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EUROPEAN INTERCULTURAL WORKPLACE PROJECT - WORK PACKAGE 3 - AN ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRATION TO SWEDEN

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1. General background – Sweden

1.1 Historical development to current situation

1.1.1 Before the second world war

Immigration into what is now Sweden, in a sense began as the inland ice retreated. Jumping forward to a historically well-known period, Viking thralls are an early type of immigration. During the middle-ages monks from different European countries immigrated. However, the most significant wave of immigration during this period consisted of Germans coming under the auspices of the Hanseatic league. Danes and Finns also immigrated during this period, if we can talk of "immigration" given that what is now Finland belonged to Sweden and that Sweden sometimes belonged to Denmark, at the time. During the time of Swedish expansion in the 17th century (1565 - 1721), people from most of the countries in north Europe and around the Baltic immigrated to Sweden. Among the groups who came were Walloons (from what is now Belgium), Dutch, Germans, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Finns, Danes and Norwegians.

The 19th century was to a greater extent characterized by emigration (especially to the USA) than by immigration. Because of the union with Norway, there was some Norwegian immigration. In the period between 1900—1945 the pattern of more emigration than immigration continued.

1.1.2 After the second world war

After the second world war, (according to SOU 2004:73, p.30) economic development was characterized by a strong labor shortage and during the 1940s there was immigration from Finland, Norway, Denmark, Poland, and the Baltic countries into Sweden (mainly refugees). During the 1950s, there were several labor recruitment campaigns in especially southern Europe to find workers for Swedish export industry. The revolution in Hungary 1956 led to several thousand Hungarian refugees coming to Sweden. During the 1960s there was a sizeable immigration from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and the Nordic countries. 40 % of the immigrants came from Finland. Besides labor immigration, the military coup in Greece, the Vietnam war, persecution of Polish Jews and the unrest in Prague during the spring of 1968 led many political refugees to come to Sweden. However, the Nordic countries, especially Finland, was the largest source of immigration during the post-war period.

One of the factors that facilitated immigration during the 1950s and 1960s was the fact that Sweden then had a policy of unrestricted labor immigration to meet the needs of Swedish industry. Sweden had not participated in world war II. It was therefore more prosperous than neighbouring countries. Its industry was intact and developing and there was a labor shortage. Toward the end of the 1960s, the policy was changed so that non-Nordic citizens were given labor permits only if this was motivated by labor market need. The policy was that labor immigrants should not stay in Sweden, rather they should return to their home countries when the need for labor diminished. In spite of this policy, the majority of the labor immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s ended up staying in Sweden (SOU 2004:73, p.30).

1.1.3

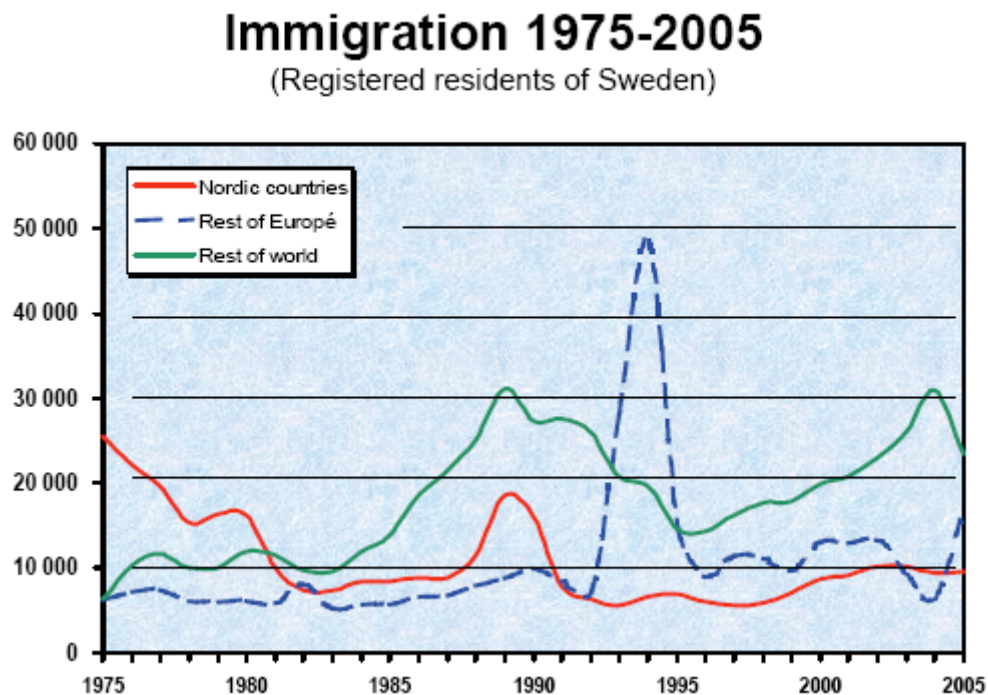
1970s and 1980s

In the early 1970s the currents of immigration changed. Labor immigration decreased as a result of recession in combination with an increase in negative attitudes from the Swedish unions and employers' organizations while refugee immigration increased. In the mid-1970s refugees arrived from South America, especially from Chile. There were also waves of refugees such as Assyrians, Syrians and Kurds from Turkey and Lebanon (SOU 2004:73, p.31).

Up until 1975 almost 90% of the immigrants came from European countries. In the 1980s there was a change in the currents of immigration, 50% of the immigrants came from non-European countries. More than 400 000 persons immigrated to Sweden in the 1980s. A large portion of the immigrants during this period were refugees from Iran and Iraq as well as from countries in eastern Africa (SOU 2004:73, p.31).

The diagram shows immigration to Sweden 1974—2005, divided into immigration from the Nordic countries, the rest of Europe and the rest of the world.

Diagram 1



Source: Verksamheten i siffror 2005, The Swedish Migration Board

It is noticeable how immigration from the Nordic countries, mainly Finland, and the rest of the world switched places around 1980. Hence the Nordic countries, up until this time the most important source, fell to second and third place.

1.1.4

Development since 1990

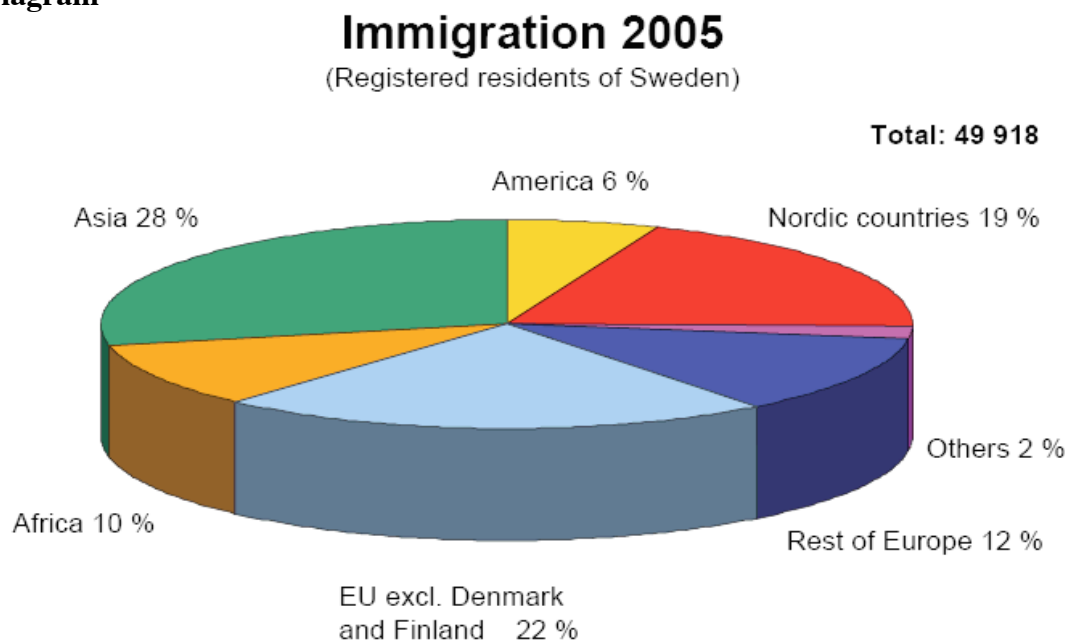
Immigration to Sweden during the 1990s and 2000s has mainly involved political refugees and cases of family reunion. The war in former Yugoslavia had as a consequence a large number of refugees culminating in 1994. The number of refugees from Balkan meant that the share of immigrants from European countries once again exceeded 50% (SOU 2004:73, p. 31).

According to statistics from the Swedish Migration Board regarding 2005 approximately 50,000 persons immigrated into Sweden while 15 500 foreign citizens emigrated (Facts & Figures 2005).

Diagram 2 below shows immigration in 2005, divided into persons holding citizenship from the Nordic countries, citizenship from other countries within the EU, the rest of Europe, Africa, Asia, America, and others.

Diagram

2



Source: Facts & Figures 2005, the Swedish Migration Board

In all, 62,463 persons were granted residence permits in 2005, an increase compared to 2004, during which year the corresponding number was 59,144. In addition to the above, approximately 13,600 Swedish citizens migrated into Sweden while approximately 21 700 Swedish citizens emigrated (Facts & Figures 2005).

In table 1 below, we give a more detailed account of all groups of immigrants into Sweden and emigrants from Sweden, in 2003 and 2004, by country of birth. The table shows that the largest group, moving in and out of Sweden, are Asians, followed by Swedes and persons from the other Nordic countries. The table also shows that more Swedes emigrate than immigrate.

Table 1. Immigration to and emigration from Sweden of the major groups of Swedish and non-Swedish citizens in 2003 and 2004

Country of birth	2003			2004		
	Immigrant	Emigrant	Immigration surplus	Immigrant	Emigrant	Immigration surplus
Total	63 795	35 023	28 772	62 028	36 586	25 442
Sweden	12 588	16 317	-3 729	11 467	16 634	-5 167
Nordic countries excl. Sweden	9 961	6 391	3 570	8 847	6 685	2 162
Denmark	3 226	1 506	1 720	3 203	1 751	1 452
Finland	3 151	2 848	303	2 716	2 850	-134
Iceland	416	268	148	355	281	74
Norway	3 168	1 769	1 399	2 573	1 803	770
EU25 excl. Nordic countries	7 809	3 919	3 890	9 851	4 157	5 694
Estonia	291	75	216	397	108	289
France	498	356	142	588	409	179
Greece	347	344	3	313	315	-2
Italy	250	175	75	289	209	80
Lithuania	217	47	170	427	55	372
The Netherlands	435	197	238	540	192	348
Poland	1 143	331	812	2 552	351	2 201
Spain	362	258	104	321	245	76
Gt Britain and Northern Ireland	1 252	805	447	1 229	799	430
Germany	1 998	730	1 268	2 010	838	1 172
Other countries	1 016	601	415	1 185	636	549
Europe excl. EU25 and Nordic countries	7 411	1 356	6 055	7 004	1 419	5 585
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1 405	209	1 196	975	182	793
Yugoslavia	1 600	361	1 239	413	382	31
Rumania	383	120	263	395	126	269
Russia	1 019	157	862	1 245	179	1 066
Serbia and Montenegro	420	1	419	1 479	16	1 463
Turkey	1 378	249	1 129	1 314	276	1 038
The Ukraine	274	30	244	327	41	286
Other countries	932	229	703	856	217	639
Africa	4 401	1 456	2 945	4 723	1 673	3 050
Burundi	194	1	193	321	2	319
Eritrea	236	18	218	264	26	238
Ethiopia	286	192	94	361	233	128
Morocco	330	79	251	296	82	214
Somalia	1 361	525	836	1 159	652	507
Other countries	1 994	641	1 353	2 322	678	1 644
North and South America	3 863	1 872	1 991	3 876	1 945	1 931
USA	1 181	794	387	1 174	832	342
Brazil	299	151	148	358	140	218
Chile	570	325	245	567	321	246
Colombia	287	81	206	370	67	303
Other countries	1 526	521	1 005	1 407	585	822
Asia	17 211	3 341	13 870	15 712	3 691	12 021
Afghanistan	929	36	893	851	38	813
Bangladesh	246	45	201	277	68	209

The Philippines	437	81	356	446	66	380
India	810	263	547	887	292	595
Iraq	5 425	421	5 004	3 126	529	2 597
Iran	1 300	674	626	1 610	723	887
Japan	371	286	85	291	240	51
China	1 434	322	1 112	1 563	456	1 107
Lebanon	611	206	405	591	243	348
Pakistan	367	89	278	529	118	411
Palestine	419	8	411	388	18	370
Syria	627	86	541	597	88	509
Thailand	2 075	141	1 934	2 175	178	1 997
Vietnam	354	77	277	377	81	296
Other countries	1 806	606	1 200	2 004	553	1 451
Oceania	416	283	133	422	306	116
Unknown countries						
incl. the Soviet Union	135	88	47	126	76	50

Source: Migration 2004, SCB

Besides the national, ethnic background of immigrants, it is also of interest to observe their distribution in terms of age and gender. In table 2, we present statistics on age and in table 3, on gender.

Table 2. Foreign born and domestic born population in Sweden, divided by age, 2003.

Age	% born outside Sweden of total population	Number born outside Sweden	Age group % of all foreign born persons
0-15:	4.8	82 690	7.7
16-24:	12.1	115 788	10.7
25-34:	15.6	181 572	16.8
35-44:	16.7	213 852	19.8
45-54:	15.5	182 796	17.0
55-64:	12.3	142 065	13.2
65-:	10.3	159 312	14.8

(Calculations based on statistics from the Swedish Integration Board.)

As we can see the largest number of immigrants are to be found in the ages between 24 – 54, i.e. the main period of working life. In table 3, we now present the relative share (%) of age groups (for all foreign born persons) cross classified with gender 2003.

Table 3. Age group % of all foreign born persons divided by gender 2003.

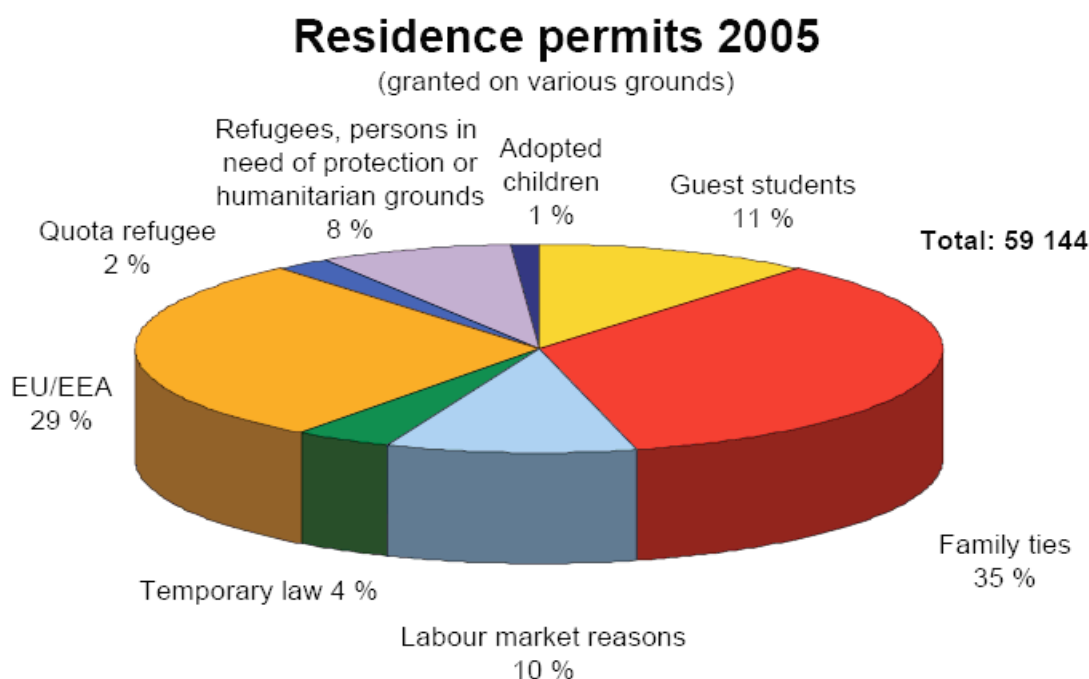
(Calculations based on statistics from the Swedish Integration Board.)

Age	% of all foreign born persons	
	men	women
0-15:	3.9	3.8
16-24:	4.9	5.8
25-34:	7.9	8.9
35-44:	10.0	9.8
45-54:	8.3	8.7
55-64:	6.6	6.6
65-:	5.9	8.9

Table 3 shows that the distribution of gender varies with age but that there are more foreign born women than men in most age groups (the exceptions are age groups 0 – 15 and 35 – 44, where there are slightly more men). The female dominance is greatest in the highest age groups, probably because women tend to live longer than men.

Another factor of importance in order to analyze training needs in connection with immigration, concerns the causes of immigration. The types of residence permits given in Sweden here give some information. The diagram below shows how the residence permits relate to different groups.

Diagram 3 Distribution of residence permits 2005



We can note that the largest portion of the permits are granted due to family reunions while a mere 10% are granted due to labor market reasons even though there is reason to believe that the labor market is an important factor when it comes to using the EU/EEA agreement.

In 2005 17 530 persons applied for asylum in Sweden, which is a 25 % decrease compared to 2004. The largest groups of asylum seekers consisted of citizens of Serbia and Montenegro as well as Iraq (Migration 2005, Statistics Sweden).

Since intercultural relations in the work place is a main focus of the EIW project, below we will first briefly focus on labor immigration (in section 1.2), before, more generally, turning to responses to immigration in different sectors of society. Thus, we will now give a short description of labor immigration and integration within the labor market according to the government's long term inquiry 2003/2004, (SOU 2004:73) and Statistikrapport 2004 from the Swedish Integration Board.

1.2 Some work place related features of the current situation

1.2.1 Labor immigration

"Since 1927 Sweden has a law which regulates and controls the rights of alien citizens to live and work in Sweden. There is an agreement between the Nordic countries since 1954 which stipulates a common and free labor market, which means Nordic citizens may live and work in another Nordic country without having to apply for a residence or work permit.

Immigration into Sweden has been regulated since 1967 and means that non-Nordic citizens must have the residence permit approved before entering Sweden. Since 1994, when the EEA agreement took effect, the mobility opportunities have improved for citizens of the European Union and EEA countries*. [...] Work permits are required for alien citizens of countries outside of the European Union/EEA-area who do not hold permanent residence, the permit requirement applies to essentially all forms of work with certain exceptions. [...] Citizens of non-Nordic countries must have residence permits for stays in Sweden that exceed a period of three months."

*Apart from citizens of the European Union the rules also apply to citizens of the EEA-countries Liechtenstein, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland.

(SOU 2004:73, p. 35.)

"In Sweden work permits are granted to cover a temporary lack of labor and to facilitate international exchange. First and foremost vacancies are to be filled by labor from Sweden or another European Union or EEA-country. Regional employment boards (Länsarbetsnämnderna) decide when there is a lack in labor within different professions in Sweden and advise the Swedish Migration Board" (SOU 2004:73, p.36.)

"Approximately a fourth of the temporary work permits granted employees from non-European Union countries concerns the fields of entertainment and culture. More than a third of the work permits have been granted Poles for work in the following fields: entertainment, farming, industry, crafts and nursing. A lot of Americans are also granted work permits in Sweden, mostly regarding work within entertainment and business management. Employees working temporarily in Sweden often come from Poland, the USA, the Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Russia, India and China. Combined these nationalities constitute more than half of the granted permits." (SOU 2004:73, p. 37).

Today the annual number of work permits is very low and only makes up about 15% of the total number of granted residence permits. Immigrants born in Denmark, Norway and Finland belong to the five largest groups of labor immigrants in Sweden (Statistikrapport 2004, Swedish Integration Board).

1.2.2 Labor market integration

Over the years the labor market integration policy has changed from very limited efforts (the workers who arrived in the 50s and 60s was not expected to stay), via directed measures regarding immigrants, to an effort to manage integration by general measures. However, even if the labor market integration policy has changed on paper, the real changes have often been more limited.

According to the report from the Swedish Migration Board regarding 2004, employment since 1987 has decreased for the whole population in Sweden, from 82% to 75%, but the decrease has been greater among immigrants, from 75% to 59%. It seems that deindustrialization, rationalization and cutbacks have affected the immigrant groups the most. Foreign born persons have, to a larger extent, temporary employment according to the report, and given the fact that legislation regarding job security favors those with the longest employment, it is probably a tenable conclusion that immigrants are more vulnerable when it comes to market fluctuations.

There has also been a large structural change concerning the relative distribution of types of employment for immigrants. Towards the end of the 1980s about 40% of all foreign-born men and about 20% of all foreign-born women worked in industries. These shares have decreased to 25 and 10% respectively in 2004 (Statistikrapport 2004, p. 24).

1.3 Responses to immigration in different sectors of society

Generalizing somewhat, one might say that instead of getting productive industrial jobs, unemployed immigrants, but also the newly arrived immigrants have been directed towards jobs within the service sector which are low in production and poorly paid, not the least within cleaning-, hotel and restaurant business. Heavy and strenuous jobs for immigrants also have resulted in an increased level of long term sick leave and early retirement.

Below we will now briefly examine responses to immigration in different sectors of society, i.e. government, civic non-government, business, academic and media.

1.3.1 Government response

Legislation against ethnic discrimination in the work place

Sweden has had an anti-ethnic discrimination law in the workplace since 1994, and an ombudsman against discrimination since 1986. The law of 1994 was considered too inefficient, and the legislation was therefore tightened on several points in 1999. The aims of the new law are to prevent discrimination, and it also demands that employers and trade unions take action to prevent discrimination on their own initiative. Since 1999, each employer is required to take initiative and pursue a goal-oriented work for ethnic diversity, both regarding recruitment and working conditions at the workplace. The legislation of 1999 comprises both direct and indirect discrimination, as well as ethnic harassment at the work place. The law also prescribes shared burden of proof in the case of a trial.

The Swedish antidiscriminatory rules and regulations, which to some extent can be seen as responses to EU legislations, directives and treaties, are found in:

- Law (2006:67) prohibiting discrimination and other offensive treatment of children and pupils.
- Law (2003:307) prohibiting discrimination. Changes inserted up to SFS (2005:480).
- Law (1999:130) prohibiting discrimination at the work place on ethnic or religious grounds. Changes inserted up to SFS (2005:477).

- Law (1999:131) on the ombudsman against ethnic discrimination. Changes inserted up to SFS (2003:313).
- Law (1999:132) prohibiting discrimination at the work place due to disability. Changes inserted up to SFS (2005:478).
- Law (1999:133) prohibiting discrimination at the work place due to sexual orientation. Changes inserted up to SFS (2005:479).
- Law (2001:1286) on equal treatment of students in tertiary education.
- Chapter 16 § 9 of the Penal Code.

EU treaties and directives fighting discrimination

The most important EU treaties and directives fighting discrimination are:
(based on Müller et al 2004)

- 1) *The Amsterdam treaty* from year 1999 signed by the member states, in which article 12 prohibits discrimination on grounds of nationality and article 13 speaks of the obligations of the EU to promote equality between genders, and a general decree to fight discrimination due to a.o. ethnic background and sexual orientation
- 2) *The Nice treaty* from year 2000 strengthened the work against discrimination by establishing that the Council of Ministers shall implement strong measures in order to prevent discrimination. At the same time the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) was adopted, in which Article 21 on non-discrimination prohibits any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation.
- 3) *Directive 2000/43/EC* is about the implementation of the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin and prohibits discrimination within the areas of employment, vocational guidance and training, social protection including social security and health care, social advantages, education, as well as access to and supply of goods and services.
- 4) *Directive 2000/78/EC* fortifies and further expands the protection against discrimination at the workplace (i arbetslivet). The contents of the directive constitutes a general framework for equal treatment as far as recruitment and employment. It prohibits discrimination based on religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

The EU "Service Directive"

The main ideas of the proposed directive concerning services on the inner market is to make it easier for service companies established in an EU country to become established in other EU countries and to increase the mobility of services between the member countries. In order to facilitate company establishments, the commission, for instance, proposes that the EU abolish such demands on citizenship and residence that make it harder for companies to become established in other EU countries.

As in other EU countries, the first proposal in January 2004 for a "service directive" received mixed responses in Sweden. Generalizing, we may say that, in the main, the employers were favorably inclined toward the increased competition that would have resulted from the

proposed directive, while the trade unions were negative to the idea that companies coming from other EU countries than Sweden would not have to follow local legislation and local labor market agreements. As we now know, this latter stance was shared in other EU countries and strong enough to force an amendment in the services directive proposal, so that the directive proposal that exists today is a kind of compromise based on the earlier proposal.

Official government policy

The government has continuously played an active role in Swedish immigration policies. Below we present some recent examples of what the government wants to achieve through its policies according to a press release 14/4/2005 published at the government web page, cf. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/5393/a/42701>

Improving rate of employment

"Today, the average employment rate among foreign born persons is 60%: 57% for foreign born women and 62% for foreign born men." "The government, together with its coalition partners, the left party and the environmental party, has taken action to improve integration on the work market. But this is not enough. Therefore, the level of ambition is now being raised.

- Sweden will become a model in the field of integration. This will come about through a clear policy for newly arrived, general welfare policies and strong anti-discrimination policies, says minister of integration, Jens Orback. Employment among foreign born persons must increase and close in on the employment numbers for the total population.

Improved early information and education

More efforts are necessary to give newly arrived persons access to the labor market. The quality of instruction in the Swedish language should be improved and adjusted in accordance with the needs and qualifications of the individuals. It is to start immediately upon arrival in the country and run in parallel with work, work training, validation of foreign qualifications as well as with other supplementary education. The government intends to present a special bill to parliament regarding the treatment of newly arrived immigrants at the latest in the spring of 2006.

Improving integration in the labor market for long resident immigrants

Not only recently arrived immigrants but also foreign born persons who have lived in Sweden for a long period of time are unemployed to a higher extent than persons born in Sweden. The government, therefore, wants to invest more in those who have been unemployed for a long period of time. Examples of such investments are:

- The means for employment assistance is strengthened. Another 10 000 employment assistance positions will go to persons who have been unemployed for a long period.
- Extended special investment in complementing education for immigrant academics with an extra 10 million crowns per year 2005-2006 intended for 100 positions.

Fighting discrimination

There are differences on the labor market between those born in Sweden and those who have arrived from other countries which cannot be explained by level of education, work experience or age. the following measures are to be taken:

- The government will be a role model as an employer. Recruiting processes within the government are to be non-discriminating. The government will increase funding for education and information to the officials recruiting people. The government will also appoint a commission to review the conditions of job applications being handed in anonymously.
- Discrimination of people applying for housing is to be prevented. The government will initiate negotiations with the municipal housing landlords' organization, SABO about code of conduct for the municipal housing landlords.
- Discrimination in restaurants is to be prevented. A review of the legislation regarding serving alcoholic beverages is to be undertaken to investigate whether anti-discrimination conditions can be made part of the licences and permissions given.

In the budget proposition the government will produce concrete proposals which may take effect in 2006. In the spring proposition in 2006 a composed strategy for the upcoming work will be presented.

Efforts already carried out

New legislation regarding discrimination has been produced and funding for anti-discrimination bureaus has been provided.

Action has also been taken in the following fields: supplementary education, validation of foreign vocational qualifications, trainee positions.

The discrimination committee is reviewing the issue of demands for diversity plans in all organizations.

The unemployment centers have been given increased resources in order to increase the possibilities of giving more individually tailored support.

The government and representatives from both employers and employee organizations in the labor market have entered into an agreement implying that the parties are jointly responsible for making sure each individual's competence will be utilized" (Pressrelease 2005-04-14. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/5393/a/42701>).

Labour market measures

The information in the four paragraphs below is obtained from Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen AMS, the National Labor Market Board (www.ams.se).

The task of AMS is to contribute to meeting the government's political and economic goals, officially stated as full employment and increased welfare by contributing to a good and sustainable economic growth. A subgoal is the limitation of the official unemployment figures at a maximum of four per cent and that 80 per cent of the population aged 20-64 years should have a regular employment.

The main tool of AMS is the Employment Agency (Arbetsförmedlingen AF) which has the job of providing contact between job applicants and employers (via AF Internet, AF customer service and the local AF offices).

In order to enhance the possibilities for unemployed to find a job, AMS employs several labor market instruments such as labor market education, trainee jobs, private business start subsidies and special municipal youth programs. Other available activities are guidance/job placement, labor market rehabilitation, computer studies and orientation courses. AMS also offers special labor market projects and an employment support program following a special government regulation.

AMS has noticed the difficult situation for the immigrants on the labor market and the deterioration of employment for non-Nordic citizens that has occurred during the last year and a half. The board is trying to raise their employment, among other things by workplace introduction programs for certain immigrants. In 2004, 4.034 individuals were given the opportunity to participate in the workplace introduction program. After the program ended, 50 per cent were still working. Employment subsidies for employers are another example of labor market policy measures in which employers are compensated for a large part of the wage costs. Mainly municipalities, smaller businesses and associations have become more interested in employing immigrants as an effect of these subsidies.

1.3.2 Civic – non-government response

Historically, government initiatives and responses have been very important for immigration in Sweden, civic responses and initiatives have been less important.

There are only a few voluntary agencies that have played an important role in the response to immigration in Sweden. Most of the campaigns and anti-racist, intercultural training have been initiated and sponsored by government agencies.

A few exceptions to this are worth mentioning. Important work has been done by the Red Cross and the Immigrant Institute (an NGO umbrella organization for immigrant organizations). Confer home pages the Red Cross www.redcross.se or www.redcross.org, the Immigrant Institute www.immi.se.

There are also a large number of different immigrant organizations cooperating with the communes, thus contributing to the integration process. These organizations also receive grants from the state/commune for their activities.

1.3.3 Business Community Response

The Business Community has been the driving force behind labor immigration. Large Swedish companies like Volvo and SKF (the Swedish ball bearing company) already in the 1950s recruited labor in southern Europe, especially Italy. Later on such recruitment has continued whenever there has been a labor shortage and government policy has allowed it. The present trend, however, is not so much to move immigrant labor to Sweden as to move

industry to places in Europe (e.g. at present the Baltic states or other former communist countries in eastern Europe) where labor costs are lower than in Sweden.

Professional training programs were often an important part of the industrial recruitment of immigrants. Such programs were for example established by the companies mentioned, SKF and Volvo. The immigrant groups recruited by Swedish companies often form fairly stable communities in Swedish cities like Göteborg, Stockholm and Västerås.

1.3.4 Academic Community Response

In Sweden, immigration and immigrants have for almost 30 years constituted a focus for an increasing number of academic studies. Such studies have been conducted in a large number of disciplines, e g:

- 1) Swedish
- 2) Linguistics
- 3) Ethnography
- 4) Anthropology
- 5) Sociology
- 6) Psychology
- 7) Economy
- 8) History
- 9) Political science

New research centers and sometimes university departments have been established to study the effects of migration. One example of this is the field of IMER (International Migration Ethnic Relations), which started in the late 1970s, and which is strong in Malmö and Stockholm.

Even if immigration has been a relatively popular topic of research and there a fair number of non-Swedes actually are employed in the universities, the reception of university educated immigrants into Swedish working life has been somewhat less enthusiastic (This is especially true outside of jobs outside the university). Many immigrants with university education (often political refugees) have not been able to get jobs matching their level of competence but have instead been forced to long term unemployment or to work in more unskilled jobs (taxi drivers, cleaners, etc).

The government has conducted several studies which have noticed and pointed to this problem and several attempts have been made to change the situation.

1.3.5 Media Response

Compared to many other countries, the media in Sweden, largely speaking, adopt a pro-immigration stance. In reports on criminality when the offender is non-Swedish this fact is often left out. Not much room is given to racist, nationalist or xenophobic opinions in the media. On the contrary, such opinions, when they occur are usually universally condemned. Media regularly report on discrimination and xenophobia and try sometimes also to give a

positive picture of the synergies that might result from an intercultural work place. Issues of linguistic competence and language training are fairly often discussed and have, over the years, resulted in several changes of the government sponsored language training programs. There is however, less awareness in general of the issues connected with intercultural differences and intercultural communication.

In contrast to the generally positive picture of immigration given in the media, we might however also say that there has been a long-term trend over the past 30 years where media have perhaps slowly turned more negative and critical. Media reporting 30 years ago in Sweden was perhaps characterized by more naïveté and ignorance about immigrants and the conditions of immigration than is the case today.

The journalist Ylva Brune wrote her doctoral dissertation (2004) on the image of the immigrants in Swedish media since the 1970s. According to her, the news media have over time come to construct a category of 'immigrant/s' which is characterized by flaws and problems in comparison with 'the Swede/s', who are taken to be the norm. 'We', the news consumers, are not being presented with much information about the characteristics of the norm category. It is the deviation, 'the immigrant/s', which is scrutinized in the media.

- By repetition of expressions like 'immigrant woman', 'immigrant dense', 'immigrant suburbs' in Swedish media these expressions seem to characterize something real.

- 'Immigrants' are being presented from a point of view defined by different authorities as problematic.

- Statistical differences between 'Swedes' and 'immigrants' are transformed into negative traits, i.e. flaws — belonging to the deviant category, 'the immigrants'.

- Structural problems in society are either concretized as traits pertaining to 'the immigrants' or as difficulties for 'the immigrants'.

- General statements about 'immigrants' made by experts, or by elected representatives for 'immigrants', or by the narrator in the text are mixed in the news.

- Personifications of immigrants are formed as examples of an already defined general complex of problem, or as an exception of the same.

- A media archive with texts about 'immigrants' and images of 'immigrants' makes it possible to associate to, reuse and confirm a recognizable universe of ideas.

The recurrent traits ascribed to the media's immigrants are not merely a product of the media. Their origin is to be found in the national construction projects, where white, Western and Christian has been created as a superior category to an imagined Oriental antipode. It is also interesting to observe how in the meeting with 'the immigrant', news texts have for decades created a new 'Swedishness' which is

characterized by modernity, rationality and equality." (Text written by Ylva Brune for this report. Our translation)

To this we may add that the five national minorities in Sweden, i.e. the Sami, the Finns, the Torne valley inhabitants, the Romanies and the Jews, have low visibility in the media. Programs in national minority languages on national TV are reduced to 10 minutes Finnish and Sami per day and a Finnish children's program once a week. There are no dailies to be found in the national minority languages.

1.4 Summary of historical trends

As the overview shows, Sweden had relatively large amounts of immigration until the 18th century. This was followed by a period, ending in 1945, when there was more emigration (mainly to the USA), than immigration.

In the immediate period after World War II, many refugees from the war arrived in Sweden. This was followed by a period lasting roughly until the 1970s of large scale labor immigration. The largest groups came from the Nordic countries, especially Finland, and former Yugoslavia. Since the mid 1970s, political refugees and family reunions have become the largest group of immigrants into Sweden, and large groups have now come from areas of political unrest like Latin America (1970s), Iran (1980s), former Yugoslavia and Iraq. Below we will summarize the development in two tables (tables 4 and 5).

In table 4, we can see the 10 largest groups of people born outside of Sweden (2005). Table 5 shows the 10 largest groups of foreign citizens in Sweden in 2005. These are the two main ways immigrants can be found in Swedish statistics since registration by language or ethnic group is allowed. Children born in Sweden of naturalized immigrants, thus receiving Swedish citizenship, are not represented in these tables.

Table 4 The ten largest groups of foreign born persons in Sweden, 2005

	Country of birth	Total	Men	Women
1.	Finland	183 685	75 565	108 120
2.	Yugoslavia	74 032	37 702	36 330
3.	Iraq	72 553	27 068	27 745
4.	Bosnia-Herzegovina	54 813	26 682	27 267
5.	Iran	54 470	29 045	25 425
6.	Poland	46 203	16 698	29 505
7.	Norway	44 773	19 251	25 522
8.	Denmark	42 602	22 658	19 944
9.	Germany	41 584	19 032	22 552
10.	Turkey	35 853	19 033	16 820

Source: Statistics Sweden, 2006

Besides showing country of birth, Table 4, shows us that some groups have a very unequal gender balance. There are many more women than men born in Finland, Norway, Poland and

Germany and there are more men than women born in Iraq and Iran. Probably the explanation for such imbalances are a combination of political (war), labor market and cultural reasons.

Table 5 The ten largest groups of foreign citizens, 2005

	Citizenship country	Total	Men	Women
1.	Finland	87 067	37 288	49 779
2.	Iraq	31 892	16 552	15 340
3.	Norway	35 418	17 394	18 024
4.	Denmark	32 885	19 239	13 646
5.	Germany	20 969	11 084	9 885
6.	Poland	17 172	6 763	10 409
7.	Serbia and Montenegro	17 106	9 016	8 090
8.	Bosnia-Herzegovina	13 661	6 762	6 899
9.	Gt. Britain & Northern Ireland	14 726	10 177	4 549
10	Iran	11 535	5 712	5 823

Source: Statistics Sweden, 2006

If we compare the figures in table 4 and 5, we see that the figures in table 4 are higher than in table 5, which means that many people born outside of Sweden have acquired Swedish citizenship. Thus, almost 100 000 Finnish immigrants have changed citizenship. We also see that the source countries are roughly the same in both tables if we take into account the political split up of Yugoslavia. Only Turkey, Great Britain and Northern Ireland differentiate the two tables. Thus, the tables give a good picture of the ethnic make up of immigrants in Sweden. We can see that the Nordic countries in the order Finland – Norway – Denmark are the largest source of immigration. Immigrants from the Nordic countries are followed by immigrants from former Yugoslavia (including Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo). In third place we have people from Iraq and Iran and in fourth place people from Baltic neighbors like Poland and Germany. Thus, the largest groups of immigrants in Sweden come from:

1. The Nordic countries (Finland – Norway – Denmark)
2. Former Yugoslavia
3. Iraq and Iran

4. Baltic neighbors, Germany and Poland

The imbalance of gender noted in table 4 (and earlier in table 3), reappears in table 5. There are more women than men who are Finnish, Norwegian and Polish citizens and more men than women who are Iraqi, Danish and British citizens. Largely speaking interest in retaining foreign citizenship is more or less proportional to the number of persons born outside Sweden in the group, so if there are a large number of persons born outside of Sweden in a group, there will also be a large number of persons of the same group who wish to retain their original citizenship. This is true for example for Finnish, Norwegian and Polish women. In some cases, however there has been a shift so that more German women than German men and more Iranian men than women have wished to acquire Swedish citizenship.

In the sections that follow we will first, in a little more detail examine the situation in the private and public sectors of Sweden, including education, and then, in a final section, attempt to draw some conclusions.

2. The Private sector

2.1 Introduction

Let us start by presenting some general information on companies in the private sector in Sweden. The following information is based on Fakta om små och stora företag 2004 (Linder 2005), from Företagarna, an NGO for company owners.

"In the Swedish private sector, there are 679 700 active companies, which employ approximately 2.7 million individuals. 99.2% of these companies have less than 50 employees and they comprise in all ca 1.4 million employees. Small companies are thus Sweden's major employers and represent 52% of the employment within the private sector, and almost a third of the total employment. Seven out of ten Swedish companies are one-person businesses. By the end of 2003 the number of one-person businesses amounted to ca 476 800" (Linder2005:3)

Small companies dominate all branches

"The private sector is thus dominated by small companies. In all business sectors, small companies with less than fifty employees make up over 96% of the total number of companies. Their domination is particularly predominant in the sectors *other services, construction and banking/commissioning (uppdrag)*. In these business sectors companies with more than 49 employees only constitute 0.2 to 0.5% of the total number of companies. The highest amount of companies with more than 49 employees are found in the business sectors *production and electricity, gas and water*. In these sectors, companies with more than 49 employees constitute 3.4% and 2.2% respectively. The number of one-person-companies, i.e. companies without employees (seven out of ten companies) is highest in the business sectors *other services*, roughly 82%, and *electricity, gas and water*, 80%" (Linder 2005:7).

Six out of ten companies work within the service sector

"Six out of ten companies work within the service sector, ca 422 000 companies. 99.4% of the service companies have less than 50 employees and employ approximately 875 100 individuals. This corresponds to 61% of the employment in the private service sector and to

53% of the total service sector. Most of the new companies starting are service companies, 84% (2003).

Commissioning (uppdragsverksamhet) is the single largest business sector within the private service sector, comprising 36% of all companies, followed by *retail trade*, which comprises 13% of the companies and *wholesale trade/mediation of goods*, 10%. These business sectors also have the largest number of employees." (Linder 2005:8).

Business owners of foreign descent

According to *Företagens villkor och verklighet 2002*, a study based on a questionnaire survey answered by 13 799 companies with less than 50 employees, 12% of Sweden's company owners are of foreign descent, i.e. are either born outside of Sweden or have at least one parent born outside of Sweden. (Linder 2005:36).

Table 6 Companies in Swedish economy 2002

per size class, amounts in million SEK

Size class (number of employees)	Total	0-19	20-49	50-99	100-249	250-
BASIC FACTS						
Number of companies	716 696	702 454	9 104	2 716	1 500	922
Number of employees	2 296 641	697 615	269 907	186 965	227 348	914 806
Production value	3 607 756	1 034 026	365 056	272 027	363 180	1 573 468
Processing value	1 318 641	400 888	137 368	103 417	136 729	540 240
Gross investments	316 899	151 292	25 763	18 437	30 812	90 596
Net investments	209 335	92 285	18 170	12 270	20 419	66 192

Source: SCB. Our translation.

Foreign owned companies

The total number of foreign owned companies amounted to 10 100 in 2003, comprising 564 200 employees in Sweden. Thus, foreign owned companies accounted for 23% of the total employment. (Utlandsägda företag 2003, ITPS; Foreign owned companies 2003, Swedish Institute for Growth Policy Studies).

"The service sector accounted for almost the entire increase of the number of employees in all foreign owned companies [compared to 2002], with 32 800 employees out of 33 400 in total." "Foreign ownership is concentrated to the big city regions." (Utlandsägda företag 2003, ITPS).

"The EU-countries still dominate the foreign ownership, while USA is the single largest ownership country". "Norway has now overtaken USA as the largest ownership country regarding number of companies owned."

(Utlandsägda företag 2003, ITPS).

The private sector has thus, like society in general, been affected by the increasing ethnic diversity. As far as ownership is concerned, the figures presented above show that about 12% of the Swedish companies are owned by first or second generation immigrants and that around 2% of the companies are foreign owned. As far as employment is concerned the changes have followed the state of the general economic situation, and in many cases the immigrants have been the ones to pay the price in times of recession. Unemployment among immigrants is higher than among Swedes, regardless of level of education. On the other hand, the share of newly opened businesses is higher among immigrants. Thus, owning a business has become a way to self-sufficiency for many immigrants and there is an apparent correlation between high unemployment and the start of private businesses, especially among foreign-born men.

2.2 Blue collar and white collar jobs

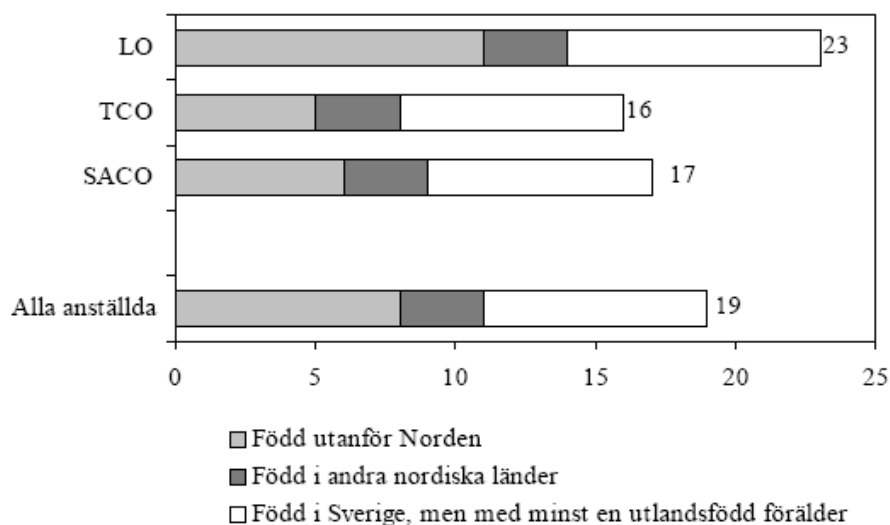
One trend that has become increasingly clear is that the current de-industrialization in Sweden affects immigrants to a large extent. Due to high wage expenses blue-collar jobs, which traditionally have occupied a large amount of immigrants, are moved abroad. The white-collar jobs are not affected to the same extent, but among the white-collar jobs less immigrants are employed. According to the report "Integration 2004-facts and knowledge" made by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (Landsorganisationen LO), the share of foreign born members is more than twice as high in the LO sections the Swedish Metal Workers Union (16%) and the Industrial Union (21%) than in the white-collar unions Industritjänstemän, SIF (7%) and Civil Engineers' Union (9%).

The figures above are from the LO report "Integration 2004", which is based on surveys made by Statistiska Centralbyrån SCB (Statistics Sweden) and adapted and compiled by LO. The report gives information about various matters such as the number of immigrants members of the trade union, employment in different sectors, unemployment and level of education. Below follow some of the results.

The report shows that 22% of the members of LO are immigrants or people born in Sweden but with at least one parent born abroad. The corresponding figures for the white-collar unions TCO (Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation-The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees) - and SACO (Sveriges akademikers centralorganisation - The Swedish organization of academically trained professionals) - are 16% and 17% respectively.

Diagram 4 presents an overview of members of foreign descent in the blue-collar union LO and the white collar unions TCO and SACO. Here we also see that approximately one fifth of the Swedish work force is of foreign descent (19%).

Diagram 4 Percentage of members of foreign descent in the trade unions LO, TCO and SACO.



Translation: Alla anställda: all employees, Född utanför Norden: Born outside the Nordic countries, Född i andra nordiska länder: Born in other Nordic countries (except Sweden), Född i Sverige, men med minst en utlandsfödd förälder: Born in Sweden but with at least one foreign born parent.

Source: LO report Integration 2004

The report shows that approximately every tenth employee in Sweden is born abroad (11%) and that an additional 8% of the work force are born in Sweden but with at least one parent born abroad. Since the total number of employees in Sweden amounts to almost 3.8 million, this means that 400.000 are born abroad and roughly 300.000 are born in Sweden but with at least one parent born abroad.

2.3 Different sectors of employment

The report also shows the division of the LO members in different trade union sections. The figures display that the largest number of employees born abroad are found in the:

1. Building and Maintenance Workers Union, which organizes cleaners, caretakers and window cleaners. (36%)
2. Hotel- and Restaurant Workers Union (34%)
3. Food Workers Union (22%)
4. Industrial Union (21%)
5. Swedish Metal Workers Union (16%)

Table 7 and diagram 5 below show the percentage of members of foreign descent of the LO-sections.

Table 7 Members of foreign descent of different LO-sections (%). First quarter 2004

	Fastighets	Handels	Hotell- o Rest.	Grafiska	Transport	SEKO	Kommunal	Industrifacket	Livs	Metall	Pappers	Skogs- o Trä	Byggnads	Elektrikerna
<i>Född i övriga Norden</i>														
Minst 10 år i Sverige	8	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	6	3	3	1
Högst 9 år i Sverige	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Född i övriga Europa mm**</i>														
Minst 10 år i Sverige	8	4	8	4	3	2	4	8	5	5	2	3	1	2
Högst 9 år i Sverige	4	1	3	0	0	0	1	2	4	1	1	1	0	0
<i>Född i övriga världen</i>														
Minst 10 år i Sverige	10	3	14	2	2	2	5	6	6	4	0	1	1	1
Högst 9 år i Sverige	6	2	7	0	2	0	2	1	3	1	0	1	1	1
Totalt födda utomlands	36	12	34	8	9	7	15	21	22	16	9	9	6	5
<i>Utlandsfödd förälder</i>														
En utlandsfödd förälder	6	7	6	8	5	6	5	6	7	7	4	7	6	6
Två utlandsfödda föräldrar	3	3	3	4	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	1	2	4
Totalt med föräldrar födda utomlands	9	10	9	12	7	8	7	9	9	9	6	8	8	10
<i>Samtliga med utländsk bakgrund</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>

*) Övriga Europa, USA, Kanada, Japan, Australien eller Nya Zeeland

Källa: LO-bearbetningar av SCBs arbetskraftsundersökning första kvartalet 2004

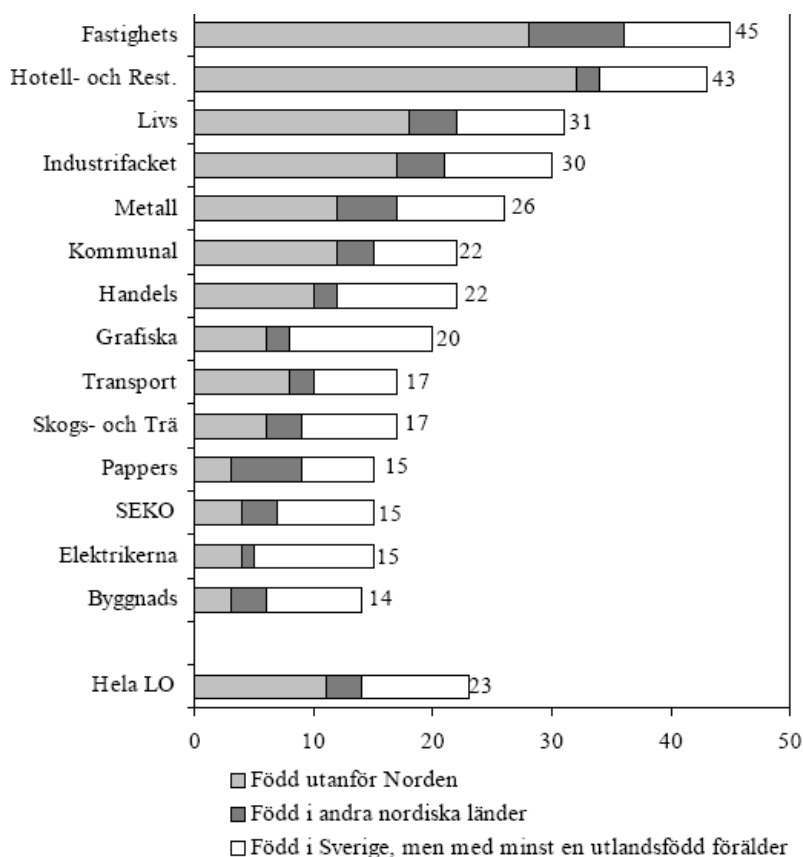
Source: LO analysis of statistics from SCB, first quarter 2004; LO report Integration 2004

Translation: Född i övriga Norden: Born in the Nordic countries outside of Sweden, Minst 10 år i Sverige:

Minimum 10 years in Sweden, Högst 9 år i Sverige: Maximum 9 years in Sweden, Född i övriga Europa: Born in Europe (except Nordic countries), Totalt födda utomlands: Total born outside of Sweden, Utlandsfödd förälder: Parent born outside of Sweden, En utlandsfödd förälder: One foreign born parent, Två utlandsfödda föräldrar: Two foreign born parents, Totalt med föräldrar födda utomlands: Total parents born outside of Sweden.

Fastighets: Housing, Handels: Trade, Hotell- o Rest.: Hotel and Restaurant, Grafiska: Grafic, SEKO: Service and communication, Kommunal: local government, Industrifacket: Industrial, Livs: Food, Metall: Metal, Pappers: Paper, Skogs- o Trä: Forest and wood, Byggnads: Building, Elektrikerna: Electricians

Diagram 5 Members of foreign descent of different LO-sections (%). First quarter 2004



Translation: Född utanför Norden: Born outside of the Nordic countries, Född i andra nordiska länder: Born in the Nordic countries outside of Sweden, Född i Sverige, men med minst en utlandsfödd förälder: Born in Sweden with at least one foreign born parent.

Fastighets: Housing, Hotell- o Rest.: Hotel and Restaurant, Livs: Food, Industrifacket: Industrial, Metall: Metal, Kommunal: Local government, Handels: Trade, Grafiska: Grafic, Skogs- o Trä: Forest and wood, Pappers: Paper, SEKO: Service and communication, Elektrikerna: Electricians, Byggnads: Building, Hela LO: All of LO
Source: LO report Integration 2004

Table 8 below shows that among LO members more members of foreign descent than born Swedes have a temporary form of employment. The highest share is found among the members born outside Europe. Among the Nordic immigrants, Finnish immigrants working in industries have typically been living in Sweden longer than ten years and make a stable minority. Other immigrant groups in industries are in process of becoming established minorities.

Table 8. Temporary employment. Female and male members of LO (per cent).

	Women	Men
Born in Sweden		
Two parents born in Sweden	15	9
One foreign born in parent	18	8

Two foreign born parents	26	11
All born in Sweden	15	9
Born in the Nordic countries (except Sweden)		
Minimum 10 years in Sweden	10	6
Maximum 9 years in Sweden	..*	..*
Born in Europe (except Nordic countries) a.o.**		
Minimum 10 years in Sweden	16	11
Maximum 9 years in Sweden	29	19
Born in other countries (except Europe a.o)**		
Minimum 10 years in Sweden	32	16
Maximum 9 years in Sweden	31 ***	27 ***
All (irrespective of country of origin)	16	9

* Too small number in the selection

** Europe (except Nordic countries), USA, Canada, Japan, Australia or New Zealand.

*** Calculated average for the first quarter of 2002 and 2003.

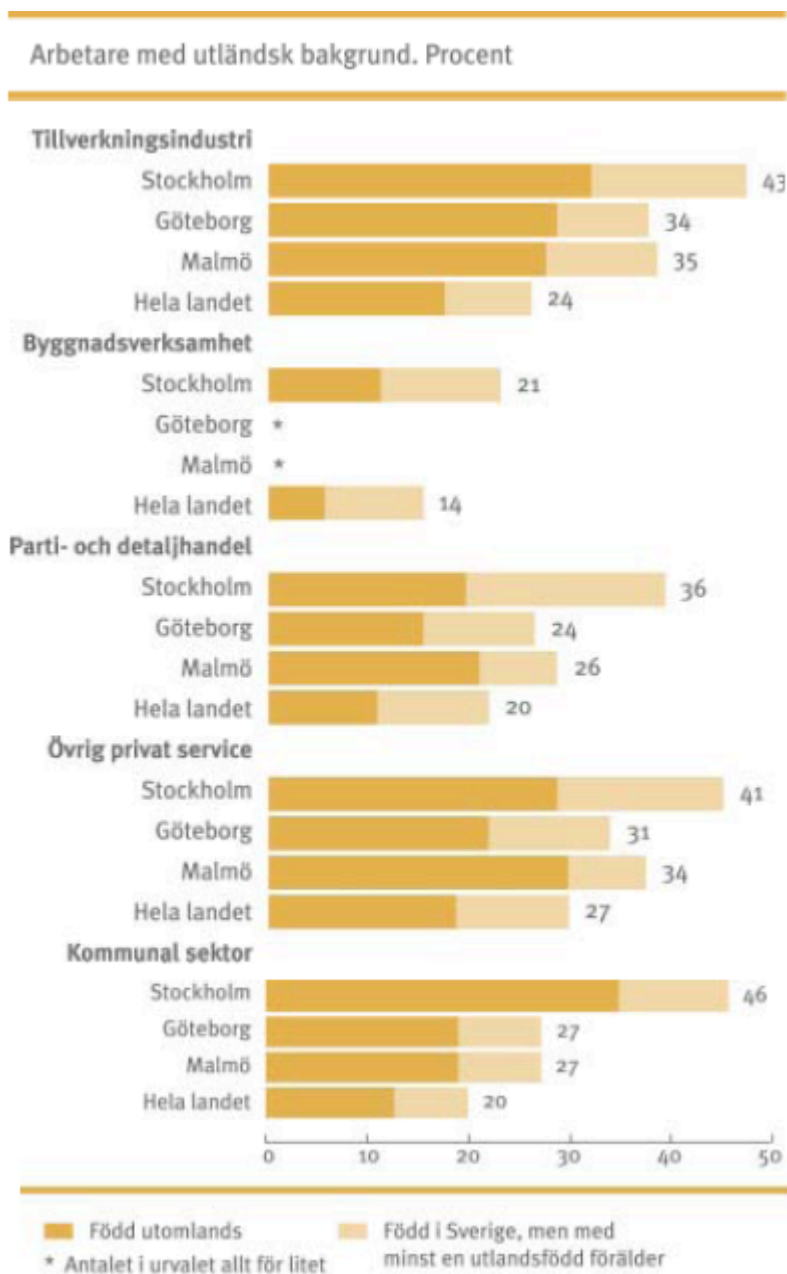
Source: LO report Integration 2004

2.4 Regional differences

The LO report also indicates regional differences. There are many workers of foreign descent in all regions, but the highest percentage by far is to be found in the region of Stockholm. In the regions of Göteborg and Malmö the percentage is above average as well.

Diagram 6 shows the amount of workers of foreign descent in the sectors of industrial production, construction, whole sale and retail, other private services and the public sector, divided on the three cities Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö and the whole country. As we can see, in the sectors considered here, there are more foreign workers in Stockholm than in the other three regions.

Diagram 6 Workers of foreign descent



Translation: Arbetare med utländsk bakgrund: Workers of foreign descent, Procent: Per cent, Byggnadsverksamhet: Building, Hela landet: Country as a whole, Parti- och detaljhandel: wholesale and retail trade, Övrig privat service: Other private service, Kommunal sektor: local government
Source: LO report Integration 2004

2.5 Private business owners

2.5.1 Statistics

As we have already noted, statistics from the Swedish Integration Board indicate that private business owners are more common among immigrants than among people born in Sweden. Approximately every tenth private business owner is born outside Sweden. Among foreign born men and women 11.8 per cent and 5.4 per cent are private business owners, compared to

men and women born in Sweden; 9.9 and 4.5 per cent respectively. Among men born in Asia private business owners are even more common - one fifth are private business owners (www.integrationsverket.se/templates/ivNormal____6760.aspx).

Statistics also show that private business owners born outside the Nordic countries have fewer employees compared to those born in Sweden or in other Nordic countries. Among the private business owners born outside the Nordic countries only 15 % have employees. The reasons as to why solo companies are so common and why immigrant private business owners are reluctant to employ other staff need to be further explored (Granér 2006).

2.5.2 A higher level of education among foreign born private business owners

Foreign born private business owners (45-64 years of age) have a higher level of education compared to those born in Sweden, both men and women.

Among foreign born men (45-64 years of age) 28% have a tertiary education, while the corresponding figures for those of the same age born in Sweden amount to 20%. The same pattern is observed among women, where the corresponding figures amount to 34% among foreign born of the same age, and 27% for those born in Sweden (www.integrationsverket.se/templates/ivNormal____6760.aspx).

2.5.3 Major share in trade and communication, and personal and cultural services

Foreign born private business owners are represented within practically all sectors, but there are considerable differences between domestic born and foreign born in terms of sectors of representation. In the agricultural and construction sectors foreign born are clearly underrepresented, whereas they are overrepresented in the personal service sector (women), and trade and communication sectors (men).

(www.integrationsverket.se/templates/ivNormal____6760.aspx).

2.5.4 Length of residence an important factor

There is a clear correlation between the length of residence in Sweden and the aptitude to start a private business: the longer the period of residence in Sweden, the greater the amount of private business owners. Many start their own business after a period of eight-nine years in Sweden. Once started, they continue to run their private businesses (www.integrationsverket.se/templates/ivNormal____6760.aspx).

2.6 Diversity strategies as business strategies

In the private sector, diversity strategies gain more legitimacy, and more people think that there are advantages in recruiting persons who have different cultural backgrounds in order to reach a wider circle of customers or visitors. Jeanette Ohlsson who works as a “cultural link” in Malmö, thinks that it takes both commitment and good will and that the process needs to be given time in order for results to follow later on. Values originate in society, not in a single workplace, but good models values and opinions can be influenced and spread throughout

society. Many employers have already arrived at the view that a segregated labor market is simply too unprofitable (personal communication with Jeanette Ohlsson).

It may be difficult to measure and prioritize issues that are not directly profitable when the next quarterly report is the focus of interest. A long-term economic issue that is becoming more and more pressing is the approaching retirement age of the Swedish “baby boomers” (i.e. persons born in the 1940s) that has to be paid for. There is an enormous potential, especially in the major cities, where immigration is extensive, but action needs to be taken.

Ethnic and cultural segregation in Sweden is more than a mere labor market problem. Segregation occurs in most areas and media’s interest in it has made the complex of problems even more controversial. Among other things it has led large Swedish companies, such as Ericsson and SEB to invest in immigrant organizations which they hope in time will make them reach an expanded circle of customers. The companies point out that diversity strategies are business strategies.

According to the discrimination ombudsman (DO), who surveys how employers abide by the legislation against ethnical discrimination, there are few good practices within the business world. However, there are a few initiatives in which the complex nature of the problems connected with a segregated labor market have been noticed and these can be pointed to as examples of good practice.

2.7 Examples of good practice

There is no doubt that good will and good intentions exist in many places in Sweden. There are many organizations and companies in the private as well as the public sector active in the creation of networks. There are also forums focussing on integration and multicultural understanding. It is practically impossible to know their number since projects vary over time, and new projects come and go continuously. Below follows a few selected projects presented in order to give you a gist of the various projects existing in the field today.

MINE –Malmö in the New Europe – is an organization initiated by the private sector in Malmö in 2003. It consists of ca 20 local companies in Malmö as well as Malmö city and Malmö University who cooperate for integrated work places as well as for a more open and tolerant society. One of the most active private companies in the organization is Bröderna Edstrand (www.kulturlank.nu/?page=Projekt).

Pluskompetens –Plus competence – works within the area development with diversity issues and runs, among other projects, a national collaboration project with large private and public employers under the headline “Plus competence – diversity pays off!” (www.pluskompetens.com)

DISI – Diversity in the Swedish Industry – is a diversity project aiming to promote competition in Swedish industry through increased diversity within the companies. The goal is to create conditions to take advantage of the employees’ many different perspectives and experiences. DISI focuses on changing values and attitudes in diversity issues among management executives in the participating companies. (<http://extra.ivf.se/disi/disi.htm>)

Prova-på platser –“Try out-jobs”– is a labor market measure that came about on the initiative of the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise in talks with the government. Thereafter other central organizations on the labor market have backed the initiative, which is now run by the National Labor Market Board. The aim is to enable persons with no or little experience of the Swedish labor market to get a chance to show their competence in a workplace. Some of the groups which are in focus right now are persons recently registered at employment centers and newly arrived immigrants. The “try out-jobs” may be maintained in parallel with municipal introduction programs and are available in both the private and public sector, as well as in non-profit organizations.

(www.ams.se/admin/Documents/faktablad/provapaplatser.pdf)

2.8 Summary

New statistics are continuously being presented regarding the labor market, and the present trend is that immigrants are transferring from industries to the service sector. The share with a foreign background is definitely the highest within housing (cleaning, window cleaning and maintenance) as well as in the restaurant and hotel sector. The structural discrimination of immigrated manpower is also clearly noticeable in the fact that immigrants have the highest rate of temporary employment (see the table above).

Among self-employed persons there is a higher relative proportion with foreign background than with a Swedish one. Foreign born self-employed persons are to be found within all business categories but mostly in trade and communication (foreign-born men) and personal and cultural services (foreign-born women). There is a relation between high unemployment and the share of self-employed persons, especially when it comes to foreign-born men.

In order to benefit from the diversity on the labor market it is, first and foremost, required that immigrants gain access to the labor market by employment, preferably within their own field of competence. For instance, today many foreign academics work far below their ability.

The public authorities have realized the necessity for measures and AMS (the National Labour Market Board) has several labor market measures directed towards especially exposed groups, for instance immigrants. Since 1999, there is also legislation against work life discrimination due to ethnical background, religion or other beliefs, and all employers are bound to comply with this legislation in connection with recruiting and during the time of employment. However, in reality the legislation has so far been rather ineffective, but at least its creation shows that cultural diversity is an important issue on the political agenda.

3. The Public Sector

3.1. Introduction

The public sector information below has been collected from www.sverige.se (Sverige means Sweden), which is the shared web site of official Sweden. It is run by the state authority Statskontoret, the Swedish Agency for Public Management.

(www.sverige.se/sverige/templates/page____114.aspx)

In Sweden there are three democratically elected levels of government: the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament) at the national level, regional councils and regional administrative boards at the regional level and communes at the local level.

Sweden is made up of 290 communes. They have a significant degree of autonomy and administer local matters such as lower and upper secondary education. The 21 regional councils administer matters that are too costly to handle at communal level. Their chief purpose is to manage all public health and medical care services in Sweden.

There are more than 300 central committees, offices, authorities and state-owned companies that are controlled by the government, through the various ministries. These authorities implement the decisions made by the Riksdag and the government. Below, we provide a little more background on some of these authorities.

Länsstyrelsen, the regional administrative board, is a service authority, an appeal instance and also has a supervisory role in several areas. There are 21 regional administrative boards – one for each region. The decision-making domain of the county administrative board includes civil preparedness and rescue services, nature conservation, environmental care, regional development, hunting, fishing, social planning, communications, culture, equal opportunities, social services and – in Sweden's northern most counties – matters pertaining to the region's reindeer and mountains.

Försäkringskassan, the National Social Insurance Office, administers the social insurance system which provides financial security for people in the event of illness, disability, retirement and for child care. The National Social Insurance Office also coordinates rehabilitation programs to enable recuperants and the functionally-impaired to return to work.

The prime minister coordinates the government's work and has the overall responsibility for government policies. The Riksdag legislates and decides on state revenue (taxes) and expenditure. It scrutinizes and controls the government's and authorities' work and also decides the course of foreign policy.

General elections are held in Sweden every four years. The right to vote in parliament elections and referendums is reserved for Swedish citizens aged 18 or over who are, or have previously been, residents of Sweden. Citizens of EU countries and Norway and Iceland, aged 18 or over, who are registered residents in Sweden, have the right to vote in communal and regional elections. Citizens of other countries must have been registered citizens in Sweden for more than three years in succession before the election day in order to have the right to vote in communal and regional elections.

3.2 The Public Sector and ethnic diversity

Naturally, all society's sectors and authorities are influenced by the fact that Sweden's population is becoming increasingly culturally heterogeneous. New legislation, new authorities, inquiries and thus new duties and requirements on information have appeared. However, new statistics show that when it comes to meeting the demands of the policy for diversity, integration and equality, Swedish authorities are not very active. This is so, in spite

of the fact that one of the most urgent duties of Integrationsverket, the Swedish Integration Board, according to the Government, is to try to persuade all state authorities to take real responsibility and to work in agreement with the goals of the integration policies.

The Swedish Integration Board has surveyed and analyzed how 17 public agencies have implemented the Government's decision to prepare plans of action for promoting the ethnic and cultural diversity among their employees. The board has also analyzed what significance these plans have had to promote diversity and counteract discrimination in job recruitment, promotion and other activities within the authority.

During the time in question, 1997—2001, the share of foreign born employees in the 17 agencies has increased from 4.4 in 1997 to 5.3 per cent in 2001. These numbers can be compared to the total share of foreign born persons in the country in 2001, which was 11.9 per cent. The lowest share was found in the military, the police and the customs. The highest share was found in the Migration Board (Staten som förebild? (The State as a Role Model?) 2004:04, p. 79-80).

Thus the authorities have a long way to go when it comes to achieving the guidelines of the integration policy, where the government is supposed to act as a role model when it comes to ethnic diversity. The Integration Board inquiry also deems that the plans of action regarding contents are weak and that persons with immigrant background still are largely underrepresented in staff, mainly when it comes to chief positions.

As has been stated earlier, today there is a law which says that Swedish employers have to establish diversity plans which, among other things, are to serve as an aid when it comes to every day work and in recruiting new employees. Some parts of the Swedish Integration Board's report 2004:05 will be presented below. It examines the situation within the municipal sector regarding diversity and integration.

3.3 The local public sector (communes) and ethnic diversity

The report of the Swedish Board of Integration "Den kommunala sektorn som förebild? Om mångfald i ord och siffror i 42 av Sveriges kommuner" (2004)", ("The communal sector as a role model? On diversity in words and figures in 42 of Swedish communes" by Bazrafshan), is based on a review of government regulations focusing on diversity issues in work life, the promotion of increased diversity within the organization of the surveyed municipalities, interviews with representatives of each municipality as well as statistics showing how the staff among municipal employees in different professional fields is ethnically composed. The analysis shows, among other things, that the municipalities have chosen quite different strategies regarding their diversity work, and that almost all population groups with a foreign background are very much underrepresented among municipal employees in general, and particularly in qualified professional fields.

The goal of the Swedish Integration Board is for the report to be used as a starting point in making the continued work for increased ethnic diversity in the municipalities more efficient. In all 122 persons in various positions, such as municipal managers, personnel managers, municipal commissioners and civil servants have been interviewed. About 70 per cent of

Sweden's population with a foreign background live in the 42 municipalities in question, of which 80 per cent are of working age (Bazrafshan 2004:9).

There are great differences between the strategies for increased diversity of the municipalities. However, what is typical for all the documents is that they mainly contain measures aiming to counteract negative attitudes or discriminating structures, for instance in the recruiting process. The purpose is to create a diversity-friendly organization, which in turn will lead to increased diversity among the employees. It is however only in a minority of the reviewed documents that qualitative strategies are combined with measurable goals to increase the share of employees with a foreign background. Almost none of the municipalities state sanctions against discrimination due to gender, ethnicity, sexual preference or functional disability. The city of Kalmar is the only municipality that in its diversity plan recommends threats of notice if someone discriminates or harasses others. Four documents contain propositions suggesting that the municipalities prepare an anti-discrimination clause as a basis for ordering goods and services. Three municipalities suggest positive special treatment of applicants with immigrant background, in cases where there are several candidates with equal competence (Bazrafshan 2004:9-10).

The result of the interviews does not give a uniform picture of the background and development of diversity work. More than half of the documents were produced in 2002—2003, the rest were mostly produced in 2001. There are only a few examples of documents originating in a broadly supported work within the organization. The majority of the documents are based on a political initiative and a wide political support, but it is only in a few municipalities that the political involvement is visible in reality. There are exceptions, one of which is a new post as a so called 'diversity developer' in Lund, another is a 'discrimination official' located in Stockholm whose main task is to make sure the city as an employer lives up to the discrimination legislation (Bazrafshan 2004:10).

The measures focused on organization are expected to lead to changes of attitude while the overall objectives are motivated by efficiency reasons (p.10). The analysis shows that the municipalities have a long way to go before they achieve an ethnic diversity among the employees which is comparable to the diversity in Swedish society as a whole. In 2001, of the ca 780 000 employees of working age (20-64 years) in the communes, the share of employees with immigrant background was 11.9 per cent. The total share of persons with immigrant background of the same age group in the country was 16.6 per cent in 2001 (Bazrafshan 2004:106). The three most underrepresented groups are the Asia-born, the non-Nordic Europeans and people born in Sweden to foreign-born parents (Bazrafshan 2004:11).

The strongest indication of inadequate diversity is found in a closer analysis of different professional fields. In the reviewed municipalities, the number of managing positions totals 12,639, of which only 110 positions are held by non-European-born employees. In the two professional fields which require higher education, only 10 per cent of the positions are held by employees with a foreign background. Of these, employees with a European background constitute about 75 per cent. When it comes to positions mostly pertaining to the service sector, close to a fifth are held by employees with a foreign background, especially non-European groups. The analysis shows that the underrepresentation of persons with a foreign background in general, and non-European born in qualified professions in particular, can not be explained by differences in age, length of stay in Sweden and level of education (Bazrafshan 2004:11).

In a questionnaire survey conducted in 2000, only a few of the 42 municipalities participating in this study stated that they had some kind of document governing their work with diversity. This report, however, shows a positive change in the municipalities' attitudes towards diversity issues, so the question is now not *if* but *how* to work toward increased ethnic diversity in the municipalities (Bazrafshan 2004:11).

3.4 Medical care and ethnic diversity

3.4.1 Recruitment of physicians

A number of projects have been initiated to manage the need for medical personnel, especially for physicians, which exists in Sweden today. The ambition has been to recruit doctors who are already residing in Sweden but who do not hold Swedish certification. Municipalities and regional councils have also gone abroad to recruit personnel. A collaboration project which has acted to facilitate access to the Swedish labor market is *Legitimation.nu* (Certification now) – a project working to speed up the possibilities of gaining Swedish medical certification and the process of integration for foreign medical personnel. The project offers Swedish language courses with medical terminology, occupational training, preparation for medical knowledge tests, compilation of resumes and competence profiles, validation of professional skills, as well as professional guidance.

3.4.2 The medical workplace

The medical workplace in Sweden, no longer is as homogenous as it was a decade ago. The structure with male doctors and female nurses, staff nurses and orderlies, all with Swedish-sounding names, does not exist to the same extent anymore. It has been replaced by diversity when it comes to gender and country of origin, in all professions. What does this mean?

The new heterogeneous work force creates challenges related to cultural differences which affect work life, for instance conflict resolution, differences in viewing the power distance between superiors and subordinates, attitudes regarding work, work environment, expectations concerning conduct, attitudes, socially acceptable standards and principles, etc. Cultural and linguistic problems also affect the situation and communication. In this connection, it is important to remember that the cultural composition of patients has changed in the same way that the cultural make up of medical personnel has changed. Old hierarchies are questioned and replaced by new ones. For example, there is research showing that there are differences in the treatment of female and male doctors when it comes to respect and what kind of help they receive from the nurses. These differences are even greater if the doctor comes from a foreign country. Thus, besides the ethnic cultural perspective, in many cases, there is also the gender perspective to consider.

Diversity plans and diversity regulations regulate work and workplaces, if not in reality at least in theory. Personnel inquiries are common when trying to find out what works and what issues could be handled in a better way. One thing that stands out as a problem in the integration process, not least in Swedish medical care, is the lack of cultural understanding when it comes to, among other things, attitudes to diseases, death, medication and symptoms.

The more knowledge both counterparts have about the other party, the greater the chances for successful communication, both between patient and personnel and between different groups of staff.

A recent inquiry (cf. Berbyuk, Allwood and Edebäck 2004) regarding communication in Swedish medical care shows that the majority of Swedish staff are content with the communication they have with their foreign colleagues. However, it also shows areas that can be improved through further integration and tolerance. The inquiry shows it is mostly the female respondents who are discontent with the way communication works and who also, more than males, notice that misunderstandings occur at work both with colleagues and patients. There are several explanations for this. One factor is the cultural background of the male and the female respondents, i.e. which cultural characteristics dominate and how easily they therefore adapt to the structure present in Swedish medical care. Another factor is related to what men and women want to get out of communication and what men and women in general believe is good communication. It may also depend upon the fact that it is more difficult for a foreign female doctor (the inquiry was directed towards foreign doctors) to be accepted in a predominantly female workplace (Nataliya Berbyuk, forthcoming).

3.5 Attitudes and values in the workplace

Attitudes and values in the Swedish work place have been investigated since the 1980s, c.f. Allwood et al. 1987, 1988 and 1989, where a number of general traits typical of Swedish attitudes were found. More recently, TEMO, a Swedish market research agency, asked the general public about attitudes regarding equality in relation to colleagues with functionality impairments, different sexual preferences and immigrant background. The results show great differences between respondents depending on education and which type of business they are engaged in (Fritz 2004)

Generalizing somewhat, we might say that Swedes are of the opinion that there is an open attitude in their workplace when it comes to gender equality and treatment of colleagues with immigrant background. A slightly smaller number of people, but still a majority, think the same is true regarding colleagues with functionality impairments. People are less open when it comes to colleagues with a different sexual preference.

According to the same survey, staff in the health and medical field are the most open minded, 79%, while employees in the fields of agriculture and forestry are the least open in relation to colleagues with an immigrant background (49%), followed by the construction and real estate field (51%) and the transportation field (58%) (Fritz 2004:7). Persons with a higher education more often state that the attitudes in the workplace are characterized by an open outlook regarding gender equality, colleagues with functionality impairments, different sexual preferences and immigrant background. With the exception of attitudes to different sexual preferences there are no differences between male and female respondents. Among regional council employees the openness seems to be the greatest. Here more people state there is an open attitude towards all four groups in working life (Fritz 2004:8).

3.6 Differences in salary and employment

Magnusson and Andréasson (2005) show in the report "Sist i kön Farida" ("Last in line Farida") from the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees, TCO, that there is a

difference in salary between Swedish and foreign personnel. Pay and employment frequency among those with a degree in pre-school education or recreation instruction, nursing, medicine or civil engineering were investigated. The result was that the share of domestic-born with employment was larger than the share of foreign-born in every professional category. This result reflects the picture of the total population. When it comes to salary there was also a significant difference. Persons who had immigrated at 19 years of age or older, and who had the educational backgrounds mentioned above and were employed within their fields, had significantly lower salaries compared to the domestic-born persons, nurses being the exception. This still applies after differences in gender and age have been taken into consideration.

The differences in salary between Swedish and foreign personnel was SEK 548/month for the pre-school teachers/recreation instructors, SEK 4 081/month for the doctors and more than SEK 9 000/month for the civil engineers. However, no significant differences in salary were found among persons who had immigrated at the age of 19 or younger in any of the professional categories. The differences in salary between domestic- and foreign-born with the same level of education are even greater, if we take into account the ones who have jobs which do not correspond to their educational level. For trained pre-school teachers/recreation instructors the difference in salary between domestic- and foreign-born then increases from SEK 548 to 1 469/month. "For doctors the corresponding numbers are from SEK 4 081 to 4 840/month and for civil engineers the numbers are from SEK 9 363 to 15 864/month". For nurses the difference in salary remains insignificant (Magnusson & Andréasson 2005:7).

"The reason for these differences is that the foreign-born more often, despite their academic degrees, do not hold positions for which academic degrees are required. Even if the differences between domestic- and foreign-born are not statistically significant in all professional groups the trend is clear: 9.7% of the domestic-born and 13.5% of the foreign-born persons with degrees in pre-school education/recreation instruction hold positions for which they do not need an academic degree. Among physicians only a few persons have jobs which do not require an academic degree. The share of the selected persons who hold positions not requiring academic degrees is higher among the foreign-born doctors, but the difference is insignificant which may depend on the sample surveyed being too small. Among persons with a degree in civil engineering, only 1.4% of the domestic-born persons hold jobs not requiring an academic degree, while the share among the foreign-born was about 9 times higher, 12.3%" (Magnusson & Andréasson 2005:8).

The probability that immigrants who do not come from north Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, or USA will become a supervisor/director is significantly less than for a domestic-born person (Magnusson & Andréasson 2005:8).

- "Among the domestic-born preschool teachers/recreation instructors holding an academic degree 4.2 per cent were supervisors, while in the sample there was no foreign-born person who had been made supervisor.
- Among the persons holding a nursing degree 2.1 per cent of the domestic-born and 1.4% of the immigrants had a superordinate position.
- Among the doctors 1.8 per cent of the domestic-born were directors, while none were to be found among the foreign-born.

- Among the ones with degrees in civil engineering 15.7 per cent of the domestic-born were directors compared to only 1.8 per cent of the immigrants" (Magnusson & Andréasson 2005:8-9).

The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO) "found that even if a person had immigrated to Sweden during childhood or youth, he or she was significantly less likely to be promoted to a superordinate position compared to domestic-born persons". Approximately 6 per cent of the domestic-born employees hold superordinate jobs. Among persons who immigrated when they were between 4 and 19 years old and who are employed, approximately 2 per cent hold superordinate jobs. In total 1.5 per cent of the foreign-born employees have superordinate jobs (Magnusson & Andréasson 2005:9).

3.7 The Police

The increased ethnic diversity in society is not reflected in the staff make up of the police force. This is being noticed by Rikspolisstyrelsen (the National Police Board), and in several of the police departments around the country, work has begun to change this. The police recruitment in Malmö has, among other things, initiated collaboration with the Employment Agency and the adult educational association Eductus and the European Social Fund concerning unemployed persons with a foreign background with an interest in police work. The cooperation, knick-named "Utryckningen" ("The operation") is a preparatory course for admission to the police academy (polishögskolan).

To be eligible to apply to the police academy the applicants must, apart from satisfying general entrance requirements for studies at a Swedish university, pass a language test as well as a physical test and hold Swedish citizenship. The police training is a basic training, lasting four semesters leading to a degree in police work. The graduation is directly followed by six months of paid supervised trainee service in a police district. After having finished and passed the trainee period, you are eligible to apply for the position of a police sergeant.

Today Rikspolisstyrelsen (the National Police Board) is responsible for admission to the police academy, but there is currently a discussion about a possible change concerning who decides on admissions. For most other university programs, such as teacher, lawyer, agronomist, doctor or nurse programs, the universities and university colleges are responsible for the admission of students to the programs, both when it comes to free-standing courses and complete programs. Commissioned by the universities and the university colleges, Verket för högskoleservice, VHS (the National Agency for Services to Universities and University Colleges) handles admission to most of the programs, but admission to the police academy is still the responsibility of the National Police Board.

In the information folder "Polisyret – något för dig?" ("The police profession – something for you?") the National Police Board informs candidates about which requirements apply for admission to the police academy and states that they welcome applicants with an ethnic or cultural background other than Swedish and that they also want more women to apply. Academic studies, further knowledge in languages, work experience and knowledge of other cultures are considered to be extra merits.

(www.polisen.se/inter/mediacache/4347/4637/Polisrekrytering2005.pdf)

The police need to recruit more people with a multicultural background in order to meet the increased need of inter-cultural competence that the increased ethnic diversity in society demands, but also to meet the goal that the share of immigrants in the police force should reflect the share of immigrants in the society which it works in and for.

The ambition to give more persons, who have an immigrant background, a chance to be admitted to the police academy already seems to have resulted in an increased number of applications to the police academy. Between the fall semester 1999 and 2005 In all, 4 946 students were admitted to the police academy. Approximately 735 of them had immigrant background, which corresponds to approximately 15% of the students.

3.8 Good practice

There are several projects aiming to increase the ethnic diversity in the Swedish public sector. Two good examples of this are the collaboration projects *Legitimation.nu* (Certification.now) and “*Utryckningen*” (“*The Operation*”). There are also several interesting initiatives aiming to increase consciousness regarding diversity issues and intercultural competence in different activities. An example of this is the educational program “*Integrationsmentorn*” (“*The Integration Mentor*”). We will give a little further information about these three examples from the public sector in the sections that follow below.

Legitimation.nu is a collaborative project in the Västra Götaland region, running between 2003 and 2005. The project aim is to promote efficient education in relation to integration and international mobility by offering courses in adapted languages training in combination with practical training and vocationally oriented courses for doctors and nurses, with degrees from outside of the EU/EEA-area, who are either refugees seeking asylum or relatives of refugees. The road to a Swedish professional certification and eligibility for persons with a non-European degree in the health sector has been shortened significantly and the competence of the target group has been taken care of to a great extent. The project is supported by Göteborg University, the University College of Borås, the University of Skövde, the University of Trollhättan/Uddevalla, the Regional Labor Board of Västra Götaland, the Collaboration Delegation, the Validation Center of the Gothenburg Region as well as by the region of Västra Götaland. At present, developmental work is being carried out in the so called validation field, which is trying to find functioning methods to measure real competence. This is a collaborative project with the following participants: the Validation Center of the Gothenburg Region, the Västra Götaland Region and the Sahlgrenska Academy.

The project *Legitimation.nu* no longer has active financing, but the project lives on in the form of a collaborative network. It would be desirable if funds could be found allowing the project to live on as a permanent operation, as the operation means a safeguarding of resources of great personal relevance for many individuals as well as for society as a whole. (www.legitimation.nu)

“*Utryckningen*” is a collaborative project in Malmö which is another example of good practice. The police constitute a part of society which has fallen behind in the development of ethnic diversity on the work place. One way to attend to this is to reinforce the possibilities to admission to the police academies for persons with a foreign background. A small step in this direction has been taken with the preparatory education “*Utryckningen*” in collaboration with the recruitment office at the police authority in Malmö, the European Social Fund, Eductus

and the employment center. "Utryckningen" is a preparatory five month course, containing 200 hours of language studies, physical training and lectures by the police aiming at increased possibilities of admission to the police academy for unemployed persons with foreign background.

Integrationsmentor ("The Integration Mentor") is a new university program initiated by the Västra Götaland Region. It is a pilot program with an inter-cultural perspective, intended as an in-service training for employees in different professional fields in the region where an increased competence in inter-cultural education is desirable in order to create better service for customers/clients of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and thereby contribute to the improvement of the integration process in the region. Examples of such professional fields are the employment center, banks and insurance companies, the National Social Insurance Office, schools, child and geriatric care, social services and commerce.

The training program has been implemented in collaboration with Fristad's peoples' college (Folkhögskola), Göteborg's peoples' college, the University College of Borås, The Inter-Cultural Resource Center/The Association Angered's Future and the region of Västra Götaland. It is partially financed by EU-means from the URBAN II-fund. The future goal is to establish the integration mentor training as a regular university program with the possibility of receiving a master's degree in the field. Presently, professionals holding a diploma in integration mentorship can be found in several workplaces in the region of Västra Götaland. (http://www8.vgregion.se/integrationsmentor/Broschyr_integrationsmentor.pdf)

The training program has not started this semester due to lack of students. Several of those interested in participating in the training program have been unemployed, whereas the program is intended for employees already working within an organization.

3.9 Summary

In spite of many efforts, the public sector has a long way to go in the integration process. Even though the government has required that all Swedish authorities and agencies are to work in line with the integration policy goals, the available statistics indicate that integration policy goals still await full acceptance in public organizations and need to be put into practice as well as followed up and evaluated. A certain awareness of this is indicated by the fact that the city of Lund has appointed a person in a new position as a so called "diversity developer" and Stockholm has appointed a "discrimination official" who will make sure the city in its role as employer follows the legislation on discrimination.

Also, a new survey shows that the municipalities' attitude to diversity work has become more positive and the important issue in the future is no longer *if* but *how* to work for ethnic diversity in the municipalities.

Medical care is the part of the public sector which seems to have come the furthest in the integration process when it comes to education, recruitment and employment of a workforce with a foreign background, managing positions being the exception – similar to other sectors this area lack persons with a foreign background. When comparing salaries between employed civil engineers, preschool teachers/recreation instructors, doctors and nurses, the medical care sector also appears as the sector with the least differences in salaries between personnel with a Swedish and a foreign background.

The three good examples we have chosen are all educational efforts. Two of them are directed towards persons with a foreign background; *Legitimation.nu*, (*Certification.now*) which turns to persons with a foreign academic education within the care sector, and *Utryckningen (the Operation)*), which is directed towards unemployed persons with an interest in police work. The third example is *Integrationsmentor (The Integration Mentor)*); which is an in-service training program at the university college level with an inter-cultural perspective intended for professionals working in service fields with ample opportunities for multi-cultural encounters.

4. Education

4.1 Introduction

As a result of the transnational migration during the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the make-up of pupils and students in the educational system has become increasingly ethnically diversified at all levels of the educational system. The main areas characterized by ethnical diversity are found in the suburban regions of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. Several of these areas are also characterized by an increased "white flight" from these areas as well as by rising unemployment figures and a decline in accorded social status.

4.2 The ethnic composition of pupils

In the compulsory school, today 9 years, 143 665 pupils have a first language other than Swedish. This corresponds to approximately 13.6 % of the pupils in compulsory school. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education (Rapport 260 2005), some 130 languages are spoken among them. The ten most common languages, in ascending order, are:

- Arabic
- Bosnian/Croatian/Serb
- Spanish
- Finnish
- Albanian
- English
- Persian
- Turkish
- Kurdish
- Somali

Table 9 below shows the amount of students participating in mother tongue training. There we can see that participation is high in major languages such as Arabic but low in smaller languages and among pupils with Finnish and English as their first language.

Table 9 The ten largest mother tongues in compulsory school, October 15th 2004

Mother tongue	Number of students allowed mother tongue training	Share allowed of all pupils (%)	Number of pupils participating in mother tongue training	Share of all pupils (%)	Share of pupils allowed (%)	Share participating in mother tongue training outside the ordinary time table (%)
Albanian	7,634	0.7	5,173	0.5	67.8	50.6
Arabic	24,053	2.3	16,014	1.6	66.6	55.3
Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serb	14,950	1.5	7,802	0.8	52.2	52.5
English	7,250	0.7	3,556	0.3	49.0	52.5
Finnish	9,992	1.0	4,111	0.4	41.1	37.2
Kurdish	5,181	0.5	2,894	0.3	55.9	57.8
Persian	6,537	0.6	4,182	0.4	64.0	55.8
Somali	4,396	0.4	3,199	0.3	72.8	59.3
Spanish	10,074	1.0	5,373	0.5	53.3	59.1
Turkish	5,183	0.5	3,044	0.3	58.7	71.0
Other languages (122)	48,065	4.7	23,297	2.3	48.5	57.2
Non-specified languages	350	0.0	54	0.0	15.4	75.9
Total	143,665	14.0	78,699	7.7	54.8	55.4

(Source: the Swedish National Agency for Education, Rapport 265, 2005)

In Malmö, every second pupil in compulsory school is estimated to have a bi- or multilingual background. In Stockholm and Göteborg a third of the pupils have a first language other than Swedish. In some schools, in the suburban areas, the percentage of pupils with Swedish as their first language is near zero. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education, approximately 32% of the pupils in compulsory school in Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö are entitled to mother tongue training, whereas the corresponding figure for the rural communes is 4% (Skolverket, the Swedish National Agency for Education, Rapport 265, 2005).

In upper secondary school, approximately 15.6% of the pupils are either born outside of Sweden or are born in Sweden but with both parents born abroad. The percentage is the same in both private schools and municipal schools. In the school year 2004/05, 53% of the upper secondary programs in Sweden were privately run. (Skolverket, Rapport 260, 2005).

There are large Finnish speaking populations in the regions of Mälars valley around Stockholm, Göteborg, and near the Finnish border in Torne valley. Of the five national minority languages in Sweden, Finnish has the largest amount of speakers. In the fall and spring semester 1999/2000, Finnish mother tongue training in compulsory school was offered

in 111 out of 289 communes in Sweden, and education in Finnish at eight Swedish-Finnish private schools, as well as for a few students in some ten other private schools. The other four national minority languages in Sweden are Saami, meänkieli (a Finnish language in Torne valley in the north of Sweden), Romani chib and Yiddish. (Skolverket, 2001).

During the late 20th and 21st century, educational institutions have been in focus for a large number of governmental investigations. As a result of the governmental investigation on immigration in the 1970s, a new ideological immigration policy was formed under the slogan "equality, freedom of choice and cooperation". This resulted among other things in "hemspråksreformen" (the home language reform) in 1977 which allowed students speaking another mother tongue than Swedish at home to receive mother tongue training at school in order to maintain and develop their first language skills.

As a consequence of the reform, several schools began to organize linguistically homogenous classes in the late 1970s. The new classes were called "hemspråksklasser" (home language classes, later the term was changed into mother tongue), for example Finnish- and Spanish-speaking classes, in which the national curriculum was implemented in a bilingual setting. In the 1980s, many refugees arrived from different parts of the world, but the schools did not extend bilingual classes to the new languages, mainly because of difficulties in administering the large number of languages, and also due to lack of economic resources. There are still schools offering a bilingual education, but the number of schools is reduced.

There is, however, a growing number of ethnic and religious private schools in Sweden. Examples of such schools are Muslim or Arabic schools, Christian schools, Jewish schools, Sweden-Finnish schools and Estonian schools. According to a press release from the Swedish National Agency for Education (14th of May 2003) there were 66 religious private compulsory schools in Sweden 2003, of which 49 were Christian, 15 Muslim and two Jewish.

Today, pupils of foreign descent have the right to receive about two hours mother tongue training per week, *if* they use the language actively at home, and *if* the requirement of a minimum five pupils attending the mother tongue class is fulfilled, and *if* the commune finds a mother tongue teacher for the class. Mother tongue training is mostly offered at the end of the school day, after the ordinary school schedule. For pupils belonging to one of the five national minority languages there is no minimum requirement regarding the number of pupils.

But, according to a report from Skolverket (2001), all the national minorities have been and to some extent still are subject of discrimination. Even if this is no longer in accordance with the official policy, the majority society exerts an assimilation pressure on the individuals within the minority groups. At school, this is expressed in the discrepancy between the jurisdiction which grants pupils from ethnic minorities support in their development of mother tongue proficiency and cultural identity, and the limited opportunities actually offered to the majority of these pupils.¹

¹ An important milestone for the national minorities in Sweden is the Swedish government's ratification of the European framework convention on the protection of national minorities and the European regulation on regional and minority languages. The conventions took effect on June 1, 2000 for Sweden's part, and this means that the national minority issues are thereafter regulated by internationally firm commitments. The aim of the conventions is to guarantee an effective protection for the national minorities and the rights of members of the minorities (SOU 1997:192 and Government bill 1998/99:143 on national minorities in Sweden). The ratification means a reorientation in the Swedish official attitude to the historic minorities. As a critical remark we may observe that there are only a few concrete measures in the area of education. Sweden has shown a low level of ambition as regards the teaching of the minority languages at school. This has had a

The importance accorded to the development of first language skills has varied over time (for an early comprehensive discussion of the issues involved, cf. Allwood, McDowall and Strömqvist 1982). What is probably the most common attitude today, is expressed by Inger Lindberg, professor of Swedish as a second language at Göteborg University, who says "Essentially it is all about the simple fact that we learn best in a language that we understand. As long as the multilingual pupils do not master the language of instruction, they will have poorer chances compared to monolingual pupils who receive instruction in the language they master, namely in their mother tongue. The multilingual students should therefore in their school work, parallel to the Swedish language, be given the opportunity to continue to develop and use the language they know best."(Lindberg, Språkvård nr 4/02)

In spite of the positive attitudes of many researchers to first language use in the school setting, there has been a general reluctance to integrate mother tongue teachers and mother tongue instruction within the ordinary school curriculum. Pupils are mostly offered two lessons per week at the end of the day after the ordinary school teaching, and often both teachers and students have to move between different schools. Many mother tongue teachers feel that they are an asset to the pupils and to the schools, and say that they would like to be much more involved and integrated in the schools and that they wish to contribute more with their multicultural experience and linguistic competence. They also point out that there are variations in the quality of mother tongue training and in the prerequisites for this education in Sweden. Therefore, they would like a national coordination of the subject, in order to enhance the quality and the integration of mother tongue training in the schools and preschools and in society in general. They argue that a coordinated use and a development of the resources would promote the identity development of multilingual children and pupils, as well as enhance their general acquisition of knowledge and languages. It would also facilitate the school entry of newly arrived pupils and contacts with their parents (Hallandsposten, 21st of Feb. 2005).

The importance of first language or mother tongue teachers as identification models in school, where pupils seldom meet adults with their own ethnic and linguistic background has also been highlighted in Bredänge (2003).

"Mother tongue" teaching in Swedish schools is somewhat too limited to be of real help in maintaining the competence in the first language. The general policy of the Swedish school has been assimilatory. Mother tongue classes have mostly not prevented the trend of assimilation over two generations.

4.3 The cultural background of the teachers

The cultural composition of students and parents has changed to a much larger extent than has the composition of teachers in compulsory school and upper-secondary school. The majority of the foreign born teachers work as mother tongue teachers, and it is rare to find foreign born teachers in compulsory school teaching subjects such as Swedish and social studies. At upper

negative impact, for example, on the education in Finnish, especially when at the same time many Finnish parents have had a negative attitude to the teaching of Finnish to their children (Huss & Spiliopoulou Åkermark 2005).

secondary school, it seems somewhat more common to find foreign born teachers in "non-linguistic" fields such as mathematics and physics.

In 1977 mother tongue teacher training programs started at university level in Sweden. Many teachers holding a foreign teacher's degree have attended these programs, and now work as mother tongue teachers. To many teachers with a foreign teacher training, the journey towards an employment in the Swedish school system seems too long and uncertain. Many are discouraged by the thought of years of complementary studies financed with study loans, especially in relation to the uncertainty of future employment opportunities. Therefore, to work as substitutes is an option for many (Bredänge, 2003).

Teachers of Swedish as a second language are another category of teachers created as a result of the immigration to Sweden. In the 1970s, when newcomers who did not yet speak much Swedish arrived in the Swedish schools they were organized in preparatory classes, where they received Swedish language training for about 6 months up to one year before they were transferred to Swedish classes. The teachers working in these classes expressed a need for further education in order to be able to teach Swedish as a second language in a professional manner. This resulted in in-service courses in Swedish as a second language for teachers in cooperation with universities. The first university teacher training program including Swedish as a second language as a possible subject combination started in 1986.

Sweden has a long history of well-organized union activity. Approximately 85 per cent of all workers and professional employees are union members, and over 90 per cent of all teachers are union members. In Lärarförbundet (teachers' union), one of the two major unions organizing teachers, the number of members born outside of Sweden amounted to 8 per cent in 2004, and in the other major teachers' trade union, Lärarnas riksförbund (the national union of teachers), the number amounted to 7 per cent. Including both those teachers born abroad and those with at least one parent born abroad, the number amounted to 14 per cent in both of the unions (Nelander & Goding, 2004).

Interviews with teachers indicate that people of other ethnicities than Swedish are more frequently employed as substitutes, or are found in other professional categories at the schools, such as cleaners, school dinner personnel, care takers, and recreation leaders at the leisure time centre.

4.4 Impact of government policies

Educational institutions are one of the main arenas for the implementation of government policies, and the national curricula are the government's principal tool for the implementation of political ideology in the educational sector. The national curricula depict the ideological visions, the requested values and aims that the schools are to obtain within the educational system. The pedagogical staff is required to interpret the goals and ideals, formulate local syllabi and turn these into practice in their daily work in the class room.

The national curriculum states common fundamental values (värdegrund) that all education should be based on, as well as express and transmit. These values are based on a profound respect for the uniqueness and equal value of each individual. The values in question are democracy, respect for each individual's intrinsic value, respect for the common environment, the integrity of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, the equal worth of

every human being, the equality between men and women and solidarity with vulnerable and exposed people, which in accordance with the ethics of a Christian tradition and western humanism, are to be developed through the fostering of the individuals towards a sense of justice, generosity, tolerance and sense of responsibility.

Another aim is to let each individual pupil find his/her unique individuality, and thereby take part in society by doing his/her best through responsible freedom. Other aspects highlighted are understanding, brotherly feeling, openness to differences in opinions, expression of personal views, and an objective and comprehensive education. According to the national curriculum the education is also to be adapted to each student's qualifications and needs, and is to stimulate the pupils' continued learning process and his/her development of knowledge by taking the pupils' background, previous experiences, language and knowledge as the point of departure. The actual concrete meaning of these magnificent wordings are not explained, but are left to the local schools and the teachers to interpret.

In the national curricula, there are only a few references to intercultural communication. This may be interpreted in the light of the fundamental values (*värdegrunden*) mentioned above, which in a sense already express the basic ideas and aims which are fully compatible with intercultural communication. Perhaps it also reflects a certain reluctance to deal with cultural differences.

"Cultural diversity" is mentioned in the 1994 curriculum for the compulsory school, Lpo 94. It states that "[the] internationalization of the Swedish society and the growing transnational mobility entail high demands on people's ability to live with and realize the values residing in cultural diversity. Awareness of the own cultural heritage as well as participation in the common cultural heritage gives a confident identity which is important to develop, along with the ability to understand and enter into the conditions and values of others. The school is a social and cultural meeting place which both has opportunities and responsibility for strengthening this ability in all those working there" (our translation). In the 1994 national curriculum for the non-compulsory school, Lpf 94, "cultural diversity" is mentioned once: "The international perspective also includes the development of understanding of the cultural diversity within the country" (our translation).

Despite the respect for the unique individuality of each pupil expressed in the national curricula, Ann Runfors reveals that "immigranthood" is both formed and reproduced in and by the educational system. In her thesis, Runfors (2003) shows how the immigrant children were ascribed differences that limited their freedom of action, and how they were not seen as the individuals that they were, but were instead recipients of attention based on what they were not. They represented a lack of knowledge, a gap to fill. Runfors shows how the building of a status hierarchy and the creation of specific social position, that of the "immigrant" is created at the schools, and how social downgrading occurs in a well meaning society and a well meaning institution like education (Runfors 2003: 251).

4.5 Language skills - Swedish

In her thesis (2003), Runfors points out the work of Hosseini-Kaladjahi (2002 and 1998), who, I quote, "has analyzed a number of integration programmes and integration projects of the 1990s and who analyzes the assumptions they are based on. Segregation is perceived as a

consequence of high unemployment, while unemployment is perceived as a consequence of lacking competence among "immigrants", especially proficiency in Swedish. Lack of competence is in turn perceived as a consequence of segregation - as a consequence of lack of dealings with "Swedes". Lack of contact with "Swedes" and the thereof following lack of competence and language skills contribute according to these assumptions to further unemployment. The main strategy in the integration programs is to increase the competence among "immigrants". Further, this competence, in local action plans and projects, often was concretized as proficiency in Swedish. The strategy thus became to increase language proficiency among the "immigrants".

This system of descriptions, which really are assumptions, of the situation in "Swede scarce" suburban areas thus forms a model *of* reality, which in turn constitutes the foundation for a model *for* reality - the foundation for outlined actions and solutions. A complex of social issues was hereby translated to a specific problem, where "good Swedish" stands out as the utmost concretization of actions promoting integration.

These commonly accepted descriptions and assumptions limit the field of vision of the school personnel. The descriptions conceal a lot of circumstances related to the complexity of integration problems. But they also offered possibilities. They offered the teachers a way to talk about and relate to their work. Language teaching offered a real and apprehensible assignment which made it possible to start somewhere and to accomplish something. Thereby the teachers were able to formulate a more manageable assignment to ease sensations of chaos and powerlessness. The teaching also offered tools for the employees at school when they were to talk to parents and pupils (Runfors 2003: 160-161).

4.6 Good practice

The general failure concerning socio-economic integration of "new Swedish" citizens has received a lot of attention during the past years, and has been accompanied by an attempt to reverse this course and increase the level of democracy, employment and integration in the suburban areas.

An example worth mentioning is the initiative Storstadssatsningen 2000-2003 (Major Urban Effort), decided on by the parliament in 1999. The initiative focussed on seven communes in the regions of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö characterized by among other things high unemployment, low participation in elections, and a broad cultural diversity. The initiative contributed large investments aiming at increasing the level of democracy, increasing employment and altering segregation. The educational sector was one of targeted areas and seems to be one of the most successful. A considerable amount of the activities were aimed at childrens' language development and amelioration of school results. These have been judged relevant and will continue within the ordinary school activities in the coming years. The good practice examples below reflect three aspects of the initiative made in the educational sector on primary level. The information is based on the evaluation of the initiative Storstadssatsningen in Göteborg (Bak et al. 2004).

4.6.1 Competence development of preschool personnel

The course "Bilingual development in preschool", a five credit course at the Swedish department of Göteborg University was offered as in-service training 2001-2003, as a part of the initiative Storstadssatsningen. The basic themes for the course were bilingualism, cultural meetings, language acquisition - in particular second language acquisition; and the language environment at preschool, focusing on the importance of interaction in language acquisition. The staff experienced that their knowledge of children's language acquisition had increased considerably, and they expressed their appreciation of acquiring theoretic support for their daily practical work with the children's language development. Many also experienced themselves as becoming more observant and sensitive to how to communicate and speak with the children. They experienced a positive change in their common work, which contributes to a positive influence on the children's language acquisition. It has also become easier for the staff to encourage parents to use their first language at home and to read a lot to their children (Bak et al. 2004).

The joint training of the staff was a methodological choice aiming at increasing the professional level. It has been based on theory and has offered methodological tools, in particular analysis of language development. According to the evaluation, systematic investments in competence development of the personnel in areas such as language development and intercultural competence are important investments in a long-term perspective (Bak et al. 2004).

4.6.2 The Language and book-projects

The work with the Language (mainly Swedish so far) and book-projects in the multicultural schools, in the suburban areas, has thoroughly increased the pupils' language development and should remain a permanent part of the pedagogical activities. The combination of language development and reading, in combination with intensive work in conversation, by means of a respectful dialogue, has contributed to the creation of conditions enhancing democracy. The combination of many books, a skilled and pedagogical librarian has had a major impact on the pupils reading activities, as well as on and the teachers' use of reading as a major pedagogical part of the education. An intensive pedagogical work filled with pleasant reading of fiction is a useful instrument in promoting children's reading skills and language acquisition, particularly in schools with multilingual children. As a consequence of the project, the school library has become a creative meeting place for both pupils and teachers. The language and book-projects have increased both boys and girls desire to read, but the increased interest has been most notable among boys. The reading activities have been combined with an analysis of language development, offering the teachers a focus on the bilingual children's positive language development and language acquisition process, which also has facilitated discussions with parents about their children's language progress (Bak et al. 2004).

4.6.3 Open meeting places and the engagement of parents

In all the suburbs involved in the initiative Storstadssatsningen, there have been projects aiming at making the school more available to the local community. Some call it "the open

school", some "the school in the middle of the village". The aim was to transform the school into a meeting place, available both to pupils after the end of the school day, as well as to parents and different kinds of associations in order to increase cooperation and develop activities. The open school has contributed to a positive atmosphere and well-being at school, and has offered the children possibilities to meet each other after school in a secure environment, to discover and develop interests in various organized activities, and also to receive help with their homework. In sum, the schools have become a meeting place and a place of empowerment for both adults and children.

4.7 Sfi- Swedish for adult immigrants

There are a number of educational institutions for adults in Sweden, such as sfi (Swedish for immigrants), municipal adult education (Komvux), adult education for adults with learning disabilities (Särvux), vocational training courses (arbetsmarknadsutbildningar), various educational associations (studieförbund), as well as folk high schools (folkhögskolor) and also universities and university colleges (högskolor). Below we will first present some information on sfi (swedish for immigrants) and then briefly describe the situation at the university level.

The history of Swedish language education for adult immigrants spans over 40 years. It started modestly in the form of free study circles in 1965 organized by various educational associations (studieförbund). The trade unions demanded that immigrant workers be granted language courses during working hours without a reduction in salary. The request was accepted by the authorities, and in 1972 immigrant labor were entitled the right to attend basic language education by law. In 1973 immigrant labor were granted 240 hours Swedish language training during working hours maintaining full salary. Unfortunately, the increased costs for the employers resulted in a greater reluctance to employ immigrants.

In 1971 the first sfi-curriculum was elaborated in form of recommendations to the educational associations. In 1973 teacher training programmes stated (YRK-courses). In 1976 the curriculum from 1971 was replaced by a document entitled "General aims and directions for Swedish language education for adult immigrants". In 1977 the education was evaluated and severely criticized. A parliamentary committee was assigned to suggest how to reform the language education and make it permanent (Samarbete, arbetssätt och språkinläring inom sfi, 2003).

Finally, in 1986 the state assumed responsibility for the education, 700 hours (x 45 minutes) of language education (Sfi). The communes assumed responsibility for arranging the language courses on the local level. (Samarbete, arbetssätt och språkinläring inom sfi, 2003).

In 1989 the education received severe criticism on several points, mainly for long waiting times, lack of combination of studies and work, deficits in content and quality, lack of flexibility and lack of central and local coordination, and consequently sfi was retransformed in 1991, when a new curriculum (Lsfi-91) was decided on (Samarbete, arbetssätt och språkinläring inom sfi, 2003).

In 1994 sfi became part of the 1994 national curriculum (Lpf 94), and since then national tests are conducted and the students receive grades. In 1997, the Swedish National Agency for Education presented the report "Vem älskar sfi?" ("Who loves sfi?"), which was followed by

the latest reorganization of sfi in 2003. Then sfi received a new course plan consisting of several study paths, enabling a combination of sfi with vocational training, stages or work, depending on the students' educational background and their plans for the future.

In 2002-2003, the Swedish National Agency for Education organized in-service training at university level for more than 800 sfi-teachers in Swedish as a second language, didactics and methods, and also supported the development of new forms of cooperation and teaching methods in cooperation with Nationellt centrum för sfi (National centre for Swedish as a second language), LiSA (the association for Swedish as a second language), civil service departments, Svenska Kommunförbundet (The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions), and trade unions (Skolverket, 2000).

The priority given to sfi-teachers was most welcome, because a large number of sfi-teachers have not completed the required one year university course in Swedish as a second language, and most sfi-teachers are still in need of a broad competence development. Today, approximately 80 per cent of the sfi-teachers have a pedagogical education (Skolverket, 2005). In addition, in smaller communes, the sfi-teachers often also lack colleagues. An additional difficulty lies in the limited economic budgets of the local communes, and therefore in-service training is mostly not prioritized (Skolverket, 2000).

The sfi-teachers' task is a challenging one, given the fact that sfi-students may vary in age, level of education, experiences, language skills, health and aims of study. Within sfi we find young people as well as senior citizens, professors and analphabets, war disabled, disabled, persons with learning difficulties, and newly arrived persons as well as participants who have resided in Sweden since long. The sfi-teachers have to be able to meet all these individuals and offer them the support they need. In order to do so the teachers are not only required to have knowledge of Swedish as a second language and civics, but must also be able to cooperate with various functionaries in the municipalities, for example the employment agency, the municipal refugee coordination, social services, NGO's, training work places, and other adult educational institutions. All this requires a very broad competence (Skolverket, 2000).

One of the required competences that sfi-teachers need to develop is intercultural communication, and knowledge of different cultures, including how people from different cultures look at for example education, knowledge, work and family relations. Teaching sfi also requires knowledge of the structure of the Swedish language in a contrastive perspective, as well as knowledge of the structure of different languages, literacy teaching of adults in a language which is not their mother tongue, development of reading and writing skills for adults with short education, refugees and torture injuries, adult teaching, validation and cooperation with for example other authorities, workplaces and NGO's. The sfi-teacher thus needs to master the subject Swedish as a second language including civics, be able to cooperate with various functionaries in society and plan the education so that the individuals' trainee positions or other work will contribute to their development of language skills and to their understanding of life in Sweden (Skolverket, 2000).

Until now, the focus of Swedish as a second language teacher training has been on education in lower and upper secondary school, not at all on adult education. Therefore, the Swedish

National Agency for Education wishes to develop, in cooperation with the universities, "all-embracing" Swedish as a second language distance education courses for sfi-teachers and teachers in Swedish as a second language based on an adult education perspective. This would enable sfi-teachers to develop their skills in Swedish as a second language irrespective of their place of residence (Skolverket, 2000).

The Swedish National Agency for Education would also like to see an increased cooperation among sfi-organizers and other functionaries in the municipalities, an increase in vocational training and focus on the work place, as well as the development and dissemination of methods for language development in combination with vocational training (Skolverket 2000). The reorganization of sfi in 2003 may be perceived as a step in this direction.

4.8 University

4.8.1 Introduction

Most universities and tertiary institutions in Sweden are state-run and offer students specific programs or individual courses of study. The universities and university colleges are located in more than 20 towns and cities across the country. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education, 43% per cent of the students continued on to study at the tertiary level within three years of completing upper secondary school in 2002. (Skolverket, 2005).

Sweden needs a well educated population and lately major investments have been made in third level education. In order to meet the economical and other challenges in the future, the government's goal is that 50 per cent of all the upper secondary students will start university studies before the age of 25. Today the number amounts to 30 per cent (SOU 2000:47).

4.8.2 The background of students and staff

A problem which remains to be solved is the socially uneven recruitment. The probability for an individual with a white collar background to enter university is six to seven times higher compared to an individual with a blue collar background. However, half of the university students are first generation academics, while the other half are of academic background. So, university is both an arena for social mobility, as well as for academic reproduction. Very little research has been made in Sweden on the relationship between higher education and ethnicity. The prevailing studies all highlight social background as the determining factor (SOU 2000:47).

The cultural background of students

The share of students with an immigrant background at the universities today correspond approximately to their share in the population as a whole, but analyses of different ethnic groups still remain to be done. A fifth of the Swedish population is of foreign descent, and the share of university students of foreign descent is about the same, even slightly higher. The percentage of university students born outside of Sweden aged 16-64 years amounted to 8 % in 1998, while the total of the group born outside Sweden amounted to 13 % of the Swedish population. It may be that the main reasons can be found in the students' social background.

Some immigrant groups have for example a higher share of university students compared to the Swedish population (SOU 2000:47).

The cultural background of personnel

As for the ethnic make-up of the university personnel, the group of foreign born are overrepresented compared to the total population. This may be due to the large number of guest researchers. 10 % of the university personnel have a foreign citizenship, compared to 5 % of the total population. Within the group of foreign born, there is a clear European dominance. This goes for both the university personnel as well as the total population. The group of Asia- and Africa-born is smaller within the university personnel compared to the total population. This is also the case for individuals with both parents born abroad. The number of those with only one parent born outside of Sweden corresponds to their share of the total population in the age group 16-64 years (SOU 2000:47).

In terms of different work categories, the distribution of the personnel of foreign descent is notably uneven. The majority is found within research, only a small number teach, and even less work in administration. We can roughly sum it up by stating that research is international, teaching is more "Swedish" and administration very "Swedish". In addition, the majority of those with foreign background have a temporary employment. Thus, there is clearly a problem regarding advancement within the university for individuals of foreign descent. Also, a large number of persons with immigrant background are found at the bottom of the employment hierarchy, working as cleaners for example (SOU 2000:47).

4.8.3 Recent initiatives for increased diversity

The report SOU 2000:47 also discuss different dimensions of quality of third level education and highlights how diversity can contribute to enhanced quality in several areas, notably in research, learning, administration, social life and in society as a whole. Several suggestions are made to facilitate increased diversity at the universities. Below follows some of the examples, many of which have already been initiated and are to be evaluated within a period of four years (SOU 2000:47).

- Obligatory introductory course for new students, including optional Swedish language courses
- Language work shops/laboratories
- Swedish language courses for foreign upper secondary students and academics
- More flexible recruitment rules in combination with active recruitment for increased social and ethnic diversity
- Complementary education for foreign academics
- Documents presenting the universities aims for recruitment of personnel in terms of ethnic diversity
- Committees for an objective and fair validation of foreign degrees
- Action plans for social and ethnic diversity in the universities
- Diversity as quality criteria
- Resources for pedagogical diversity work

- Means for a multidisciplinary research programme on diversity at the university (Mångfald i högskolan, 2000).

Legislation

Below follows legal acts on diversity pertaining to the university:

- University Act (SFS 1992:1434) and University ordinance (SFS 1993:100)
- Equality Act (1991:433)
- Act on equal treatment of university students (SFS 2001:1286)
- Act on measures against ethnic discrimination at the work place (SFS 1999:130)

4.8.4 University based research on international migration

In Sweden there have been two major traditions for studying migration and intercultural communication (i) IMER - International Migration and Ethnic Relations and (ii) Research on Intercultural Communication.

IMER - International Migration and Ethnic Relations

International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER) is a broad interdisciplinary field of research and teaching. Swedish IMER started in the late 1970s and constitutes today a significant area of research. Several research centres such as CEIFO, KIM, CAFO and more recently, CEUS have also been founded. In all there are 27 IMER centres throughout the country. One of the three main funding bodies is FAS (Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research). In addition, the leading IMER centres and departments have established and joined projects funded by the European Union (Vasta et al. 2003 - "An Evaluation of Swedish International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER) Research 1995-2002").

IMER teaching and research focus on the global migration process and the consequences thereof on society and individuals. At Malmö University an entire faculty is devoted to IMER, offering courses such as international migration and ethnic relations, human rights, peace and conflict, international relations, urban studies, intercultural communication, and communicative language programs in English and Swedish.

Important Swedish IMER research topics:

- social welfare/policy and the social/human rights of immigrants
- legislation and international law;
- various aspects of labour market integration and working life;
- housing and segregation;
- language;
- health;
- gender issues and immigrant women;
- integration
- citizenship, identity and belonging;
- migration and globalisation.

(Vasta et al. 2003:37)

The evaluation report also points out areas in need of an approach from another focus than the usual: "While immigrant integration and participation is well covered, there appears to be very little research on the 'integration' of Swedes into a multicultural society. An extension of this would include research on cultural relations between ethnic groups, including the Swedes. A related issue includes research on the housing strategies of the majority population." The report also points out the issue of racism/discrimination at the institutional level. "Although there is much on policy discrimination such as in housing segregation or institutional discrimination in the work place, the problem of institutional racism may need to be more clearly differentiated. For instance, there appears to be a need for more research on institutional racism in the bureaucracies including in the police, the universities, state and local government authorities, and the media. The links need to be made on how structural racism is informed by everyday racism." [...] "A final area is that new studies on integration need to link into the problems of institutional racism as well as into the populist movements in Europe and how these affect Sweden. We strongly recommend that the focus provided by the NGOs particularly on the question of integration and institutional discrimination is given more attention" (Vasta et al. 2003:38).

Research on Intercultural Communication

Besides the IMER related research, there has since the late 1970's been a tradition of research on intercultural communication. This has been especially alive at the university of Göteborg and Lund as at the business schools of Stockholm and Göteborg.

In Göteborg research was interdisciplinary and originally based on KIM, an interdisciplinary center for culture contact and intercultural migration (for examples of the kind of work done see Allwood 1985 and Allwood 1999). Later the research tended to be more department based. In Lund the research has been based on initiatives from single university departments from the start. In the 1980's there was also a Swedish society for research on intercultural communication KIK (Culture contact and intercultural communication). This society existed 1982-1992 and organized several national conferences, which resulted in a series of publications (KIM-reports). In 1993, KIK was replaced by NIC (Nordic Network for Intercultural Communication) which since 1994 has been organizing annual conferences in all the Nordic countries, cf. www.ling.gu.se/projekt/nic/

Research topics have covered intercultural relations in Sweden and the other Nordic countries as well as intercultural communication in other parts of the world, often but not always, involving persons from the Nordic countries.

One feature of Nordic research has been an openness to a wide variety of research methods. However, audio and video recordings, in combination with transcriptions, have played a relatively more important role than in other areas of the world where there has been a greater reliance on the use of questionnaires.

4.8.5 Good examples at the university

Student organizations

The students' union SFS has published a very good, practical and empowering handbook entitled "Handbok för kåraktiva. Att arbeta konkret för jämställdhet och mångfald i

högskolan." which could be translated as "Manual for students active in the students' union. Equality and diversity work at the university in practice." It is focussing on how to work with ethnic diversity issues at the university in practice.

4.9 Summary

One of the most notable changes in the educational sector during the past fifty years relates to the background of the students. If we adopt a linguistic point of view, we can say that the Swedish school system has become enriched with approximately 130 languages in the past decades, mostly in the urban and suburban areas of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. Today 13.6 per cent of the pupils in compulsory school have a first language other than Swedish, the ten most common languages excluding Swedish are Arabic, Bosnian/Croatian/Serb, Finnish, Spanish, Albanian, English, Persian, Turkish, Kurdish and Somali. However, as we have already mentioned it is questionable whether these mother tongue classes really fulfill their objective, that is creating a functionally bilingual individual, given the small amount of education offered in and on the mother tongue.

The compulsory schools' responses to the situation have varied. Bilingual education, mother tongue training, preparatory classes and Swedish as a second language training have been the answers for many schools. In the "Swedish scarce" areas, where the number of pupils with a Swedish sounding name is very low, a lot of attention has been accorded to the pupils' lack of proficiency in Swedish. It is important for teachers to be aware of the fact that it takes time to master a language, let alone two, or more languages, and not to focus too extensively on the "lacks", but try to see the unique individual and his/her competencies.

The view on first language training has also varied, despite the scientific research results highlighting its importance. A reform in 1977 granted the pupils the right to attend mother tongue training. Now this training is offered as an option for the pupils two hours per week, if the communes manage to find a mother tongue teacher and if the number of pupils exceeds five. The mother tongue teachers wish for an enhanced integration of the subject in the ordinary school schedule. They also request a national upgrading of the quality of the education as well as of the value accorded to the language instruction in question.

The share of foreign born teachers should be increased at all levels of education if it is to mirror society in general. At university level, foreign born personnel is mainly found in the area of research, whereas teaching, and above all administration, are predominantly "Swedish" areas. The possibility of advancement within the universities also seems limited for foreign born individuals.

Several recent initiatives have been undertaken in order to increase social and ethnic diversity at the university, and only the future will tell if the efforts will pay off.

Finally, Sweden has had two research traditions concerned with intercultural relations – the IMER based research which has concerned many important areas related to immigration. According to an international evaluation, future IMER research needs to focus more on the 'integration' of Swedes into a multicultural society. Besides this there has also been a long tradition of research on Intercultural Communication in several universities, resulting in the formation of the Swedish society KIK (1982-1992) and the Nordic society NIC 1994-, where in both societies there has been a goal of bringing together university research with education and training done outside the university in the public and private sectors.

5. Conclusions – challenges and opportunities

5.1 Integration and segregation

One of Sweden's main goals concerning the treatment of immigrants is "integration". Since what is meant by this goal is by no means clear, it quickly leads to the issue of what integration is and how it best should be achieved? It is probably safe to say that integration is not the same as "segregation", i.e. a society where immigrants live segregated from the majority population and from each other is not an integrated society. Such a society could be a multicultural society but it would in this case be a segregated multicultural society rather than an integrated multicultural society. It is also probably safe to say that integration is not "assimilation", i.e. a society where all immigrants quickly lose their first language and culture, in order to learn and be assimilated into the culture and language of the majority population, is not an integrated multicultural society.

Thus, integration seems to point to a society, where individuals are not segregated from each other but in contact with each other, where individuals are not forced to give up their first language and culture but are allowed and also in practice able to keep these, while at the same time being in active contact with the majority population. An integrated society might thus be defined as a society where it is possible for individuals in all groups of society to both have access to and be actively engaged in all public and private activities and services. It is probably also a society that is characterized by openness, tolerance and participation of all groups in as many activities as possible and where phenomena like discrimination, racism and xenophobia are unusual and not accepted.

Thus, in (SOU 2004:73) it is stated that in the public sphere of the majority society, important areas for (integrated) participation are the labor market, the educational system, the organization activities and the political system. Participation is an important prerequisite for integration. One reason for integration not being achieved may be the majority society hindering minorities from participating in the social life on equal terms. Discrimination is an example of such a hindrance. Another reason for insufficient integration may be that the minority does not accept the rules of the game decided on by the majority society, but instead tries to find solutions in terms of segregation or creation of a new mixed culture (SOU 2004:73).

The point of departure for the Swedish integration policy is that all individuals shall have equal rights, possibilities and obligations. The Swedish Integration Board highlights the importance of access to employment in order for a good integration into the Swedish society to take place. Employment per se does not equal integration, but according to the board, it is through work that the individual receives the prerequisites of controlling his/her own life, and thereby obtains the possibility to participate in the society (SOU 2004:73).

In contrast to integration, segregation is characterized by separation from a whole. Segregation constitutes a test on the social solidarity within society. In its extreme form it may result in lack of interaction between different populations in society. Segregation may be defined as an attempt for the minority to keep traditional ways of living, values and norms within the private sphere, and at the same time reduce participation in the majority society's

public sphere to a necessary minimum. Segregation may also be the result when the majority society, or parts of it, hinders the access of minority groups to essential resources in society such as education, work, housing and political influence (SOU 2004:73)².

5.2 Means to achieve integration

Generally speaking, at least the following means are available to achieve integration

1. Legislation
2. Education
3. Persuasion and attitude change, e.g. through the media

Legislation can be used to introduce laws and regulations that support and facilitate integration or prevent and hinder discrimination and segregation. Education can be used to describe, analyze and explain phenomena related to multiculturalism as well as to give practical training in how to facilitate integration, how to make positive use of its consequences and how to prevent discrimination. Persuasion and attitude are involved in both legislation and education but can also be viewed as a factor with wider application over and above these two means, e.g. in influence through the media. Below, we will summarize some of the ways these three means have been used in Sweden.

5.3 Group differentiation in host and immigrant population

In analyzing the effects of multiculturalism and immigration, it is useful to recognize that different segments of the involved immigrant and indigenous populations, as well as different sectors of the society immigrated into might have different needs, pointing to different means as being the most appropriate in order to support integration, reap the benefits of multiculturalism or provide the parties concerned with a good quality of life.

Some of the relevant factors when it comes to dividing the populations into different segments are:

- (i) linguistic and cultural background
- (ii) profession
- (iii) level of education
- (iv) economic situation
- (v) age
- (vi) gender
- (vii) type of immigration, i.e. political asylum, family reunion, job seeker
- (viii) social network

The factors may be illustrated with a few examples to make them clearer.

² Further information on structural discrimination on ethnic or religious grounds is available in the government investigation SOU 2005:56 "Det blågula glashuset" (The blue and yellow glass house) by Paul Lappalainen. www.regeringen.se/sb/d/5073/a/46188.

Linguistic and cultural background: Immigrants that have different restrictions on their habits of clothing or eating than do the indigenous population will require tolerance, and in some cases adjustment, of indigenous food and clothing habits. For example, if Muslim immigrants are allowed to maintain their food habits, government sponsored school lunches should perhaps include halal options and bus driver uniform requirements for Sikhs should perhaps include turban variants, and perhaps girls and boys should have separate physical education at school. Likewise more could be done to help multilingual students maintain all of their languages actively.

Profession: Medical doctors and unskilled laborers perhaps need help to solve slightly different problems in order to be integrated.

Level of education: Educational packages introducing the local language and culture should probably be structured in different ways, depending on the educational level of the students.

Economic status: An immigrant with good economic means is likely to be able to avoid many of the problems a person who has less means would have.

Age: Old immigrants have a different situation in a new country than do younger immigrants, e.g. in terms of mobility, flexibility, experience and need of health care.

Gender: Male and female immigrants may have different needs in terms of health care or education.

Over and above the above noted differences between different segments of the immigrating and indigenous populations, there are many other factors that may influence the course of immigration. Some of the most important of those are connected with the nature of the activities the immigrants will be involved in, in the society of immigration. How similar or dissimilar is what they are going to do to what they were doing in their home country. Other important differences concern attitudes and values.

Type of immigration - political asylum, family reunion and job seeking: Immigrants who arrive as political refugees or for family reunion reasons will often have employment problems whereas immigrants that come recruited for certain jobs do not have these problems. The fact that a majority of Swedish immigrants, since 1980, have been political refugees or cases of family reunion explains, at least partly, why unemployment among certain groups of immigrants has become such a big problem in Sweden. A situation that is different from the situation in countries which primarily have had labor market needs as the driving force of immigration. In such cases immigrants come to a job and employment is at least not initially a problem.

Social networks: Some minorities have a limited number of family relations in the host country (e.g. Finns), whereas other groups have large families, clans etc. in Sweden. The differences as to the extensiveness of family ties and social relations are very important in many respects, for example, economically, socially, culturally and psychologically.

5.4 The percentage of immigrants employed in an organization should reflect the percentage of immigrants in the population

Roughly 10% of the Swedish population are first generation immigrants, i.e. are born outside of Sweden. If we add to this the second generation immigrants, we reach 15%, counting those who have two externally born parents, and roughly 20%, if we count also those who only have one externally born parent. Thus, 10-20% of the Swedish population can be said to be immigrants or to have immigrant background. The Swedish government has decided to adopt the goal of trying to make the percentage of persons who have an immigrant background among the employees in the public agencies reflect the percentage of immigrants in the population as a whole.

Very few of the public agencies in Sweden have been able to meet the requirements of this goal. Because of a shortage of qualified persons, the goal has probably been met in the health sector. Because of fairly open competition the goal has also, to some extent, been met in the academic sector. In most other parts of the national public sector like the police, the tax authorities, the mail service, the military, the labor market administration or various public companies, the goal is, however, still to be met.

In a similar fashion to the national level, there is also an ambition to meet the goal on a regional and municipal level but so far, there has probably been even less success on these levels.

However, in all of the subdivisions of the public sector, there is at least an official positive attitude to increased hiring of immigrants. The result of this is a slow and gradual increase of the number of immigrant employees. It is very likely that this process would be quicker if more active training of staff and more information aimed at attitude change among Swedish staff could be provided. This information should also be combined with courses in intercultural communication, intercultural differences, conflict management and courses giving information about Swedish laws and regulations.

Turning to the private sector, we might say that the government goal cannot like in the public sector be implemented “top-down”. In the private sector, the same goal has to be attained in a more “bottom-up” manner, by persuasive argument. Companies must be brought to believe that hiring a greater number of immigrant employees will be in their best interest. Like in the public sector, the means for this are information aimed at attitude change, showing the advantages of a multicultural, multilingual labor force combined with training in intercultural communication, intercultural differences and conflict management.

A key group in this context consist of those working with recruitment at the workplace. It is therefore of importance to study the attitudes and values of this group in order to make sure that neither intentional nor unintentional discrimination takes place.

5.5 Anti discrimination

Sweden has already in the past created several laws banning discrimination on ethnic grounds. However, the implementation of these laws has not been very strict, so that very few cases have actually been brought to court, and in even fewer cases, there has actually been someone

found guilty of discrimination. Because of criticism of this state of affairs, the laws have been made somewhat stricter, resulting in a slight increase of court cases and persons found guilty.

There is discussion of further legislation but no consensus has been reached. Active hiring and preferential treatment of ethnic minorities in job recruitment has been tried but has also been criticized so that no clear consensus exists at the moment.

Besides legislation, there has also been support for web sites reporting on discrimination. See for example www.do.se. 167 cases of ethnic discrimination at the workplace have been reported to DO (the ombudsman against discrimination) January 1 - May 31 2005.

5.6 Contacts with country of origin and possible return

There have been suggestions for legislation financially sponsoring and guaranteeing return to the home country. This has so far not been generally implemented, but only been used in a few special cases like the return of refugees to Iraq and Bosnia Herzegovina.

In addition, there have been suggestions for more active support of contacts with the home country, for example in order to facilitate active maintenance of multiculturalism and multilingualism in both first and second generation immigrants.

One could also imagine making financial support available for groups of non-immigrant Swedes to visit the home countries of the largest immigrant groups in Sweden. Such visits would very likely help to increase interest and understanding for the background cultures and languages of the immigrant groups in question. The aim is to develop bi-culturality where people would find themselves equally at home in the country of origin and in Sweden. Double citizenship is one example of this. If advocated and supported publicly, bi-culturality of the immigrants could be a major factor to enhance economic welfare, social development, cultural empowerment and, most important, peace, democracy and free flow of information.

Another way to support bi-culturality is to support education and infrastructure based on and carried out in the respective minority languages. Without a full scale support, the minority groups and languages will not survive. If they die out, Sweden loses a resource of cultural and linguistic knowledge possessed by the groups concerned.

5.7 Treatment of asylum seekers

One of the most discussed issues concerning asylum seekers in Sweden is their treatment while their applications are being processed. In the past, many adult asylum seekers have often been forced into passivity for years in a refugee camp while waiting for a decision. Today, those who are expected to wait for more than four months for their asylum application to be processed are granted work permit in the meantime. They may thus work but are not allowed to attend courses in Swedish for immigrants (Sfi) or other studies during the application process. The fact that they are allowed to work is positive since it leads to a more productive use of time and minimize illegal jobs. It is on the other hand unfortunate that studies are not allowed. In several cases asylum is not granted and the asylum seeker can neither be sent back to his/her home country, as is the case for many Iraqi Kurds today. They

lose years which they could have spent on for example studies, investing in their future, to the benefit of society.

5.8 Opportunities for private business

Several of the surveys conducted in Sweden on the position of ethnic minorities show a positive correlation between a high rate of unemployment and newly started private businesses. It seems that many immigrants who might be unemployed for reasons of discrimination do something about their situation by starting their own businesses. Many immigrants have often more extensive contacts abroad than Swedes and they also have a non-Swedish network to a large extent. Since this must be regarded as a very positive trend, as much as possible should be done to facilitate this type of development, through courses giving training in how to start a business, favorable conditions for financing, incubator projects etc. It is important that a cultural and linguistic aspect is included in such support. Often the cultural and linguistic routines involved in starting and running a business constitute major hindrances preventing many immigrant entrepreneurs from ever getting started.

5.9 Recommendations for further research and training

Below we mention some research areas that could be of interest.

1. Sector differentiation

We need to know more about how immigration affects different sectors.

2. Perceived needs

We also need to know more about which needs are most strongly perceived by the immigrants themselves at different stages of integration with the host society.

3. Cultural diversity and synergy

We need to know more about under which conditions cultural diversity results in synergy, i.e. increased positive energy drawing from several sources.

4. Awareness of cultural differences and prejudice

We need to know more about the conditions under which awareness and insight into cultural differences leads to prejudice.

5. Training directed to majority host populations

There is a great need for ideas concerning what sort of training would be suitable in the host majority population, given that they in most cases would probably not be given any training at all.

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www.integrationsverket.se

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