

Analytical Report on Education

National Focal Point for SWEDEN

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1. Executive Summary

In their book *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism*, Schierup and Ålund¹ argue that Sweden has been unique in Europe both in the development of its general welfare policies and the inclusive social policies towards migrants. Sweden has been characterised by a stable consensus around the “Swedish model” and has rested on the continuous hegemony of the social democratic party. During the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s Sweden recruited foreign labour directly and extensively (mostly Finnish and migrants from the Mediterranean area, specially Yugoslavs) and it is within this period that the aims of equality, free choice and collaboration were defined for Swedish immigration policy.²

Sweden has never had a guest worker policy and has defined its migration policy through the principles of equality (to provide same standards for migrants) freedom of choice (to assure members of ethnic minorities a genuine choice between retaining and developing their cultural identity) and partnership (collaboration between minority and majority is beneficial for both groups). These aims were central in influencing school policies and may be illustrated on the home-language reform from 1976.³ In the context of a changing economic situation and with the active support of the unions the import of labour was concluded in 1972. However important amounts of people entered the country during the seventies and eighties as political refugees and through family reunion from different parts of the world. Sweden is also unique in its demographic transformation. Almost 5 percent of the total population of 8.500.000 are foreign citizens and more than 12 percent are foreign born or have one or both parents born abroad.

There are however serious gaps between the rhetoric of equality, freedom of choice and partnership and its implementation. The forms of institutionalised multiculturalism have created discourses based on cultural differences that are used as a boundary making to legitimate exclusion. Swedish welfare state has had a central role in creating and recreating these boundaries and in the creation of migrants as social problems and burdens. Culture, de los Reyes et al⁴ suggest discussing migrant women has become an idiom for social ranking structured along the lines of gender and ethnicity.

Swedish refugee policy has changed drastically in the last ten years. Organised forms of racist violence have increased. These have manifested themselves in acts of violence and harassment of a racist or anti-Semitic nature and have targeted immigrants (e.g. attacks on refugee centres, shops, cafés and homes owned by persons of immigrant origin), Jewish people and Roma, active anti-racists, and journalists, polemicists, police officers and politicians. Statistics show that the crime of ethnic agitation has increased from 573 reports in 1999 to 744 in 2001. The statistics are based on complaints actually reported to the police; it is generally accepted that there is a large amount of hidden statistics.

¹ Ålund, A and Schierup C-U (1991) *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism*. (Avebury. UK)

² SOU 1974

³ Prop.1976

⁴ de los Reyes, P, Molina I och Mulinari, D (ed) *Maktens (o)lika förklädnader. Kön, klass och etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige*. (Atlas. Stockholm) 2002 (PUB/SE/0005)

It is difficult to say if the violence is increasing or if these criminal acts are being acknowledged and reported. On the political level, far right-wing parties have won local government seats in recent years, campaigning on a xenophobic platform with racist undertones. A number of smaller, local or regional, strongly anti-immigrant protest parties have emerged, some of which have obtained some success at local government level, particularly in the southern part of Sweden.⁵

Many researches conceptualise the new situation in terms of a general crisis of the Swedish welfare state, connected with higher levels of unemployment, increasing privatisation of services, serious cuts in welfare rights and deterioration of public provision (health care etc) Education has during the nineties on average been allocated fewer resources.⁶

Sociologist Marie Carlsson argues that education in the Swedish context seems uncontestedly good, school concerns all spheres of life and this is seen as self-evident in a “knowledge society” which tends on a rhetorical level to regard society itself as a school arena. Schools and the educational system have been a matter of public debate during the last ten years.⁷

Central themes within these debates have been the expanding “independent” schools (in Swedish *friskolor*, literally translated as *free schools*) that challenged the almost totally publicly organised Swedish educational systems. The issue of independent (or private as they are also identified) schools have been related to the debate on confessional schools specially Muslims. Another area of debates is the “problem” of what is often defined in the Swedish public arena as migrant dense schools. Some voices demand more discipline, clear boundaries and “Swedish” and western Christian values. Other voices focalise in residential segregation and exclusion of migrants, increasing presence of radical right wing parties in schools and put emphasis on the serious welfare cuts during the nineties that have narrowed the educational system capacity to provide responses to what is experienced for most teachers as a new situation.

Sweden has taken a number of important measures towards combating racism and discrimination within the educational system. To name just a few: children and young people of foreign background are offered mother tongue tuition from the day care centre to upper secondary school where they can continue with their mother tongue as a language option. Swedish five recognised minorities have the right to education on their own language even if the amounts of children are less than five. A law against all forms of discrimination has been passed that target high schools and Universities.

Needless to say it has been impossible in the scope of this report to provide a systematic overview of educational research in Sweden. I will however briefly identify central themes and arenas in order to provide a framework of how the educational system in general and the educational system with special focus on ethnic relations has been analysed and theorised in Sweden.

⁵ Lodenius and Larsson 1994, *Extremhögern*. (Stockholm. Tiden)

⁶ SOU 2000

⁷ Carlsson (2002) Svenska för invandrare – brygga eller gräns? Syn på kunskap och lärande inom SFI undervisning. (Gothenburg studies in sociology. N. 13) (PUB/SE/0004)

In the seventies language and language learning was the central focus of school research specially the issue of bilingualism. There are up to the present no share results about the correlations between bilingual education or mother tongue and school achievement, but most researchers have argued for the centrality of mother tongue for individual and collective self esteem and also for school achievement.⁸ Residential segregation is a relevant theme in research, the residential structures creates hierarchies among schools, an internal segregation within the school system.⁹ Another important area of study is identity formation among youth with foreign background, that have challenged public discourses aiming to pathologise “second generation” as fractured between two cultures. While most of these works lack a systematic analysis of the school system their contribution illuminates the lives and hopes of racialised Swedish youth as well as their alienation from the formal school system and their search for other expressions path such as music and art.¹⁰ This research illuminates tensions between the rhetoric of multiculturalism and the practice of everyday school teaching that will be discussed through the report. We want however to underline some areas in need of serious attention:

- important differences in performance and educational path that cannot be explained by other variables (class, parent education, gender)
- residential segregation leading to “dense migrant” schools that have had serious negative impacts in the performance of children and young people of foreign background.
- lack of visions of a multicultural pedagogy and huge variations of policy implementation related to municipal school decisions and resources.
- construction of foreign born children as a “problem”, often identified in their “culture”.
- increased racist violence in schools. Schools have been the target of xenophobic populist parties during the nineties.

This brief overview provides in my opinion an important theoretical and methodological framework to analyse education and racialised groups. Studies have targeted residential and school segregation, illuminated processes of culturalisation and construction of racialised groups as others within the school system and challenged compensatory pedagogical forms that are defined by conceptualising racialised pupils/students as problems. Findings tend to show that focus of reform lies often on shifting/expanding resources in what is a compensatory model of education more than in developing alternative pedagogies. Central to these understandings is that multiculturalism is narrowed to migrants and to migrant dense schools.

With a few exceptions the majority culture, what may be described as the norm culture has not been the object of debate and research. There is a lack of empirical studies that identify and document good practices and pedagogical vision trying to develop new educational tools for a multicultural society. There is no systematic study of racist

8 Hyltenstam, K (red) (1996) Tvåspråkighet med förhinder? Invandrar och minoritets undervisning i Sverige. (Studentlitteratur. Lund)

9 Bunar (2001) Skolan mitt i förorten. Fyra studier om skolan, segregation integration och multikulturalism.

10 Sernhede (2001) Svart macho eller vit velour: utanförskap, hip hop och maskulinitet i det nya Sverige in Ekenstam et al (Ed) Sprickor i fasaden. (Hedemora. Gidlund)

violence and right wing parties' activities in schools. It is important to note that even if most researchers are critical of the actual educational system their aim is to include and change the educational system from within, while highly separatist options lead often to reinforce segregation.

In the year 2000 about 11 percent of all 15-year-old students in Sweden had a foreign background. Though it cannot be demonstrated that children/youth with foreign background actually failed in the public educational system at primary and secondary levels there seem to be considerable discrepancies between their results and those of the average Swedish children. The statistic that will be presented is clear enough. There are serious differences in performance and career choices between the native and migrants that cannot be reduced to class background.

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3. Glossary of terms

The figures provided in this report are extracted from Statistics Sweden (SCB) available through Internet www.scb.se and from the National Agency for Education (Skolverket) www.skolverket.se. While the statistic material is reliable, it is important to understand that the categorisation of “race”/ethnicity operationalised through the category of foreign background has been established recently, which makes comparison over time difficult.

The most important terms used by government sources refers to nationality as citizenship

- *Swedish*: Swedish citizens
- *Foreign*: Non-Swedish citizen
- *Foreign background*: persons that are foreign born or persons that are born in Sweden with two foreign born parents (specifically named *second generation*).
- *Swedish background*: persons that are native born or persons that are born in Sweden with at least one Sweden born parent.

The measurement of social processes and social outcomes in terms of ethnicity is of recently practice and has been the focus of several debates. Some intellectuals have been opposed to such a category because in their opinion measurements may increase boundaries between “us” and “them” and reproduce discourses of non-belonging to further generation of Swedish citizens. Economist Behtoui suggests that while it could be desirable not to divide young people by their ethnic background these divisions already exist, being young people designated as others within ordinary language.¹¹ The categorisation according to the researcher is a social reality impossible to ignore.

There is a lack of statistical material that grasps variations between and within racialised groups. There is no statistic available about teachers’ ethnicity within the educational system even if everybody seems to agree that the share of racialised teachers is very low. The more than 6000 illegal refugees (many of them children and young people) are outside official statistics. The above definitions are the most common used within Swedish statistical measurements and by the National Agency for Education and the Statistics Sweden (SCB).

The terms “migration” and “foreign born” are, I would suggest, often too inclusive if the aim is to identify ethnic discrimination based on processes of racialisation. Not all people that migrate to Sweden become racialised (“white” Europeans or “white” north Americans for example). Despite many disagreements, most research concludes that the groups that suffer institutional racism and racist violence are mostly groups from the so called “Third” World and their descendents as well as the recognised ethnic minorities within the country.

In the report some concepts will be used additionally to highlight the social process producing foreigners and persons with foreign background.

¹¹ Behtoui (2002) Differences in the Swedish Labour market for young people and the impact of “ethnicity”. (Arbetslivsinstitutet. Norrköping.) (PUB/SE/0022)

- *Migrants*: person crossing a state border attempting to reside or residing in the “new” state.
- *Racialised* groups: groups that through political and ideological processes are identified by their assumed belonging to specific populations, and hierarchical ranked as subordinated based on “race”/ethnic forms of categorisation.
- *Ethnic minority*: population groups legally recognised as minorities within the national state
- *Svartskalle/blatte*: while a prerogative word used against migrants (black skull) the word is today increasingly used by racialised groups themselves to name belonging to a pan-ethnic collective.
- *Institutional racism*: While racism describes the beliefs of individuals, in its institutional sense it refers to the anonymous operation of discrimination in organisations, professions or even whole societies. Institutional racism is relevant to understand how institutions can operate along racist lines without acknowledging this and how such operations can persist in the face of official policies geared to eliminate discrimination.

In the field of race and ethnic studies the concept of minority has been discussed widely because it grasps both a numerical and a political edge. The concept is problematic because many minorities have historically been politically privileged and economic dominant. In the Swedish context, if we take the example of Malmö (the third city of Sweden) that has a population where 24 percent are foreign born and 14 percent have at least one foreign-born parent (that is to say approx 38 percent) of the city population has a foreign background) it is difficult to speak of minority pupils/students.

A brief overview of the Swedish school boards report shows that there is serious confusion over the notion of multiculturalism when used in relation to education. In the proposition (SOU 1983)¹² interculturalism is defined as a process aiming to understand other cultures and multiculturalism is used to describe the Swedish society. Even the concept of diversity is increasingly used in official reports as in (SOU 1996).¹³

Swedish researchers use different terms (such as multiculturalism, bilingual, antiracist, intercultural education) as synonymous and interchangeable and in the Swedish context (which lacks the British debate between multiculturalism and antiracism in education) all of them remain diffuse, ill-defined, complex and, up to the present, contested terms. Similarly, both “home” and “mother tongue” language are used interchangeably without explications.

I will however define multicultural education as: an education that assumes a view of an ethnically diverse society to which the education system must respond in a positive manner.

It is also accepted that multicultural education has two aims. The first one is to meet the needs of racialised and ethnic minority children/young people. The second one is to prepare all individuals for a life in a multicultural society. While antiracist education has so far not been on the agenda we use a definition highlighting a model based on

¹² Olika ursprung –gemenskap i Sverige (*Different origins/ collectivity in Sweden*) (SOU 1983).

¹³ Sverige framtiden och mångfald. (*Sweden future and diversity*) (SOU: 1996).

acknowledging both racist actions and institutional racism through a conscious practice of combating racism in education and through the production of antiracist awareness models and policies towards the educational staff.

4. Introduction

In Sweden public child care is extended to children aged 1–12 years. Compulsory school begins at the age of seven but prior to that almost all six-year-olds attend voluntary preschool classes designed to prepare them for the first grade. The **leisure-time centre** (*fritidshem*) provides care for children whose parents are in gainful employment or studying during the time the child is not in school, i.e. mornings, afternoons and during holidays. In October 1999, 720.000 children were enrolled in childcare. Over 93 percent of all six years old were enrolled in the new type of school, the pre-school class. All children and young people in Sweden are obliged to attend school between the ages of seven and sixteen. After compulsory basic school the majority of pupils continue to the voluntary three-year upper secondary school where they can choose between seventeen national programmes.

The number of pupils at compulsory school increased by 25.000 compared with the previous year 1.035.000 pupils attended compulsory school in autumn 1999. Of these children, 3,2 percent attended an independent school (33.600) an increase of 4.500 if compared with the year before.

The recruitment base for upper secondary school consists largely of pupils who have completed year nine of compulsory school in the previous school year. Upper secondary school consists of 16 national programmes plus special designed and individual programmes. Of the 96.600 pupils who left compulsory school in spring 1999, 94.300 (97, 6 percent) continued to upper secondary school in autumn 1999. In all, the upper secondary schools had 305.600 pupils in autumn 1999.¹⁴

Several researchers have suggested that the category of “race”/ethnicity is central in understanding and explaining the life chances for individuals and groups in late modernity. The aim of this report is to critically re-read the Swedish school system, its achievements and goals from the perspective of racialised groups and ethnic minorities.

Our first point of departure for this report is to argue for a concept of culture that includes historical change, conflict and ambivalence, and against discourses that conceptualise culture as incommensurable (and often hierarchical) differences between groups of people. We want also to suggest that while class relations are relevant to an understanding of the position of racialised groups and ethnic minorities, explanations that focus only on class (as the ones often provided in official discourses on education in Sweden) and subsume ethnicity under class relations are highly unsatisfactory if we want to explain and understand the school achievement of racialised groups and ethnic minorities.

Our second point of departure is to recognise that the dilemma facing the Swedish educational system is both real and demanding. Swedish demographic composition has changed and segregated schools, serious differences in school performance and racist groups presence in school areas are some of the challenges confronting the educational system that despite the rhetoric has up to the present failed in developing an inclusive multicultural curriculum and antiracist educational practises.

¹⁴(National Agency for Education, report 192

5. Legislation and Policies in the area of Education of relevance for migrants and minorities.

5.1. POLICIES IN THE AREA OF EDUCATION

In Swedish childcare and schooling of today over 100 different first languages are spoken. Included in these numbers are those using one of the officially recognized minority languages of Sweden: Sami, Finnish, Meänkieli, Romani-chib and Yiddish. About 15 percent of all students in compulsory school come from foreign backgrounds, either themselves born abroad or children to parents who were born abroad.

Students in Swedish compulsory schools, who belong to one of the country's official minorities or have a first language other than Swedish, have rights associated with their language and origin. Once they have been granted a residence permit, adults are entitled to municipal adult education and Swedish language instruction for immigrants.

The curriculum for Swedish preschools stresses the right of multilingual children to develop all of their languages. The preschool shall provide opportunities for children whose first language is not Swedish to develop both that language and Swedish. Municipalities have an obligation to live up to the curriculum requirements, e.g., by providing special support in first language instruction for children with languages other than Swedish. Children and youths whose first language is not Swedish are entitled to first language instruction in compulsory- and upper secondary school. In addition to first language instruction, if necessary, students may also receive help in their native tongue for other subjects.

Participation in first language classes is not compulsory, but municipalities are required to provide it for all students who speak a language other than Swedish at home on a daily basis. If a suitable teacher cannot be found, or if the number of students in the language group is fewer than five municipalities are however not required to arrange this instruction. The right of official minorities to first language instruction is more comprehensive and the above restrictions do not apply.

First language instruction may be given in compulsory school as a student option, language option, school option, in or outside the regular timetable. If students study their first language outside the regular timetable, they are entitled to a combined total of seven years of first language instruction during their school years in the public school system. At the upper secondary level, students may study their first language as an individual option, a language option, or in the form of an expanded course. Students wishing to take their first language in upper secondary school must have a grade in that language from year 9 of compulsory school, or equivalent.

How first language instruction is arranged varies. Usually lessons are held outside regular timetable hours, but there are alternative options. In Sami school, for example, most regular school instruction is given in Sami. Also in schools with a distinctive language profile, the teaching language for some subjects may be the first language.

Students who attend Swedish schools and whose first language is not Swedish may study Swedish as a Second Language (SSL) subject. The goal of SSL is to help students develop daily communication skills and give them the proficiency required to study their other school subjects in Swedish. Achievement levels and proficiency requirements for SSL are similar to those for studying Swedish (as a first language). The differences between the two subjects are related primarily to first versus second language acquisition. The right and opportunity to study SSL applies to both compulsory and upper secondary school. As a subject, SSL is equivalent to Swedish (as a first language) with respect to eligibility for admission to university and other post-secondary study.

Children and youths seeking asylum in Sweden have the same right to preschool and childcare for schoolchildren, and to compulsory and upper secondary education, as children resident in the country. The right to basic education is a right shared by all adults, whether born in Sweden or abroad lacking the knowledge and skills normally acquired in compulsory school. For persons whose first language is not Swedish, some of the instruction can be given in the first language. Upper secondary education programs for adults also offer training that leads to upper secondary equivalence, with the exception of the arts, and physical education and health. Upper secondary programs can supplement previous education or build on professional experience. Students can opt to study a single course, or combinations of courses.

Newly arrived adult immigrants over the age of 16 years are entitled to instruction in Swedish for immigrants (SFI). Municipalities are responsible for SFI and also for determining how this instruction is to be organized. The aim of SFI is to provide knowledge in Swedish language and of Swedish society. The purpose is to provide adults with tools to enable them to exercise their rights and fulfil their obligations as residents in Sweden. Every municipality is responsible for arranging basic education for adults according to need.

The National Agency of Education describes SFI as highly heterogeneous and expanding. The model implies 425 hours teaching a year. There is however a large variation among municipalities about how many hours are actually provided. According to the National Agency of Education the mean is about fourteen scheduled teaching hours a week.¹⁵ During the year 1998/99 34.701 studied the programme.¹⁶

5.2. LEGISLATION RELEVANT FOR MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES

The municipalities run the school system although within the frame outlined by state legislations and guidelines. The *Educational Act* introduced by the Swedish Parliament provides frameworks for all kind of educational activity. In chapter 1, section two the act asserts that :

“Educational activity should be devised in accordance with fundamental democratic values. Everyone working in schools should promote consideration for the intrinsic

¹⁵ Skolverket, *Vem älskar SFI* 1997

¹⁶ Skolverket 2000, Gemensamt ansvar. Skolverkets arbete med frågor kring undervisning för elever med invandrarbakgrund. (PUB/SE/0014)

value of each human being and respect for our shared environment. Those working in schools must pay special attention towards promoting equality between the sexes and actively opposing all forms of abusive behaviour such as bullying and racism.”

Although municipalities have considerable freedom in organising their school systems, the curricula sets out certain values, such as equality, which must be reflected in the teaching programmes. The *Education Act*, which was strengthened in 1998, now states that everyone in the school system must work actively to combat all forms of offensive treatment such as bullying and racist behaviour.

The acknowledgment of five national minorities (Sami, Swedish Finns, Tornedalers, Roma and Jews) that followed Sweden's ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities as well as the adoption of two legal acts as regard minority language are important steps that reinforce the rights of national ethnic minorities. The two legal acts that where upon ratification of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, imply the right to use Sami, Finnish and (Meänkieli) Tornedal Finnish towards administrative authorities and courts of law in those regions where the language has developed and continues to be relevant.

On May 1, 1999 a new Act Concerning Measures to Counteract Ethnic Discrimination in Working Life came into force, replacing the 1994 Act against Ethnic Discrimination. The Act fills many of the shortfalls noted in the previous legislation: it applies to all sectors of the labour market, concerns all categories of employees and job applicants and contains prohibitions against direct and indirect discrimination.

At present, civil and administrative law provisions do not cover discrimination in sectors other than the labour market, although a new law on the equal treatment of students at the university level has recently come into force.

March 1, 2002 a new law on equal treatment in higher education came into effect. The aim of the law is to counteract discrimination based on gender, ethnic and religious belonging, sexual preference and disability. The Ombudsman against discrimination JÄMO (gender equality), DO (ethnic discrimination), HO (handicap) and HomO (sexual discrimination) are ultimately responsible that the law is applied. The universities and colleges must also develop a conscious work towards a more inclusive educational system.¹⁷

¹⁷ SOU:2000:47

6. Description and analysis of existing data and sources in the education sector

While issues on ethnicity have been central to the debate on schools in the public arena, there continues to be a serious lack of theorisation of the educational system from the point of view of racialised groups and ethnic minorities. Moreover, while the scientific research on these issues has been limited but is expanding with a high theoretically inspired and methodological framework, there are lots of evaluations and reports produced by the National Agency of Education that often lack theoretical and methodological discussion and analysis. Many of these reports are inspired by human capital theory and focus on the problem of migrants and are unable of analysing racist violence and institutional racism as central factors in the school performance of racialised groups.

According to Ali Osman that has written a doctoral thesis on adult education with special focus on ethnicity the debate on cultural diversity in Sweden generally focuses on three issues: the Swedish language, the cultural of the “other” and more recently integration.¹⁸ Moreover there is a problematic understanding that multicultural schools are schools with high numbers of migrants.

6.1. MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION

In 1999, 39.700 children aged between 1–5 years that were enrolled in preschool and family day care homes had a different mother tongue than Swedish. Of these only 13 percent received mother tongue support. The report *Mother tongue education. Organisation and scope*¹⁹ is based on several case studies over the whole country and illuminates all levels of the educational system. Mother tongue support for children in pre-school has decreased strongly during the nineties. In the beginning of the nineties the number of children that were provided with support was about 60 percent.

Mother tongue support is not regulated by law nor by the Swedish national teaching plan. The preschools have the responsibility of developing the children language abilities. The report shows that mother tongue is a low priority for most of the municipalities. More than 40 percent of the municipalities studied claim that they do not supply mother tongue education because there is not such a need among their preschool children, other municipalities suggest that this intervention is based both on the municipalities’ economic situation as well as on the availability of teachers.

Mother tongue education takes place outside the timetable, after school often one hour a week. During the autumn term 1999, it was reported that 123.057 pupils in compulsory school were entitled to mother tongue tuition, which is equivalent to 11.9 percent of all pupils.

¹⁸ Osman (1999) *The “strangers among us” The social construction of Identity in Adult education.* (Linköping. Linköping University Department)

¹⁹ *Modersmålstöd och modermålsundervisning. Organisation och omfattning 2002,* (PUB/SE/0015)

The largest municipalities in terms of population had a considerable larger proportion of pupils who were entitled to mother tongue tuition. In the three big city municipalities, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö on average over 30 percent of the pupils in the compulsory school were entitled to mother tongue tuition with only 2.8 percent in the rural areas.

The report also illuminates the tensions between the ordinary teaching staff and the mother tongue teachers that are often positioned outside the everyday organisation and are forced to move from school to school. In primary school the amount of children that have the right to mother tongue education is about 12 percent. About 50 percent of this group participates in mother tongue programs. During the nineties both the amount of the pupils and the amount of resources (in hours) have decreased.

In the overview of the field on mother tongue education Veli Toumela²⁰ asserts that there are serious problems and limitations, especially between the multicultural rhetoric and the practice in specific schools, in specific municipalities. There is, the researcher suggests, negative attitudes towards mother tongue education in several schools. Besides there is a lack of educational material and what is more central the working load of the home language teachers with flexible schedules and insecure working situations diminishes the possibility of supporting children's bi/multi/lingual development.

These criticism had been also expressed before by Hyltenstam²¹ that characterised the whole project on mother tongue education as one of a symbolic action more target towards the majority self-representation as tolerant and pluralistic, than a reform that implied structural change in children/young people lives.

Ethnologist Anika Sjögren²² asserts that schools conceptualise multilingualism as a problem rather than as a resource and that the development of mother tongue (outside the school scheme) or Swedish as second language is based on, in her view highly problematic definitions whereby "a good Swedish" is defined as a boundary that most racialised groups never achieve. Most children experience that to be placed in a "Swedish as second language group" is a strong negative characterisation target towards racialised groups that have been born and educated in Sweden and that through these practices are not allowed to identify themselves as Swedish.²³

20 Toumela (2002) Modersmålsundervisningen. En forskningsöversikt. Regeringsuppdrag.(Dnr. 2201:2751) (PUB/SE/0018)

21 Hyltenstam 1996 Tvåspråkighet med förhinder? Invandrar och minoritets undervisning i Sverige. (Studentlitteratur. Lund)

22 Sjögren (2001) Introduktion. I Bigestans A och A Sjögren (red) En "bra" svenska ? Lyssna, Interkulturella perspektiv på multi-etniska miljöer.(Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum) (PUB/SE/0012)

23 Johansson 2000 Flerspråkighet i ett mångkulturellt klassrum? (Uppsala Universitet. Institution för lärarutbildning) (PUB/SE/0007)

6.2. PERFORMANCE

Previous studies of students with a foreign background conducted in Sweden show that, on average students of foreign background achieve at a lower level of academic performance compared to native students. Similar results are presented in the PISA report that has utilised data from an international skill survey of 15 years olds.²⁴ The research asserts that in Sweden students with foreign background on average have parents with a lower socio-economic status compared to native students. Differences in performance must be understood in the context that students with a foreign background have less well educated parents and have fathers that are more likely unemployed.

Among native students, just 8 percent have parents with only primary or lower secondary education. The corresponding figures for foreign-born students are 18 percent and 30 percent for Swedish born students with foreign-born parents.

There is a strong correlation between parents' educational background and school performance.. Nearly no differences may be traced between foreign born students whose parents have a university degree and native born students whose parents have concluded high school: 70 percent respective 71 percent fulfilled their grades. However, not even half of the students that were foreign born with parents lacking high school competence concluded compulsory school with fulfilled degrees.²⁵

In the city of Malmö 60 percent of native-born children attended schools with less than 20 percent of children with right to mother tongue tuition. These "Swedish" schools can be compared to schools in the same city where more than 60 percent of the children had right to mother tongue tuition and only 15 percent of the native-born children attended these schools.

Sociologist Nihad Bunar²⁶ has illuminated the process of stigmatisation that schools (and pupils) in segregated residential areas are exposed to and the consequences of these forms of exclusion for educational performance. A part of the difference in performance that exists between students of Swedish and foreign background, can be explained by these other important factors rather than the migration factor alone. The remaining "net effect" of migration background is thereby reduced to less than half of the initially presented "gross effect" for the Swedish case by more than 60 percent.

Another central theme is the impact of residential segregation on school performance. Within the Swedish school system, the principle of school recruitment continues to be residential area. In schools with a high proportion of students with foreign background (in the study defined as more than 40 percent of students with another mother tongue) a student can be expected to perform at a lower level than a student in a school with fewer students of foreign background. This study shows that apart from the negative "individual effect" of having a foreign background there also exists a negative effect of attending a school with a high proportion of students with foreign background.

²⁴ PISA 2000 (PUB/SE/0010)

²⁵ Skolverket 2003-02-03

²⁶ Bunar 1999

This means that a student with foreign background attending a school with a high proportion (above 40 percent) of other such students can be expected to perform at an even lower level than if he/she had attended a school with a low proportion of students with foreign background, all else being equal. The SOU report "Ethnic segregation in schools"²⁷ concludes that the risk to leave school without completed curriculum or very low performance is very high in "migrant dense" schools. Even if these differences have decreased from 1990 to 1997.

It is important to point out that this report has focused on the average performance between students with Swedish and foreign background. There is a large variation in performance within each group and therefore there are many students with foreign background who perform at a higher level than many native students.

In Sweden according to the research that analyses the PISA results the total variation in student performance is relatively low. The report concludes that the Swedish school system is probably not less effective than other countries in integrating foreign background students when consideration is taken to the context and the vastly different circumstances under which the school system is operating. While the report often underlines that a large part of the differences illuminated by the PISA study disappears when controlling for socio-economic status, the report is unable to explain the existing and increasing difference in performance between pupils that only diverge in their ethnic background.

In 1998 tests²⁸ in the Swedish language, Maths and English showed that 14 percent of all foreign-born students did not achieve the accepted level. The corresponding figure for Swedish-born was 5 percent. The figures for the examination in maths provide similar results: 20 percent that did not achieve the accepted level, 8 percent for Swedish-born students.

For the students that concluded basic education in 1999, 27 percent had not fulfilled their degrees in at least one assignment. For students with foreign background the same number was 36 percent.²⁹ The report Welfare and School³⁰ that studied the period between 1972-79 shows not only these differences but that these differences increased during the period studied.

In the 1999/2000 school year for the first time girls with a foreign background received higher average grades than boys who do not have a foreign background. More than every fifth pupil or almost 23 percent of the pupils, who left compulsory school in spring 1999, did not achieve the objective in one or more compulsory subjects. Among the pupils that failed more than two subjects, pupils with a foreign background are over-represented. In 2002 the amount of pupils from foreign backgrounds that did not achieve the objective in the compulsory subjects was 39 percent. Every third pupil who fully lacks a final grade has a foreign background. See Annex for tables regarding compulsory school.

27 Dryler 2001 Bra betyg i invandrantäta skolor. (Dagens Nyheter. 2001-09-24) (PUB/SE/0006)

28 Skolverket (1999) Romer och den svenska skolan.(Dnr.98:2652. 199.03.01)

29 Skolverket 2000 Gemensamt ansvar. Skolverkets arbete med frågor kring undervisning för elever med invandrarbakgrund. (PUB/SE/0014)

³⁰ SOU 2000:39 (PUB/SE/0003)

6.3. HIGHER EDUCATION

Högskoleverket shows, based on data from the 1993–1994 educational year, that the proportion that concludes their college/university studies is lower for students from a foreign background. Eight years later 75 percent of the students with Swedish background have achieved at least 120 university points, for students with foreign background the number was 65 percent.

The total number of university entrants, i.e. those students beginning their first year of university studies amounted to 78.400 during the academic year 2001/02. The number of university entrants with foreign background amounted to approximately 10.000 (an increase with 12 percent from the previous year).

Compared with the number of persons with foreign background in the population, first year students with foreign background are under-represented. The percentage of first year students with foreign background was somewhat lower. The percentage of first-year students born in Sweden with two foreign parents was 5.1 percent while the figure for first-year students with two foreign-born parents was 4.4 percent.

In all groups women had a higher representation than men. There are considerable differences among students with foreign background. The percentage of first-years students with Swedish background in the 18–29 age group was 4 percent for the academic year 2001/02. First year students with Iranian background had a high share of 7 percent. Persons with Finnish, Yugoslavian and Turkish background constitute the three largest non-Swedish population groups in the 18-29 age group. In all of these groups the share was below 3 percent. The group with the lowest representation came from Somalia. Medicine and odontology are those subject areas in professional programmes with the greatest share of first year students with foreign background. See Annex for tables regarding higher education.

6.4. SFI (SWEDISH FOR IMMIGRANTS)

Of the students that began SFI in 1999/20000 only 35 percent concluded the course. 49 percent had interrupted their studies or decided to take a break from studies. It is in this context that new programs and visions for SFI have been developed since 2000, aiming to make the education more flexible and with a higher focus and sensitiveness towards capacities and needs of individuals. Arabic was the most common mother tongue among SFI students, but 127 mother tongues are spoken among the 40.000 students.

There is a strong correlation between earlier education and results in SFI. Half of the beginners in 1996/1997 with at least 13 years of previous education passed SFI within two and a half years, while only 12 percent of those who only had six years of education. 25.3 percent of students with South Kurdish as their mother tongue still attend to SFI after two and a half year. The largest proportion of interruptions of study or study breaks is among students with Somali as their mother tongue, 64,5 percent.

Marie Carlsson³¹ in her study of the SFI asserts that the values and images conveyed to SFI participants in the textbooks during different historical periods almost in a spirit of upbringing, deal with becoming good workers, clients and students and not at least, good democratic citizens. The researcher asks herself whether SFI instead of a bridge is rather to be considered a clear border marker, at least in interaction on an institutional level and often in societal debate.

6.5. SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS/TEXT BOOKS

Luis Ajagán-Lester³² has studied educational material from 1768 to 1965. The researcher suggests that until 1960 the Swedish culture was represented as highly superior towards others cultures, especially towards racist representations of Africa. Most researchers agree that the Teacher Educational programs lack forms of training that provide teachers with pedagogical elements to confront and act within a multicultural society.³³ Universal values of human justice are appropriated and presented as if democracy and human rights where cultural specific developments of western societies.³⁴

Several researchers show that the focus on language aims to exclude teachers of migrant background (despite the rhetorical recognition of their importance for minority children) from classrooms. Sally Boyd³⁵ has critically examined how teachers' language performance is measured, and suggests that for her case study the teacher that scored best was the one that had the most limited language variation. Her study reinforces the hypothesis that it is the way migrant adults speak the language that most Swedish adults react against not the quality of the language spoken.

Teachers' careers (and their salaries) have been transformed during the last five years when the union shifted from collective to individual bargain. While it is impossible to show a direct correlation between teachers in migrant dense schools and wage development, differences in salaries between different types of schools may be related to principles of seniority. In other words the stability of the teaching staff (and the seniority) seems to be higher in schools with few racialised children/young people.

6.6. "INDEPENDENT" SCHOOLS

A report written 1997 (dnr.97:810) focusing on "independent" (privately owned publicly financed) schools concludes that independent schools that target religious, ethnic or cultural groups do not have, generally speaking, segregating effects, defined in terms of reinforcement of exclusion processes after school. Many of the parents in the study assert

31 Carlsson 2002 Svenska för invandrare –brygga eller gräns? Syn på kunskap och lärande inom SFI undervisning. (Gothenburg studies in sociology. N. 13) (PUB/SE/0004)

32 Ajagán-Lester 2001 Etniska friskolor och mångkulturell utbildning. I Gunlög Bredänge (red) Utbildning i et mångkulturella samhället. (Gothenburg University). (PUB/SE/0001)

33 Lahdenperä (1996) An analysis of internationalisation and intercultural outlook in Swedish teacher education. (The European Journal of Intercultural Studies. 2 (7) 24-34)

34 Linde 2001 Värdegrund och svensk etnicitet. (Lund. Studentlitteratur) (PUB/SE/0008)

35 Boyd 2000 Vilken svenska behöver man för att undervisa i den svenska skolan idag? I Åhl, H (red) Svenskan i tiden –verklighet och visioner. (Stockholm HLS förlag) (PUB/SE/0002)

that they send their children to these schools because they want them to feel safe and proud of their cultural heritage. Some of these schools have shown difficulties in maintaining school standards specially some Muslim and Christian schools.

There are however serious differences between the above schools. While the target of Muslim schools are children and young people in residential segregated areas, Christian schools (even if more than 95 percent of the pupils in the Catholic St Erik school are first or second generation migrants) target quite privileged economic and political groups.

The Swedish Finnish schools have developed from the experience of Finnish school classes within the public schools, that is to say, have developed from the experience of mother tongue education that has been a central political demand in which the Finnish migrant groups have been pioneers. There are today 14 Swedish Finnish schools with approx. 800 students.

Independent schools must be open for all and must be approved by the National Agency of Education. During the academic year 1994/1995 "independent" schools increased with 31 percent but their establishment varied among the different municipalities. The amount of children that attend "independent" schools is about 8000 that means 2,5 percent of the school population.³⁶ Sweden has earlier on had schools with special ethnic signifiers as the French, German and Estonian school in Stockholm, the Jewish Hillel School and those schools inspired by other pedagogy such as Rudolf Steiner or Montessori.

While the Muslim schools have been on the media agenda for a while it is important to underline that the Christian schools such as Livets Ord (The Word of Life) have also been criticised for not following the Swedish educational teaching act in areas such as sexuality, natural sciences and about their view of specific groups for example homosexuals. However the most serious challenge against independent schools is a study done by the National Agency of Education of the effects of the development of these new school forms.

The report claims that the issue of the independent schools have been one of the most contentious school issues during the last years. The research concludes that within the public school system a culture of competence and conflict have developed, where schools are embedded within market values and where schools that are not able to attain these achievements are closed. Most people within the school system have experienced what they define as the introduction of market values as a threat to the school system and to the whole project of Swedish education. Moreover the school system has evolved to be more differentiated, with several options and different school status, something the researcher define as a parallel school system. Segregational effects can in this sense be strongly identified from within the public school system.

The increase of "independent" schools is related to the criticism that some sectors of the population have voiced towards the Swedish school system. However new research on "independent" schools show that it is mostly privileged groups of parents that put their children in "independent" schools and that the movement from public to private schools has not contributed to integration, but have reinforced segregation and exclusion within the formal educational system.

³⁶ SOU:1998

There are several themes that the debates on “independent” schools illuminates and it is important to be able to analytical differentiate these arguments.³⁷ The first discussion is related to the systematic organisation of the school system in Sweden and to the relationship between public schools and private (state sponsored schools). Because of the amount of privileged groups that seem to prefer independent schools, there are serious risks that these privileged groups flight from the public schools reinforces segregation mechanisms. Another area of debate (and research) is the impact of confessional schools on reinforcing segregation and isolationist patterns among their pupils.

Here it is important to note that confessional schools in Sweden are in general attended by groups that are well “integrated”, the only exception are the Muslim schools. Up to the present, as discussed before, there is no evidence of segregation effects of these schools. However, some of the Christian and Muslim schools differ drastically in some areas (sexual education, natural science) from the Swedish Educational Act. It is important to note however that sending children to confessional schools may be a rational choice for parents that have experience the Swedish school system as prejudicial against Islam and Muslims.

6.7. MINORITIES

The report Roma and the Swedish school³⁸ asserts that despite the historical continuity of the Roma community in Sweden (20.000 individuals) no development has occurred that increases the school performance of Roma children.

While no statistical material is presented, the report discusses teachers’ evaluations of their pupils’ achievements. Teachers suggested, that according to their experience only 20 percent of the girls and 12 percent of the boys would conclude compulsory school with full degrees. The two schools that were included in the case study showed that Roma pupils’ absence was more than 50 percent. In Sofieskolan (Malmö) their absence rates reaches 90 percent.

The report asserts that variations within the schools are also related to variations among the Roma community related to region. Another important issue that the report discusses is the right of the National Agency of Education to force parents to send their children to compulsory school. Up to the present the social services have never considered these practices as children's neglect and the report supports this policy. However these practices that have never been discussed but are openly accepted actually mean that parents are allowed to exit from the educational Swedish school system due to what is assumed to be “cultural” reasons. Taking into account the negative experience of the school system that the community has experienced the report suggests that the central paths to develop is to underline the right to education more than the obligation of sending children to school.

³⁷ Gerle (2000) *Mångkulturalism för vem?* Nora. (Nya Doxa)

³⁸ Skolverket 1999 (PUB/SE/0013)

7. Analysis of direct and indirect discrimination

School research in Sweden has strongly influenced by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu notion of cultural capital and cultural reproduction and has illuminated the centrality of class background to educational paths and educational success.³⁹

The connection between class background and education continues to be confirmed by newly research that asserts that class background is even today a crucial factor in school achievement.⁴⁰

More young people than ever continue their education into colleges and universities, however several researchers suggest that these educational paths must be understood in the context of increasing unemployment and analysed through the internal segregation paths that creates educational models embedded in internal hierarchies leading to very different employment possibilities.⁴¹

Parents' class background is a central variable in understanding school achievement for racialised groups, especially for what is considered the quite successful school achievements of young "migrant" girls.⁴²

Gender researchers have provided both an historical overview of the career paths of girls and women within the Swedish educational system and illuminated the male dominated bias of textbooks and everyday interaction in schools. In other words these researchers have analysed how school contributes to shape and define "normal" forms of femininity and masculinities.⁴³ The interaction between class and gender has also been target by studies focusing young working class women and their school achievements.⁴⁴

There are strong correlations between class and race/ethnicity relations in the Swedish society and there are similar trends between the processes of gender and ethnic exclusion. To that extend, several of the works presented above are an important point of departure for an analysis of the educational paths of racialised groups in the Swedish school system. In their overview of the field of ethnicity and pedagogy Tallberg Broman et al⁴⁵ suggest that while research with this focus is increasing, it is up to the present very uncommon. Of all the doctoral thesis in the field of pedagogy between 1969–1998 only 3 percent had

39 Arnman and Jönsson 1983 *Olika för olika. Aspekter på svensk utbildningspolitik. Barn mellan arv och framtid. Konfessionella, etniska och språkliga inriktade skolor i ett segregationsperspektiv.* (Skolverket. Dnr.97:810. 1997-09-29.)

40 Trondman och Bunar 2000 *Varken ung eller vuxen. Samhället idag är ju helt rubbat.* (Stockholm. Atlas)

(PUB/SE/0019); Dryler 2001 (PUB/SE/0006)

⁴¹ Broady (2000) *Välfärd och skola.* (SOU 2000:39) Stockholm. (PUB/SE/0003)

⁴² Rubinstein-Reich and Tallberg Broman 2000 *Den svenska skolan I det mångkulturella samhället. Konsekvenser för lärarutbildningen.* SCB (2003) Statistiska Meddelanden UF 19 SM 0201

(PUB/SE/0017)

⁴³ Florin 1987, Wernersson,1998 Tallberg Broman 1996

⁴⁴ Berggren 2001, Öhrn 2000

⁴⁵ Tallberg Broman et al 2002 *Likvärdigt i en skola för alla. Historisk bakgrund och kritisk granskning.* (Skolverket) (PUB/SE/0017)

discussed ethnicity (approximately 22 of 625). The field has shift from a focus on cultural “difference” towards a focus on discrimination, segregation and exclusion.⁴⁶

Analysis of employment patterns, labour market careers and educational performance of the second-generation immigrants has not been performed to a larger extent. Vilhelmsson⁴⁷ performed a more extensive study of individuals of immigrant background. He found that a considerable difference between young individuals with foreign compared to Swedish background remains unexplained when also controlling for Swedish language skills, educational attainment and gender. In the study the ethnic background affects labour market status. Berggren and Omarsson⁴⁸ show that it is very unusual among migrants to be employed in correlation to their educational level. Only 39 percent of migrants with an academic degree have an employment that is correlated with their educational qualifications, corresponding percentage for Swedes are 85 percent.

Alireza Behtoui⁴⁹ studies the labour market achievements of second-generation immigrants compared to those with two Swedish born parents. The main goal of the study is to analyse whether or not “immigrant background” affects the success on the Swedish labour market for youth. The result of this study shows that children of migrants have a lower annual wage income and higher risk of not being employed than young people who are native born with two Swedish born parents. Differences in educational attainment, gender or other individual characteristics cannot explain the result. Furthermore the study examines the impact of having one Swedish born parent and differences between having a Swedish-born father or a Swedish-born mother. The analysis indicates that having a Swedish born father, rather than having a Swedish born mother is associated with superior labour market achievements.

The ombudsman against ethnic discrimination (DO) that is appointed by the Swedish government has been established in 1986. The task of the DO is to take to court cases of ethnic discrimination. Although the jurisdiction of the DO is narrowed to working life, discrimination within schools can be target in terms of discriminatory employment practices and this will hopefully provide instrument for racialised groups and ethnic minorities employed or seeking employment within the educational system.

The possibilities to raise charges against ethnic discrimination are fairly new in the country and the ombudsman against ethnic discrimination has to the present been unsuccessful in supporting individuals targeted by discrimination. However denunciation of ethnic discrimination has increased in these few years. Within the educational field the number was 25 in 1999 and 34 in 2001.

Schools have been a central target of racism and radical rightwing political parties and the school elections showed that there is a considerable support for these arguments among Swedish born males in the practical programmes in secondary schools. While many principals have actively worked against racism, there is a lack of structured policies

46 Lorentz (2001) Forskning om mångkulturalism i Sverige utifrån en pedagogisk perspektiv. (Lund Pedagogiska Inst)

47 Vilhelmsson (2000) Ethnic differences in the Swedish Youth labour market. Institute of Social Research.

⁴⁸ Berggren and Omarsson 2001

49 Behtoui 2002 Differences in the Swedish Labour market for young people and the impact of “ethnicity”. (Arbetslivsinstitutet. Norrköping.) (PUB/SE/0022)

within the school system that at a national level regulate how these challenges to democracy (and to racialised groups of children) are to be tackled.

The report *Politik i Skolan*⁵⁰ is highly paradoxical in the context of the increasing presence of racist groups in schools. The strength of the report lies in the support it provides for the development of a democratic dialogue through the presence of political organisations within the schools. However to equalise political organisations with antidemocratic rightwing groups in the name of freedom of thought decreases all the serious and courageous efforts of principals around the country working against racism. It is nearly impossible to understand how racism is going to be tackled if the Swedish school system does not allow principals and teachers to actively exclude racist groups from school areas. The report illustrates a lack of acknowledgement of the serious threat to democratic development that the presence of rightwing anti-immigrant groups is within the schools.

The report does not acknowledge the seriousness of Nazi violence against several categories of pupils in the schools. Most students we interviewed assert that they feel “secure” in migrant dense schools, because Nazis do not harass them, an experience that students that attend “Swedish” schools in the South of Sweden often report. They also report that principals seem to be unable to counteract these antidemocratic expressions that not only target them as racialised groups or members of ethnic minorities (mostly Jews) but also target left political activists and homosexuals.⁵¹

The separation between church and state is a step forward in the direction for the construction of Sweden as a multicultural society. However in Sweden religion is often experienced as secularised tradition and it is in these contexts that ceremonial events (ending of school term) take place in churches and are organised by a church minister. Our study shows that most Swedish teachers experience these practices as non-religious.

While highly contested before the parliamentary decision was taken, the decision that all work in school should be based on Christian ethic and western humanism, but teaching must be non-denominational, objective and balanced (*Educational for all. The Swedish educational system: 2002:19*) does not seem to have created any serious resistance among teachers and parents. However there are at theoretical and pedagogical level serious conflicts between aiming to develop an inclusive multicultural society and an emphasis on Christian ethics and western humanism.

While there have been in Sweden several campaigns against harassment (mobbing) in schools, most of these interventions focused on conflicts between students. New studies show that children/pupil/students experience adults as the main actors of harassment. We know that racialised groups of pupils/students assert that teachers differentiate between them and “Swedish” students but there is no research (to our knowledge) that has focused on teachers’ views of ethnic discrimination and racism.

Another important aspect is how discourses on difference are constructed through a form of banal nationalism that constructs Swedish gender culture as gender equal whereas migrant cultures is seen as patriarchal. While all racialised groups suffered from these

⁵⁰ (PUB/SE/0016)

⁵¹ Mulinari and Neergaard 2002

forms of cultural racism the Kurdish community in particular and the Muslim community in general have been targeted systematically. These representations of the “other” shape and influence interactions between “Swedish” teachers and racialised pupils/students. While racialised men are often constructed as embodying a macho masculinity, young racialised girls are constructed as a problem, with focus in their sexuality both if they are too passive and subordinated or if they are too loud and active.

While it is important to support work against harassment it is also important to underline that many of the activities that pass as harassment within schools could be conceptualised as criminal acts if adults were the targets such as harassment based on racist language and white power music.

In a study from the Red Cross (*Några hakkors bakom gymnasalen*) the presence of racism is discussed in schools. The presence of racism in the everyday school practice has not been systematically discussed not even acknowledged by the National Agency of Education. The study that is based on more than two hundred principals and student council chairmen answers show that more than one third of the principals claim that racist attitudes could be found among the school personal. No definition of racism is provided in the report.⁵²

Studies show that teachers treat minority pupils differently from majority pupils. There is a categorisation frequently into “we “ and those other immigrants, there is also evidence of cultural categorisation in a negative sense where problems are explained because of the others culture.⁵³

The school system adopts a compensatory attitude in relation to minority pupils being the Swedish school system essentially a monocultural institution where “Swedishness” and monolingualism is the norm of everyday school interaction (Runfors, 1996, Parszyk, 1999). Teachers, Parszyk suggests, seem unable to comment on migrant children/students as individuals and often explain their actions in terms of their “cultures”. Pirjo Lahdenperä in her study of teachers’ evaluations of students shows that more than 70 percent of the teachers experienced and explained the children ethnicity as negative towards schoolwork. Children of migrant background are according to Bel-Habib (2002) over represented in schools that target special disabilities (*särskolan*) even if they lack systematic diagnosis. She also asserts that while most Swedish children attend these school types because of physical disabilities, most migrant children have psychological diagnosis that as pointed out earlier are very diffuse.

⁵² Save the Children/Rädda barnen 2002

⁵³ Lahdenperä, 1996 An analysis of internationalisation and intercultural outlook in Swedish teacher education. (The European Journal of Intercultural Studies. 2 (7) 24-34)

8. Strategies, initiatives and good practices for reducing racial/ethnic/religious/cultural discrimination in education and practices supporting diversity

There are significant differences among universities and universities colleges regarding the proportion of first-year students with foreign background. There are also significant differences regarding doctoral students. Malmö and Södertörn the two new universities localised in migrant dense residential areas have succeeded in opening the university cloisters to new groups of students.

The increasing presence of foreign born young people from both sexes as doctoral students within important areas in the natural science (medicine and odontology) and in the arts (dance, music, media) is a very important step towards the construction of a multicultural society. Surely, their presence will have a positive impact as a role model for the coming generation. The performances of pupils of foreign background coming from migrant dense schools have improved during the nineties. Especially interesting is the performance of girls (Högskoleverkets och SCB. UF 19).

While it is difficult to come to clear conclusions on the basis of this study, it seems that secondary schools have found a way of providing pupils with possibilities of strengthening their second language through conceptualising mother tongue as modern language. In Stockholm such courses are open in Arabic, Polish, Persian and Finnish. It is possible that the status given to modern language as an accepted part of school curriculum reinforces racialised groups of pupils' interest in their first language.

Romano Trajo began as a care-leisure for Roma children and is discussed in an evaluation by the Government in 1997 as one of the most successful pedagogical models providing school support. Many of the activities that Romano Trajo organised are today open to all children in the area. Educational programs with special classes have also developed but they are up to the present dependent on personal initiatives from well-educated Roma people. Based on the needs described in the report *Roma and the Swedish School*, special resources have been channelled towards pedagogical efforts that target the Roma community.

The principal has according to the Act of Education responsibility of actively counteracting harassment and racism (Lp 94). The School Board has evaluated schools achievements in these areas and illuminated variations between schools. While on one hand the report asserts that most schools lack pedagogical answers and models. On the other, they also illuminate positive experiences that have developed pedagogical interventions among others the experience within the Gothenburg area of Hisingen after the burning down of a discotheque in a migrant area (fall of 1998) and many young people have died (most of them from a migrant background), and the Farsta model.

In her study of migrant women's experience of SFI (Swedish for Immigrants), Marie Carlsson⁵⁴ discusses the serious deficiencies of these programs. At the same time that she illuminates the empowering processes her informants experienced through the opportunities provided by education.

SFI has been reviewed and models based on individual needs that take into account background differences in education are being applied in several municipalities.

While the work of thousands of engaged and committed teachers have up to the present not been documented, children's own testimonies illuminate how central teachers are in influencing and shaping the new generation educational path. Teachers are doing this work under serious cuts in welfare resources and with confusing (and changing) national policies within the educational system. Their immense (embodied) knowledge of multicultural education has up to the present not been recognised as a special qualification in teachers' curriculum.

Principals and teachers have been acting courageously and often without institutional support to counteract racism in schools. The most known example is the interventions done by principals in the region of Karlskrona in south Sweden. Karlskrona is one of the regions in Sweden where Nazi organisations have been very active, e.g. the Nazi organisation National Socialist Front (Nationalsocialistisk Front) has their headquarters in the city and in last municipal election in 2002 the organisation were very close to win a seat in the municipal council. In March 2003 a teacher network to counter racism in school was created. The network aims to collaborate with *Kontrast* a pupil/student organisation that developed in areas of Stockholm as a reaction to Nazi activism in the classrooms.

Kontrast was formed by students in collaboration with individual teachers in a north Stockholm upper secondary school in 2001. In this particular school a Nazi fringe group made up of 20–30 students had established a political presence, and was able to dominate the political agenda including in the classrooms. What made the situation extreme was the absence of political youth organisations from the traditional democratic parties, which normally are able to counteract Nazi propaganda among students.

The experiences of *Kontrast* is carried on by a teachers network formed in the spring of 2003, the Association Defend Democracy, which aims to assist schools targeted by extreme right wing groups.⁵⁵

In the last two years Expo Foundation has been running a Democracy Project, *Democracy against racism*, in schools, which is a combined mapping exercise and seminars for teachers with lectures and discussions among students. Taken together the Democracy Project has reached 13.000 individuals: approximately 8.000 students, 1.500 youth political activists of various democratic parties, 2.200 teachers and leisure time staff, and 1.200 "other adults".

54 Carlsson (2002) Svenska för invandrare – brygga eller gräns? Syn på kunskap och lärande inom SFI undervisning. (Gothenburg studies in sociology. N. 13) (PUB/SE/0004)

55 Formed on March 15 2003 in Stockholm at the initiative of Expo Foundation's Democracy Project.

The conclusions of the Democracy Project are being compiled and will be available in the autumn of 2003. However, preliminary data suggests a dramatic rise of activities and propaganda of racist and xenophobic groups in schools, both from the so called "suit & tie" type of respectable xenophobic groups (Sweden Democrats, National Democrats etc) as well as agitation by openly Nazi organisations (National Socialist Front, National Youth/Swedish Resistance etc)

9. Summary and Conclusions

Needless to say the cuts suffered in the nineties within the school educational system have narrowed the possibilities of developing new strategies for a multicultural education. All empirical data show that strategies aiming to support migrants and minorities have been one of the areas where cuts in the welfare system have taken place.

There is however a tendency within the Swedish educational policy (and many researchers) to subsume ethnicity under class. While it is true that there are strong correlations between class and ethnicity, this strategy has marginalized both issues of organised articulated racism and ethnic discrimination in schools and furthermore lacks the development of a multicultural pedagogical vision. The mainstream educational policy in the country aims to integrate the growing “second generation” into educational models that force them into subordination into up the present a quite unchanged school system.

Sweden has taken a number of important measures towards combating racism and discrimination within the educational systems: mother tongue tuition for pupils and students with foreign background, special school classes for recognised minorities and legislation against discrimination in higher education among others. Education is a central area where the Swedish authorities have focused both resources and efforts.

However there are serious problems confronting the educational system from the point of view of racialised groups and ethnic minorities. The most central task confronting The Swedish National Agency of Education is to shift from a compensatory model where focus lies in the other as a problem towards an understanding of multicultural education as central to all members of modern societies. The development of a multicultural curriculum is one of the central tasks of Sweden education today. Teaching material concerning issues of racism and discrimination and pedagogical interventions that takes as a point of departure the experience and the knowledge (and the history and culture) of different groups of children/young adults must be developed. The monocultural hegemony within the schools must be counteracted through the employment of teachers with foreign background. As well as through the development of antiracist awareness training for all teachers. The problem of de facto segregation in education, as a result of de facto housing segregation mean that children of immigrant origin are at risk of being marginalised in the school setting and should be of central priority.

Models of multicultural education and multicultural curriculum should be developed and structural measures to combat school segregation and its consequences for school performance among racialised groups and ethnic minorities and to develop measures and instruments to struggle against the increasing racial propaganda and racial violence in schools should be reinforced. The importance of counteracting the increasing racist violence in school and the presence of xenophobic groups that target school children and young adults must be underlined. The exclusion of these groups (and ideas) from the school arena is vital if the promise of an education for all is to be achieved.

10. Literature

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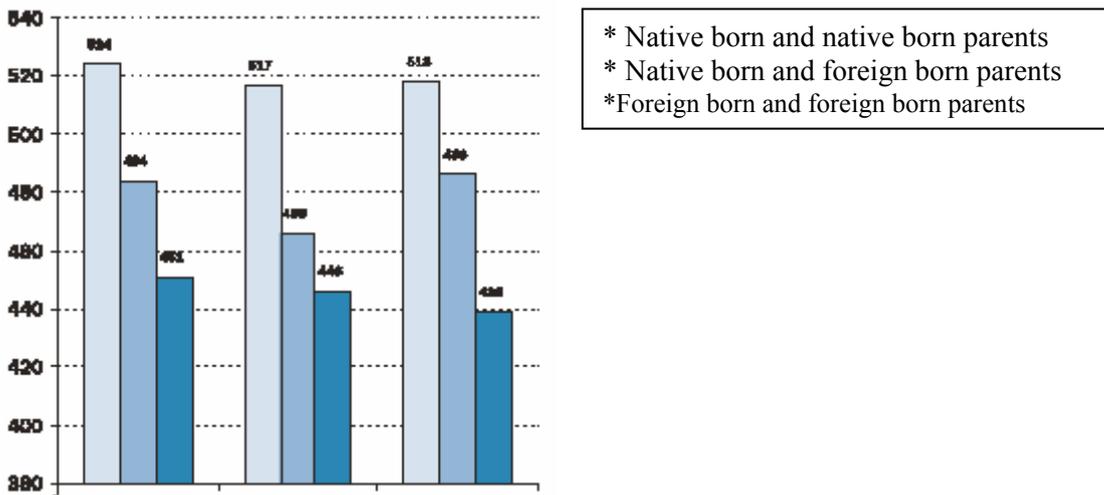
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11. Statistical appendix

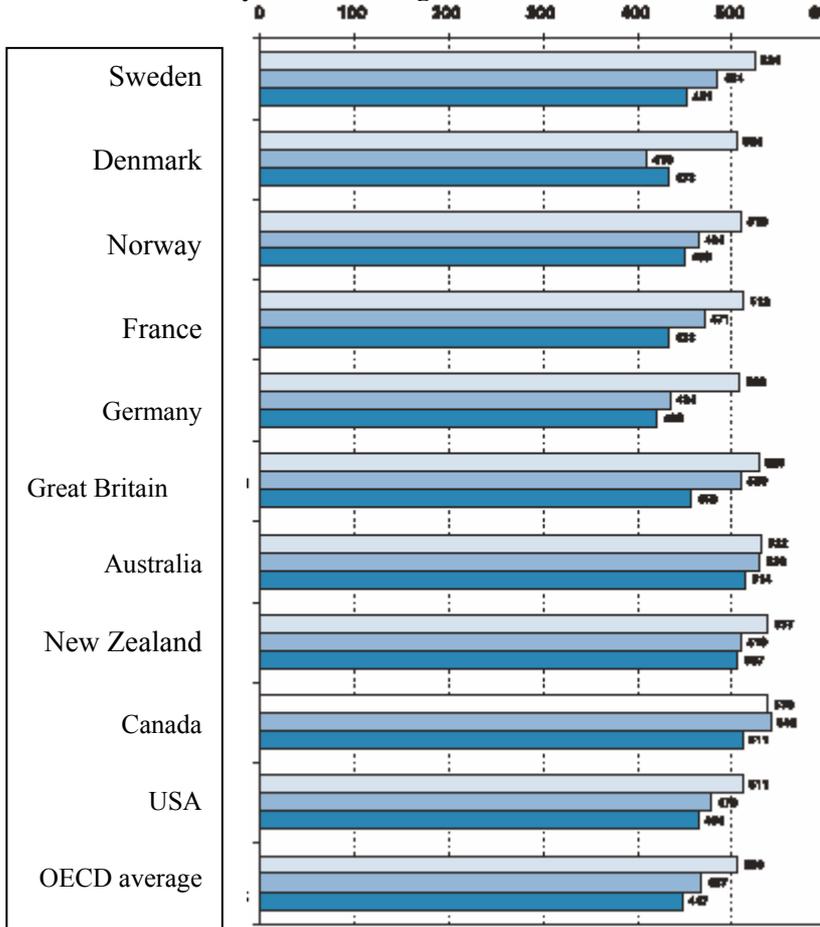
Figure 1.⁵⁶ Swedish students performance in reading comprehension, mathematics and natural sciences by migration status (page 28)

Points



⁵⁶ Läsförståelse hos elever med utländsk bakgrund: En fördjupad analys av resultaten från PISA 2000 i tio länder (Skolverket 2003)

Figure 2.⁵⁷ Students' performance in reading comprehension in each country divided by migration status (page 30)



* Native born and native born parents
 * Native born and foreign born parents
 * Foreign born and foreign born parents

⁵⁷ Läsförståelse hos elever med utländsk bakgrund: En fördjupad analys av resultaten från PISA 2000 i tio länder (Skolverket 2003)

Figure 3.⁵⁸ Difference in student performance in reading comprehension between native born and students with foreign background born in the country of test as well as students with foreign background born abroad (page 32)

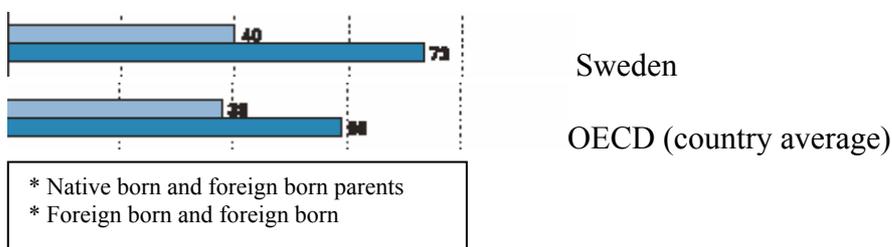


Table 1.⁵⁹ Proportion of the population age 18-25 enrolled as first-year students in university undergraduate programmes 1998/99–2001/02. The proportion is calculated as the number of first year students (age 18-25) by background, study level and sex, relative to corresponding groups in the general population. Percent

	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
Both sex	4,9	5,1	5,3	5,7
Born in Sw with at least one native born parent	5,2	5,3	5,5	5,9
Born in Sw with two foreign born parent	3,9	4,2	4,6	5,1
Foreign born	3,1	3,3	4,1	4,4
Women	5,5	5,7	6,1	6,6
Born in Sw with at least one native born parent	5,8	6,1	6,3	6,9
Born in Sw with two foreign born parent	4,3	4,8	5,3	5,9
Foreign born	3,4	3,7	4,6	4,8
Men	4,4	4,4	4,5	4,9
Born in Sw with at least one native born parent	4,6	4,6	4,7	5,0
Born in Sw with two foreign born parent	3,5	3,6	3,9	4,3
Foreign born	2,9	2,8	3,5	3,9

⁵⁸ Läsförståelse hos elever med utländsk bakgrund: En fördjupad analys av resultaten från PISA 2000 i tio länder (Skolverket 2003)

⁵⁹ Statistiska Meddelanden UF 19 SM 0201

Table 2.⁶⁰ University novice undergraduate students by background school year 2001/02

	Number	Change in percent compared to 00/01	2001/02	
			% women	% men
Total	78400	9	59	41
Swedish background	58700	7	60	40
Born in Sweden with two foreign born parent	2670	11	59	41
Foreign born	7320	13	59	41
Exchange student	7220	11	53	47
Unknown background	2480	54	51	49

Figure 4.⁶¹ Share of population 18-44 years in undergraduate education school year 1994/95-2001/02 by background

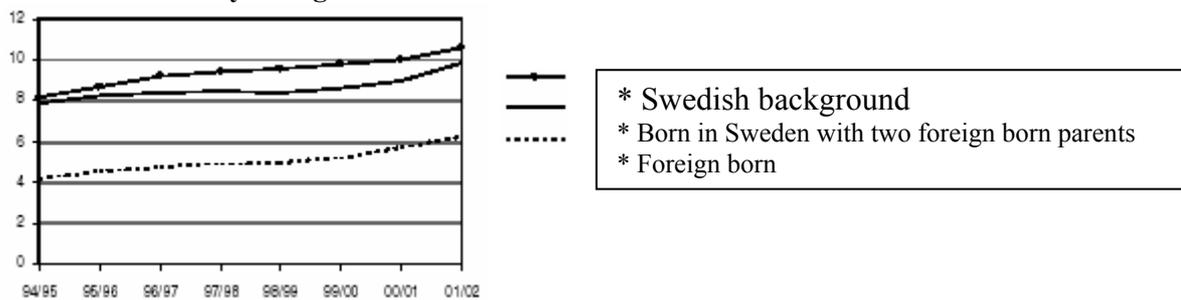


Table 3.⁶² University novice undergraduate students by background as share of each group of the population in the age 18-25 years school year 2001/02 (percent)

	All	Women	Men
Total	5,7	6,6	4,9
Swedish background	5,9	6,9	5,0
Born in Sw with two foreign born parent	5,1	5,9	4,3
Foreign born	4,4	4,8	3,9

⁶⁰ Statistiska Meddelanden UF 19 SM 0201 (p 8)

⁶¹ Statistiska Meddelanden UF 19 SM 0201 (p 10)

⁶² Statistiska Meddelanden UF 19 SM 0201 (p 10)

Table 4: Pupils who have completed school year nine 1997/1998 - 2001/02⁶³

School Year	Total number	Pupils with school leaving certificate and other forms of certificates ⁶⁴	Pupils with ordinary school leaving certificates ⁶⁵	Average merit rating	Percentage (%) pupils that are qualified to the upper secondary school ⁶⁶
Principal					
Organiser					
Sex					
Background					
1997/1998	97 258	96 260	95 825	201,2	91,4
1998/1999	96 647	95 603	95 177	202,1	90,3
1999/2000	99 957	98 788	98 239	202,9	89,4
2000/2001	104 792	103 528	102 926	202,9	89,2
2001/2002	107 134	105 893	105 315	204,6	89,5
In municipality	102 953	101 731	101 731	203,8	89,4
Independent	4 181	4 162	3 584	227,9	92,5
2001/02	54 792	54 115	53 834	194,0	88,0
Boys					
Girls	52 342	51 778	51 481	215,6	91,0
2001/02	15 522	15 142	15 048	188,0	78,9
Pupils with foreign background					
Boys	8 049	7 859	7 808	178,1	77,1
Girls	7 473	7 283	7 240	198,6	80,8

⁶³ The National Agency for Education

⁶⁴ These figures include all forms of school leaving certificates, as some independent schools, such as e. g. Waldorf do not use the ordinary grading system; G (approved), VG (well approved) and MVG (very well approved).

⁶⁵ To receive a school leaving certificate the pupils have to reach certain goals according to the national school policy documents.

⁶⁶ To be qualified for the upper secondary school's national programs the pupils have to be approved in Swedish, English and Maths.

Table 5: Pupils who have not received ordinary school leaving certificates in 9th grade⁶⁷

School Year	Total Number	Total Percentage (%)	In one subject Number	In one subject Percentage (%)	In two or more subjects Number	In two or more subjects Percentage (%)	In all subjects ⁶⁸ Number	In all subjects ⁶⁹ Percentage (%)
1997/1998	19 753	20,4	7 018	7,2	11 737	12,1	998	1,0
1998/1999	21 854	22,7	7 492	7,8	13 317	13,8	1 045	1,1
1999/2000	24 127	24,3	8 049	8,1	14 909	15,0	1 169	1,2
2000/2001	26 825	25,7	8 919	8,6	16 642	16,0	1 264	1,2
2001/2002	27 020	25,4	9 365	8,8	16 414	15,4	1 241	1,2
In municipality	26 265	25,5	9 044	8,8	15 999	15,5	1 222	1,2
Independent schools	755	21,0	321	8,9	415	11,5	19	0,5
2001/02 Boys	15 793	29,0	5 508	10,1	9 608	17,6	677	1,2
Girls	11 227	21,6	3 857	7,4	6 806	13,1	564	1,1
2001/02 Pupils with foreign background ⁷⁰	5 995	38,9	1 644	10,7	3 971	25,7	380	2,5
Boys	3 443	43,0	924	11,6	2 329	29,1	190	2,4
Girls	2 552	34,3	720	9,7	1 642	22,1	190	2,6

⁶⁷ The National Agency for Education

⁶⁸ Have not received a school leaving certificate

⁶⁹ Have not received a school leaving certificate

⁷⁰ Foreign background includes both foreign-born and children with two foreign-born parents.

Table 6: Pupils with mother tongue tuition and Swedish as a second language the school years 1996/97 – 2001/02⁷¹

School year	Sex	Pupils entitled to mother tongue tuition ⁷²		Participants in mother tongue tuition		Participants in Swedish as second language		
		Number of pupils entitled to mother tongue tuition	Percentage (%) of all pupils	Number	Percentage of entitled pupils (%)	Number	Percentage of all pupils (%)	Percentage of entitled pupils (%)
1996/97	Total	111 351	11,6	60 745	54,6	58 533	6,1	52,6
	Boys	56 960	11,6	30 340	53,3	31 012	6,3	54,4
	Girls	54 391	11,6	30 405	55,9	27 521	5,9	50,6
1997/98	Total	115 846	11,8	62 100	53,6	59 930	6,1	51,7
	Boys	59 374	12,1	30 837	51,9	31 880	6,5	53,7
	Girls	56 472	12,1	31 263	55,4	28 050	6,0	49,7
1998/99	Total	119 352	11,8	62 671	52,5	58 210	5,8	48,8
	Boys	61 056	11,8	31 338	51,3	30 937	6,0	50,7
	Girls	58 296	11,8	31 333	53,7	27 273	5,5	46,8
1999/00	Total	123 057	11,9	63 986	52,0	59 188	5,7	48,1
	Boys	63 136	11,9	31 830	50,4	31 269	5,9	49,5
	Girls	59 921	11,9	32 156	53,7	27 919	5,5	46,6
2000/01	Total	125 253	11,9	65 322	52,2	60 218	5,7	48,1
	Boys	64 284	11,9	32 689	50,9	31 908	5,9	49,6
	Girls	60 969	11,9	32 633	53,5	28 310	5,5	46,4
2001/02	Total	127 929	12,1	66 066	51,6	58 151	5,5	45,5
	Boys	65 547	12,1	32 983	50,3	30 789	5,7	47,0
	Girls	62 382	12,1	33 023	52,9	27 362	5,3	43,9

⁷¹ Swedish Integration Board, Rapport Integration 2002, p 84, original source The National Agency for Education

⁷² Mother tongue tuition also includes tuition in the languages of the national minorities, e.g. Sami and Romani.

Table 7: Upper secondary school-organisation: Pupils on programs the schoolyear 2002/03 at schools with municipalities or county council as principal organiser⁷³

Program⁷⁴	Total number of pupils in brackets the number of female students.	Number of pupils with foreign background⁷⁵
Child- and recreation program	12 252 (9 189)	1 485
Construction program	9 118 (224)	736
Electro program	13 012 (212)	1 713
Energy program	1 819 (43)	155
Artistic program	15 278 (11 030)	1 284
Motor program	10 534 (559)	1 123
Trade and administration program	13 102 (7 965)	3 175
Handicraft program	4 959 (4 256)	751
Hotel and restaurant program	14 150 (8 116)	1 566
Industry program	4 467 (276)	462
Food technology program	1 475 (987)	122
Media program	11 381 (6 525)	1 294
Natural works program (Naturbruksprogram)	6 871 (4 554)	221
Natural sciences program	37 839 (16 956)	6 436
Care program	9 004 (7 925)	1 772
Social sciences program	65 968 (41 360)	10 702
Technical program	18 948 (2 063)	2 155
All national programs	250 177	35 122
Specially designed programs	20 556 (10 276)	2 702
Individual programs	23 289 (9 786)	8 546
All programs	249 022	46 360

⁷³ National Agency for Education, Barnomsorg, skola och vuxenutbildning i siffror 2003: Del 2, tabell 6.3 B (Child-care, school and adult education in figures 2003, table 6.3 B) Report nr 233

⁷⁴ In the ninth grade in secondary school all pupils choose upper secondary school program.

⁷⁵ Foreign born and native born with two foreign born parents.

Table 8: The population 2003-01-01 in the age brackets 25-64 by level of education⁷⁶, country of birth and sex⁷⁷

Country of birth	Sex	Population (number)	Pre Upper secondary school (%)	Upper secondary school (%)	Post upper secondary school shorter than three years (%)	Post upper secondary school longer than three years (%)	No information on education
Total	Total	4 745 838	19	48	14	18	1
	Female	2 338 453	17	48	15	19	1
	Male	2 407 385	21	49	13	16	1
Natives	Total	4 040 976	18	49	15	18	0
	Female	1 980 427	16	49	16	19	0
	Male	2 060 549	20	50	13	16	0
Foreign born	Total	704 862	24	41	12	18	6
	Female	358 026	25	39	12	18	6
	Male	346 836	23	42	11	17	6
The Nordic countries (except Sweden)	Total	192 194	28	45	10	13	4
	Female	104 652	26	45	12	15	2
	Male	87 542	31	45	8	11	5
EU 15 (except the Nordic countries)	Total	66 426	18	35	12	25	9
	Female	26 707	19	34	14	26	7
	Male	39 719	18	36	11	24	10
Europe (except EU 15 and the Nordic countries)	Total	158 185	19	47	12	18	4
	Female	86 679	21	43	12	20	5
	Male	71 506	16	52	12	16	4
Africa	Total	42 947	24	42	12	15	8
	Female	18 589	29	39	10	11	11
	Male	24 358	20	44	13	17	5
North America	Total	16 292	9	26	16	38	11
	Female	7 530	9	26	15	39	10
	Male	8 762	8	26	16	38	12
South America	Total	35 489	20	46	14	17	3
	Female	18 216	20	44	15	18	3

⁷⁶ Level education refers to education attained both in and outside of Sweden.

⁷⁷ SCB, Statistics Sweden UF 37 SM 0301

Asia	Male	17 273	19	49	14	17	3
	Total	186 612	28	34	12	18	8
	Female	91 950	30	32	12	17	9
The Pacific	Male	94 662	26	36	12	19	7
	Total	2 497	8	26	16	35	15
	Female	915	8	28	15	34	15
The former Soviet	Male	1 582	8	26	17	35	15
	Total	4 030	9	28	14	46	3
	Female	2 693	8	28	15	47	2
Unknown	Male	1 337	10	29	12	44	5
	Total	190	22	20	15	18	24
	Female	95	26	19	15	23	17
	Male	95	18	21	16	14	32

Table 9: Number of students, among them beginners in under- and post graduate students by background 2000/01 and 2001/02⁷⁸

	Undergraduates ⁷⁹		Postgraduates ⁸⁰	
	Students	Beginners	Active doctorate students	Beginners
Total	353 900	78 400	20 500	3 150
Swedish background (at least one native born parent)	300 600	58 700	15 200	2 160
Foreign background				
- born in Sweden	11 500	2 670	460	68
with two foreign born parents				
- foreign born	30 300	7 320	4 240	740
Exchange student	7 590	7 220	-	-
Unknown background	3 860	2 480	590	180

⁷⁸ The Agency for Higher Education and Statistics Sweden, UF 19 SM 0201

⁷⁹ The figures for undergraduate students regard the school year 2001/02

⁸⁰ The figures for postgraduate students regard the school year 2000/01

Table 10: Students⁸¹ under 65 years of age and of foreign background⁸² enrolled in higher education 2000/01 by study level, country and sex⁸³

Geographical area Country	Sex	Undergraduates		Postgraduates	
		Number	(%)	Number	%
All	Total	37 412	100	4 698	100
	Female	22 198	59	2 008	43
	Male	15 214	41	2 690	57
The Nordic countries (except Sweden)	Total	10 694	29	854	18
	Female	7 319	20	418	9
	Male	3 375	9	436	9
EU 15 (except the Nordic countries)	Total	3 964	11	987	21
	Female	2 197	6	377	8
	Male	1 767	5	610	13
Europe (except EU 15 and the Nordic countries)	Total	9 585	26	989	21
	Female	6 003	16	475	10
	Male	3 582	10	514	11
Africa	Total	1 921	5	269	6
	Female	761	2	56	1
	Male	1 160	3	213	5
North America	Total	950	3	236	5
	Female	510	1	107	2
	Male	440	1	129	3
South America	Total	2 086	6	185	4
	Female	1 150	3	91	2
	Male	936	3	94	2
Asia	Total	9 265	25	1 179	25
	Female	4 821	13	476	10
	Male	4 444	12	703	15
The Pacific	Total	110	0	28	1
	Female	51	0	5	0
	Male	59	0	23	0
The former Soviet	Total	504	1	80	2
	Female	332	1	49	1
	Male	172	0	31	1

The top five countries among the undergraduates' countries of origin: Finland (22 %), Iran (11 %), Poland (6%), Yugoslavia (6%), Bosnia-Herzegovina (5%)

The top five countries among the postgraduates' countries of origin: Finland (10%), China (9%), Germany (8%), Iran (6%), Poland (4%)

⁸¹ Exchange students are not included in the table. There are no statistics on the other foreign-born students who come for the sole purpose to study in Sweden. However, SCB estimates that 15 percent of all of the first time post-graduate students in 2000/2001 were guest-post-graduates. See UF 19 SM 0201, p. 17

⁸² Here foreign background implies a foreign-born and person born in Sweden with two foreign-born parents.

⁸³ The Agency for Higher Education and Statistics Sweden, UF 19 SM 0201

Table 11: Demography in 2002 by country of birth and citizenship⁸⁴

	Swedish citizen	Foreign citizen	Total
Foreign born	653 994	399 469	1 053 463
Born in Sweden			
by			
Two foreign born parents	255 984	48 767	304 751
One foreign born parent and one native born parent	533 794	19 978	553 772
Born in Sweden by two native born parents	7 022 917	5 885	7 028 802
Total	8 466 689	474 099	8 940 788

Table 12: The Swedish population by country of birth

Country Region	Number
Sweden	7 887 325
The Nordic countries except Sweden	279 570
EU15 except the Nordic countries	100 673
Europe except EU15 and the Nordic countries	243 109
Africa	59 507
North America	25 450
South America	53 315
Asia	280 916
The Pacific	3 285
The Soviet Union	7 285
Unknown	353

⁸⁴ All statistics regarding population are from SCB, Befolkningsåret 2002 (The year of demography 2002), Chapter 18, 2003

Table 13: The five major groups foreign-born according to birth country

Country	Number
Finland	191 515
Yugoslavia	74 418
Iraq	62 751
Bosnia-Herzegovina	52 948
Iran	52 721

Table 14: The five major groups according to citizenship

Country	Number
Finland	96 306
Iraq	40 146
Norway	34 672
Denmark	28 091
Yugoslavia	20 087