment in integration is, according to the Minister of Integration

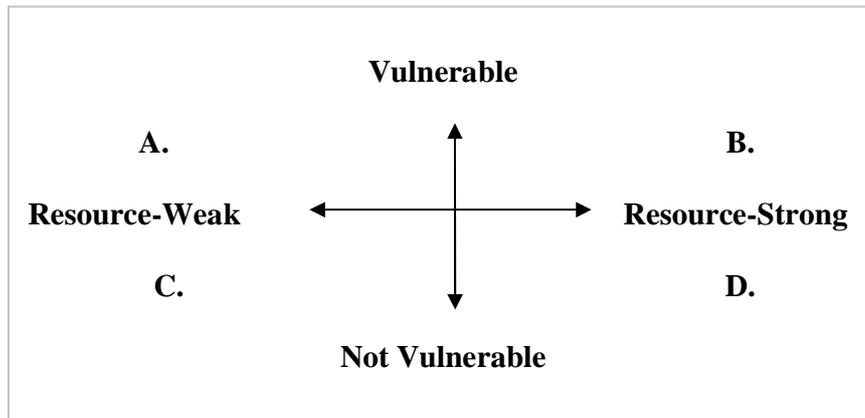
- so that everyone has the same rights, obligations and possibilities despite ethnic background;
- so that the level of employment among the foreign born becomes closer to the level of the Swedish born;
- so that schools with the biggest challenges can produce more students with full competency after compulsory education; and
- so that the negative consequences of segregations in the most vulnerable areas of towns are broken

A model and a conceptual clarification from the Swedish Case

In order to bring a little terminological order to the discussion of social exclusion and the Swedish case, we would like to differentiate between the concept *weak* and the concept of *vulnerable*. Weak in this concept can be thought of as resource-weak, That is, an individual who is resource weak cannot cope with sudden, extensive or dramatic changes to the worse in his/her life situation. Vulnerable is the individual that runs a greater risk for being the object of such changes. The person that is resource weak is thus also in some way vulnerable, but the individual that is vulnerable is not necessarily resource-weak.

If resource-weak individuals are categorized into resource-weak groups, this is because those resources, in this context – social and economic security, human capital and self-confidence – are distributed in a manner that is systematically unequal. Unequal distribution in resources follows often class variables but we see that they also follow both gender and ethnicity variables; individual relationships often have a structural background. But vulnerability is also a more immediate consequence of structural relationships, is systematic, so that vulnerable individuals form groups. In this report we see that the group formed is formed on the structural variable as being “foreign born.”

With help of a model the risk for social exclusion can easily be illustrated.



The risk is highest for those in position “A”, those individuals or groups that are both Resource-Weak and Vulnerable to be socially excluded (“A”), and the risk is least for those in “D”, those individuals and groups that are both Resource-Strong and Not Vulnerable. This is of course nothing new. What is new is that the advanced welfare state has to revised its analysis of social exclusion and ethnic minorities as well as how changes in the social security system affects more individuals usually those that were in a protected society position as being qualified as “resource-weak”.

It is important to understand that situations such as unemployment, sickness or being foreign born are not excluding. On the contrary, they should be seen as normal situations

in today's society. They are seen as excluding only when they become "permanent". That is, exclusion of the individual takes place when the situation becomes more or less permanent. In the case of the unemployed and the ill this is when they become long-term unemployed and long-term ill. In the case of the foreign born, it is when integration breaks down and the individual/group is a life-long victim of structural discrimination.

A resource-strong individual/group can still be vulnerable, position "B", but the risks of being excluded are less than those in position "A". One can say that the measures to reach the national action goals are designed to make a person "non-vulnerable" by increasing his chances on the job market and thus increasing his economic well-being. The Agenda 2003 program is designed to increase an individual or groups resources to a resource stark position and thus decrease the risk for social exclusion.

The new theoretical development in social policy research and sketched above must focus on the collective values importance as protection against exclusion. Of course, the program of general social policy is important but by reference to the model we see that it also depends on networks, the development of human capital and that this is something helped by cultural policy, the building of meeting places and the development of self.

III: EDUCATION AS A CULTURAL INDICATOR IN SWEDEN

Education is an important area for overcoming poverty and social exclusion and is well represented both in the Swedish government National Action Plans from 2001 and 2003 and in Agenda 2003 for the promulgation of culture for everyone. Educational policy and cultural indicators are well developed in Sweden. As has been previously stated, the Swedish strategy to avoid unemployment risks associated with adjustment to both globalized markets and production systems, embarked on a program called "Life-long Learning," in the year 2000. The principle was simple. Every member of the Swedish society would continually over his/her life span return to the classroom to brush up old skills and to learn new so as to be competitive in an international and globalized labour market.

A radical and noble goal for an entire society also meant a multi-cultural approach to learning. Sweden has residents from over 200 different countries. According to the latest census, 2002, 11.8% of the Swedish population is foreign born and an additional 9.6% of the population born in Sweden has at least one parent that is foreign born. This, of course, means the integration of a multi-ethnic approach to learning that encompasses equal opportunity for all individuals independent of ethnic background.

This resulted in a series of goals of education for youths and for adults with ethnic minority backgrounds. The primary stated educational goal for children (0-19 years of age) is:

- access and participation in native language classes,

- in Swedish language lectures in both pre-school and compulsory schools, and upon leaving compulsory school
- meet the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school.

The goal for adult education (>20 years old) is access and participation in:

- Swedish language courses for immigrants and other Swedish language courses at the Community Adult School,
- Qualified occupational education where skills for entry into the labour market are lacking
- Adequate schooling to qualify for tertiary education.

These goals, both for children and adults, show a promise of inclusion and a well-developed policy to integrate ethnic minorities into society. As such, the goals touch upon sharing cultures through respect for native languages as well as responsibility for all to communicate in one shared language. In this way both respect for the individual background/heritage and a shared responsibility for maintaining and sharing a common culture are integrated.

In this chapter we will first present what we identify as educational cultural indicators and relevant NAPs for the following areas:

- pre-school (nursery schools), <7 years of age;
- compulsory school (7- 16 years of age) and upper secondary school (17 - 19 years of age);
- adult education , >20 years of age.

We will then present the actual access/participation in each area and the results of competency obtained where relevant. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the ambitions of the government surrounding education, the results obtained and the use of educational programs as a cultural indicator.

The goals

Pre-school has a stated goal regarding those children with another native language than Swedish. Each child shall receive the necessary support to develop his competency to communicate both in Swedish and in his native language (NAP 2005:22).

Compulsory schools and upper secondary schools should provide all students with the knowledge they need to be equipped for the future and to live both a social and culturally rich life. In addition, a primary goal for compulsory schools is that every student meets the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school. Moreover, in those areas of Sweden known to be highly socially and ethnically segregated, the number of students that fail to meet requirements for applying to upper

secondary schools are over-represented. A new agency the Swedish Agency for School Improvement was founded with the specific task to improve the situation in pre-schools in segregated areas (NAP 2003:34; NAP 2005:22). Classes in children's native languages are offered to students in compulsory schools who have another language in their home environment (foreign born) than Swedish. The goal was to increase the cognitive capacity of children living within a non-Swedish speaking environment for learning Swedish and for spreading a cultural heritage among children for the culture embraced by their native language.

Adult education's primary goal for ethnic minorities is to increase the skills of immigrants in relationship to the national labour market. Knowledge of the Swedish language is seen as essential to meet this goal. It is assumed that a good knowledge of the Swedish language makes it easier to gain employment in the Swedish labour market and thus increase the economic independence. Therefore, a national educational goal is to provide a flexible Swedish language education for the foreign born which eases a future connection with working life (NAP 2003:33).

Swedish for immigrants (Sfi) is an independent educational form for adults and provides education in the Swedish language and the Swedish society. It is available to those who do not have Swedish as a native language. The exact goal of Sfi is to develop and integrate and individual in the educational process and to gain the capacity to "reflect over sameness and differences between one's own cultural experiences and the culture the student meets in Sweden" and thereby, "contribute to understanding of different cultures and to intercultural competency." (SKOLFS 2002:19, p.3).

Situation for the youngest: pre-school

Participation

In 2001 the number of pre-school children with a native language other than Swedish was about 12%. During the last five years, the number of pre-school students identified as in need of special support has increased. The increase is most notable in the large metropolitan areas where the number of immigrant children is high.

During the last five years the number of pre-school children identified as in need and qualifying for special support in their native language, increased. At the same time, the number of pre-school children actually receiving activities (lessons in their native language) decreased. Table A below shows this decrease:

Table A. Percent of pre-school children receiving needed activities in their native language per year.

Year	Percent	
1990	60	
1994	20	
2001	13	
2005	14	N = 7,898

Access

One of the reasons for this decrease in help received since 1990 is attributed to the change in governing schools where responsibility shifted from the state to the local authorities in 1990. Sweden had had one of the most centralized school systems in Europe prior to 1990. In a relatively short time period it became one of Europe's most decentralized (Lundahl 2003). Decentralisation of authority over school programs and policies appeared quite rapidly in pre-school politics. In 2005 there were 55,749 children enrolled in pre-school with a native language other than Swedish. Of these children only 7,898 or 14.2% received the support in their native language they were entitled to receive.

Pre-school is a voluntary pedagogical activity for children between 1 and 5 years of age and whose parents work, study or are unemployed or on parental leave and whose children have an own need for pre-school. Since 1 January 2003, all children have a right to 525 fee-free hours per year in pre-school the year that they reach four years of age. This period is called the "Common pre-school." This reform (the Common pre-school) was inaugurated in 1998 and also meant that the Swedish pre-school became the first step in the educational system for children. As a part of a national education system, the Common pre-school was regulated through an Educational Plan 1998 for pre-school. The first Educational plan is a formal regulation that binds pre-schools and the local authority that organizes them, to follow the directives in the plan. It is, in fact, a remaining steering instrument for the centralized government.

A loophole in pre-school included a stipulation prior to 2002 that children to a parent who was not working or who was home because of a parental leave were not admitted to pre-school. Since a parent was at home, the argument was that the child was not in need of pre-school. This was changed in 2002. Since then, the local authority in Sweden has been obligated to offer pre-school to children whose parents are unemployed or on parental leave at least three hours per day or 15 hours per week. Since a disproportionate amount of foreign born parents are unemployed, previous to 2002, their children were not allowed to be in pre-school and thus not exposed to special support in their native language.

Financing of pre-school services is a local community responsibility. Charges to parents are regulated according to their income up until the child reaches four years of age where the fee-free hours are set into play. In 2002, the government passed legislation limiting the amount of fees; the local community authority could charge parents for pre-school services. The decrease in revenue for the local authorities was compensated in part by an increase in funding by the national government. However, since the ceiling on charges was invoked, pre-school children groups have increased in size and the number of employees per group of children has been reduced (SFS 2001:160).

Results

The decrease of home-language activities in the pre-schools started before the ceiling on fees was passed. Thus, although, home language activities in pre-schools are a national

goal, when costs were transferred to local authorities programs were substantially cut. This indicates that local authorities do not see this activity as a priority.

The first Educational Plan for pre-schools created the conditions for an equal pre-school with high quality in all of Sweden's local counties. The Educational Plan states the demands the state has on the activity in question but also states what demands children and parents can have *visa vi* the pre-school. According to NAP (2005:22), Pre-schools should strive to meet every child with another native language other than Swedish with support to develop his capacity to communicate just as well in Swedish as in his native language.

We can see by Table A, that the local authorities have not fulfilled their part of the Educational Plan. As of today, far fewer children with another native language receive support than was the cases in 1990.

Situation for children and youth in Compulsory schools

Participation

Participation is obligatory for all children who are Swedish residents in Compulsory schools. Compulsory schools are for nine years and the child is usually between the ages of 7 and 16 while attending school. Participation in home language lessons is voluntary but in the 2005/2006 school year only 54 % of entitled children chose to participate (see below).

Access

Immigration policy in 1968 articulated the rights of immigrants to the same welfare political system as those enjoyed by the Swedish born population. This policy declaration led to the development of native language classes in compulsory school. During the 1970s research results from language experts as well as from educators advanced the idea that a child's psychological and pedagogical development was dependent on how well they mastered their native language. This is a controversial area with researchers on the one hand claiming that children end-up half competent in two languages (home language and Swedish), and others claiming that without development in a basic language, cognitive capacity would fail to develop. Although, this controversy still blooms up every few years, the Swedish government decided in 1976 on the side of research maintaining the necessity of home language training for the normal development of immigrant children. The 1976 Home Language Reform meant that students in compulsory school for which language other than Swedish was a "living part of their home environment" were entitled to classes in the other language. The argument behind the reform was that knowledge of their native language was vital for both knowledge of a new language and was also of importance for a child's access to his parents cultural inheritance (SOU 2004:33, p.11).

The reform is voluntary. That is lessons in a native language are offered within the Swedish school system for students and it is up to the parent to decide whether or not the

child will participate. Although discussions were held about making native language classes obligatory, a voluntary line was accepted. Instead the school authorities instituted an information campaign to convince parents of the importance of native language classes.

Just as we saw in pre-school, transferring responsibility for education to the local authorities resulted in decreased funding for home-language lessons. The consequences of decreases resources to home language in the schools, according to researchers, was to send a message to parents and students that home-language was not a priority for politicians. Home language went from something that in principle was seen more as a right and an obligation for students and their parents, became something that was an uninteresting alternative choice within the educational system. (Within the educational system there is usually a range of voluntary courses that are presented all students. Home language became seen as one of more unattractive of these courses) (SOU 2004:33). What actually happened was that students and their parents were shifting attention from the benefits of learning a native language to learning the Swedish language even though the scientific position concerning the importance of cognitive advantage of increased competency in the native language had not changed.

In the 2005/06 school year 14.8% of compulsory students were entitled to lessons in their native language (147 415 students). Only a little more than half of those entitled to native language classes participated in these classes. At the same time many of these students (46%) elected to study Swedish as a second language instead (Skolverket 2006:277). Table B below shows how the entitled students were distributed among the different home languages.

Table B; Number of students entitled to home language training, per home language.

Albanian	7 601 (0.8%)
Arabic	24 935 (2.5%)
Croatian/Bosnian/Serbian	15 034 (1.5%)
English	7 411 (0.7%)
Finnish	9 807 (1.0%)
Kurdish	5 143 (0.5%)
Persian	6 685 (0.7%)
Somalian	5 052 (0.5%)
Spanish	9 796 (1.0%)
Turkish	5 363 (0.5%)
Other Languages (123)	50 194 (5.0%)
<i>Total number of entitled students compulsory school</i>	<i>147 415 (14.8%)</i>

Source: Skolverket 2006:277

As we can see from Table B above, 123 different languages account for about one third of all children entitled to home language lessons. It is often economically not feasible for small school districts to find language competent teachers in all these languages. Since these students are disbursed throughout school districts in Sweden, home language classes even in those bigger language groups would often have only one or a few students. Home language classes also had to be geared to the age level of the student. That is, students aged seven and those aged sixteen had different language needs. Home language also was entrusted with spreading cultural heritage. This also makes it difficult to have a lesson for students within the same language group but of different ages.

Results

As we have seen from the description above, home language lessons are being squeezed out of compulsory education although in 2005/2006 about 50% of those entitled to home language lessons voluntarily participated in them. Around the other 50% of entitled students elected to study Swedish as a second language, thus building their competency in Swedish. Researchers tell us that this trend, to elect Swedish instead of their native language, has been going on since the school system was de-centralized. We have no statistics concerning the change in choice to confirm this but have no reason to doubt that this has been a trend. The sheer logistics of supplying access to over 120 different home languages would be an economic burden on any school district. Moreover, we do not know which language groups have opted-out of home language lessons. And we have no statistics comparing the school results of those participating in home language lessons and those that elect Swedish as a second language.

We do have statistics about how well students meet the basic goal of compulsory education, that is, competency to enroll in a national program at the upper secondary level. These figures (See Table C below) are alarming.

Table C; Percentage of girls and boys who, after leaving compulsory school, meet the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school.

	1998/99	2002/03	2004/5
Swedish background			
Girls	93.3%	92.3%	92.5%
Boys	90.2%	90.2%	89.6%
Foreign background			
Girls	81.7%	80.1%	79.3%
Boys	76.7%	77.4%	75.7%

Source: (NAP 2005 & Skolverket 2006:274).

The difference between Swedish children and youth and those with a foreign background is significant and must be interpreted as a failure for the Swedish school system to meet its goal of an equal school system and its goal to prepare students for upper secondary education. Where as less than one in ten youth a Swedish background are ineligible for admission to a national program upon completing compulsory school, the number for students with a foreign background is an astounding almost one in four. The difference in students with a Swedish

background and those with a foreign background has even increased in the last five years. The increase for boys has increased from 13.5 percentage points to 13.9. But the increase for girls from foreign backgrounds has increased greatly from 11.6 percentage points in 1998/99 to 13.2 in 2004/05. This is an increase in difference between girls with Swedish backgrounds and those with foreign backgrounds of 22.4%.

Even if a proportion of this difference between those with foreign and Swedish backgrounds can be explained by socio-economic factors, the difference still remains. More students with foreign backgrounds come from homes where parents have a shorter education and a weaker connection to the labour market than those students with a Swedish background. But that difference remains when these factors are controlled shows that difference in background produces different results for different groups (Skolverket 15-12-2005).

This problem is being addressed in part by the Ten Point Program announced by the Minister of Integration (see above). 100 schools with a high proportion of students who do not reach the educational goals set for the compulsory education will receive extra resources. During a four year period, starting in the fall 2006, 1000 resource persons hopefully with an academic education and special language skills are to be employed within the 100 schools with the task to give support during school hours. These resource persons will also help with homework and with contact between school and home. This is a very ambitious program but we will not see the results for a number of years. Why the program only addresses part of the problem is because it is geared to students who arrive to Sweden late in their educational path and are seen as needing special help to complete the educational requirements of compulsory schooling. However, the results after controlling for socio-economic factors in comparing students with Swedish backgrounds and those with foreign backgrounds, as pointed out above, remain. This suggests that the results are endemic to the system of education and not to the situation of particular students. Having said that, it should be mentioned that results from an analysis done by the Ministry of Integration in 2004 that research shows that for those minority students who have been in Sweden for only four years or less, showed that only 40% graduated from compulsory school with adequate admission requirements to upper secondary education. Those students that had been in Sweden between five and eight years had, however, over a five year period a decrease in the percent reaching the educational requirements to continue school.

Situation for young adults in upper secondary school

The goal for upper secondary school for minority students is based on equality and is simply that the number of students with a foreign background leaving school with a complete final exam from a national or specially devised program should successively increase.

Participation

The Swedish upper secondary school is a three year program. The usual age for youth to start upper secondary school, which is non-compulsive, is 16 years of age with completion the year they fill 18 years of age. In 2003, 15% of 19 year olds with a Swedish background were in upper secondary school. The percentage of 19 year olds with a foreign background was 32%.

The difference was primarily because of those that immigrated to Sweden were not able to complete their compulsory school at age 16.

Approximately 90% of youths with a Swedish background continue on to upper secondary school. Of these 78% graduated from upper secondary school within four years with a complete degree. The percent of foreign-born students that graduate within four years with a complete degree was 65%.

Access

We can also see that the age of the minority student when he immigrated to Sweden influences his age at upper secondary school. We also see that for those that immigrated at the age of 16-20, only 60% were in upper secondary school, whereas those youths who were born in Sweden but had at least one parent born in another country, participated in upper secondary school with little difference from those with a Swedish background.

Result

The indicator for reaching the goal for upper secondary school is the percent of women and men with foreign background compared with the percent of women and men with Swedish background, who after four years leave upper secondary school with a complete diploma in a national or individual program.

Table D; Percent women and men with foreign background compared with percent of women and men with Swedish background who, after four years, leave upper secondary school with a complete diploma.

	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05
Total			
Total	79.4%	81.0%	81.9%
Women	82.1%	83.1%	84.0%
Men	76.7%	78.9%	79.8%
Swedish background			
Total	80.5%	82.2%	83.0%
Women	82.9%	84.4%	84.8%
Men	78.1%	80.4%	81.2%
Foreign background			
Total	71.9%	72.9%	74.7%
Women	77.0%	77.0%	78.0%
Men	66.8%	68.8%	70.8%

Source: Skolverkets database.

As we can see, results from those graduating from upper secondary school have gradually improved for all groups. One can see that there is still a gap between those graduating coming from a Swedish background and those with a foreign background. This gap has narrowed between men and increased slightly between women. In general, we can say that there is very little change. The change that is shown is minimal and occurs slowly.

Situation for adult education

The national goal for all adult education in Sweden was taken in 2002 with the introduction of learning-for-life. The goal was intended to raise the pedagogical and methodological level of flexible learning at all institutes involved with adult education at local levels and to provide local authorities with courses they could not themselves administer.

The Swedish educational system for adults includes:

- Swedish language classes for immigrants who reside in Sweden. The goal is to give immigrants knowledge of both the Swedish language and the Swedish society including Swedish laws, norms and values;
- Qualified occupational education for those that come directly from upper secondary school or those that need more education within an occupational trade;
- Upper secondary education for those that are older than 20 years of age

Because these three types of education differ and are extensively used by the foreign born, each will be treated separately in this section.

Swedish for immigrants: Participation

Swedish for immigrants (Sfi) is a basic education in the Swedish language and the Swedish society for those that do not have Swedish as their native language. It is a part of the Swedish educational system.

Participation in Sfi has been increasing over the last eight years. We do not have a descriptive base that allows us to say how many entitled to education in the Swedish language and social organization avail their selves of this opportunity. Some estimates conclude that roughly 50% of those entitled to education in the Swedish language actually enrol in Sfi. In any particular year, the numbers of immigrants that are enrolled in Sfi include both new students and continuing students (See Table E below).

Table E; Number of Participants enrolled in Sfi for the school years 1997/98 through 2004/05

Year	Total	Of Which New	Of Which Women	Of Which Men
1997/98	35 746	-	-	-
1998/99	34 701	-	-	-
1999/2000	34 115	-	-	-
2000/01	37 322	-	-	-
2001/02	39 978	18 457	-	-
2002/03	43 851	21 023	11 630	9 393
2003/04	47 604	21 155	12 306	8 849
2004/05	48 006	19 781	11 644	8 137

Source: Sweden's official statistics.

A number of those participating in Sfi drop out of the course during the first year. This number has, however decreased. In 2001 almost every other person enrolled in Sfi left before completing the course. In 2004/05 26% of those enrolled left the course before completing it. The biggest native language group enrolled in Sfi is currently Arabic, spoken by 18% of those enrolled in Sfi 2004/05. Spanish and Thai are the next biggest native language groups, each 6% of those enrolled followed by English, Serbo-Croatian, Kurdish and Somalian with about 5% each. The reason for being in Sweden also varied between those enrolled in Sfi. Of those immigrants enrolled in Sfi 2004/05, 22% were refugees. The remaining 78% were immigrants on other grounds of immigration. 61% of those taking Sfi in 2004/2005 had over 10 years of education in their own country, while 22% had only six years or less. Those participating in Swedish for immigrants were of all ages. The median age was 33 but 2.5% of those enrolled 2004/2005 were 19 years of age or younger while 2.7% were over 55 years of age. As we can see, the mix of those participating in Swedish language lessons was varied both in age, ethnicity, gender, education, culture and most likely class.

Access

Those that have a right to free education in Swedish for immigrants are those that

- are adults (have reached 16 years of age by the 1st of July of the actual year)
- do not have basic knowledge of the Swedish language
- are registered within a certain Swedish county as residents

The local Swedish county has an obligation according to law to provide Sfi to those that live within the county and qualify for the education. When the county receives an application for a person with right to education in Swedish (Sfi), the course must begin within three months. The local county is also obligated by law to provide education with a basic level of quality.

The type of Swedish language that is offered is governed by a national plan, which allows variation depending on the particular needs of the participants. The basic principle in formulating the course is the needs of the participant and flexibility. On the other hand, Sfi is thought to combine or integrate with educational systems in basic upper secondary schooling, adult education for the mentally retarded, work or other government-supported activities.

This, in fact suggests that the variability in individuals participating in Swedish language courses is not recognized but instead is categorized towards those with little education before immigrating to Sweden. The national School Guidelines point out that participation and the possibility of coming into contact with the majority society should be one's own starting point to consciousness and critical examination of relationships and life in Sweden in a comparative perspective.

In an update of the National School Plan eight years later, the authorities were more straightforward. Now the starting point for Swedish language courses should be the native language of the participant, his competency in other languages, professional experience, educational background and other interests and needs.

This subtle shift towards culture and multiculturalism influenced understanding and a

reformulation of the goals of education in Swedish language for immigrants. A revision of the goal for Sfi was reformulated in 2002 and was as follows:

“The capacity to reflect over differences and similarities between one’s own cultural experiences and the culture a student meets in Sweden is a part of education and contributes to the understanding of different cultures and thus to inter-cultural competency.” (SKOLFS 2002:19, s.3)

The experience of Sweden with a common goal for everyone independent of back ground that was the back bone of modern Swedish development of a welfare state worked well in erasing class differences but not as well in dealing with gender issues or as is shown in questions of ethnicity.

Results

By the 1990s, when immigration to Sweden changed from immigration because of need for more workers to immigration based on global conflicts and globalization, the goals of Swedish language as a necessity for access to the labour market and to assimilation within the Swedish society were changed. Immigrants arrived in Sweden for different reasons and with different traditions. Whereas refugees from South America fled political persecution in the 1970s and thought of Sweden as a temporary safe haven before eventually returning to their country, refugees from current war torn countries do not consider returning as a possibility now or in the future.

Just as when Swedish for immigrants was able to classify immigrants as belong to one or perhaps two different profiles in relationship to Sweden and Swedish culture, the situation changed rapidly. Diversity increased in both the number of native languages represented by immigrants to Sweden. Immigrants arriving from the Middle East brought with them strong differences in religious beliefs. Immigrants from the former communist countries had other political and cultural traditions than those escaping from poverty, starvation and civil war in Somalia. Increased tourism in Thailand also increased immigration from Thailand. Social and cultural backgrounds could not be ignored and Swedish for immigrants was forced to change from being a “bridge into Sweden”, to being a link to a multi-cultural society.

The results of Sfi can be used as an indicator of the success of the program. One indicator is the number of individuals who leave the program. One of the most reliable forms of protest as A. Hirshman has explained is “exit.” In the late 1990s this is exactly what immigrants were doing, exiting the program in astounding numbers of one in two. In fact, a government investigation of the reasons behind this “quit rate” was entitled, “*Who loves Swedish for immigrants?*” in 1997. By 2002 investigations were given a little more promising name, such as “*Swedish for immigrants – bridge or border?*”

However, by 2004/05 only 26% of those enrolled left the program before completion. An analysis of why immigrants left the program showed that we did not know the reasons for leaving the program in 60% of the cases but that 19% left because of a job. The remaining 20% left because of diverse reasons including sickness, another educational program, taking a pause in language training or moving from the area.

The average number of hours per week in the program for individuals enrolled 2004/05 was 3.6 hours/week. Those that completed the program successfully during 2004/05 (22.8%) averaged 4.2 hours/week and those that left the program averaged only 1.9 hours/week. For the 44.8% that continued in the program, lessons averaged 4.3 hours per week. 2% of those enrolled completed the program directly and averaged 1.5 hours of lectures/week. 2% completed the program but did not obtain a passing mark and they averaged 3,6 hours of lessons/week. A small percent of students were thrown out of the program. These were only less than 1% of the participants and partook in 3,3 hours/ week of lectures.

Statistics from those that immigrate to Sweden during 1999 shows that between 1998/99 and 2001/02 about 50% did not participate in Sfi in the immediate years following immigration. Of those that started Sfi in 1999, 35% completed their course satisfactory by 2001.

What we can notice is that there are still quite serious problems with the Swedish for immigrants program. Not all immigrants enter the course and far too many leave the program. Those that complete the program in any given year are about one in four and they are made-up of individuals that complete the course quite rapidly and those that are still continuing the course after the end of a year. The average time per week that the enrollee is in “school” or at lessons is quite low. The constantly changing population of course participants creates a constant dynamic for new method development of those teaching Sfi and a reshuffling of goals and purposes of Sfi.

Adult community education

Adult community education is essentially three-fold. It offers a basic education for adults, a upper secondary education and an extension education for trade-school training for adults. The number of adults attending Adult community education was strongly influenced in 1992-93 by the economic incentives provided by the national government for education of the unemployed and those with insufficient education. The government started a five-year program “The Lyft for Knowledge“ in 1997 and in the first year financed 100,000 educational opportunities in 2000. The financial support to the local communities decreased in the following years, to 94,700 places in 2001, to 70,000 places in 2002 to finally to 47,400 places in 2005 and 45 000 places in 2006. This amounted in 2004, for example to 41% of the total financing for adult community education. National funds were proportioned as 4% to basic education and 96% to upper secondary education for adults.

Participation

80.1% of those that study at adult community educational schools are registered in upper secondary training, 17.7% in basic educational training and only 2.1 in extension courses. The number of students in adult community education in full time equivalents for 2004/05 were 143 600 students (a decrease in almost 2% from 2003/04).

Students in adult community upper secondary schools with foreign backgrounds have increased their proportion of the total student body in the last five years. Students with a foreign background increased from 22.2% of the student body in 2000/01 to 32.9% of the

student body in 2004/05, or one of every three students. Students with a foreign background are generally older than students with a Swedish background. If we look at women and men in the age group 20-24 with a foreign background we can see that those that have been in Sweden between two and five years study at Adult community educational schools they other groups of both students with a foreign background and those with a Swedish background. This same is true for those with a foreign background in the age group 30-34 with a residency in Sweden of between two and five years. The percent of women in Community Adult Education was generally higher for women in the higher age groups than among the younger students. This was true both for those with a foreign background and those with a Swedish background.

Results

Despite the increase in number of students with foreign backgrounds into the Adult Community Educational system, their results in comparison to those with Swedish backgrounds are not very good. The final grades presented below (Table F) are the results upon graduating from the Adult Community Upper Secondary School Program in 2003.

Table F; Final grades 2003 upon graduating from the Adult Community Upper Secondary School Program.

Students	Final grades 2003			
	<i>Failed</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>High pass</i>
Swedish background	9.2%	29.3%	34.5%	27.0%
Non-swedish background	14.2%	41.5%	29.7%	14.6%

Source: Skolverkets database

Some Observations

The cultural indicators we can glean from the educational system are certainly those primarily relating to the programs installed to increase language capacity both in home language for the young and in Swedish language and culture for adults. Although the policy is admirable both home language programs for the young and Swedish language for adults seems to have failed.

For the young, financial costs for local authorities to maintain quality home language programs have been extensive and home language quickly became a low priority. At the compulsory school level, home language is being squeezed out. Learning Swedish language seems to be a problem here as students with foreign backgrounds more often than students with Swedish backgrounds complete compulsory school without reaching state levels of competency to continue on to upper secondary schools.

The magnitude of the varying backgrounds of adults in language classes under the Swedish for immigrant programs has riddled the program with problems. Many leave the program before completing it. The program has rightly changed its goal and has adapted to the individual needs of its students. Yet there seems to be stereotype assumptions baked into the program that hinders it being a program for building a bridge into a multi-cultural society.

The cultural indicators that can be used in this section are the number of students in compulsory schools choosing home language classes versus the costs per student. One other indicator for possible use can be the number of students leaving compulsory school without reaching requirements for upper secondary school admission. The number of adults in Sfi and the number who leave the program without completing the program can be an indicator of a successful/failed cultural policy.

IV. CULTURE, MEETING PLACES, PARTICIPATION: MEDIA AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

Unlike the preceding chapter that focused on policies to avoid social exclusion through education and assimilation to Swedish language, this chapter will focus on the use of mechanism to reach social inclusion through media. Forms of media are important conveyors of culture; they provide meeting places and encourage participation. Yet the policy of immigration in Sweden also stresses freedom of choice, the opportunity to choose to what degree immigrants want to retain their own cultural and linguistic identity, and to what degree they become incorporated into the Swedish cultural identity (Camauër 2005). This chapter gives a brief outline of the development of minority cultural policy and immigration to Sweden before turning to the use of media.

The multiethnic Swedish society – a brief sketch of Sweden’s recent journey towards multi-culturalism²

People from 203 different countries lived in Sweden at the beginning of 2002. The Swedish Bureau of Statistics reports that residents in Sweden, born in other countries represented 11.8% of the total population (2002 = about 1 million). Many times statistics are given for those with foreign background (see Chapter one for definition) this broader definition includes those born in Sweden to one Swedish born and one foreign-born parent. If we use the broader category of foreign background, we find this represents 21.4% of the total Swedish population and if we use the category of foreign background that categorizes a person as having a Swedish background if he is born in Sweden to one Swedish born and one foreign-barn parent, we find that they are 15.2% of the total population. Immigrants living in Sweden at the beginning of the 2000s could be divided into three approximately equally large groups: one-third from other Nordic countries, one-third born in other European countries and one-third in countries from Africa, Asia and South America.

In 1950 immigrants living in Sweden numbered only 200 000. The number increased rapidly during the last half of the 20th century. By the 1960s both indigenous minorities as well as the increasing number of immigrant minorities demanded government support for the preservation of their cultures. A government investigation performed an inquiry into assimilation policies. “The report concluded that the state should not force

² This section follows the work of Leonor Camauër (2005) in her English summary, *En kartläggning. Minoritetsmedier och minoritetsmediepolitik i Sverige*. Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar.

individuals to abandon their language and culture, and emphasized that the interplay between the majority and minority cultures would enrich society as a whole. This report gave Sweden its specific and rather unique minority policy” (Camouër 2002). In 1975 the Swedish Parliament, influenced by the report of their investigation adopted its first minority and immigrant policy. The policy included both new immigrants and native minorities. The official goal for immigrant policies took exception to assimilation policies and adopted a pluralistic attitude in relation to culture and did not differentiate between immigrant and indigenous minorities (Camauër *ibid* p.154).

The adopted policy set-up three goals: equality, freedom of choice and co-operation. The goal of “freedom of choice”, as pointed out above meant that with equal treatment as well as with a goal of “choice” towards degree of desired assimilation, the government had to provide certain services in the form of financial support for groups to develop their own cultural activities.

Camauër details a series of other measures taken in 1975 to realize the national integration goals.

- 1975: a new system for state grants to nationwide immigrant and minority organizations
- 1975: increased funds to libraries for purchasing literature written in minority languages
- 1977: specific press subsidies and support for literature production in languages other than Swedish.

By 1997 new integration policies were adopted. These policies were based on a parliamentary investigation entitled *Sweden, the future and diversity* (1996) Although “equality” had been a part of the 1975 immigrant policy, in 1997 the investigative committee came out very clearly for the principle that *individuals who have immigrated have the same rights and obligations as everyone else living in Sweden*, and that “immigrant policies” be replaced by “general policies.” However, it was recognized that immigrants would need special measures after newly arriving in Sweden during a period of transition. Thus the committee favoured a “divided policy,” what Borevi (2002) called a “new arrival policy” plus an “integration policy for everyone, “based on a general societal policy, which should be changed so as to better take into account the different needs of all groups in society” (*ibid*, p.155).

Although the principle of freedom of choice was embedded in the 1975 immigration policy, there was no special recognition of national minorities. According to Camauër, most scholars agreed that the national minorities had been treated through an assimilation policy, a type of “Swedization.” After the investigative report in 1996, a new policy was introduced to remedy the principle of freedom of choice and the identity of ethnic minorities. This resulted in an overall minority policy first adopted in 1999. At this time, parliament passed a decree recognizing five groups as national minorities: the *Samí*, *Swedish Finns*, *Tornedal Finns*, *Roma* and *Jews*.

According to the proposition preceding the decree, the five groups recognized as national minorities represented part of Sweden's cultural heritage. Thus the state was responsible to give them the support and protection needed to maintain their distinctive character and to keep their languages alive. The policy towards immigrants and minority ethnic groups took over three decades to evolve and actually is aimed at both preserving distinction of language and culture and promoting assimilation. This dual policy is reflected in the relationship between the Swedish state and minority media production. How should resources be divided to maintain cultures and to help assimilation? Should those groups belonging to recognized cultures inherent in Sweden's cultural heritage be treated differently than those groups representing cultural heritage from other parts of the globe. These questions have not been solved but instead are grouped together under the concept of "diversity" which is currently seen as a positive value. Thus a new policy age began in Sweden in 2000. The proposition *National Minorities* takes upon itself the responsibility to support national minorities and minority languages in areas such as education, culture, mass media, eldercare, translation of certain statutes, etc. As positive as this development must appear, Camauër points out facts that we could well anticipate which threaten the entire reform. We will return to these issues in our summary and recommendations for this report. We would, however, like to point out that two distinct and different policies are being developed simultaneously by the Swedish government. Immigration is being approached through policies of assimilation to avoid economic exclusion. National minorities are seen as "Swedish" and should be supported to maintain the Swedish heritage.

Cultural program including the development of the media as a cultural instrument are caught between these two processes. Much of the development of media policy has been to preserve the national heritage and the language of national minorities, or those ethnic groups considered a part of the Swedish national heritage. Because this "dual split" in minority policy has direct consequences in areas of culture especially media culture, we will explain the five "national minorities" before discussing media as a cultural indicator.

National minorities³

Although the Sami constitute the only indigenous Swedish minority according to the UN definition, five groups are today regarded as "national minorities" for policy purposes: the *Sami*, *Tornedal Finns*, *Swedish Finns*, *Roma/Gypsies* and *Jews*.

The *Sami* people have lived in the north of Scandinavia and over the Russian Kola Peninsula since ancient times. The Sami population of Sweden is approximately 20 000 and the number of people estimated to speak the Sámi language is about 9 000 (*The Sami People in Sweden*, 1999). Today the Sami live primarily in traditional areas from Idre in the South north of Sweden up to Kiruna in Norrbotten. In 1950 an all encompassing Sami

³ The brief summary of the five "national minorities" is taken completely from the written work and research of Leonor Camauër (2002) and (2005). Dr. Camauër gathered her research while participating in the project *Minorities and their Media in the EU: A Mapping*. London: London School of Economics. <http://lse.ac.uk/Depts/Media/EMTEL/Minorities/minorities.html>

organization was established and in 1993 a Sami parliament was established (Sametinget) Sami parliament distributes funds from the Swedish state to Sami culture and organizations. In 2004 the Sami parliament passed a new plan for Sami cultural policy in order to strengthen Sami organizations and cultural development and to have a more offensive Sami cultural policy.

The *Tornedal Finns* live today in the north of Sweden. The number of Tornedalers is estimated at about 50 000. Tornedal Finns were pressured to learn Swedish and all school lessons were from the late 1800s until 1970 given only in the Swedish language. The number of individuals who speak Meänkiele are about 50 000 to 60 000. Interest to preserve their own culture and identity has grown intensively during recent times and a national association was formed to preserve the group's language and cultural interests.

Swedish Finns are approximately 450 000 first and second generation living in Sweden. About 50 percent of them use the finish language. The majority of Swedish Finns moved to Sweden after World War II and they live primarily in the Stockholm area and in areas around Gothenburg. In 1957 they built the Swedish-Finnish national organization which work for that all activities that Swedish Finns are involved in are presented in Finnish (social needs, cultural interests, day care, schools etc.) Because the Swedish language is a law protected language in Finland, the Swedish Finns know how important it is for their rights and the consequences of having an own language for solidarity and identity that the language is legally protected as a minority language. Thus the Swedish Finns are the primary minority group against the majority Swedish culture for advancing the rights of the minority.

Roma are a diaspora minority who left India for about 1000 years ago. Today there are between 15 000 and 20 000 Roma in Sweden. These are divided up into the Swedish Roma (2 500), the Finnish Roma (3 200), non-Nordic Roma (10 000). To these groups are also the Travellers, who have been in Sweden as long as the Roma and speak a variation of Romani. This groups is approximately 20 000. Roma are without power and influence in Sweden and often live on the outskirts of society. Language is an essential ingredient for their ethnic identity. In 1973 Roma built the Scandinavian Gypsy Council, which changed names in 1999 to the Roma National Association. The association works primarily with the Roma language, culture and history.

Jews have been in Sweden since the 18th century and also can be thought of as a diaspora minority. The number of Jews in Sweden is estimated at between 20 000 and 25 000. The majority of the Jewish population lives in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Those that use Yiddish as a language are about 5,000 or 6,000 primarily elder Jews that came to Sweden after World War II.

Media and Minorities

The primary goal of the media in Sweden is to support the freedom of expression, diversity and the independence and accessibility of the mass media as well as to counteract harmful content in mass media. Because there was no national encompassing policy on minority and the media, the Press Subsidies Council was commissioned in 2001 to map and analyze the situation of the media chiefly directed to immigrants and national minorities in Sweden. The investigation report was presented in 2002 (Presstödsnämnden 2002:11).

The investigation points out that a number of activities for minority representation in media that were started during the 1970s and 1980s have recently been cancelled. The special subsidy for an immigrant press has been abolished and only newspapers that can meet stringent requirements are now entitled to support (see below). The national Immigrant Newsletter has been abolished and even local radio with local news in different languages has been cancelled.

Furthermore, the investigation showed clearly that Sweden had gone in an opposite direction than many of their Nordic neighbours and other European countries. While ethnic media grew in size and in position in Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain and increased subsidies, Sweden reduced support and cancelled existing programs.

Yet, despite the lack of subsidies from local and national government agencies a number of new media methods and techniques have developed which allow organizations and ethnic associations to communicate. These developments have occurred in local radio, local TV and through the Internet.

The conclusion of the investigation was as follows:

- 1) Minority media play an important role in minorities' well-being and integration,
- 2) Sweden lacks a system of state support for radio and TV in minority languages
- 3) Sweden is now the only Nordic country that lacks specific forms of support for minority media production
- 4) There is a lack of further education and training for minority media workers, and
- 5) Minority media needs increased support, not just economic, but also regarding coordination, development and training as in areas of market, advertising and promotion.

This was a vast criticism of Sweden's action on minority media. Camauër attempts to make sense of why no action was taken on the results of this investigation in the months following the presentation of the results. Some indications had come from the Ministry of Culture that there would be a new inquiry but nothing specific had developed. She solace in the work of media scholars Hadenius and Weibull that pointed out that Swedish media policy in general is characterized by a) state intervention concerning structure and organization of the media and market regulations to newspapers to safeguard the diversity of the news; b) steering through norms and rules for media content such as impartiality

and objectivity and c) and allowing the market to function as a steering instrument (Hadenius & Weibull 1999). Thus she concludes “that the overall media policy combines elements from the free-market and the social-responsibility ideologies” (Camauër 2005).

This chapter will first present the institutions and instruments the state has developed to support the media and its policy. After situating the relevant policy and institutions, we will look at the results of Leonor Camauër’s inventory of Minority Media in Sweden, the only systematically done inventory in Sweden on Minority Media as well as statistics we gathered from our sources to get a total picture of trends in Minority Media as well as the present day situation. We conclude the chapter by first presenting statistics on use of public places and access to media by immigrants and summarizing our perspective on minorities and media in Sweden.

Main Institutions and Instruments of their Policies

1. Literature and Public Libraries

The government supports the publication of literature in minority languages. But the publication of books in other languages than Swedish are primarily English literature, followed by Arabic (81 books in 2004) and then Kurdish literature (68 titles in 2004) (Kulturrådet 2005). Neither do many book stores sell books in languages other than in languages spoken in the West European countries. Thus libraries are very important for the dissemination of literature in minority languages, though most minority literature is disseminated, in any case, through informal channels.

The 1600 libraries in Sweden are the responsibility of the municipal governments although the state supports the co-ordination of libraries through grants. Table G, below, shows the percent of the immigrant population and the general population that read books every week.

Table G; Percentage of the population that read books every week.

	1982-83	1990-91	1996-97	1998-99	2003
Total (16-84 years)	40.1%	38.2%	37.5%	36.8%	39.0%
Non-Swedish born	47.1%	42.6%	37.2%	36.3%	35.8%
Swedish born*	39.1%	42.9%	35.7%	30.8%	34.8%

* with two non-Swedish born parents.

Source: Sweden’s official statistics.

Table H shows the percent of individuals that visited the library more than five times within the last 12 months.

Table H; Percentage of individuals that visited the library more than 5 times within the last 12 months.

	1982-83	1990-91	1996-97	1998-99
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Total (16-84 years)	28.7%	26.7%	31.1%	31.4%
Non-Swedish born	36.6%	37.6%	39.6%	40.1%
Swedish born*	34.1%	27.9%	40.2%	35.0%

* with two non-Swedish born parents.

Source: Sweden's official statistics.

As we can see reading books every week has fallen considerably for those with Non-Swedish backgrounds even though the library as a meeting place is higher for immigrants than for those with a Swedish background.

2. Newspapers and Periodicals

The state subsidizes minority newspapers and periodicals through a) press subsidies, b) grants to "scientific/humanities" periodicals, and c) organizational subsidies through the National Integration Office. *Press subsidies* were instituted to hold up diversity in the press. To obtain press subsidy the newspaper should be issued at least once a week and be distributed mostly in Sweden and written in Swedish. There is an exception; however, if the newspapers are intended for linguistic minorities, have their editorial board in Sweden and distribute at least 90% of the subscribed circulation in Sweden and have a circulation of at least 2 000 copies (Statute of Annual Press Subsidies, Mass Media 1999). The Swedish Council for Cultural Affairs annually allocates government grants to "*arts periodicals*", which refers to periodicals "whose main contents are directed to the general public, providing social information, or economic, social or cultural debate, or which mainly give space to analysis and presentation within the various areas of the arts" (www.kulturradet.se, 31-05-2002). Since 1999, the Council is commissioned to give special support to periodicals in national minority languages. The National Integration Office distributes the *state subsidies to organizations* built on ethnic grounds and other organizations working with integration issues. Two of the allocations, the Organization Subsidy and the Activity Subsidy, are directed toward ethnic minority associations.

3. Broadcast Media⁴

"To understand the state policy toward minority broadcast media it is necessary to bear in mind some recent developments in Swedish media history. Radio and television have undergone considerable changes since the late 1980s. The former public monopoly on radio and television broadcasting is now giving way to a new media landscape in which public service companies operate side-by-side with commercial radio and television channels and cable operators, community radio stations and non-profit local television stations. The licences for broadcasting television and radio programs are granted by the government through Radio- och TV-verket, RTVV (the Radio and Television Authority). The licensing conditions for the five-year concession period starting in 2002 instruct the public service corporations Sveriges Radio, SR (Swedish Radio) and Sveriges Television, SVT

(Swedish Television) to continue and deepen their efforts to cater to the needs of national minorities and other linguistic and ethnic groups (Prop. 2001/02:1, p. 113).

⁴ The following background is taken from Camauër 2004.

Radio

At the end of the 1970s, voluntary associations were allowed to broadcast within limited geographical areas, which marked the start of Swedish community radio (CR). Advertising was, however, banned from these broadcasts. After a test period, a permanent CR system was implemented in 1986, aimed at providing associations and organizations with a channel of information. The programs must be locally produced, and the reach of the CR stations is limited to a range of five km from the sender, although wider ranges are allowed in some cases. CR programming is not subject to the rules of objectivity (Swedish Cultural Policy 1998; Mass Media 1999).

When it comes to funding for the system, the concession holders were expected to bear the costs and no state subsidies were provided for the operation of CR. On the other hand, no fee must be paid for the concession today. In 1993 it became possible to operate privately financed local radio, and, at the same time, advertising and sponsorship of CR programs was allowed (Swedish Cultural Policy 1998). Despite the appearance of these two new actors, CR and local commercial radio, the license financed public service Swedish Radio still plays a central role both in the media system as a whole and as regards the production of programs addressed to minorities.

Television

It was the introduction of satellite-borne commercial television in the second half of the 1980s that paved the way for a profound change in the Swedish broadcasting system. The 1987 launching of TV3, a Scandinavian satellite channel broadcasting from London, marked the introduction of commercial television in Sweden. After this, resistance to commercially financed, terrestrial television broadcasting in Sweden collapsed. TV4, a commercial terrestrial channel with nationwide coverage, was launched in 1992. The channel pays a concession fee to the state and is subject to certain public service obligations. The expansion of the cable network for the distribution of television programs broadcast via satellite radically altered the Swedish media market at the end of the 1980s. The legislation on cable broadcasting that came into force in 1992 paved the way for the distribution of satellite transmissions by cable; now, any individual is at liberty to transmit television programs in this way. Cable transmissions of this kind may be financed with advertising revenue and are subject to certain rules concerning content and volume of advertising. The cable networks also distribute their own programs. These are of two types, either mainly non-profit local television stations or commercial broadcasting companies (Swedish Cultural Policy 1998; Mass Media 1999). According to the current legislation, each operator of a cable network reaching over 100 households must put one channel at the disposal of a local, non-profit cable channel appointed by the Radio and Television Authority. The appointed cable channels distribute their programs without paying a fee to the cable operators. These channels, usually called community or public-access TV, are intended to function as a forum in which all citizens may make their voice heard and to provide less powerful actors with access to the television medium (Presstödsnämnden 2002).

Minorities and media – actual practice

1. The Minority Press and Periodicals

According to the inventory taken by the Swedish Press Subsidy Council (Presstödsnämnden) in 2002 there were 120 papers divided between 37 languages that were being produced by minority groups. 70 newspapers were published totally or partially in Swedish. The most common language there after were Finnish, English and Arabic. Camauër reports a bit different inventory. Her inventory consists of 181 titles in 37 minority languages, Swedish and English. Approximately 40 of the publications are in two or more languages, the most common combination being Swedish and one minority language (25 titles). When comparing the distribution of titles according to minority languages with the size of the ethnic minority groups living in the country, Camauër points out that in most cases there is a direct relation between the size of the groups and the number of periodicals. There are, however, exceptions such as the Danish, German and Norwegian groups, which are rather large (1.0-1.3% of the total population) but have only one or two publications, and the Estonians, who constitute a relatively small group (0.3% of the total population) it can be said that the minority

There are five weeklies that address ethnic minorities, four of which are published in minority languages:

- 1: Eesti Päeväleth (Estonian),
- 2: Liberación (Spanish), and
- 3: Ruotsin
- 4: Suomalainen and Viikkoviesti (Finnish).

Both Eesti Päeväleth and Liberación are small and are struggling to keep circulation above the 2 000 limit. However, it was Viikkoviesti, the Finnish newspaper that went bankrupt in 2003. The yearly subsidy to all the four newspapers is 2 035 000 per year as of 2001. Before that the subsidy was 1 764 000. The subsidy has been the same for the last five years.

- 5: Nyhetstidningen Sesam.

This newspaper published in Swedish and, in contrast to the others, does not address a specific minority but all immigrants and minorities living in Sweden. Sesam is an exception in relationship to the general subsidy enjoyed by the other papers. It is a collection of other small newspapers and Sesam participates as a newspaper in this collection “in easy Swedish” with an aim to reach immigrants. So the subsidy to Sesam can be more than the usual yearly subsidy given the other four newspapers. After 2003, they received the yearly subsidy granted the other newspaper. The publication copies of the newspapers are given below in Table I.

Table I; Publication copies, per 1 000 copies.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Eesti Päeväleth	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0
Liberacion	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
Nyhetsidningen Sesam	10.5	8.7	-	3.5	7.5
Routsin Suomalainen	4.6	4.8	4.9	6.4	7.6
Vikkoviesti	-	6.1	7.1	-	-

Source: Presstödsnämnden 2002.

There is also a sixth minority newspaper. But it does not have a press subsidy. Instead it exists on its own merits and is supported commercially on the private market. The newspaper is called *Gringo* and started as an 8 page supplement to the freely distributed newspaper *Metro*. *Gringo* came out once a month. It is definitely a part of multi-culturalism and describes the artificial distinction between immigrants and Swedes as outdated. *Gringo* is read by about one million people and since 2005 is published as a 100 page magazine once a month, sold in stores around Sweden and is sold in about 20 000 copies/month. *Gringo* also comes out as a net newspaper and has over 10 000 distinct visitors every month.

Gringo was awarded the journalist prize in Sweden 2005 for the year's best new, newspaper with because the editor in chief, "with warmth and humor opened up a meeting place for the young and the multi-cultural Sweden, changing ghetto suburbs to centers and contributing to the enrichment of journalism both to its language and to its content.

In 2002 the Swedish Council for Cultural Affairs granted about 20% of its grants to periodicals produced in languages other than Swedish. These amounted to 22 grants, on average each received between 15 000 and 50 000 SEK or between 2 799 and 5 500 € amounted to about 2.3 million €. As regards the funds distributed by the National Integration Office, 45 associations received Organization Subsidies for a total amount of approximately 1.3 million € in 2002, whereas 32 organizations were granted Activity Subsidies for a total of approximately 763 000 €. Camauër points out in the discussion of her results of the inventory of minority and media that it is, important to remember that the associations allocated funds for many different purposes and that the available data do not contain any indication as to what portion of the subsidies is actually used for media production.

Two periodicals obtain funding from the Sami culture fund. There are no local authorities in Sweden that give continuous support to minority media. Neither do minority groups obtain project resources. However, some minority groups have obtained private support in relationship to a special event sponsored by the minority group.

The question remains, how many individuals belonging to minority ethnic groups have access to a daily newspaper. The following table (Table J) shows the different access from 1980 to 2004 the population had to a daily newspaper.

Table J; Percentage of population that has access to daily newspaper 1980-2004.

	1980-81	1986-87	1992-93	1998-99	2004
Total (16-84 years)	85.9%	84.5%	80.9%	75.7%	72.6%
Non-Swedish born	69.2%	67.7%	59.3%	55.4%	51.3%
Swedish born*	73.5%	72.1%	69.6%	61.5%	62.5%

* with two Non-Swedish born parents.

Source: Sweden's Official Statistics

The table shows clearly that those with access to a daily newspaper decreased dramatically for those not born in Sweden. Access to a daily newspaper decreased in all groups, less so in those born in Sweden with parents born in another country. In fact, this group is the only group that saw an improvement in access to daily newspapers in the time period from 1998-99 to 2004.

2. *Minority Radio*

Two main actors operate in the domain of minority radio: Community Radio (CR) produced and broadcast by over 200 immigrant associations, and the public service broadcaster SR.

Community radio:

Immigrant associations have been and are, together with religious and political organizations, among the most active CR broadcasters (Hadenius & Weibull 1999:178, 264; Närradion... 2002:72). The 228 immigrant associations holding a concession in 2001 constituted almost 20% of the total concessions awarded. See Table K below.

Table K; Number of Concessions per associations.

Association	1998	2001	2002
Community Radio	121	121	125
Religious	270	260	256
Political	132	123	110
Immigrant	212	228	214
Music	41	43	46
Studies	34	31	23
Students	56	51	49

Sports	39	31	25
Handicapped	15	15	14
Alcoholic Anym.	16	12	9
Unions	21	22	22
Other	178	186	206
Radio	22	146	225
Total	1157	1269	1324

Source: Radio- och TV-verket 2003

Camauër (2005) found that in a follow-up 2004 of a 2002 inventory she had done where she identified 261 community radio licenses, 45 were no longer actual (17%), 50 were not relevant to be counted as minority media and 10 could not be located. Thus only 162 were identified by Camauër as active and qualified as minority media. Of these 35 different languages including Swedish were broadcast with 72% broadcasting only in one language. Broadcast time was at least once a week but here there was strong variation, from a half hour per week to 65 hours per week. It is not possible to get accurate statistics about how many listen to community radio because of the costs involved for the respective associations to commission a listener survey.

It is interesting to look at the different language groups active in community radio. The pattern observed is similar to that observed within the printed media. 18 languages are represented in community radio with only one activity while 5 languages are represented with two. These 23 languages account for 66% of minority community radio. Six languages broadcast between 3 and 9 activities (Arabic, Tigrinic, Turkish, Amharish, Azdrbajdzjanish and English). However those language groups and minority groups with a dominant position are Persian (65), Spanish (35), Kurdish (17), Bosnian (11), Finnish (10) and Swedish (35).

Camauër (2005) observes that the biggest group of foreign born immigrants in Sweden with a strong presence in community radio are Iranians, south Americans, Kurds, Bosians, Finns and Irakians. Minorities that use community radio primarily broadcast radio in areas nearest the larger cities in Sweden. Usually community radio as used by minorities is not supported by state, although some 31% receive some economic support from the local authorities or from Study organizations. Most of the work in minority radio is done on a voluntary basis. Camauër concludes after careful analysis of her gathered material that it is reasonable to say that in addition to the 31% that receive some kind of economic support, 40% are sponsored or have some income from advertising. Only 9% of the minority organizations have a paid employee.

Public Broadcasting – Swedish Radio (SR):

The public service broadcaster SR uses the channel P6 as multi-ethnic and multicultural intended for immigrants but also open to a broader audience through webcasts. Programs are offered in a variety of different languages. The national minority languages (Finnish, Meänkieli, Sami and Romani) are well represented: Finnish is broadcast 32 hours per

week locally and 12 per week nationally as well as 110 hours a week digitally. In 2003, the national broadcast had 90,000 listeners and the regional broadcast had about 243 000 listeners. The other national minorities had fewer broadcast hours. Broadcasts in the Romani language, for example, started in 2002 and broadcast time nationally is only about 2,5 hours per week.

Public broadcasting also has a channel called Swedish Radio International which produces programs in 17 different languages. The programs are either aimed intentionally to inform an international public about Sweden as well as Swedes abroad. Programs directed towards the national population in Sweden has an aim to help immigrants and Swedes to better understand each other. Program in three languages are broadcast nationally and on short wave. These languages are Assyrian/Syrian, Kurdish and Romani. The reason for this special designation is that these languages are threatened because they have no “home-base.”

3. Minority TV

TV is a difficult media for minority representation. In 2002 the Press Subsidy Council found in its study that only five local-TV stations in Sweden who produced local TV for minorities in their own language or in Swedish and the number of produced programs had decreased since 2000.

Camauër found in her inventory that together there was 38 minority media within the TV area. Of these 32 programs were produced within non-commercial local TV and three were produced by editorial boards for national minority languages via public broadcasting (SVT), two were production companies and one was a satellite TV channel.

As far as the 32 programs broadcast on local TV channels, the majority sends only one hour a week (67%) and only one program was broadcast 7 hours/week. The majority of programs seen on local-TV for minorities are in Swedish (22) and only four are one language. 18 programs combine Swedish with one or more languages. The size of the majority minority groups does not correlate with the use of TV as a medium. When the programs that use Swedish are combined with a minority language it is with Spanish or Tigrinska (Ethiopian) and not with, for example, Finnish. But both Eritreans and Ethiopians have a relatively large number of TV programs at their disposal.

As we discovered when looking at economic support for broadcast in Community radio, the same pattern exists for support for broadcast in local TV. That is, the majority have no support at all. The few associations that are supported are supported through grants from study organizations. As in use of local radio, much of the work that is done is done voluntarily.

As for public service TV, their contract with the government insures that airtime is reserved for the national minority languages (Sami, Finnish, Meänkieli and Romani). Their contract also specified that programming in these five languages should increase from the 2001 level. The actual broadcast and types programs sent can be seen in the Table (L) below.

Table L; Programs broadcast by SVT, per program category in relation to minorities, and per broadcast hours.

Broadcast	2005			2001			Change between 2001-05
	First broadcast	Repeat broadcast	Total broadcast	First broadcast	Repeat broadcast	Total broadcast	
Finnish, in which	81	58	139	70	46	117	+22
<i>Own production,</i> In which	<i>60</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>-19</i>
Facts	6	12	17	26	40	67	-50
News	38	-	38	37	-	37	-1
Music	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Children	17	14	31	-	-	-	+31
<i>Other production,</i> In which	<i>21</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>+42</i>
Facts	17	31	48	4	4	8	+40
Fiction	2	1	3	-	-	-	+3
Music	1	0	1	1	-	1	0
Sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Children	-	-	-	1	2	3	-3
Other	1	-	1	-	-	-	+1
Roma, in which	1	2	3	-	-	-	+3
<i>Own production,</i> in which	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>+3</i>
Facts	1	2	3	-	-	-	+3
<i>Other production,</i> In which ⁵	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0</i>
Sami, in which	54	13	67	26	14	40	+27
<i>Own production,</i> in which	<i>54</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>+28</i>
Facts	3	5	8	7	11	17	-9
News	48	-	48	14	-	14	+34
Children	3	-	3	-	-	-	+3
<i>Other production,</i> In which	<i>-</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>-1</i>
Children	-	7	7	5	4	9	-1
Tornedal Finnish, in which	3	3	6	1	3	4	+2

⁵ In this category there is no broadcast for either 2001 or 2005. In 2004, however, broadcast existed within the categories "Facts", "Fiction" and "Music" with a total of 7 broadcast hours, i.e. the conclusion is -7 hours since 2004 in the category "other production".

<i>Own production,</i>	3	3	6	1	3	4	+2
<i>in which</i>							
Facts	1	3	4	1	3	4	0
Children	2	-	2	-	2	2	0
TOTAL	139	76	215	97	64	161	+54

Source: SVT:s Public Service accountancy 2005

We can see that Swedish Public Broadcasting has increased the broadcast time for the four national minority groups with 54 hours from 2001 and 2005 or about 33%. However, we see also that the majority of programs were directed towards the Finnish minority and that for all the national minorities more of the sent programs were repeat programs.

Other activities – Media use by Minorities

The Swedish production of film is a highly regarded part of Swedish culture. A government proposition from 2005 suggested that increased economic resources be directed by the state as well as the film industry to guarantee the future of Swedish Film. One area that should receive more resources and that would strength the future of the Swedish Film industry pointed out in the government report was film in relationship to the national minority language groups. The Swedish policy stated that film should represent all of Sweden and that the cinema should be developed as a cultural “meeting place” (Prop. 2005/06:3). During the last few years, a multicultural perspective has been increasingly apparent in Swedish films. Most of the films made using this perspective have focused on the theme of Swedish persons with a foreign background.

Statistics, however, of those that have been at the cinema five times or more during a year has shown that going to the movies has decreased between 1982 and 1998. See Table M below.

Table M; Percentage of population that has been at cinema 5 times or more during a year. From 1982-1999.

	1982-83	1988-89	1990-91	1996-97	1998-99
Total	16.3%	16.0%	14.9%	14.2%	15.3%
(16-84 years)					
Non-Swedish born	14.2%	12.3%	11.7%	12.1%	12.6%
Swedish born*	42.4%	38.7%	25.9%	24.2%	33.0%

* with two Non-Swedish born parents.

Source: Sweden’s Official Statistics

This is not so surprising given the rise of media technology and the possibility of renting a movie or recording a TV program. The Table below shows how many of the population had access to a video.

Table N; Percentage of population that has access to video; 1982-2004.

	1982-83	1988-89	1990-91	1996-97	2004
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Total (16-84 years)	11.7%	43.2%	56.0%	74.6%	87.2%
Non-Swedish born	17.0%	52.8%	57.5%	72.9%	84.5%
Swedish born*	18.8%	62.0%	74.3%	84.0%	94.0%

* with two Non-Swedish born parents.

Source: Sweden's Official Statistics

We see, in fact, that access to media technology increased rapidly throughout the 1990s in all groups of the population. It is interesting to note that those with a foreign background but born in Swedish are those that still participate actively in going to cinemas even if they are also the group with greatest access to a video.

Some observations

In this chapter, we attempted to move our report from measures designed to thwart social exclusion by promoting economic self-sufficiency to measures designed to expand social inclusion by use of cultural media to increase meeting places and understanding in a multi-cultural society. We have shown that Sweden has a high percentage of foreign-born inhabitants but also a large number of individuals, although born in Sweden, have parents who immigrated to Sweden and whose culture they share. We have also discussed that Sweden changed suddenly into a multi-culture society with the number of immigrants increasing rapidly from the 1950s onward.

Immigrations policy was not systematized until the middle of the 1970s. Policy developed from a scattered approach which focused on assimilation into the Swedish culture to a gradual understanding for a policy that valued diversification and multiculturalism. But problems for new immigrants to equally partake in the rights and obligations of Swedish citizenship meant that measures to increase the conditions for assimilation remained a duty for the state. National ethnic minority groups, on the other hand, wanted to preserve their language and culture and not see it die out or swallowed up by the majority culture. Thus by 1999 Swedish minority policy developed in two different ways: towards favourable conditions of assimilation for newly landed immigrants and preservation of language and heritage for national minorities seen as part of the Swedish heritage.

All policies governing access to media and economic support to ethnic minorities participating in media recognize this divide of minority policy. The principle of "freedom of choice", that each individual can himself choose how much or how little he will partake in the majority culture, was thought to be a way around the dilemma. But if there are no options to access to one's own culture (newspapers, books, radio or TV), it is not much of a choice.

This chapter has shown that access to the cultural media has decreased during the 1990s and is very weak in the 2000s. Economic support is limited and demands for support are many. Local authorities rarely support ethnic minorities association and access to local

radio programs are usually accomplished through voluntary workers. The national minorities do not fair much better. National public broadcastings mandate to increase programs for the national minority groups resulted in showing more “old” programs as repeats. Although Finnish is the national minority that has the most access to media (newspapers, radio and TV), the small national minorities (Roma) have almost no exposure to the media.

Where other Nordic countries are increasing resources for participation of ethnic minorities in the media, Sweden is decreasing economic support. One explanation that has been provided by media researchers is the policy of letting market forces play a roll in which ethnic minority groups are successful in media participation. Those cultural activities that are free, however, such as visits to the libraries, show that minority groups need meeting places. These are well visited by those with foreign backgrounds. Minority groups have also been active in Community Radio, but again since most of the work is voluntary because of lack of economic support, the biggest minority groups are the most successful but this is not always the case as we see in the case of Ethiopia which has strongly profiled itself within Community Radio.

Radio and TV programs for minority groups are also often given in Swedish as well. So are many minority periodicals. The idea is that opening-up the programs to the Swedish language creates a meeting place between the majority and minority cultures.

One can say that the cultural policy of Sweden has evolved rapidly and yet has not found the measures and the means to implement the cultural policy.

V. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION – POLITICAL INTEREST

One of the most important meeting places for ethnic minorities and Swedish majority is meeting within the political process and participating together in deciding the future of the society where one resides. Participating through voting and/or through candidacy to a political post is both an indication of social inclusion and of the legitimacy of the political process to protect one’s interest.

In one way, understanding the political process underlying a society as representing a “public meeting place” emphasizes the basic nature of meeting places in a diverse society. Yet, it also points to different “meeting places” established by belonging to the labour market (protection against social exclusion) or “meeting places” created through cultural measures expanding social inclusion. The political process seems in some way to be beyond integration policies and we have witnessed extensive restraints limiting immigrants and others from participating in the political process.

Sweden, as other countries, has extensive rules on who can and who cannot participate in elections. Citizenship is not enough to qualify for voting in national elections even for Swedish born citizens residing abroad. Citizenship must be accompanied by recent resident requirements. Without elaboration of too much detail on the intricacies of laws

surrounding voting and required procedures, a rule of thumb for immigrants is that they are able to vote in both municipal and county elections if they have been a legal resident in Sweden for three consecutive years preceding the actual election. The age requirement for voting for all participants is to have reached 18 years of age by the day of the election. If one is a Swedish citizen and has been registered in Sweden as a legal resident, one can vote in the national elections. The same rules pertain to running as a candidate for office.

This chapter deals with possible political exclusion of minorities from the political process. Such exclusion can exist even when one is not economically excluded or enjoys social inclusion. However, without political inclusion, other types of inclusion will be incomplete. Thus we will in this chapter try to specify political indicators of inclusion that we will categorize as cultural indicators.

When we look at the Swedish National Action Plan 2003 (NAP), we see that access to political inclusion is seen as highly important but as being dependent on other measures to combat exclusion. The NAP 2003 concludes that social marginalization depends foremost on failure of a strong connection to the labour market (NAP 2003:57). Even if the Swedish NAP does not separate political participation as an own NAP area, inequality in political participation has figured strongly in the Swedish debate. In the government proposition (prop. 1997/98:16 s.30) it is stated that the ethnic and cultural diversity in Sweden is not sufficiently represented in the democratic and political system. A long line of research reports have all come to the same conclusion. That conclusion is that not all citizens in Sweden are given the same and equal possibilities to make themselves heard within the democratic system and to obtain acceptance for matters they see as important and to find their interests represented in decision-making bodies (SOU 2005:112:12).

In this chapter we will look at the indicator of representation of individuals of foreign birth in elected office. In this chapter we are interested in three levels of government: national, county and municipal. All statistics will be given for one or all of these levels. In the table below we will look at the number of elected officials in percent over a twenty-year period (1982 – 2002) in three levels of government (national, county and municipal) by birth in Sweden or Foreign Country of birth.

Table O; Percentage of population elected to Parliament in National, County and Municipal elections, per country of birth. From 1982-2002.

**(1) Elected to Parliament in National Election by Country of Birth
(percent) 1982-2002**

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>2002</u>
Sweden	98.3	97.4	98.0	94.6
Other	1.7	2.6	2.0	5.4

(2) Elected to a County Congress in County Election by Country of Birth (percent) 1982-2002

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>2002</u>
Sweden	96.8	96.0	95.6	93.1
Other	3.2	4.0	4.4	6.9

**(3) Elected to City Council in Municipal Election by Country of Birth
(percent) 1982-2002**

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>2002</u>
Sweden	96.1	95.7	95.4	93.5
Other	3.9	4.3	4.6	6.5

Source: Sweden's official statistics

First, we must remember that Non-Swedish born represented 11% of the Swedish population in 2000. They are underrepresented in relation to the population but given the restrictions on voting because of citizenship and residency requirements; we cannot say the degree of under representation. Second, we must see that the number of non-Swedish born elected to Parliament increased by 217% during the twenty year period. The increase for the period of County Congress was 115% and for City Council 66%.

Elected to Parliament

As we pointed out in earlier chapters, there are different concepts of who is considered a member of an ethnic minority. The national ethnic minorities have for generations been born in Sweden yet have a distinct ethnic heritage. Also second generation immigrants often have a home culture that makes for a strong ethnic identity with their parents land of birth. (See Camauër 2005 for a detailed discussion of ethnic minority, immigrant and ethnic). Because the Swedish National Statistic Bureau classifies individuals as having a “foreign background” in certain of their statistics as people born in Sweden but with one or both of their parents born in countries outside of Sweden, statistics were gathered for men and women elected to Parliament in 2002 where one could also distinguish parliaments newly elected members in terms of their “foreign background” (See Table P below).

Table P; Elected to Parliament per country of birth and per political party. 2002

Sex	Country of Birth	Political Party*							Total(%)
		m	c	fp	kd	mp	s	v	
Men									
	Other	0,0	0,0	4,0	8,7	0,0	6,6	0,0	4,2
	Sweden								
	<i>2 parents born abroad</i>	0,0	0,0	0,0	4,3	0,0	0,0	6,3	1,0
	<i>1 parent born abroad</i>	9,1	0,0	4,0	4,3	0,0	13,2	12,5	8,9
	<i>2 parents born in Sweden</i>	90,9	100,0	92,0	82,6	100,0	80,3	81,3	85,9
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=	33	11	25	23	7	76	16	191
Women									
	Other	4,5	0,0	21,7	0,0	0,0	2,9	21,4	7,0
	Sweden								
	<i>2 parents born abroad</i>	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	10,0	0,0	0,0	0,6
	<i>1 parent born abroad</i>	4,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	10,0	4,4	7,1	3,8
	<i>2 parents born in Sweden</i>	90,9	100,0	78,3	100,0	80,0	92,6	71,4	88,6
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N =	22	11	23	10	10	68	14	158
Men and Women									
	Other	1,8	0,0	12,5	6,1	0,0	4,9	10,0	5,4
	Sweden								
	<i>2 parents born abroad</i>	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,0	5,9	0,0	3,3	0,9
	<i>1 parent born abroad</i>	7,3	0,0	2,1	3,0	5,9	9,0	10,0	6,6
	<i>2 parents born in Sweden</i>	90,9	100,0	85,4	87,9	88,2	86,1	76,7	87,1
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N =	55	22	48	33	17	144	30	349

* **m** = **moderate party**, a conservative party; **c** = **center party**, traditionally represents farmer party, **fp** = **folk party**, a liberal party, **kd** = **christian democrat party**; **mp** = **environment party**; **s** = **social democrats**; **v** = **left party**, formerly the communist party. M + c + fp + kd have formed a block alliance and are considered to represent right/center politics than the alliance block formed by mp + s + v which is considered having a more left/center political agenda.)

Source: Sweden's official statistics.

The Table above shows that one parties only had representatives in Parliament with traditional Swedish backgrounds. This was the center party. The environment party had no member that was not born in Sweden but two members with parents that had been born abroad. Those with the largest number of representatives with an ethnic background that included at least one parent not born in Sweden was the Left party (v) followed by Folk party (fp). Total 45 (12.9%) members of the 349 members in Parliament had some ethnic background within their immediate family. The same percent for the entire population of Sweden was 20.1%. As we pointed out above, the figure 20.1% is of all legal residents of Sweden. Election for office in Parliament is limited to those that have become Swedish citizens and have resided in the country for three consecutive years preceding the election. This percent must be lower than 20.1, but we have no way of knowing how much lower.

Not all individuals that are candidates to Parliament on their party list are placed high enough on the list to guarantee that they will take a place in Parliament. It depends on how well their party does in the general election and it also depends on how high they are placed on the list by their fellow party members. According to official statistics, of all those nominated to the Parliament national election of those that were born abroad, only 2% were successfully elected. For those Swedish born candidates who were nominated, 7% were successful.

Similar statistics can be seen in county and municipal elections. Swedish born are elected in a disproportionately higher number than those with foreign backgrounds. This is more true for men with foreign backgrounds than women. Even if we look at nominating for public office within the county or within the municipality we find the same result.

Indicator 2 – Participation in Elections

In 2002 the number of voters in the national election was 80.1% in Sweden. This was slightly lower than voters in 1998 (81.4%). An analysis of who did not vote as compared with voting in the national elections 1998 showed that first time voters in general in Sweden chose not to show up at the voting booths in 2002. First time voters were 4% lower than 1998 and 11% lower than 1994. This trend is alarming and is much more evident among male first time voters than among women.

Within the group that is considered resource weak, lower incomes, and those consider “vulnerable”, the unemployed, voting was lower. For the unemployed was voting at 71%

while the 85% of the employed voted. Only 72% of individuals with lower incomes voted while 92% of those in the higher income brackets voted.

The differences between those that voted that were born in Sweden and those that were not born abroad are significant. 83% of those born in Sweden voted in 2002 but only 67% of those that were born abroad. As the table below shows there is a decreasing percent of those born abroad voting in 2002 as compared with 1998.

Table Q; Percent voting in national election by Birth country.
1998 and 2002

	1998	2002
Born in Sweden	83%	83%
Born outside of Sweden	70%	67%

Source: Sweden's official statistics

A further analysis of statistics of voting and Swedish background showed that those that were born in Sweden and whose parents were born in Sweden voting participation was high, 83%. However, for those born in Sweden but both parents were born abroad, voting participation was only 62%. Statistic Central Bureau means that the lower participation rate could easily be a reflection that those born in Sweden with two parents born abroad are young. Statistics show that older immigrants, born abroad, are more likely to vote than younger immigrants. Statistics also show that the number of years one has been a Swedish citizen is reflected in voting behaviour. 80% of those that became Swedish citizens in 1970 voted in the 2002 elections but only 61% of those that became citizens after 1991 voted.

The hypothesis we are working with is that voting behaviour is an indicator of a successful cultural and economic inclusion policy. As such it can be used as a dependent variable to gauge success of other policies such as Swedish for immigrant classes, or access to media in form of a daily newspaper. Unfortunately, our statistics are not as finely tuned as instruments to allow us to say with any certainty why voting behaviour has decreased.

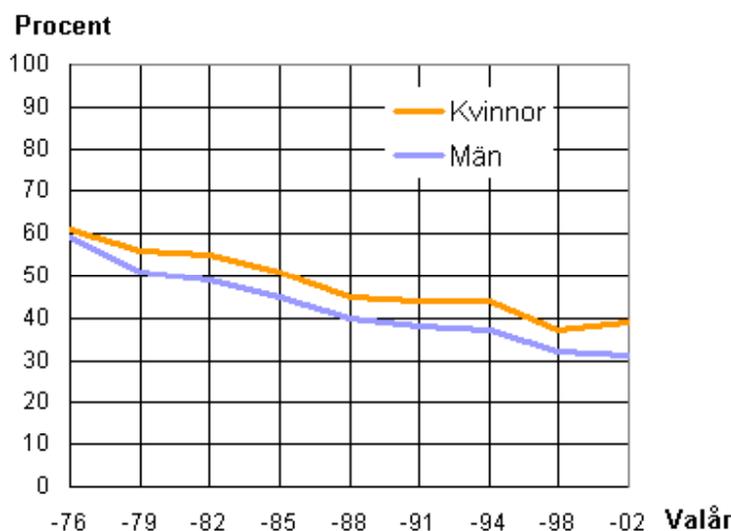
A reasonable hypothesis can be that the 1990s was a period of cutbacks and retrenchment of the welfare state. More people were excluded from the labour market and cultural inclusion programs were cut to the bones. Language programs at schools were left to impoverished local municipalities with further cutbacks as a result. Those individuals caught-up in this process of elimination find it hard to understand how they can contribute through their vote to change their situation. Whether it is first-time Swedish born voters not able to find a job or if it is national minorities trying to preserve their language and heritage or if it is a Swedish born second generation with parents who have never gotten a foothold in the Swedish society, we must conclude that failure to exercise their right to vote is a vote in itself. It is a voice that cries out that they in fact experience themselves as excluded.

Local politics: Is there a difference?

In 1976, Sweden passes a law allowing foreign citizens residing in Sweden to vote in local elections. Elections to local city councils showed that 35% of Swedish residents who were not citizens exercised their voting rights. This was the same percent that voted in the 1998 local elections but far lower than when Sweden passed the voting reform in 1976. Then 60% of all non-Swedish citizens who resided in Sweden voted in local elections.

Once again, the behaviour not to vote is a changed behaviour that can be the result of many different things. Whatever specific change influences individuals not to vote is the subject of much discussion. Suffice it to say, that we interpret it as a distancing of immigrants from the majority population. The Diagram below shows quite clearly how voting behaviour changed in this group during the last 25 years.

Diagram: Participation in Municipal elections 1976-2002, Foreign Citizens by Sex.
(Kvinnor = Women; Män = Men)



Political interests and political participation

Broad definition of political participation.

We want to use a broad definition of political participation that also includes behaviour that occurs outside of the traditional political forum. This broader definition can make it possible to understand voting behaviour within the traditional voting sphere of those voters with “foreign background”. By performing an easy division between “interest” and “participation”, it becomes possible to theoretically differentiate between a political system of behaviour with rules and accepted processes which function “to exclude” many groups in society, especially those that have not grown up and been socialized to this type of system.

We can easily interpret the two political indicators we have introduced to show that political participation and interest is low among minorities. And this is precisely how immigrants are often described in Sweden. That is as passive and “expensive.” Within this perspective, one can understand the NAP we referred to in this chapter’s introduction. The language of the NAP was as follows: “...find measures that aim to decrease outsidersness and passivity in the Swedish democracy...” (NAP 2003:43). If we did not look at the formal participation measured in terms of voting behaviour and instead looked at immigrants personal political interest, it is possible to get another picture of political participation.

ULF and the political interest

ULF in a survey of Swedish life relations that is constructed by interviews in a random sample drawn from the entire Swedish population. Questions that are asked are not those that are used to analyze the formal political participation through voting, but informal questions. That is, ULF probes for the political interest with an individual and the invisible political participation. One can say that in this manner, answers to the asked questions represent a political interest among Swedish citizens that is not “allowed” to surface within the accepted political framework. The Table immediately below (Table R) shows us how often different individuals, born in Sweden and born abroad, partook in political discussions between 1981 and 2004.

Table R; Percentage of population that partook in political discussions. 1981-2004.

<i>Born Abroad</i>	1981-82	1990-91	2000-01	2004
Total	34.8%	35.8%	35.4%	39.3%
Men	43.4%	40.5%	42.5%	46.1%
Women	27.3%	31.5%	29.1%	33.4%
<i>Swedish Born</i>				
Total	35.7%	37.9%	41.1%	44.1%
Men	39.9%	42.4%	44.4%	47.6%
Women	31.5%	33.5%	37.8%	40.6%

Source: Sweden’s official statistics

The Next Table (Table S) shows us how active a foreign born immigrant participated in union activities between 1981 and 2004.

Table S; Parentage of population that partook in union activities. 1981-2004.

<i>Born Abroad</i>	1981-82	1990-91	2000-01	2004
Total	12.3%	8.9%	5.6%	6.9%
Men	14.9%	10.2%	6.1%	8.4%
Women	9.6%	7.5%	5.2%	5.7%
<i>Swedish Born</i>				
Total	13.7%	11.1%	9.5%	7.9%
Men	15.8%	12.9%	9.9%	8.3%
Women	11.1%	9.3%	9.0%	7.6%

Source: Sweden's official statistics

The last question asked in the Survey of Living Conditions that penetrates political interest is a question about being active in a political party. See Table below (Table T).

Table T; Percentage of population that are active political party. 1981-2004.
(Age 16-84)

<i>Born Abroad</i>	1981-82	1990-91	2000-01	2004
Total	2.9%	2.2%	0.6%	1.3%
Men	4.9%	3.0%	0.7%	1.8%
Women	1.2%	1.6%	0.6%	0.9%
<i>Swedish Born</i>				
Total	4.2%	2.6%	1.7%	1.6%
Men	4.7%	3.0%	1.9%	1.9%
Women	3.7%	2.3%	1.6%	1.3%

Source: Sweden's official statistics

Once again we do not see a strong difference between those born in Sweden and those born abroad. With these three tables concerning political interest, we show that statistics about formal participation rates in voting do not show the real political interest those with ethnic backgrounds not only have, but also have in the same way that those born in Sweden.

Some Observations

We have chosen to use two indicators for social participation of ethnic minorities to represent social inclusion: election to political posts and voting rates in elections. These are not merely measures of formal participation but are also indicative of participation in society's social arenas. If one is not present in the public political meeting place, it is a strong signal that there is a marginalization from the public life (Hetzler 1994).

We strengthen our claim but questioning the view that low voting rates among immigrants is a sign of passivity but presenting a series of time distinct measurements of political interest. In all areas looked at, there were no differences between those born in Sweden and those born abroad. Most interesting was that interest in political questions has increased both for the Swedish born and those born abroad. But partaking in political association life (unions and political parties) has fallen off.

There are two aspects of these results that are important. The first is that society's major and traditional institutions have begun to lose their traditional legitimacy with sections of the population both Swedish and those with foreign backgrounds. Second, the consequences for the changes in the basic structure of the welfare state during the recession of the 1990s has seriously affected many personal lives, excluding them from equal membership in all of society's social arenas. Measures to offset this social exclusion, both economically and culturally, have failed.

Chapter Six: Language training as a Cultural Experiment: Success or Failure (An Experiment in Common Inter-Cultural Indicators. Language training as a cultural social inclusion device to increase communication skills)

The presentation of policy and measures to use culture to increase social inclusion in Sweden has thus far presented the situations and conditions in education, the media and in political participation. These three areas represent different approaches to strengthening social inclusion by the use of culture. Education represents the measures directed towards the individual and his life pattern. This is a cultural change directed towards what one can call the *micro level* of society. The state intervenes in the individual's life sphere with differing motivation, to strength the individual in his native culture and/or to strength the individual in an assimilation process.

Media represents a *meso level* of integration. Media reaches beyond the individual to the native group encapsulating the immediate family. It represents a possible network of the "other" of those that share the same native heritage. It breaks ground for recognition of communality based on common culture and values derived from cultures that differ from the Swedish.

Political participation is an example of the development of the public and is a part of the *macro level* changes in a society pledged to social inclusion. It affects both immigrants and native Swedish citizens by changing the composition of their voted representatives in a democratic society.

Diagram: Culture and the individual, the group and society.



It is possible to argue that cultural indicators of social inclusion have an innate evolutionary perspective. Quite simply this would mean that changes have to be accomplished from the bottom-up or from the center outwards. That is, without changes towards inclusion at the individual level, one could never expect changes in political participation. But, of course, as all simplifications, this is not necessarily true. Without involving ourselves deeper in this argument, we would like to point out that changes on all three levels have to be coordinated and take place simultaneously.

However, in this chapter we want to delve deeper in a cost-benefit analysis by looking at the effect of a specific cultural instrument. We have chosen to focus on an analysis on of enhancing social inclusion by language training, a training that enables communication. This important cultural integration device has two parts. The first part is to strength competency in the native language of a child⁶ and is a part of the regular compulsory school system. The second part is to strength competency in the Swedish language for adult immigrants to Sweden. As has been pointed out in Chapter three, the goal of the Swedish government in introducing training in native language within compulsory schools was the results of different goal formulations. A basic argument however, was an argument for “equality.” Equality as an ideological dimension of a political program has many dimensions and over time can, as most concepts, emphasizes one or the other dimension.

We use “equality” as an outcome of the cultural policy to offer language training in the compulsory school system. We use equality as a dependent variable, represented in terms of the number of foreign born students completing the Swedish compulsory education with an equal grade result as those with a Swedish background. This means also that those that failed to meet the grade demands of a compulsory education should be the same between students who are have a Swedish background and those that do no have a Swedish background. To make this a little easier to understand, we are going to look at the number of those foreign born who complete compulsory school with an incomplete grade (failed). Of course, one could argue that if Swedish born youngsters are also producing failing grades at the end of compulsory school, the fault lies with the school system. However, the statistics of incomplete grades (fail) for Swedish born students has remained relatively constant at about 9% for the last two decades.

The dependent variable is related to an independent variable of resources in terms of costs of teachers allotted to language training. We recognize that there are a number of other variables that influence equality for foreign barn students to native born students in their final grades. These are such things as country of immigration, sex, number of years in Sweden, class, family income etc. However, we will use the change in resources measured against the change in foreign born as a percentage of native Swedish students with an incomplete final grade. We will also look at the result in terms of the number of students entitled to home language lessons and the number who actually attend home language classes in terms of student results for foreign born students

One can wonder why we are doing this mathematical exercise. We mean that language is the most important cultural indicator of social inclusion. It one can talk, and communicate, with the other the possibility for understanding exists. Understanding, communicating opens the door to negotiation, to compromise and to acceptance. It is a necessary, although not a sufficient, condition to social inclusion. Thus, even our first attempt to uncover correlation between attempts to institute programs designed to promote language understanding are important.

⁶ The legal requirements for right to native language classes is described in Chapter three. Basically the right is available to every child who has another active language, other than Swedish, in use in their home environment.

One question immediately arises. What language should be strengthened? Is it the native language or should it be the language spoken in the country of immigration. After careful deliberation, Sweden has answered this question by establishing “both”. Children need to establish a cultural identity in a native language in order to establish a good basis for the language of the country of immigration.

The language theory is based on research designed to show the development of cognitive capacity. Without a firm language as a base language, the cognitive development of a child who immigrated to another country with another language develops cognitive learning problems. Swedish society has accepted this principle of child development and thereby strengthen the native language used actively at home in order to create the best possible conditions for the child’s assimilation to a Swedish speaking society. This is a pragmatic reason for supporting home language courses. The other reason is ideologically and based on the Swedish principle of equality and free choice. Every heritage background should be seen as equally important. Every individual in Sweden should have the right of access to their respective cultural heritage.

However, when it comes to adults who immigrate to Sweden the emphasis and policy changes. For adults, the premise is that knowledge of the country of immigration is important for integration to the labor market and economic independence. One assumes that the basic culture is well established and native language does not need reinforcement. Instead, Swedish language for immigrants is the program deemed most necessary.

It is interesting to note that although native language is the basis of assimilation for children, Swedish as a second language is also offered as a choice course in the curriculum. Many children to immigrants have chosen this course in their curriculum. This points to the fact that despite programs designed to strength native language, a practice has developed whereby children follow the program of adults and concentrate on improving their skills in the language dominate in the land of immigration. We will return to this process in our conclusion.

Table U; Language training and costs in compulsory school

Year	No. Students	Number non-Swedish	% who Particip.in.	Swedish %Incompl. Second	Cost/Student Grade of Real/Absolute ₂
1992	873314	101915 (11,6)	57.3%	61131	
1993	878957	99322 (11,3)	57.3%	54495	
1994	89054	107756 (12,1)	55%	60557	
1995	91032	105598 (11,6)	55%	59171	
1996	928104	105803 (11,4)	54%	56614	
1997	948373	109062 (11,5)	53%	57850(53,0)	17,60 5235/5235
1998,	970017	112521(11,6)	52-%	55290(49,0)	19,60 5566/5677
1999,	991491	115012(11,6)	51%	55523(48,0)	20,90 5844/5826
2000	1007472	116866(11,6)	51%	56418(48,0)	21,90 6018/5940
2001	101030	118205(11,7)	51%	54556(46,0)	22,10 6398/6156
2002	1005372	125671(12,5)	53%	60322(48,0)	21,60 6014/5653
2003	992450	130003(13,2)	54%	63516(49,0)	21,30 5901/5426
2004	969379	133774(13,8)	54%	63979(48,0)	22,70 7788/7130
2005	995457	144341(14,5)	53%	66695(46,0)	22,60 7698/7047

* One Euro= 9.25 Swedish kronor 2006. Euro has varied from 1998 – 2005 between .xxx and xxx

Note that teacher costs are approximately 65% of the total cost of education.

As we can see the cost of supplying classes in native language together with the cost of offering Swedish as a second language in the general obligatory school has not been effective in curbing the number of students with a non-Swedish background with incomplete final grades from compulsory school.

To try and get a better picture of the relationship between absolute costs (corrected for inflation) and incomplete grades, we performed an regression analysis of failed grades compared with absolute costs (abscosst) and also the percentage of compulsory students born outside of Sweden, participation rates of students entitled to native language classes and participation rates of students selecting Swedish as a second language.

The first table below gives the standard deviation for the years between 1997 and 2005 for each of the variables we are looking at.

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
FAILED	21,1444	1,63027	9
ABSCOSST	6010,0000	668,00636	9
NONSWT	12,4444	1,13039	9
PARTNL	52,4444	1,23603	9
PARTSVA	48,3333	2,06155	9

We see in the following correlations that participation in Swedish as a second language has a significant negative correlation with the number of incomplete grades in compulsory education. This means that the more students selecting Swedish as a second language, the lower the number of non-Swedish students completing compulsory school with an incomplete grade.

Correlations

		FAILED	ABSCO SST	NONSWT	PARTNL	PARTSVA
Pearson Correlation	FAILED	1,000	,734	,594	,020	-,890
	ABSCO SST	,734	1,000	,713	,164	-,650
	NONSWT	,594	,713	1,000	,700	-,399
	PARTNL	,020	,164	,700	1,000	,278
	PARTSVA	-,890	-,650	-,399	,278	1,000
Sig. (1-tailed)	FAILED	,	,012	,046	,480	,001
	ABSCO SST	,012	,	,016	,336	,029
	NONSWT	,046	,016	,	,018	,144
	PARTNL	,480	,336	,018	,	,234
	PARTSVA	,001	,029	,144	,234	,
N	FAILED	9	9	9	9	9
	ABSCO SST	9	9	9	9	9
	NONSWT	9	9	9	9	9
	PARTNL	9	9	9	9	9
	PARTSVA	9	9	9	9	9

Model 1 below shows that when we enter only participants in Swedish as a second language and remove the other variables, we have a R^2 of .763.

Model Summary

Model	R	RSquare	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					RSquare Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	,890 ^a	,792	,763	,79418	,792	26,711	1	7	,001

a. Predictors: (Constant), PARTSVA

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	55,167	6,588		8,373	,000
	PARTSVA	-,704	,136	-,890	-5,168	,001

a. Dependent Variable: FAILED

Our standardized co-efficient shows that the greater the number of those that participate in Swedish as a second language, the lower percent of non-Swedish students with an incomplete grade.

The results of the other variables in relationship to incomplete grades is as follows.

Excluded Variables^b

Model	Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics	
					Tolerance	
1	ABSCOST	,269 ^a	1,228	,266	,448	,578
	NONSWT	,284 ^a	1,705	,139	,571	,841
	PARTNL	,290 ^a	1,890	,108	,611	,923

a. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), PARTSVA

b. Dependent Variable: FAILED

Thus we see that absolute costs, when we hold the number of students participating in Swedish as a second language constant, is not statistically significant.

The difference in relationship between children with a Swedish background and those with a non-Swedish background was in 1997 a difference in 12 percent of those who grades were adequate to continue to secondary school. 91.7% of students with a Swedish background in 1999 had competency to start secondary school but only 79.1% of those had the same competency. Nine years later 91% of students with Swedish backgrounds had the competency to continue school but only 77.4% of the non-Swedish.

There has been a continual debate in Sweden if classes in native language and culture are a good cultural device for increasing integration. Our simply analysis shows that the more students taking Swedish as a second language decreases the number of students with a non-Swedish background that leave compulsory school with an incomplete grade.

Compulsory school in Stockholm City

Costs for native language classes and for Swedish classes as a second language were decentralized to the various municipalities in 1997. Since that time, it is difficult to get a breakdown on costs for the country as a whole. Different municipalities have differing numbers of children entitled to native language classes.

Stockholm city is a large municipality in Sweden. In their compulsory school system there are approximately 47,000 school aged children entitled to classes in their native language. This means that almost one of every three children entitled to native language classes resides within the Stockholm municipality.

We have attempted to gathered relevant statistics for the Stockholm municipality concerning teacher costs per student for the years 2002 – 2005. We have also established the percentage of students with incomplete grades upon graduation. That is, the final

grade was not acceptable for admission to secondary school.

Unfortunately, the statistics available are insufficient to analyze over time. We are looking at results from merely four years. Even if the statistics are insufficient we can see that with a decrease in costs per students, incomplete grades originally fell. An increase in spending per student increased incomplete grades. It is important to recognize that the Stockholm statistics do not show what happens when variables such as percentage of non-Swedish students per Swedish students, or percentage of those taking native language classes or Swedish as a second language are introduced.

Swedish for Immigrants

Swedish for immigrants is a comprehensive course where students are promoted to a more difficult level after achieving competency. Language competency is required for competency to tertiary education as well as helpful in everyday life and in the labour market. Statistics from the beginning of the 1990s shows that there is a large proportion of immigrants who do leave the course before completion.

The chart below shows the percent of those immigrants who started Swedish for immigrants course three years ago and stopped attending before completion.

Teacher costs per student per year 2002-2005

Table V; Percentage of immigrants who started SFI 3 years ago and stopped attending before completion.										
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
% of immigrants	42	45	53	54	51	52	55	43	49	39
Cost per student	29200	33500	33100	37800	44700	44700	40400	-	-	-

* Costs are not inflation adjusted

Source: Department of Education, Stockholm.

Once again, we see that an indicator of success, completion of the course is not related to the resources used. At least this was true for the period 1996-2002. As was pointed out as of 2002/03 a new plan of study was introduced into the program of Swedish for immigrants divided into three different study plans with increased complexity. Each plan has two courses.

In August 2006, the minister of integration in Sweden announced a proposal that those immigrants who leave the course before completion would be penalized by having their county economic subsidy withdrawn. The large number of immigrants leaving the course is an indicator that language courses in themselves are not seen as the cultural method of inclusion for 40-50% of immigrants. This could be for various reasons. Immigrants might have found a job or another way to learn the Swedish language. Or the course might be unsuitable for different immigrant groups.

Discussion

The culture language indicators and programs built-in to the Swedish multi-cultural society are shown to be inadequate for helping children with non-Swedish backgrounds gain equality with their school mates with Swedish backgrounds. As we mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, we have looked at the rates of incomplete grades for students with non-Swedish backgrounds upon completions of compulsory schooling. Children with Swedish background also graduate with incomplete grades. But where children with a Swedish background produce about 10% of a cohort with incomplete grades, children with a non-Swedish background register over 20%. Table W below shows clearly that even those school children born in Sweden have had a lower level of competency that their Swedish friends. The program of classes in their home language together with Swedish as a second language has not been sufficient to change the discrepancy.

	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
<i>Swedish Born</i>	91.71	90.81	90.49	90.82	91.23	91.06
Boys	90.17	89.16	88.89	89.48	90.20	89.84
Girls	93.34	92.54	92.17	92.22	92.29	92.35
<i>Non-Swedish Born</i>	79.14	78.12	77.92	78.40	78.75	77.33
Boys	76.67	75.90	75.77	76.64	77.40	75.09
Girls	81.72	80.46	80.18	80.29	80.12	79.70
<i>Swedish Born with non-Swedish born parents</i>	84.23	83.65	83.90	83.83	84.90	83.19
Boys	81.60	81.51	81.85	82.73	84.08	80.99
Girls	86.90	85.92	86.06	85.01	85.72	85.52
Total	89.87	88.93	88.65	89.02	89.41	89.15

Source: Integrationsverket 2006, s.110.

A debate in Sweden this past summer has evolved around scrapping the home language lessons and using resources to strength the Swedish language. But the political response is instead to increase resources at the schools with large a percent of students with incomplete grades. There is also a suggestion that more of regular classes in mathematics and other subjects should be taught in the native home spoken language of the child.

There is much research on this subject, and experts are divided on what is the best cultural path to social inclusion by increasing language competency.

We also see that the program of social inclusion of adults through strengthening of their

competency in the Swedish language has also not given the results once assumed. The number of immigrants that quit Swedish language courses once they start is indicative that acculturation to a new country by learning the language is problematic. Although Sweden has laid emphasis on the importance of multi culturalism and the principle of equality among all of Sweden's residents, this principle is in conflict with another fundamental value of the Swedish society. This value is that of the importance of own work as a means to support. Own work as a means of support inevitably emphasizes an assimilation principle for immigrants. It is often argued that a reason for failed integration in Sweden is that those with a non-Swedish background do not know the Swedish language well enough to function in the contemporary labour market. This is a lively and continual debate in Sweden, that it is not a lack of competency of Swedish language that closes the labour market to immigrants but instead a type of structural discrimination.

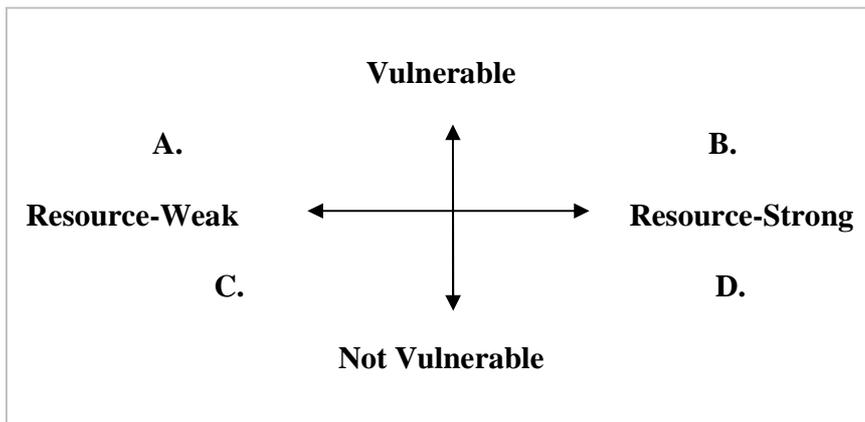
The Swedish policy, although formally promoting multiculturalism and the right to difference is convinced of the importance for immigrants to master the Swedish language. With about 50% of immigrants quitting the Swedish for immigrant program, a government suggestion has been made that those that leave the language program would be denied economic benefits. This approach has been tried in the city of Malmö, Sweden's third largest city. Protests to economic penalties were many and the program was not successful. Over 20 percent of immigrants enrolled left the program before completion despite the penalties.

Malmö city has retaliated by also penalizing the schools where courses in Swedish for immigrants is offered. Support for the courses is being decreased in proportion to the number of absentees. This measure has outraged teachers. They argue that immigrants have a hard time in a new society and many have difficult backgrounds to cope with. Penalties have proven useless, argue the schools, in trying to change behavior and from a humanitarian perspective.

VII. RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: VULNERABILITY, SHIFTING UNDERSTANDINGS AND INTEGRATION

As we pointed out in our opening chapters, the measures to reach the goals in the NAPs are designed to make a person "non-vulnerable" by increasing his or her chances on the job market and thus increasing his or her economic well being. The Agenda 2003 program is designed to increase an individual's or a group's resources to a strong position and thus decrease the risk for social exclusion.

In terms of our model of risk for social exclusion presented in Chapter Two, we can term individuals with a non-Swedish background including native minority groups as being vulnerable for a risk of social exclusion.



We explained that resources we are specifying in this report are the resources of social and economic security, human capital and self-confidence. The goals of the NAPs are usually to try and increase a person's resources by increasing his or her possibility to support him- or herself. Agenda 2003 works through culture and language, media and participation to increase an individual's or a group's social identity and thus strengthening his or her self-confidence. The goals of the NAPs and Agenda 2003 are intertwined. All are working to make ethnic and national minority groups less vulnerable to social exclusion by making them resource-strong. The hypotheses we are using is that the risk for social exclusion is strongest for those individuals and groups that find themselves in block "A". Ethnic minorities and first and second level immigrants, within the Swedish society that is not fully multi-cultural, find themselves vulnerable to social and economic exclusion by the majority society. A society itself can by macro political decisions and an ideology that "all are included" be devoted to moving these groups from block "A" and "B" to the "not vulnerable" lower half of the model, or block "C" or "D".

But this is a long process. One can say that this is the process we see in Agenda 2003 and the process we observe in our interview in Appendix 1 with the multi-cultural consult. What we have looked at in this report it what is happening to ethnic and cultural minorities while a society tries to adapt from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Are the NAPs and the Agenda 2003 working together to move individuals and groups from a "resource-weak" to a "resource-strong" position even if they are "vulnerable"?

If we limit ourselves to merely talking about resources in economic terms, we can say that the NAPs are attempting to work on the horizontal level of our model, moving people from "resource-weak" to "resource-strong" positions. We can also say that Agenda 2003 and the Multi-Cultural Year is working on the vertical level, attempting to move society from classifying minorities as "vulnerable" to "not vulnerable". If we include human capital and self-confidence as resources, however, we see that both the NAPs and the Agenda 2003 have as a goal to increase the resources for vulnerable groups.

Results

As has been pointed out in the text, the programs instituted and the measures taken have not increased equality between the majority of the population with a Swedish background and those with a non-Swedish background.

If we first look at results in the *education* system where programs have been in play for over 30 years to strengthen both competency in native-language (children) and the Swedish language (children and adults). We saw the following:

- Pre-school children's access to native language activities decreased from 60% to 14% between 1990-2005.
- In compulsory first level school, lectures in the native language is considered a low priority and is being replaced by courses in Swedish taken as a second language.
- Participation in native language lessons is voluntary and only 54% of entitled children chose to participate in 2005/2006.
- The percentage of girls and boys with a non-Swedish background who meet the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school is only 79.3% for girls and 75.7% for boys.⁷
- The percentage of girls and boys with a non-Swedish background who after four years, leave with a complete diploma are 78.7% for women and 70.8% for men.⁸
- The percentage of adults in special adult education who leave school with a grade of failed is 14.2%.⁹
- The percentage of adults leaving courses in Swedish for immigrants without completing the course was 49% in 2004 and 39% in 2005.

We see that in areas where the cultural program is to increase competency in native language, for small children activity has fallen of and for young children interest has decreased. Interest in learning Swedish for adults has always been low. Lately, with the introduction of penalties for dropping out of class in some municipalities have increased attendance and in 2005 we see that only 39% of the students drop out.

However, we also see that completion of school with a complete passing grade is lower at every level for those with a non-Swedish background. A conclusion is that even if these programs are strengthening the resources for some of the population, in the minority groups it has not increased equality between the groups, measured as equal results.

In fact, we can see that the statistics above show that in 2005 one of five girls and one of four boys leave compulsory school at the age of 16 without meeting the requirements for admission to a national program at upper secondary school. This significantly increases the risk for social exclusion.

⁷ For those with a Swedish background the percent is 92.5 for girls and 89.6 for boys.

⁸ For those with a Swedish background the percent is 84.8 for women and 81.2 for men.

⁹ For those with a Swedish background the percent is 9.2.

When we have examined the *media* and ethnic and cultural minority groups we are looking at newspapers, radio and television, production of ethnic literature, and libraries. We can say the following:

- Access to media for ethnic and cultural minority groups has decreased the last ten years. Economic support is limited and demands for support are many.
- Finnish is the national minority that has the most access to media (newspapers, radio and TV), while a small national minority as the Roma population has almost no exposure to the media.
- Those cultural activities that are free are well visited by those with non-Swedish backgrounds.
- Local TV: In 2002, only five local TV stations produced programs for minorities.
- National TV: Swedish Public Broadcasting has increased the broadcast time for the four national minority groups with 54 hours from 2001 to 2005, or about 33%.
- Public libraries: The statistics on “reading books every week” has fallen considerably for those with non-Swedish backgrounds, even though immigrants use the library as a meeting place more frequently than those with a Swedish background.

It is obvious that minority media plays an important role in both minorities’ well being and in integration. Local radio has been the most prominent media for dissemination of culture to minority groups. But local radio is run almost entirely with the help of volunteers and as such different groups are born and disappear. Sweden does not have a system of state support for radio and TV in minority languages. The library and their subscriptions to newspapers in many different languages fill a void and the library as a meeting place is well documented.

Mass media can do much more, yet it has not been a key figure in Agenda 2003.

In the *political* arena participation through voting and elective office is a definite sign of successful integration of minority groups, primarily because it shows that the legitimacy of the political system as supporting all residents is accepted as a common resource for chance and for representation of different interests. We can point to the following results in the political arena:

- 83% of those born in Sweden voted in the national elections in 1998 and in 2002. For those born abroad only 70% voted in 1998 and even less in 2002, 67%.
- Statistics also show that the number of years one has been a Swedish citizen is reflected in voting behaviour. 80% of those that became Swedish citizens in 1970 voted in the 2002 elections but only 61% of those that became citizens after 1991 voted.
- The number of non-Swedish born elected to Parliament increased by 217% during the last twenty year period. The increase for the period of County Congress was 115% and for City Council 66% during the same period.
- During the last twenty year period, those with a Swedish background (7%) were elected in a disproportionately higher number than those with non-Swedish backgrounds (2%).

The results from political participation show a worrisome tendency. Voting participation is much lower from those immigrants that have become citizens since 1990. However, non-Swedish born are more often elected to political positions, but the dramatic percent increases are still of very small numbers (see Chapter 5).

Final Discussion

We have not been able to show results that point to a successful integration pattern for Sweden. But we are able to show that the programs taken are significant and are designed to both move individuals and groups out of a vulnerable position (vertical scale in our model) and into a position with strong resources (horizontal scale in our model). These goals are not met for everyone but there is no way of knowing what the situation would have been if the goals and principles were not articulated and a part of policy. The area where Sweden is perhaps weakest with specifying goals and policy is in the mass media area. Our recommendations would be to:

- *Follow-up on the Press Subsidies Council report from 2002 with a specific program for state support for radio and television in minority languages.*
- *Develop education and training for minority media workers.*

Why doesn't Sweden meet its goal of equality in education? Sweden has had a double process of treating Integration Policy. The policy contains both assimilation and diversification. The Swedish integration policy of 1975 included both new immigrants and native minorities and the principle of "freedom of choice" was embedded in its policy. This principle was instrumental in producing home language classes in compulsory schools. However, there were no special provisions for national minorities. The main ideology was assimilation. However, the national minorities wanted to preserve their own heritage and be distinct from the Swedish society. A new integration policy was adopted as late as 1997. This policy recognized five national minorities (Sami, Swedish Finns, Tornedal Finns, Roma and Jews).

The Swedish policy towards immigrants and ethnic and cultural minority groups took over three decades to evolve and actually is aimed at both preserving distinction of languages and cultures, and promoting assimilation. This leads to a creation of cultural conflict. There is a diversion between the goals of the NAPs, which work for assimilation of new immigrants so that they can be self-supporting by entering the Swedish labour market, and the goals of Agenda 2003, which by stressing multi-culturalism attempts to reinforce ethnic identities and increase self-confidence for the individual while introducing more knowledge and tolerance into the majority Swedish culture.

This cultural conflict and confusing double signals that are given new immigrants as well as ethnic and cultural minorities are well described in the focus group interviews presented in Chapter seven. The participants in the two groups discussed the three areas of correspondence and focus on integration policies between NAPs and Agenda 2003. They discussed reasons for not being accepted, by being treated in stereotype ways in the media and about being held back from full participation.

They also talked about how it was possible to overcome these hidden hinders. It became apparent that there is a hidden culture that functions along side the apparent culture. This hidden culture is available to a member of a minority group if he or she knows how to read the unsaid “codes of behaviour”. This is a type of assimilation that is subtle and works at an individual level. But that teaching each other the codes to “getting-by” is being well established within the Swedish society is apparent by the discussion of the participants in the group interviews. This is happening in ethnic organizations and by own experience as well as trial and error.

There is a long way to go. Before the nuances of knowing hidden codes of behaviour even come into play, a hard process of assimilation must be overcome. This assimilation process as we have seen is based in the Swedish language and then on gaining access, either to a next level in higher education or a place in the job market. Once this is accomplished, a second process of assimilation starts and that is a process built-on capacity to learn and knowledge of hidden codes of behaviour.

Although the Swedish society has been outspoken for a process of diversification in integration and multi-cultural approach to a more heterogenic society, the norm of assimilation is quite strong and perhaps gaining in prominence. It could well be that this policy conflict might be a reason why voting participation by immigrants that have become new citizens has follow off. Demands for assimilation are seen as being set too high and rhetoric of equality and diversification has changed expectations but has not been able to fulfill them.

APPENDIX I: BEHIND THE SCENES OF AGENDA 2003 AND NATIONAL ACTION PLANS: A REPORT FROM TWO FOCUS GROUPS

In order to more deeply understand the positions of individuals living in Sweden but from a non-Swedish background and the perspectives they might have towards cultural indicators as relevant in combating social exclusion, we held two focus group interviews.¹⁰ These perspectives were, thought in the overall project design, to best be presented by individuals working with multiculturalism in Sweden as a part of their job. It was thus probable, but not necessary, that those invited to the focus group meeting would be individuals with a non-Swedish background. The criterion for receiving an invitation was that the person could be seen as a stakeholder dealing with multiculturalism in one of the areas media, education or politics. Two focus group interviews were held. One was held in Stockholm, May 2006. The other focus group interview was held in Malmö, June 2006.

The focus group in Stockholm was composed of four individuals. **Are** is the principle for a local school in one of Sweden's most heavily populated immigrant suburb. **Monica** is an editor for a popular magazine designed to answer "immigrants' questions." **John** is employed as a multi-cultural consultant in one of Sweden's large cities and **Juan** is active within a union that focuses on questions concerning immigrants. In the text we will refer to statements made by **Are** as **S1**, by **Monica** as **S2**, **John** as **S3** and **Juan** as **S4**.

The Malmö focus group was composed of eight individuals. **Ali (M5)** works with questions of discrimination as does **Hassan (M6)**. **Mats (M7)** works with integration and culture questions within the municipality and **Masoud (M8)** represents a Swedish-Iranian association. **Lill (M9)** works with media and active learning and **Samuel (M10)** is the artistic leader of a popular culture association. Finally, we have **Kassim (M11)**, employed to handle culture within the libraries activities, and **Marco (M12)**, a representative for a Latin-American association.

The interviews were unstructured but the interview leaders had structured the themes so that discussion would be around the three areas discussed as possible cultural indicators: education and language, media and politics. The discussions themselves invariably led to centralization around certain concepts in both groups and these were "integration" and "minority". In the following, we will attempt to give a short account of the discussions within the cultural phenomenon that are focused in this report.

Behind the scene: Education and Language

Participants in both focus groups, when discussing children and young adults, continually pointed out the importance of mastering the Swedish language and also that many youths did not have this knowledge. All of the focus group interviewees were convinced that a well-functioning command of the language was basic for being able to function in society and that this was even more important when an immigrant was in a "new" society.

M11 immediately took up the importance of the library in the development of language.

¹⁰ These interviews were held by Marcus Persson and Elin Lundin.

M11: In certain segregated areas there are lots of children who do not know their own native language or the Swedish language especially well. That is where the library together with the school has a very important role to work ahead with. All resources have to be used early, early for a child's language training. If the parents cannot give support with homework, we have to see that help comes from school and voluntary organizations etc.

Language is a sensitive area and an area that generates much discussion. Most of the focus group members had opinions about the Swedish language courses for adult immigrants and the demand by Swedes that immigrants master the Swedish language. Although the discussions reveal that the majority were positive to Adult Education in Sweden and the chance to fill out their educational needs where necessary, they were negative to the manner in which they were met in these courses and classes. The following comments point this out in different ways.

S2: As far as concerns Swedish for Immigrants and Adult Secondary Education, so a newly arrived immigrant lands there and then they demand that he complements his education because an immigrant's education is looked at as inferior. I know a man who has a doctor in Law from another country and he has to complement his education. If you have a doctor's degree in Law – it isn't Adult Secondary Education one needs.

S4: It is crazy to send academics to Swedish for Immigrants together with those that are illiterate. It is obvious that it is not going to work.

M5: When I first came to the country, I couldn't speak Swedish, I couldn't speak English and not even German. I lived really close to Swedes and my apartment was right in the middle of town, but I was totally isolated. But when I learned Swedish, I could be a part of society. Then I learned English, because I discovered that I needed that when I was abroad – in Greece for example. I feel really free wherever I am, if I know the language! If I can speak the language, I can make demands, I can know what I have for rights, I can participate in society. If I know the language then I can go and further my education in this country. I can even become engaged in politics. And if I know the language, I can be a part of media. I can work as a journalist, I can write letters to the editor!

In the preceding chapters we discussed that for an educated person born abroad, it can be more difficult to integrate into a society and to find employment. What the comments above show is that it is not the educational system available for immigrants that is the problem, but how the system is run and with what kind of attitudes people show upon meeting an immigrant and how immigrants are treated. But being "Swedish", being integrated, does not only depend on a good command of the Swedish language, yet we can not deny what S5 talks about above, that language is a necessary step. However, learning the language is not sufficient in itself. The following comments point out that after learning, speaking and even being born in Sweden (by immigrant parents), one might still not be accepted as "Swedish".

S2: The question is, how do your children think of themselves?

S4: My children are seen as second-generation immigrants. Just like the whole “royal family”. They are immigrants, the whole bunch. It is a class question. How many questions the fact that a whole family of immigrants lives in the castle? But if an immigrant wants to buy an apartment in the middle of Stockholm, that just doesn’t go.

S2: It is a problem when people that have lived here in this country for a long time start to define themselves in a way based on how others exclude them. Now we are talking about a third generation that is starting school and still are not defined as Swedish.

Thus it is not only a question to “teach” Swedish language to new immigrants. It is also a question about trying to reach minority groups with their own language or a language that they understand. The risk is otherwise that many individuals for instance miss information about where to teach themselves. Language difficulties are not only one group’s problems, but are problems for an entire society. This was the subject of much of the discussion in the second focus group. The consensus was that the majority has to reach out to those that are new immigrants. A good example of this comes from M11, who tells us what is happening at the library.

M11: Another thing that really works well is “Young guides”. We have Arabic, Somalian and some of the Yugoslavian languages, that is youths who speak these languages are at our library one night every week. I heard an Arabic pair that had been at the library for the first time when they heard on the loud speaker in their own language - at a Swedish institution - that they can come here to get help. Many of these youths think it is really fun to work with this. And we pay them exactly as usual, with pay for their work. This is a type of everyday life integration that is very, very important. Small things have a spin-off effect on daily life.

Behind the scene: Mass Media

It seems difficult to improve social inclusion of ethnic and cultural minority groups in mass media. There are many problems ventilated within the focus groups. Minorities are discussed as being invisible in the media and as being portrayed with stereotypes when they are talked about. One member of one of the focus groups even talked about minorities on television in terms of being “hostages.” He meant that the different television channels chose a person as a “token” representative of a minority to show their liberal position on integration. But, he means only certain individuals are chosen and these must be those that correspond to the picture of what a Swedish person believes is significant for an immigrant or a foreigner.

S2: A couple of years ago, I got a call from TV, from a TV director (imitates the caller)

- Hi.... I wonder if you can help me.
- Yes?
- I need to contact an immigrant woman.

- Ah, huh. What do you mean?
- But you know, an immigrant woman. We need an immigrant woman for this program.
- From what country?
- From the most common.
- Ok, one from Norway, then. I can fix that for you?
- No!
- German, then?
- No. No. No. You know.... a muslim!

The experience that S2 tells us about above mirrors how the mass media often portrays “immigrants.” Much of the discussions come repeatedly back to just this situation – the stereotyping that is done within the mass media.

M6: When it is a question (about people with a foreign background) that concerns media, it is always something awful. If something bad happens in a special neighbourhood, the papers have it on the front page for a number of days. But if the same thing happened in a little better neighbourhood, no body hears anything about it. If, by chance, they do write about it, they also write simultaneously about the involved parents and the school.

M7: What is so apparent, is that the media is not helping anybody with their articles. Instead, more and more youths see no future for themselves and more and more of them do not want to be a part of the established society. But this attitude is solely based on a misunderstanding.

But representations of alternative forms of mass media, which in different ways try to improve the immigrants’ situation in the media, also spoke out in the discussion.

M9: I work with a local media platform. There it is a question of anybody can come to the TV-station and tell his story. This is not about Swedish Television taking in a whole bunch of people the doing different minority programs according to their specification. What is important to emphasize is that if people in Sweden want to do TV, radio or a web page, let them do it. Give them the possibility... Not only “Now it is The multi-cultural Year. Now we can let The Drama Theater put up a play about something multi-cultural.” Instead give individuals the possibilities so they can do it themselves.

S2: Our thought (in her magazine) is “Facts against Prejudice.” When you learn about something, then you can something and you do not need to cultivate your prejudices. We spread research results; we try to spread information so that an ordinary person does not have to read lots of dissertations. Instead we present the latest research results – hopefully – in a good way.

Television can also be an educator. I remember well, when we came to Sweden there was a fight about elm trees in Stockholm. This was the first news that greeted you when you came here. It was impossible to understand what kind of country one landed in that was willing to start a whole revolution just to save some trees. That was the top of eccentricity. But it is also integration. One knew about the elm trees, one knew about what happened in the country.

Behind the scene: politics

Not as many immigrants vote as do individuals with a Swedish background. This has always led to lobbying work and to spreading of information for all of the political parties in an attempt to increase the number of voters that choose their political party.

S4: In the social democratic party, we have something that we call the “immigrant committee”. And we put a priority on these immigrant neighbourhoods. We came with our reading material, information and candy. And we just talked, and talked, and talked. And we won the election.

S1: I don’t think that there is any other city council neighbourhood in Stockholm that has as many immigrants than “neighbourhood X.” There was a comparison between neighbourhood Y and neighbourhood X. I believe that the city council in neighbourhood X has five immigrants on the board. In neighbourhood Y, they had zero. In neighbourhood X, they have really used the political power immigrants have.

Even the schools can and do function to train youths into forming both a political interest and a voting behaviour. S1 tells us about the school he works at:

S1: We work with the students’ council and we have a school election and a really open election debate. We invite all the political parties to participate. There was an enormous majority for the left wing parties in this last election we held for ninth graders. But that is because there is a strong social democratic majority within the neighbourhood and it is reflected within the student body.

We pointed out in earlier in this short summary of our focus group interviews that language is important even for political participation. But when the group interviewees discussed political participation, it became obvious that there was intensive specific knowledge of many more or less known political persons with immigrant backgrounds around the country and at different levels of politic and both their strong and weak points. It was obvious that the group members are conscious of who does and who does not have a foreign background in the different political parties and where they come from, what they have done and which positions they hold. It is well known who is an “immigrant” and who is not in Swedish politics in this interviewed group.

But being interested in Swedish politics is not always sufficient to “gaining entrance” into the

formal political arena. This problem was discussed as “structural discrimination” and was a popular subject within the focus group interviews.

S2: It is important to see that all the political parties have a glass ceiling for foreigners, non-Swedish born. But at the same time there is a “fast-lane” for those parties that need a “token black” to take care of minority questions... But if they talk too much about integration, they are rapidly put in their place.

S4: If I start swaggering and become troublesome and have lots of strange demands, I risk my ability to influence. But for me it is important to influence from within...It is possible to influence and have power as long as you learn the codes. Because if you do not learn the codes, it can be “Damn, there’s that damn “black”, f**k, he’s yelling.” You have to learn how to behave yourself at a meeting or a conference.

The focus group interviews show that participating in the political culture of a country is dependent on a wide variety of factors. After knowing how to speak the native language, one has to be interested in politics and feel that an individual participation can make a difference. Then one has to have access to participation. But in order not to be marginalized after one has got access to the political party and to a candidacy or a position in an elected group, one has to be able to read the cultural behaviour code that is “taken-for-granted” by others in the same arena.

In order for a non-Swede to go through all these steps towards full participation in politics, this knowledge has to be learned. This can be done by participating in meetings, conferences etc, and by that gathering experience, the focus group members conclude. S4 describes during the group interview how his union tries to teach other individuals how to behave at a meeting or a conference.

At this point, the group has brought out the importance of knowing about the hidden culture of different groups’ behaviour and the importance to have access to these cultures and that this is available through expansion of meeting places and continual discussions.

The importance of creating meeting places

It has become obvious through the focus group interviews that the group is in agreement about the necessary in creating meeting places. Meeting places should not only be created for Swedish and non-Swedish but also for adults and children and for people in the same minority groups and for different minorities group. Many examples were described in the focus group discussions about how meeting places occurred and how important they are.

S1: Yes. Why do we have a Study center in Neighbourhood X for consultation of older siblings and adults? It is because we believe that older siblings and parents need counsel. And we are also entertaining the idea that if parents came into the educational system and got engaged in their children they will have more self-confidence and eventually learn more in school.

We had lots of Latin American dance and then some Finnish mothers saw that there was some free time available in the dance auditorium and they asked if their children could start dancing classical ballet... We got a dance instructor and we called it “children’s dance” – the Finnish mothers still called it “classical ballet” – but, I mean, does it matter. They met, the kids danced and everybody had a good time. And the moms, who often were single-moms, had established a social network for themselves. They laughed lots. And then other moms, Greek mothers, Turkish mothers saw that they are laughing there. “How nice – what are they doing? There is a dance for three years old!” Yep, then they wanted their children there and something happened when all the different minority moms came there. They talked about recipes, cakes, curtains and they were forced to talk to each other in Swedish. And an integration process was already functioning. It was an exchange and a feeling of community even if it was on a Sunday afternoon.

S4: One learns how to act out in society. We need Greek organizations and Somalian organizations. It is they that talk to their friends about how you should act.

M11: One of the popular things we ever did at the library was to lend different prejudices. We loaned out living books in the form of immigrants, Danish citizens, lesbians, priests, unemployed, homeless... there were ten different people in the form of living books. And then they met for 45 minutes over a cup of coffee and just talked. An animal rights activist met a hunter. It ended with them going together out in the forest because they discovered they had the same interest in animals and nature. The first time we had one imam. The second time we had three imams. There was a lot that wanted to go to a mosque and have look.

Not only physical meeting places but also virtual or media meeting places were considered as important in the discussion. M9 talked about “open media”:

M9: Internet rapidly became a fold movement where regular private people could develop themselves. People started doing home pages where they talked about their cat or what they thought was funny. There were conversations and meeting between different people... On the internet people meet over all boundaries and no one cares if you are from Brazil or Sweden. If we don’t have these meetings, then there are only different meetings within established groups – different groups have different meetings and then it is “we” and “them”.

Conclusions

The focus group interviews showed that integration depends on apparent culture as well as “hidden” culture. At times what we take as good practices is behavior that is at an apparent level, for example, to learn a language. But the hidden culture, for instance the attitudes in work about how these language programs are presented and how an individual is seen and treated in an encounter can sabotage the language program. This double edge to culture is something that each focus group expounded upon as we went through the areas of cultural indicators to promote social inclusion.

These discussions and the opinions expressed and the stories told have enriched our understanding about why the empirical results of extensive programs do not have the effect we might have expected.

APPENDIX II: THE DISAPPEARING MULTI-CULTURAL CONSULTANT

In 2001 the Swedish Council for Culture received a request from the government to start work on multi-culturalism. One of the tools used by the Council for Culture was a regional multi-cultural consultant, which the council would jointly finance together with the respective regional county.

The multi-cultural consultant work was described to coordinate different actors and the public against a background that would reflect the many cultures that composed Sweden. The immediate goal was that everyone should have the chance to participate in a cultural life that feels relevant from his or her own frame of reference and everyone should have the possibility to influence this independent of ethnic or cultural background. A long-term goal was that the work of the consultant would result in a natural multi-cultural perspective for all cultural activities (SOU 2005:91).

The multi-cultural consultant can function as a resource to artists and public. But the consultant should also be an activist in spreading knowledge and inspiration.

To throw a little light on what has happened to the multi-cultural consultants, we will go back to our focus groups interviews and let a consultant tell his story.

S3: I have worked as a multi-cultural consultant for one year now, but now I am down to 50% because of other commitments. Just now there is a new consultant that is going to take over my job.

My job is to see that certain regional authorities in Stockholm are concerned and active in integrating an immigrant and multi-cultural perspective in their work. This includes such things as the libraries and the county music conservatory, and the opera in the concert hall.

The first thing I did was to meet with representatives for all these different

institutions and start a discussion with them about immigrant and multi-cultural policies. So it is really about looking at quotas among the culture sector and to see that production within the culture sphere and public wise is according to these principles.

Of course, there are many within music that think they are multi-cultural and the same within production. And that the public is already multi-cultural. As to recruiting, we have lots to do. There is a fear that if we slant it too much, the entire western culture is going to disappear. Take, for example, the clarinet and the oboe and make it a focus and an interest for other instruments. Then you have a fear within the culture branch that a part of their identity is going to disappear. At the same time, one has realized that culture or performing arts is a pretty good platform for integration.

S4: Why should instruments disappear? One can play jazz with a clarinet.

S3: Yes, you can. But there is a fear for the education that exists. For example, if you are 40 years old and have played classical music for the last 20 years... That is a little about what comes up all the time. . It is difficult to argue about it because they already think that they are multi-cultural but at the same time they are not.

S4: This is a part of the problem. When something comes that is new and no one understands it, I usually say “When a new wind blows, everyone builds a wind shelter.” You should build a windmill and use the wind. But as you said, they are afraid that the clarinet and the oboe will disappear, but they do not have to.

S3: No, but that is the kind of fear that is there. All traditional cultural expressions will disappear, but it is the thoughts that must expand in order to allow for different and new perspectives.

S4: Why is the position it called a multi-cultural consultant, why not just culture consultant?

(Silence and then laughter)

S3: It was coined years ago, but I agree, it might not be right.

S4: I had the good luck to be in what was one of my life’s experiences. 1998 when Stockholm was the Head Cultural City. I was a culture activist and I was everywhere for one year. Then... now it is multi-culturalism this year, but what happens next year? There are lots of initiative and then “poof”. I thought it was going to be a tradition.

S3: But the Year of Multi-Culturalism is about getting a bunch of money and is about institutions and regional authorities understanding that they have to have a

multi-cultural perspective, they must have a policy. You have to take this discussion in a sensible way. It is the idea with the Year of Multi-Culturalism, that you should pick ideas about how you can form a continuation that is about tolerance and acceptance. One has to help institutions find a multi-cultural policy that is long term. You look at recruiting and you look at a platform for continuing work.

As was pointed out, the multi-cultural consultant is too new an endeavour to evaluate as of yet.¹¹ But the idea goes to the institutional structure of culture. And as has been pointed out, the biggest problem is fear that the old culture will be lost.

¹¹ The Year of Multi-culturalism and the multi-cultural consults project is planned to be evaluated in summer 2007 (SOU 2005:91).

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