European Intercultural Workplace: SWEDEN

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AF	Swedish Employment Agency
AMS	Swedish National Labour Market Administration
DISI	Diversity in the Swedish Industry (a project)
DO	Ombudsman against ethnic discrimination
EIW	European Intercultural Workplace project
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
FOC	Focus group interviews
IMER	International Migration and Ethnic Relations
ITPS	Swedish Institute for Growth Policy Studies
KIK	Swedish society for research on intercultural communication
KIM	A previous interdisciplinary center for culture contact and intercultural migration situated in Göteborg
LiSA	Association for teachers in Swedish as a second language
Lpf 94	Curriculum for Swedish non-compulsary school forms (secondary school a.o.) (Läroplan för de frivilliga skolformerna)
Lpo 94	Curriculum for Swedish compulsory school (Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet)
Lsfi 91	Curriculum for Swedish for immigrants
LO	Swedish Trade Union Confederation
(n)	Nurses
NB	Nataliya Berbyuk (researcher in the Swedish case study on health care)
NIC	Nordic Network for Intercultural Communication
Non-Swe	Non-Swedish (i.e. immigrant)
(o)	Other health care employees than nurses and physicians, i.e. physio-therapists, assistant nurses, care assistants and laboratory assistants
OBS	Direct observations
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
(p)	Physicians
QUEST	Questionnaire
REC	Audio-/video recordings of interaction
SACO	the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations
SEKO	the Union of Service and Communication Employees
Sfi	Swedish for immigrants (language courses)
SFS	Swedish constitutions (Svensk författningssamling)
SKF	Swedish Ball Bearing Company (Svenska kullagerfabriken)
SOU	Official Swedish government investigations (Statens offentliga utredningar)
SSKKII	Center for interdisciplinary research at Göteborg University
Swe	Swedish
TCO	the Swedish Confederation for Professional Employees
TRANS	Transcriptions of audio-/video recordings

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Acculturation – The modification of the culture of a group or of a single individual as a result of contact with a different culture. (http://www.answers.com)

Asylum Seeker – often an individual who leaves their own country for their safety, often for political reasons or because of war, and who travels to another country hoping that the government will protect them and allow them to live there: (http://www.freesearch.co.uk/dictionary/asylum-seeker). An asylum seeker applies to a State to be recognized as a Convention Refugee under the terms of the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Most European countries are signatories of the Geneva Convention. Asylum seekers have the right to remain in such countries while their applications for Refugee Status are being processed, and to continue to live there afterwards, if granted Refugee Status.

Beneficiary – a person, institution or other grouping of people that benefits from the actions described in a case. (http://www.beep-eu.org/)

Bilingual – a person who is competent in two languages

Case (study) – the description of and application of methods to a specific situation. A case study must involve one or more objectives and a description of the activities (methods and processes) carried out in pursuit of these objectives. (http://www.beep-eu.org/)

Client – the party for which services are rendered (e.g. by a research team). (http://www.answers.com). In traditional commerce and in the marketing and provision of services, a client or customer consumes or benefits from a product or service. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/) Within the remit of the EIW project this can also apply to less traditional examples of a client such as school pupils, for example.

Convention Refugee – see Refugee below

Cross-cultural – the term cross-cultural is generally used to describe comparative data and studies of a limited number of cultures. For example, when examining attitudes towards work in the US and in Japan, then that is a cross-cultural study. (http://intermundo.net/glossary). It is sometimes used interchangeably with the "Intercultural" (see Intercultural).

Cultural diversity – variety and richness of communities with distinct systems of norms, beliefs, practices, and values. (http://www.cadi.ph/glossary_of_terms.htm) See Ethnic diversity

Discrimination – involves formally or informally classifying people into different groups and according the members of each group distinct, and typically unequal, treatments, rights and obligations without a rational justification for the different treatment. If there is rational justification for the different treatment, then the discrimination is not invidious. The criteria delineating the groups, such as gender, race, or class, determine the kind of discrimination. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/)

Education sector – The education sector includes primary, secondary and third-level educational institutions such as colleges and universities which are organized on a regional / national basis or independently such as tuition companies.

Equal opportunities – two key elements of the general principle of equal opportunities are the ban on discrimination on grounds of nationality (Article 12 of the EC Treaty, formerly Article 6) and equal pay for men and women (Article 141 of the EC Treaty, formerly Article 119). It is intended to apply to all fields, particularly economic, social, cultural and family life.

The Treaty of Amsterdam added a new Article 13 to the Treaty, reinforcing the principle of non-discrimination, which is closely linked to equal opportunities. Under this new Article, the Council has the power to take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. Adopted in December 2000, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union includes a chapter entitled "Equality" which sets out the principles of non-discrimination, equality between men and women, and cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. It also covers the rights of the child, the elderly and persons with disabilities. On the subject of non-discrimination, the Charter states that: "Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited." (EU glossary of terms)

Ethnic background – origin in an ethnic group (see below)

Ethnic diversity – diversity of people with different national backgrounds

Ethnic group – a group of people who identify with one another, or are so identified by others as a group who believe themselves to have a common historical origin. The distinguishing features of the group may take any of a number of forms -- racial, cultural, linguistic, and religious -- and may be more or less porous. Because of these features, members of an ethnic group are often presumed to be culturally or biologically similar, although this is not in fact necessarily the case. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/)

Foreign descent – being descended from a foreigner (see below)

Foreigner – a person born in or coming from a foreign country (OED)

Good practice – the use of a method, tool, technology etc. which is generally regarded as 'practices which are good (e.g. for learning)', i.e. practices which either achieve their own objectives and/or have a beneficial impact on their environment, or (and more important) provide useful learning experiences which are likely to stimulate creativity, ingenuity and self reflexivity on the part of the user. Contrast with best practice that has been shown to be the 'best' in a given situation as a result of benchmarking and other analyses. (http://www.beep-eu.org/). In the Swedish case studies the term 'good practice' is used to indicate positive aspects and effects of intercultural communication and interaction at the workplaces. What is considered positive is dependent on the values of the case study participants and researchers.

First generation immigrant – see Immigrant

Hemspråk – (home language) Language most commonly used in the home (usually only used when the home language is not the dominant language of the country).

Immigrant – a person who comes as a permanent or long-term resident to a country and intends to reside permanently, and not as a casual visitor or traveler. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/)

Immigrant background – background as an immigrant – in a Swedish context immigrant background refers to both immigrants as well as persons born in Sweden who have two parents born outside of Sweden.

Intercultural – the term intercultural is sometimes used synonymously to "cross-cultural" (see above) to describe comparative data and studies of a large number of cultures, or studies that try to identify dimensions that are not culture specific. For example Hofstede's work is crosscultural, as it describes cultural dimensions applicable for all cultures. Intercultural is also used to describe interactional data arising in a situation where members of different cultural backgrounds. (http://intermundo.net/glossary)

Intercultural communication – communication between persons who have different cultural backgrounds.

Intercultural communication education – includes learning about different cultures, both culture general and culture specific information. The focus is not so much on habits and religious customs, but rather on cultural similarities and differences in communication patterns, including body language; as well as in attitudes, values and norms in areas such as relation to authority and showing respect and politeness; time orientation; gender roles; collectivism and individualism.

Intercultural company – an enterprise that employs people from different nationalities, cultures and/or racial backgrounds.

Intercultural workplace – a working environment in which people of different nationalities, cultures and racial backgrounds are employed. Also a work environment that deals with clients/customers from different cultures.

International worker – a term used by some organisations to refer to workers from minority ethnic communities, who have come from overseas to work in the country. This term is by some considered more interculturally sensitive than other terms such as terms 'non-national' or 'foreign national'.

Institutional racism – the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. (Lawrence Inquiry committee investigation of London Metropolitan Police)

Life-long learning – continuous acquirement of knowledge, skills and competencies (in an environment of constant change).

Migrant Worker – an economic migrant is a person who voluntarily leaves his or her country of origin (often for economic reasons). (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/)

Minority – a group within a country that differs in culture, ethnicity, race, religion or national origin from the larger part of the population.

Mother tongue – usually the first language(s) acquired as a child or sometimes the language of the mother of the child

Multinational – a business organization which operates in many countries

Multiculturalism – Multiculturalism or cultural pluralism is a policy, ideal, or reality that emphasizes the unique characteristics of different cultures in the world, especially as they relate to one another in immigrant receiving nations. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/)

National minority – A minority within a particular country or nation (often with a long history in the country). There are 5 national minorities in Sweden: the Sami, the Finns, the Torne valley inhabitants, the Romanies and the Jews.

National minority language – language of a national minority – in Sweden there are 5 national minority languages: Saami (with its dialects), Finnish, Meänkieli (a Finnic language in Torne valley in the north of Sweden), Romani chib and Yiddish.

Non-national – a person who is not a citizen of the country they are residing in on a short or long-term basis. This term is commonly considered inappropriate nowadays, being both inaccurate and interculturally insensitive in implying a person has 'no nationality' – they are just nationals of a different country. The terms 'foreign national' or 'international worker' are considered preferable.

Non-Swedish - not from Sweden. In the case studies the term often refers to persons who are born outside of Sweden

Non-Swedish background - see Immigrant background

On-job training – the process of being taught a specific skill in the workplace

Participant observation – a research method where the researcher is both an observer of and a participant in a given communicative event such as a transaction in a retail shop. The observations can be made more or less systematically depending on the purpose of the study at hand.

Prejudice – false and negative belief about something (often people or groups of people)

Private sector - the part of the economy not under direct state control (OED)

Public sector – The Public Sector is the part of the economy concerned with providing basic government services. In most countries the public sector includes such services as the police, military, public roads, public transit, primary education and healthcare for the poor. The public sector might provide services that non-payers cannot be excluded from (such as street lighting), services which benefit all of society rather than just the individual who uses the service (such as public education), and services that encourage equal opportunity.

The Public Sector is made up of national government, local governments, government-owned or controlled corporations and government monetary institutions.
Local, state, and federal government agencies and services, such as schools and libraries.

Racism – any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. (http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_icerd.htm)

Refugee – The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as a person who is outside the country of his/her nationality and unable or unwilling to return to it, "owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights www.ohchr.ch)
"A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution." (Article 1 of the Geneva Convention)

Second generation immigrant – a person whose parents are immigrants – in a Swedish setting, it can be a person who is born in Sweden with either one or both parents born outside of Sweden.

Social capital – possession of socially or socio-economically relevant immaterial resources (e.g. social networks, social skills with regard to creating social contacts, education or training in organizing and managing social/socio-economical groupings etc)

SME (Small to Medium Size Enterprise) – enterprises with less than 250 employees and a turnover of less than 40 million Euro. Divided into micro enterprises (less than 10 employees), small size (11-50 employees) and medium (51-250). (http://www.beep-eu.org/)

Social inclusion – inclusion in a social group – a policy of social inclusion could mean commitment to an ethos of fairness and equality within a given society. www.inspire.edin.org/pages/glossary.htm

Social justice – right of all individuals and groups of individuals to equity, fairness and equality. (http://www.cadi.ph/glossary_of_terms.htm)

Social partner – a term used by the European Commission for employer and employee organizations who engage with the Commission in a dialogue with a view to developing a common approach to EU economic and social policies. It encompasses Trade Unions, Trade Associations, Chamber of Commerce, and (peripherally) Professional Associations. (http://www.beep-eu.org/)

Sojourner – a temporary resident; a person who stays for a short period of time in one place

Study – an analytical piece of work that may include surveys or analysis of a group of case studies. It is a more general concept than case study which is a study of a particular situation. (http://www.beep-eu.org/)

Workplace education – education in the workplace – e.g. systematic instruction to furnish or acquire further knowledge about the working environment and ways in which to apply good practice.

INTRODUCTION

European workplaces are experiencing major transformation. Economic and political changes in Europe over the past decades have resulted in a vast increase in the cultural diversity of those living, working and being educated within its borders. The expansion of the EU coupled with labor shortages in many parts of the continent have brought about a steady increase in mobility both within and from outside the EEA. This trend is likely to continue and expand, as workplaces grow into microcosms of a culturally diverse society.

Cultural diversity is fast becoming the norm in most areas of life in Europe. Even for those with little interest in foreign cultures or in mixing with others culturally different from themselves, many everyday situations now necessitate intercultural interactions, whether in the workplace, public services or educational institutions. In this new context, people at all levels of the workforce – managers, employees, customers – from host and migrant communities, find themselves in new roles with new challenges for which they have not necessarily been prepared or trained to deal with. Such interactions require a new mindset and a repertoire of skills beyond what was adequate for interaction within one's own cultural group. Organizations often need to re-think existing policies and procedures, in order to better meet the needs of and benefit from the opportunities offered by a new culturally diverse workforce. Questions of equality and racism, identity and values assume a new importance and urgency, as intercultural communicative competence becomes a vital priority in all areas of life.

So, how well are workplaces in Europe responding to this new reality? How similar are the challenges and opportunities presented in different sectors and states? What pitfalls to be avoided and examples of good practice can be shared between EU countries? What intercultural training needs exist and how best can these be addressed? These are some of the key questions that inspired the development of the *European Intercultural Workplace (EIW)* Project (2004-7). Originally conceptualized in DCU, Ireland, *EIW* was developed and expanded through a network of 10 European partners, and its implementation was made possible by funding granted by the EU Leonardo da Vinci Programme. A core outcome of the project is the establishment of an overview of work practice across Europe based on national situational analyses and workplace case studies. The identification of intercultural

training needs and good practice responses will inform the production of effective intercultural training materials to a common European standard.

The *European Intercultural Workplace (EIW)* partnership draws together 10 institutions from northern and southern Europe, established EU members, more recent Member States as well as non EU members, countries with a long experience of integrating foreigners into the workforce and others for whom this is a new situation. This complexity allows us to have a wide-ranging, experienced and fresh perspective on the issues involved.

The current publication is divided into two parts: (1) Analysis of Immigration to Sweden and (2) Case Studies. The Analysis examines the current intercultural workplace in Sweden, investigating issues such as the history of immigration, areas where immigrants are most likely to be employed, the status of asylum seekers and refugees, as well as government, business and civic responses to these changes. The Case Studies are designed to assess the situation and conditions on the ground. In Sweden we have examined the areas of health care, the police, a high school, an exchange bank, and a retail shop. We endeavoured to consider workplace issues from the perspective of Management, Employees and Customers.

The primary aim of this report is to identify challenges, examples of good practice and make recommendations that will assist policy makers and practitioners in their attempts to create a harmonious intercultural workplace and foster a culture of learning. It also aims to provide information for workers intending to move to Sweden and Swedish employers in need of foreign labour of the policies and steps that need to be taken for an easier and more effective process of integration into the workplace.

This report is by no means exhaustive; in the inevitable selection process we faced constraints that will have left a lot of relevant material unearthed. The EIW Project partners would like to hear feedback from you, the reader and final user, on the information presented. Please visit the European Intercultural Workplace website (www.eiworkplace.net) and the Swedish EIW website (www.sskkii.gu.se/projects/eiw/) for further discussions and consultations.

PART 1: ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRATION TO SWEDEN

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND – NATIONAL CONTEXT

1.1 The Context of Cultural Diversity in Sweden

1.1.1 Historical development to current situation

Immigration into what is now Sweden, in a sense began as the inland ice retreated. Jumping forward to a historically well- known period, Viking thralls are an early type of immigration. During the middle-ages monks from different European countries immigrated. However, the most significant wave of immigration during this period consisted of Germans coming under the auspices of the Hanseatic league. Danes and Finns also immigrated during this period, if we can talk of "immigration" given that Sweden and Norway formed a union with Denmark 1397-1523 (the Kalmar union) and that Sweden and Finland were one country from the beginning of the 13th century until 1809. During the time of Swedish expansion in the 17th century (1565 - 1721), people from most of the countries in north Europe and around the Baltic immigrated to Sweden. Among the groups who came were Walloons (from what is now Belgium), Dutch, Germans, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Finns, Danes and Norwegians.

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

1.1.2 After the Second World War

After the second world war, (according to SOU 2004:73, p.30) economic development was characterized by a strong labor shortage and during the 1940s there was immigration from Finland, Norway, Denmark, Poland, and the Baltic countries into Sweden (mainly refugees). During the 1950s, there were several labor recruitment campaigns in especially southern Europe to find workers for Swedish export industry. The revolution in Hungary 1956 led to several thousand Hungarian refugees coming to Sweden. During the 1960s there was a sizeable immigration from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and the Nordic

countries. 40 % of the immigrants came from Finland. Besides labor immigration, the military coup in Greece, the Vietnam War, persecution of Polish Jews and the unrest in Prague during the spring of 1968 led many political refugees to come to Sweden. However, the Nordic countries, especially Finland, were the largest source of immigration during the post-war period.

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

1.1.3 1970s and 1980s

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

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

Figure 1.1.1 shows immigration to Sweden 1975—2005, divided into immigration from the Nordic countries, the rest of Europe and the rest of the world.

FIGURE 1.1.1:

Immigration 1975-2005
(Registered residents of Sweden)

Legend
Nordic countries
Rest of Europé
Rest of world
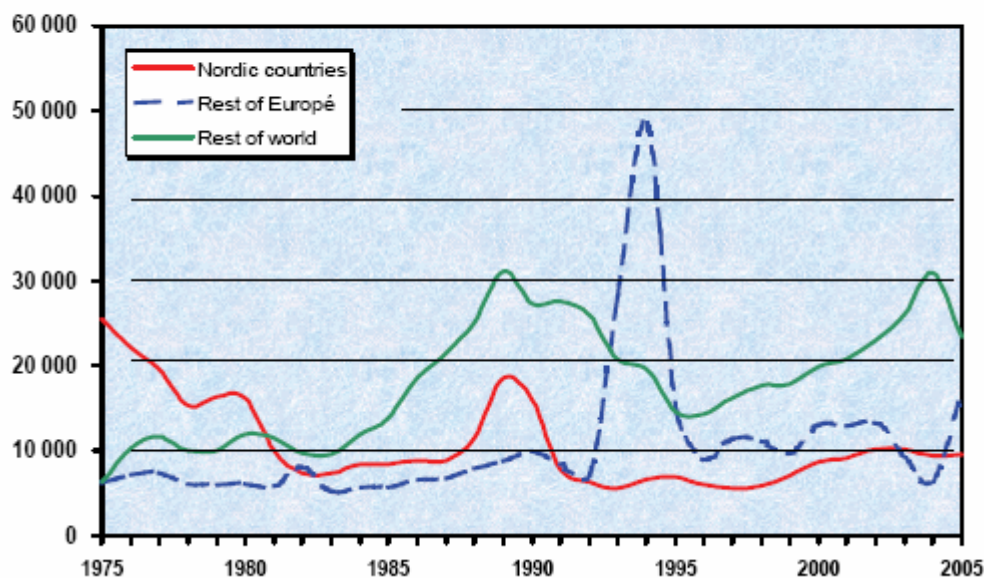
Source: Verksamheten i siffror 2005, The Swedish Migration Board

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

1.1.4 Development since 1990

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

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

Figure 1.1.2 below shows immigration in 2005, divided into persons holding citizenship from the Nordic countries, citizenship from other countries within the EU, the rest of Europe, Africa, Asia, America, and others.

FIGURE 1.1.2:

Immigration 2005
(Registered residents of Sweden)

Total: 49 918

America 6 %

Asia 28 %

Nordic countries 19 %

Others 2 %

Africa 10 %

Rest of Europe 12 %

EU excl. Denmark
and Finland   22 %
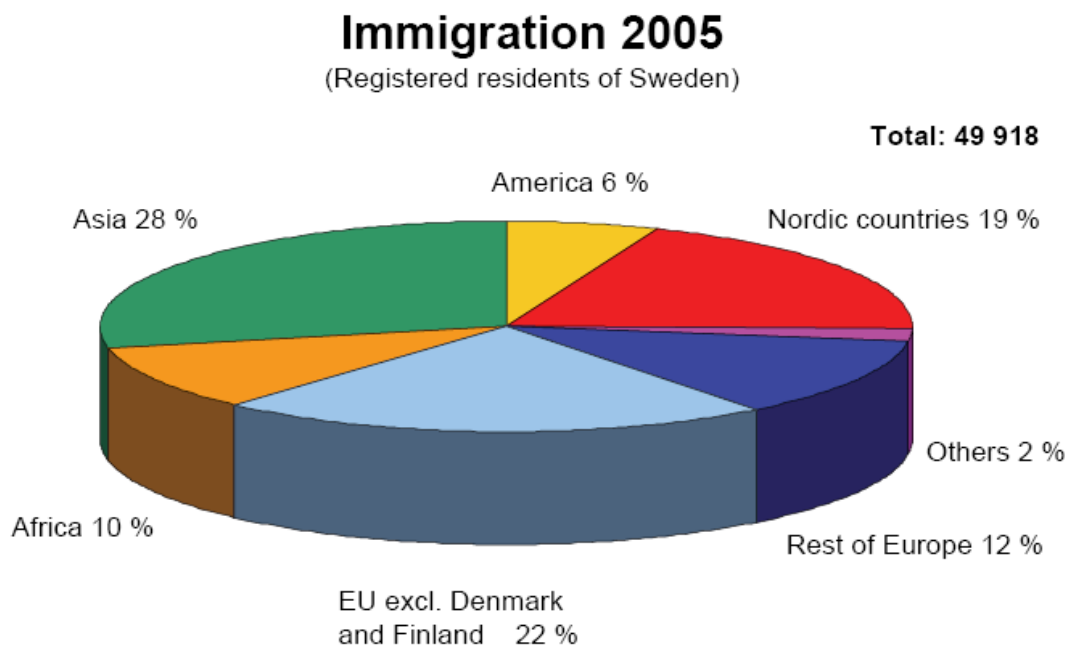
Source: Facts & Figures 2005, the Swedish Migration Board

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

In table 1.1.1 below, we give a more detailed account of all groups of immigrants into Sweden and emigrants from Sweden, in 2003 and 2004, by country of birth. The table shows that the largest group, moving in and out of Sweden, is Asians, followed by Swedes and persons from the other Nordic countries. The table also shows that more Swedes emigrate than immigrate.

TABLE 1.1.1: Immigrants to and emigrants from Sweden 2004 and 2005, by country of birth

Country of birth	2004			2005		
	Immigrant	Emigrant	Immigration surplus	Immigrant	Emigrant	Immigration surplus
Total	**62 028**	**36 586**	**25 442**	**65 229**	**38 118**	**27 111**
Sweden	**11 467**	**16 634**	**-5 167**	**11 066**	**17 866**	**-6 800**
Nordic countries excl.						
Sweden	**8 847**	**6 685**	**2 162**	**9 096**	**7 109**	**1 987**
Denmark	3 203	1 751	1 452	3 494	1 841	1 653
Finland	2 716	2 850	-134	2 793	3 097	-304
Iceland	355	281	74	384	336	48
Norway	2 573	1 803	770	2 425	1 835	590
EU25 excl. Nordic						
countries	**9 851**	**4 157**	**5 694**	**11 442**	**4 050**	**7 392**
Estonia	397	108	289	394	124	270
France	588	409	179	628	373	255
Greece	313	315	-2	332	315	17
Lithuania	427	55	372	659	36	623
The Netherlands	540	192	348	683	172	511
Poland	2 552	351	2 201	3 525	434	3 091
Spain	321	245	76	358	236	122
Breat Britain and Northern						
Ireland	1 229	799	430	1 146	694	452
Germany	2 010	838	1 172	2 147	820	1 327
Other countries	1 474	845	629	1 570	846	724
Europa excl. EU25 and						
Nordic countries	**7 004**	**1 419**	**5 585**	**6 779**	**1 401**	**5 378**
Bosnia-Herzegovina	975	182	793	718	178	540
Rumania	395	126	269	415	118	297
Russia	1 245	179	1 066	1 019	183	836
Serbia and Montenegro	1 479	16	1 463	1 756	38	1 718
Yugoslavia	413	382	31	399	343	56
Turkey	1 314	276	1 038	1 316	286	1 030
The Ukraine	327	41	286	298	42	256
Other countries	856	217	639	858	213	645

Africa	**4 723**	**1 673**	**3 050**	**5 625**	**1 613**	**4 012**
Burundi	321	2	319	531	2	529
Eritrea	264	26	238	554	38	516
Ethiopia	361	233	128	360	218	142
Nigeria	210	36	174	382	43	339
Somalia	1 159	652	507	1 355	569	786
Other countries	2 408	724	1 684	2 443	743	1 700
North- and South						
America	**3 876**	**1 945**	**1 931**	**3 981**	**1 915**	**2 066**
USA	1 174	832	342	1 118	746	372
Brazil	358	140	218	367	134	233
Chile	567	321	246	516	337	179
Colombia	370	67	303	528	85	443
Other countries	1 407	585	822	1 452	613	839
Asia	**15 712**	**3 691**	**12 021**	**16 739**	**3 786**	**12 953**
Afghanistan	851	38	813	577	53	524
Bangladesh	277	68	209	417	83	334
The Philippines	446	66	380	441	75	366
India	887	292	595	1 131	432	699
Iraq	3 126	529	2 597	3 094	570	2 524
Iran	1 610	723	887	1 365	748	617
Japan	291	240	51	301	216	85
China	1 563	456	1 107	1 749	358	1 391
Lebanon	591	243	348	668	259	409
Pakistan	529	118	411	730	122	608
Palestine	388	18	370	310	14	296
Syria	597	88	509	690	66	624
Thailand	2 175	178	1 997	2 205	196	2 009
Uzbekistan	120	4	116	527	4	523
Vietnam	377	81	296	420	84	336
Other countries	1 884	549	1 335	2 114	506	1 608
Oceania	**422**	**306**	**116**	**401**	**309**	**92**
Unknown countries incl.						
the Soviet Union	**126**	**76**	**50**	**100**	**69**	**31**

Source: Migration 2005, Statistics Sweden

Besides the national, ethnic background of immigrants, it is also of interest to observe their distribution in terms of age and gender. In table 1.1.2, we present statistics on age and in table 3, on gender.

TABLE 1.1.2: Foreign born population in Sweden, divided by age, 2003[1].

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

As we can see the largest number of immigrants are to be found in the ages 24 – 54, i.e. the main period of working life. In table 1.1.3, we now present the relative share (%) of age groups (for all foreign born persons) cross classified with gender 2003.

TABLE 1.1.3: Age group % of all foreign born persons in Sweden divided by gender 2003[2]

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

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[1] Calculations based on statistics from the Swedish Integration Board

[2] Calculations based on statistics from the Swedish Integration Board

Table 1.1.3 shows that the distribution of gender varies with age but that there are more foreign born women than men in most age groups (the exceptions are age groups 0 – 15 and 35 – 44, where there are slightly more men). The female dominance is greatest in the highest age groups, probably because women tend to live longer than men.

Another factor of importance in order to analyze training needs in connection with immigration, concerns the causes of immigration. The types of residence permits given in Sweden here give some information. Figure 1.1.3 below shows how the residence permits relate to different groups.

FIGURE 1.1.3:   Distribution of residence permits 2005
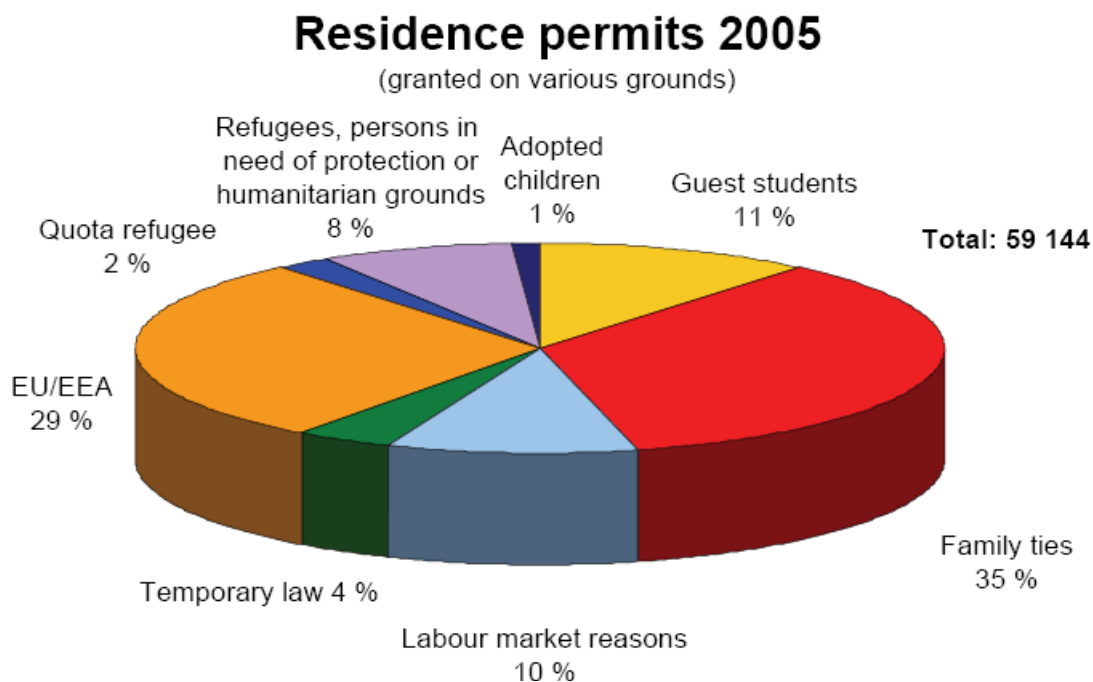
Source: Facts & Figures 2005, The Swedish Migration Board

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

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

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

1.2 Government Response

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

Immigration into Sweden has been regulated since 1967 and means that non-Nordic citizens must have the residence permit approved before entering Sweden. Since 1994, when the EEA agreement took effect, the mobility opportunities have improved for citizens of the European Union and EEA countries[3]. [...] Work permits are required for alien citizens of countries outside of the European Union/EEA-area who do not hold permanent residence; the permit requirement applies to essentially all forms of work with certain exceptions. [...] Citizens of non-Nordic countries must have residence permits for stays in Sweden that exceed a period of three months." (SOU 2004:73, p. 35.)

"In Sweden work permits are granted to cover a temporary lack of labor and to facilitate international exchange. First and foremost vacancies are to be filled by labor from Sweden or another European Union or EEA-country. Regional employment boards

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

(Länsarbetsnämnderna) decide when there is a lack in labor within different professions in Sweden and advise the Swedish Migration Board" (SOU 2004:73, p.36. Our translation)

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

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

1.2.1 Labor market integration

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

According to the Swedish Integration Board (Pocket Facts, 2006), employment decreased during the first half of the 1990s for the whole population in Sweden, but the decrease has been greater among immigrants. It seems that deindustrialization, rationalization and cutbacks have affected the immigrant groups the most. In 2005 the employment rate among native Swedes was close to 80% and among foreign-born people 64%. Foreign-born persons also have, to a larger extent, temporary employment, and given the fact that legislation regarding job security favors those with the longest employment, it is probably a tenable conclusion that immigrants are more vulnerable when it comes to market fluctuations.

There has also been a large structural change concerning the relative distribution of types of employment for immigrants. Towards the end of the 1980s about 40% of all foreign-born employed men and about 20% of all foreign-born employed women worked in industries. These shares have decreased to 25 and 10% respectively in 2004 (Pocket Facts, 2006, p. 44).

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

The goal of the policy of adaptation of immigrants has mainly been based on quick assimilation. In the mid-1970s, a policy of ethnic and cultural diversity was implemented based on the corner stones: equality, freedom of choice and cooperation. This period is often referred to as "the crest" of Swedish integration policy by older immigrants. In 1998 a new integration policy was installed, aiming at the whole population and not only immigrants. A new government agency was created, the Integration Board, supposed to cover integration work in Sweden, promote equal rights and opportunities for everyone and work against discrimination. In the mid-1980s the refugee reception program was also reorganized, and the National Immigration Board took over the main responsibility from the National Labor Market Board. In practice this has led a.o. to many refugees passively waiting in refugee clearance centers and refugee camps, followed by an installation in a local municipality where housing, studies in Swedish for immigrants and introduction plans are arranged by the municipality, which receives a standard grant from the state per refugee installed in the municipality. However, since the 1990s refugees are allowed to decide themselves where in the country they would like to live and also move freely. The program has been criticized, largely because of the lack of access to the labor market.

1.2.2 Legislation against ethnic discrimination in the work place

Sweden has had an anti-ethnic discrimination law in the workplace since 1994, and an ombudsman against discrimination since 1986. The law of 1994 was considered too inefficient, and the legislation was therefore tightened on several points in 1999. The aims of the new law are to prevent discrimination, and it also demands that employers and trade

unions take action to prevent discrimination on their own initiative. Since 1999, each employer is required to take initiative and pursue a goal-oriented work for ethnic diversity, both regarding recruitment and working conditions at the workplace. The legislation of 1999 comprises both direct and indirect discrimination, as well as ethnic harassment at the work place. The law also prescribes shared burden of proof in the case of a trial.

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

- The Act (2006:67) on the prohibition of discrimination and other degrading treatment of children and pupils
- The Prohibition of Discrimination Act (2003:307) as of July 1 2005. The purpose of the Act is to combat discrimination based on any of the following grounds: gender, ethnic origin, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or disability. (2005:480)

Provisions prohibiting discrimination are also found in

- the Equal Opportunities Act (1991:433),
- the Act on Measures against Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Ethnic Origin, Religion or other Belief (1999:130),
- the Prohibition of Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Disability Act (1999:132),
- the Act on a Ban against Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Sexual Orientation (1999:133), and
- the Equal Treatment of Students at Universities Act (2001:1286).
- Chapter 16 Section 9 of the Swedish Penal Code contains provisions on unlawful discrimination.

1.2.3 EU treaties and directives

There are different types of EU treaties and directives. Below we will discuss 1) treaties and directives fighting discrimination and 2) the so called EU "service directive". The most important EU treaties and directives fighting discrimination are:

(based on Müller et al 2004)

1) *The Amsterdam treaty* from year 1999 signed by the member states, in which article 12 prohibits discrimination on grounds of nationality and article 13 speaks of the obligations of the EU to promote equality between genders, and a general decree to fight discrimination due to a. o. ethnic background and sexual orientation

2) *The Nice treaty* from year 2000 strengthened the work against discrimination by establishing that the Council of Ministers shall implement strong measures in order to prevent discrimination. At the same time the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) was adopted, in which Article 21 on non-discrimination prohibits any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation.

3) *Directive 2000/43/EC* is about the implementation of the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin and prohibits discrimination within the areas of employment, vocational guidance and training, social protection including social security and health care, social advantages, education, as well as access to and supply of goods and services.

4) *Directive 2000/78/EC* fortifies and further expands the protection against discrimination at the workplace. The content of the directive constitutes a general framework for equal treatment as far as recruitment and employment. It prohibits discrimination based on religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

The EU "Service Directive"
The main ideas of the recently adopted directive concerning services on the inner market is to make it easier for service companies established in an EU country to become established in other EU countries and to increase the mobility of services between the member countries, without demands on, for example citizenship or residence.

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

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

Labor market measures

An important part of the government response to unemployment is carried out by Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen (AMS), the National Labor Market Board. The task of AMS is to contribute to meeting the government's political and economic goals, officially stated as full employment and increased welfare by contributing to a good and sustainable economic growth. A sub goal is the limitation of the official unemployment figures at a maximum of four per cent and that 80 per cent of the population aged 20-64 years should have a regular employment (www.ams.se).

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

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

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

the wage costs. Mainly municipalities, smaller businesses and associations have become more interested in employing immigrants as an effect of these subsidies (www.ams.se).

1.3 Civic Response

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

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

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

There are also a large number of different immigrant organizations cooperating with the communes, thus contributing to the integration process. These organizations also receive grants from the state/commune for their activities. Only in the city of Göteborg there are more than 170 immigrant organizations. For a more comprehensive list of immigrant organizations and networks in Sweden we refer the reader to: http://www.immi.se/sweden/

1.4 Business Community Response

The Business Community has been the driving force behind labor immigration. Large Swedish companies like Volvo and SKF (the Swedish ball bearing company) already in the 1950s recruited labor in southern Europe, especially Italy. Later on such recruitment has continued whenever there has been a labor shortage and government policy has allowed it. The present trend, however, is not so much to move immigrant labor to Sweden as to move industry to places in Europe (e.g. at present the Baltic states or other former communist countries in eastern Europe) where labor costs are lower than in Sweden.

Professional training programs were often an important part of the industrial recruitment of immigrants. Such programs were for example established by the companies mentioned,

SKF and Volvo. The immigrant groups recruited by Swedish companies often form fairly stable communities in Swedish cities like Göteborg, Stockholm and Västerås.

The report *Employer Study 2005, Swedish only* from the Swedish Integration Board, which is based on telephone interviews with 2 200 randomly selected employers in 2005 and 2006, shows that large private employers have a higher level of knowledge of the anti-discriminatory legislation than small enterprises and also work actively with measures to a larger extent than smaller ones. The Act on Measures against Discrimination states that employers *shall* actively work with measures in specific areas to counteract discrimination. However, only slightly more than half of the private employers interviewed have drawn up regulations and guidelines for staff to ensure that everyone is provided with equal service regardless of background. The majority of private employers do not offer any training courses for managers or employees on these subjects.

The survey also reveals that the private branch most positive to adapting working conditions to suit employees is the hotel and restaurant branch, and employers in industry are somewhat more positive to recruiting Muslim women wearing veil. Approximately 40 % of the private employers, and 20 % of the public employers, said they were reluctant to hire Muslim women wearing veil. The most common excuses stated were "consideration for customers/patients/children or that the veil would get in the way of the work". (Employer Study 2005, Swedish only, 2006, p. 82)

Intercultural communication training is not common at Swedish workplaces and neither a common part in professional training. However, as a response to the need of intercultural communication training a few universities offer courses in intercultural communication, such as the universities of Göteborg, Uppsala and Lund. There are also some private organizations specializing in intercultural communication, cultural consultance and/or business language courses, and some private training organizations specializing in these areas. Examples of companies of the kind are MCC (http://www.multicultural.se), Berlitz (http://www.berlitz.se), Påhlmans handelsinstitut (http://www.phi.se), Kulturlänk AB (http://www.kulturlank.nu), only to mention a few.

Other private consultants focus on implementation of Diversity Management in organizations in the private and public sector. Some are found in the network "Managing

Diversity" at http://www.managingdiversity.se which also is connected to EIMD - European Institute for Managing Diversity found at http://www.iegd.org/

1.5 Academic Community Response

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

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

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

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

The government has conducted several studies which have noticed and pointed to this problem and several attempts have been made to change the situation. For further studies dealing with the subject see Appendix 1.

1.6 Media Response

Compared to many other countries, the media in Sweden, largely speaking, adopt a pro-immigration stance. In reports on criminality when the offender is non-Swedish this fact is often left out. Not much room is given to racist, nationalist or xenophobic opinions in the media. On the contrary, such opinions, when they occur are usually universally condemned. Media regularly report on discrimination and xenophobia and try sometimes also to give a positive picture of the synergies that might result from an intercultural work place. Issues of linguistic competence and language training are fairly often discussed and have, over the years, resulted in several changes of the government sponsored language training programs. There is however, less awareness in general of the issues connected with intercultural differences and intercultural communication.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The recurrent traits ascribed to the media's immigrants are not merely a product of the media. Their origin is to be found in the national construction projects, where white, Western and Christian has been created as a superior category to an imagined Oriental antipode. It is also interesting to observe how in the meeting with 'the immigrant', news texts have for decades created a new 'Swedishness' which is characterized by modernity, rationality and equality." (Text written by Ylva Brune for this report. Our translation)

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

1.7 Summary of Historical Trends

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

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

Below we will summarize the development in two tables (tables 1.1.4 and 1.1.5).

In table 1.1.4, we can see the 10 largest groups of people born outside of Sweden (2005). Table 1.1.5 shows the 10 largest groups of foreign citizens in Sweden in 2005. These are the two main ways immigrants can be found in Swedish statistics since registration by language or ethnic group is allowed. Children born in Sweden of naturalized immigrants, thus receiving Swedish citizenship, are not represented in these tables.

TABLE 1.1.4:   The ten largest groups of foreign born persons in Sweden, 2005

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

Source: Statistics Sweden, 2006

Besides showing country of birth, Table 1.1.4, shows us that some groups have a very unequal gender balance. There are many more women than men born in Finland, Norway, Poland and Germany and there are more men than women born in Iraq and Iran. Probably, the explanations for such imbalances are a combination of political (war), labor market and cultural reasons.

TABLE 1.1.5:   The ten largest groups of foreign citizens in Sweden, 2005

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

Source: Statistics Sweden, 2006

If we compare the figures in table 1.1.4 and 1.1.5, we see that the figures in table 1.4 are higher than in table 1.1.5, which means that many people born outside of Sweden have acquired Swedish citizenship. Thus, almost 100 000 Finnish immigrants have changed citizenship. We also see that the source countries are roughly the same in both tables if we take into account the political split up of Yugoslavia. Only Turkey, Great Britain and Northern Ireland differentiate the two tables. Thus, the tables give a good picture of the ethnic make up of immigrants in Sweden. We can see that the Nordic countries in the order Finland – Norway – Denmark are the largest source of immigration. Immigrants from the Nordic countries are followed by immigrants from former Yugoslavia (including Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo). In third place we have people from Iraq and Iran and in fourth place people from Baltic neighbors like Poland and Germany. Thus, the largest groups of immigrants in Sweden come from:

1.   The Nordic countries (Finland – Norway – Denmark)
2.   Former Yugoslavia
3.   Iraq and Iran
4.   Baltic neighbors, Germany and Poland

The imbalance of gender noted in table 1.1.4 (and earlier in table 1.1.3), reappears in table 1.1.5. There are more women than men who are Finnish, Norwegian and Polish citizens and more men than women who are Iraqi, Danish and British citizens. Largely speaking interest in retaining foreign citizenship is more or less proportional to the number of persons born outside Sweden in the group, so if there are a large number of persons born outside of Sweden in a group, there will also be a large number of persons of the same group who wish to retain their original citizenship. This is true for example for Finnish, Norwegian and Polish women. In some cases, however there has been a shift so that more German women than German men and more Iranian men than women have wished to acquire Swedish citizenship.

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

2. PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS, INCLUDING EDUCATION

2.1 Cultural Diversity in the Private Sector

Let us start by presenting some general information on companies in the private sector in Sweden. We also refer the reader to the case studies conducted in the private sector in PART 2, sections 7. Exchange Bank and 8. Retail Shop.

2.1.1 Small companies

The following information is based on "Fakta om små och stora företag 2006", from Företagarna, an NGO for company owners: "In the Swedish private sector, there are 679 700 active companies (excl. agriculture), which employ approximately 2.7 million individuals. 99.2% of these companies have less than 50 employees and they comprise in all ca 1.4 million employees. Small companies are thus Sweden's major employers and represent 52% of the employment within the private sector, and almost a third of the total employment. Seven out of ten Swedish companies are one-person businesses. By the end of 2005, the number of one-person businesses amounted to ca 496 372" (Företagarna, 2007:3)

"In all business sectors, small companies with less than fifty employees make up over 96% of the total number of companies. Their domination is particularly predominant in the sectors *other services, construction and banking/commissioning (uppdrag).* In these business sectors companies with more than 49 employees only constitute 0.2 to 0.5% of the total number of companies. The highest amounts of companies with more than 49 employees are found in the business sectors *production* and *electricity, gas and water.* In these sectors, companies with more than 49 employees constitute 3.1 % and 1.5% respectively. The number of one-person-companies, i.e. companies without employees (seven out of ten companies) is highest in the business sectors *other services,* roughly 82%, and *electricity, gas and water*, 80%" (Företagarna, 2007:7. Our translation).

"Six out of ten companies work within the service sector, ca 460 000 companies. 99.4 % of the service companies have less than 50 employees. *Commissioning (uppdragsverksamhet)* is the single largest business sector within the private service sector, comprising 36% of all companies, followed by *retail trade,* which comprises 13% of the companies and *wholesale trade/mediation of goods,* 10%. These business sectors also have the largest number of employees." (Företagarna, 2007:9. Our translation).

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

TABLE 1.2.1: Companies in Swedish economy 2002

Per size class, amounts in million SEK

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

Source: SCB. Our translation.

2.1.2 Foreign owned companies

The total number of foreign owned companies amounted to 10 435 in 2005, comprising 557 496 employees in Sweden in 2005. (Utlandsägda företag 2005, ITPS; Foreign owned companies 2005, Swedish Institute for Growth Policy Studies). Thus, foreign owned companies accounts for slightly over 20% of the total employment. This may be compared to the state owned companies in Sweden which comprise a total of 190 000 employees (Annual report State owned companies 2005).

The EU-countries still dominate the foreign ownership, while USA is the single largest ownership country with 106 607 employees, followe by Great Britain with 64 845 employees and Finland with 57 370 employees. Norway is the largest ownership country regarding number of companies owned. (Utlandsägda företag 2005, ITPS).

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

2.1.3 Blue collar and white collar jobs

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

Workers Union (16%) and the Industrial Union (21%) than in the white-collar unions Industritjänstemän, SIF (7%) and Civil Engineers´ Union (9%).

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

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

Figure 1.2.1 below presents an overview of members of foreign descent in the blue-collar union LO and the white collar unions TCO and SACO. Here we also see that approximately one fifth of the Swedish work force is of foreign descent (19%).

FIGURE 1.2.1:   Percentage of members of foreign descent in the trade unions LO, TCO and SACO.
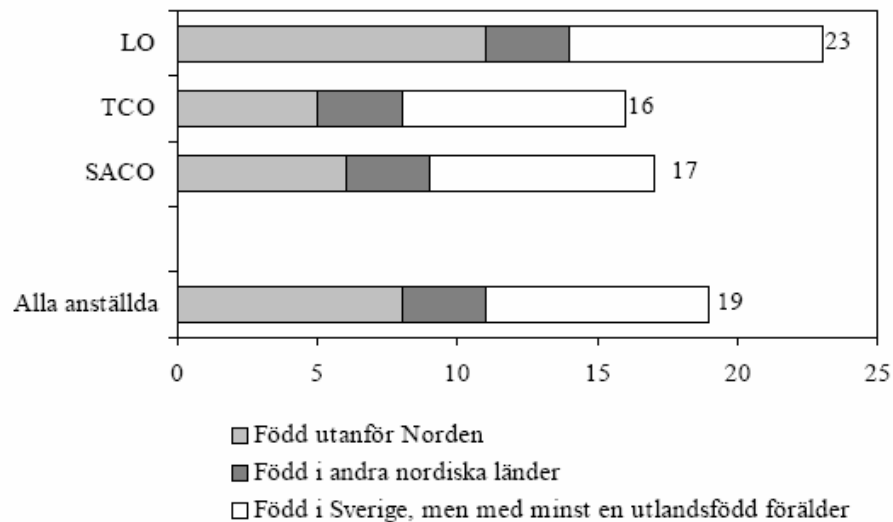
Translation: Alla anställda: all employees, Född utanför Norden: Born outside the Nordic countries, Född i andra nordiska länder: Born in other Nordic countries (except Sweden), Född i Sverige, men med minst en utlandsfödd förälder: Born in Sweden but with at least one foreign born parent.
Source: LO report Integration 2004

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

2.1.4 Different sectors of employment

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

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

Table 1.2.2 and figure 1.2.2 below show the percentage of members of foreign descent of the LO-sections.

TABLE 1.2.2: Members of foreign descent of different LO-sections (%).
First quarter 2004

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

*) Övriga Europa, USA, Kanada, Japan, Australien eller Nya Zeeland
Källa: LO-bearbetningar av SCBs arbetskraftsundersökning första kvartalet 2004

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

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

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

FIGURE 1.2.2: Members of foreign descent of different LO-sections (%). First quarter 2004
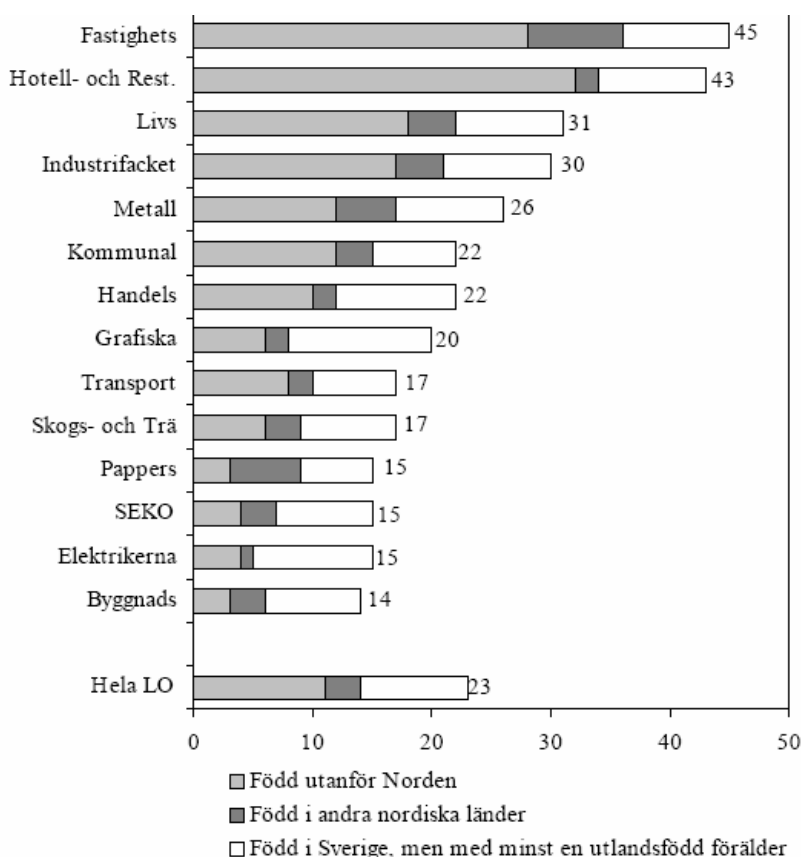
Translation: Född utanför Norden: Born outside of the Nordic countries, Född i andra nordiska länder: Born in the Nordic countries outside of Sweden, Född i Sverige, men med minst en utlandsfödd förälder: Born in Sweden with at least one foreign born parent.

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

Table 1.2.3 below shows that among LO members more members of foreign descent than born Swedes have a temporary form of employment. The highest share is found among the members born outside Europe. Among the Nordic immigrants, Finnish immigrants working in industries have typically been living in Sweden longer than ten years and make a stable minority. Other immigrant groups in industries are in process of becoming established minorities.

TABLE 1.2.3:   Temporary employment. Female and male members of LO (%).

_____

	Women	Men
Born in Sweden		
Two parents born in Sweden	15	9
One foreign born in parent	18	8
Two foreign born parents	26	11
All born in Sweden	15	9
Born in the Nordic countries (except Sweden)		
Minimum 10 years in Sweden	10	6
Maximum 9 years in Sweden	-[4]	-[5]
Born in Europe (except Nordic countries) a.o.[6]		
Minimum 10 years in Sweden	16	11
Maximum 9 years in Sweden	29	19
Born in other countries (except Europe a.o)[7]		
Minimum 10 years in Sweden	32	16
Maximum 9 years in Sweden	31 [8]	27 [9]
All (irrespective of country of origin)	**16**	**9**

(Source: LO report Integration 2004)

2.1.5 Regional differences

The LO report also indicates regional differences. There are many workers of foreign descent in all regions, but the highest percentage by far is to be found in the region of

_____

[4] Too small number in the selection

[5] Too small number in the selection

[6] Europe (except Nordic countries), USA, Canada, Japan, Australia or New Zealand.

[7] Europe (except Nordic countries), USA, Canada, Japan, Australia or New Zealand.

[8] Calculated average for the first quarter of 2002 and 2003.

[9] Calculated average for the first quarter of 2002 and 2003.

Stockholm. In the regions of Göteborg and Malmö the percentage is above average as well.

Figure 1.2.3 shows the amount of workers of foreign descent in the sectors of industrial production, construction, whole sale and retail, other private services and the public sector, divided on the three cities Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö and the whole country. As we can see, in the sectors considered here, there are more foreign workers in Stockholm than in the other three regions.

FIGURE 1.2.3:   Workers of foreign descent. Per cent
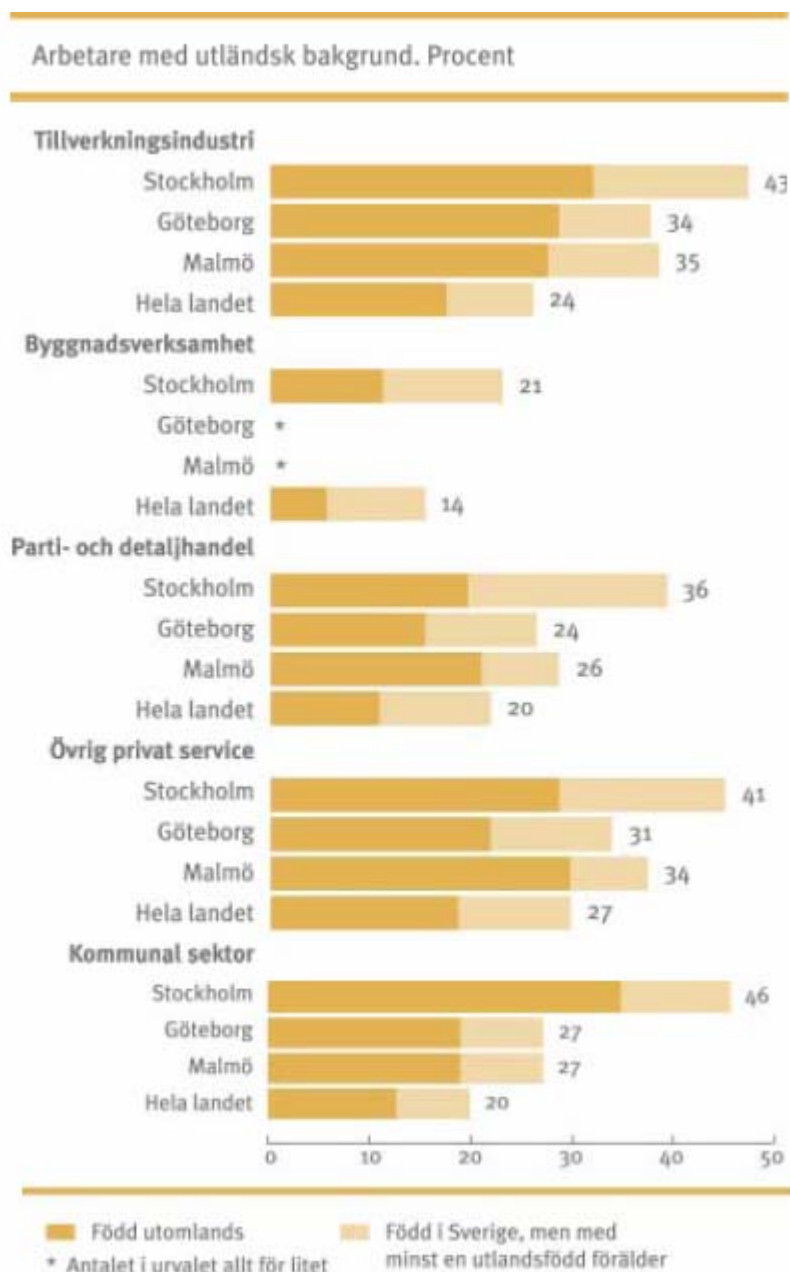
Arbetare med utländsk bakgrund. Procent

Tillverkningsindustri
Stockholm 43
Göteborg 34
Malmö 35
Hela landet 24

Byggnadsverksamhet
Stockholm 21
Göteborg *
Malmö *
Hela landet 14

Parti- och detaljhandel
Stockholm 36
Göteborg 24
Malmö 26
Hela landet 20

Övrig privat service
Stockholm 41
Göteborg 31
Malmö 34
Hela landet 27

Kommunal sektor
Stockholm 46
Göteborg 27
Malmö 27
Hela landet 20

■ Född utomlands   Född i Sverige, men med
* Antalet i urvalet allt för litet   minst en utlandsfödd förälder

2.1.6   Private business owners

As we have already noted, statistics from the Swedish Integration Board indicate that private business owners are more common among immigrants than among people born in Sweden. Approximately every tenth private business owner is born outside Sweden. Among foreign born men and women 11.8% and 5.4% are private business owners, compared to men and women born in Sweden; 9.9 and 4.5% respectively. Among men born in Asia private business owners are even more common - one fifth are private business owners (www.integrationsverket.se).

Statistics also show that private business owners born outside the Nordic countries have fewer employees compared to those born in Sweden or in other Nordic countries. Among the private business owners born outside the Nordic countries only 15 % have employees. The reasons as to why solo companies are so common and why immigrant private business owners are reluctant to employ other staff need to be further explored (Granér, 2006). See also PART 2, section 8. CASE STUDY: Retail Shop.

A higher level of education among foreign born private business owners

Foreign born private business owners (45-64 years of age) have a higher level of education compared to those born in Sweden, both men and women. Among foreign born men (45-64 years of age) 28% have a tertiary education, while the corresponding figures for those of the same age born in Sweden amount to 20%. The same pattern is observed among women, where the corresponding figures amount to 34% among foreign born of the same age, and 27% for those born in Sweden. (www.integrationsverket.se)

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

Foreign born private business owners are represented within practically all sectors, but there are considerable differences between domestic born and foreign born in terms of sectors of representation. In the agricultural and construction sectors foreign born are

clearly underrepresented, whereas they are overrepresented in the personal service sector (women), and trade and communication sectors (men) (www.integrationsverket.se)

Length of residence an important factor

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

2.1.7   Diversity strategies as business strategies

In the private sector, diversity strategies gain more legitimacy, and more people think that there are advantages in recruiting persons who have different cultural backgrounds in order to reach a wider circle of customers or visitors. Jeanette Ohlsson who works as a "cultural link" in Malmö, thinks that it takes both commitment and good will and that the process needs to be given time in order for results to follow later on. Values originate in society, not in a single workplace, but good models values and opinions can be influenced and spread throughout society. Many employers have already arrived at the view that a segregated labor market is simply too unprofitable (personal communication with Jeanette Ohlsson, "Malmö i Nya Europa", MINE, June 8 2005).

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

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

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

The two case studies that the Swedish EIW-team has carried out in the private sector also illustrate two well-functioning intercultural workplaces (c.f. PART 2, sections 6. Exchange Bank and 7. Retail Shop).

2.1.8 Examples of good practice

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

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

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

DISI – Diversity in the Swedish Industry – is a diversity project aiming to promote competition in Swedish industry through increased diversity within the companies. The goal is to create conditions to take advantage of the employees' many different perspectives and experiences. DISI focuses on changing values and attitudes in diversity

issues among management executives in the participating companies. (http://extra.ivf.se/disi/disi.htm)

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

2.1.9 Summary

New statistics are continuously being presented regarding the labor market, and the present trend is that immigrants are transferring from industries to the service sector. The share with a foreign background is definitely the highest within housing (cleaning, window cleaning and maintenance) as well as in the restaurant and hotel sector. The structural discrimination of immigrated manpower is also clearly noticeable in the fact that immigrants have the highest rate of temporary employment (see table 1.2.3).

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

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

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

2.2 Cultural Diversity in the Public Sector

2.2.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

equal opportunities, social services and – in Sweden's northern most counties – matters pertaining to the region's reindeer and mountains.

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

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

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

2.2.2 Cultural diversity in the public agencies

Naturally, all society's sectors and authorities are influenced by the fact that Sweden's population is becoming increasingly culturally heterogeneous. New legislation, new authorities, inquiries and thus new duties and requirements on information have appeared. However, new statistics show that when it comes to meeting the demands of the policy for diversity, integration and equality, Swedish authorities are not very active. This is so, in spite of the fact that one of the most urgent duties of Integrationsverket, the Swedish Integration Board, according the Government, is to try to persuade all state authorities to take real responsibility and to work in agreement with the goals of the integration policies.

The Swedish Integration Board has surveyed and analyzed how 17 public agencies have implemented the Government's decision to prepare plans of action for promoting the ethnic

and cultural diversity among their employees. The board has also analyzed what significance these plans have had to promote diversity and counteract discrimination in job recruitment, promotion and other activities within the authority.

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

In recent years, however, ethnic diversity among employees in the public sector has been slowly increasing in most areas. In 2005, 8.9 % of the staff employed on a monthly basis by the state were born outside Sweden. The percentage is 10.8 % if we also include persons born in Sweden with both parents born outside Sweden. Among the newly employed by the state in 2005, 15.4 % had foreign background[10]. These figures may be compared to the share of the population in the age span 20-64 years old with foreign background, which in 2005 amounted to 18.4 percent (Swedish Agency for Government Employers 2005).

Table 1.2.4 below shows the share of state employees with foreign background in 2005 and 2004. We notice that there are large variations between the different areas. The universities are rich in diversity with 18.3 %, while justice, defense, and infrastructure, so far have been less open to diversity.

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[10] Foreign background refers both to persons born outside of Sweden and persons born in Sweden with both parents born outside of Sweden.

Table 1.2.4: Share of employees with foreign background in different areas of National administration in 2005 and 2004 (%)

Share of employees with foreign background in State administration	2005 (%)	2004 (%)
Universities, University colleges, Research	18.3	18.1
Culture	12.3	12.1
Working life, Care, Education	12.0	11.7
Environment, Technology, Agriculture	9.6	9.2
Economy	9.0	8.7
Regional administrative boards and Government offices	7.6	7.7
Commission agencies (Uppdragsmyndigheter)	7.2	7.0
Judicial authorities and military defense	5.9	5.7
Government business agencies and Infrastructure	5.7	5.6
Overall average	10.8	10.6

(Figures obtained from Arbetsgivarverket, Swedish Agency for Government Employers. 2005.)

As has been stated earlier, today Swedish employers have to establish diversity plans which, among other things, are to serve as an aid when it comes to every day work and in recruiting new employees.

The Integration Board inquiry (Rundqvist 2004) deems that the plans of action regarding contents are weak and that persons with immigrant background still are largely underrepresented in staff, mainly when it comes to chief positions. Thus the authorities have a long way to go when it comes to achieving the guidelines of the integration policy, where the government is supposed to act as a role model when it comes to ethnic diversity.

In 2005, DO (the ombudsman against discrimination) scrutinized how 29 public authorities worked with preventive measures against discrimination in their organizations. They wanted to find out to what extent the authorities abide by the law against ethnic and religious discrimination. The major flaws discovered concerned working conditions and harassments. Flaws were also found regarding recruitment and follow-up of their work. (Välkommen till staten? (Welcome to the state?) DO, 2006:29) Only 2 of the 29 government authorities were estimated to fully follow the law in their plans at the first

scrutiny (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen and Högskoleverket). The others have complemented and/or received help in order to improve their action plans (diversity plans). 2 authorities have still not accepted action plans against discrimination: Rikspolisstyrelsen and Försvarsmakten (Välkommen till staten? (Welcome to the state?) DO, 2006:27-29)

Below we will present some parts of the Swedish Integration Board's report 2004:05. It examines the situation within the municipal sector regarding diversity and integration.

2.2.3   The local public sector (communes)

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

The goal of the Swedish Integration Board is for the report to be used as a starting point in making the continued work for increased ethnic diversity in the municipalities more efficient. In all 122 persons in various positions, such as municipal managers, personnel managers, municipal commissioners and civil servants have been interviewed. About 70 per cent of Sweden's population with a foreign background lives in the 42 municipalities in question, of which 80 per cent are of working age (Bazrafshan, 2004:9).

There are great differences between the strategies for increased diversity of the municipalities. "However, what is typical for all the documents is that they mainly contain measures aiming to counteract negative attitudes or discriminating structures, for instance in the recruiting process. The purpose is to create a diversity-friendly organization, which in turn will lead to increased diversity among the employees. It is however only in a minority of the reviewed documents that qualitative strategies are combined with measurable goals

to increase the share of employees with a foreign background" (Bazrafshan 2004:9. Our translation).

Almost none of the municipalities state sanctions against discrimination due to gender, ethnicity, sexual preference or functional disability. The city of Kalmar is the only municipality that in its diversity plan recommends threats of notice if someone discriminates or harasses others. Four documents contain propositions suggesting that the municipalities prepare an anti-discrimination clause as a basis for ordering goods and services. Three municipalities suggest positive special treatment of applicants with immigrant background, in cases where there are several candidates with equal competence (Bazrafshan, 2004:10).

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

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

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

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

2.2.4 The Health Service

The medical workplace

The medical workplace in Sweden, no longer is as homogenous as it was a decade ago. The structure with male doctors and female nurses, staff nurses and orderlies, all with Swedish-sounding names, does not exist to the same extent anymore. It has been replaced by diversity when it comes to gender and country of origin, in all professions. What does this mean? For more detailed information we refer the reader to PART 2, section 2. CASE STUDY: Health care.

The new heterogeneous work force creates challenges related to cultural differences which affect work life, for instance conflict resolution, differences in viewing the power distance between superiors and subordinates, attitudes regarding work, work environment, expectations concerning conduct, attitudes, socially acceptable standards and principles, etc. Cultural and linguistic problems also affect the situation and communication. In this connection, it is important to remember that the cultural composition of patients has

changed in the same way that the cultural make up of medical personnel has changed. Old hierarchies are questioned and replaced by new ones. For example, there is research showing that there are differences in the treatment of female and male doctors when it comes to respect and what kind of help they receive from the nurses. These differences are even greater if the doctor comes from a foreign country. Thus, besides the ethnic cultural perspective, in many cases, there is also the gender perspective to consider.

Diversity plans and diversity regulations regulate work and workplaces, if not in reality at least in theory. Personnel inquiries are common when trying to find out what works and what issues could be handled in a better way. One thing that stands out as a problem in the integration process, not least in Swedish medical care, is the lack of cultural understanding when it comes to, among other things, attitudes to diseases, death, medication and symptoms. The more knowledge both counterparts have about the other party, the greater the chances for successful communication, both between patient and personnel and between different groups of staff.

A recent inquiry (c.f. Berbyuk, Allwood and Edebäck 2005) regarding communication in Swedish medical care shows that the majority of Swedish staff are content with the communication they have with their foreign colleagues. However, it also shows areas that can be improved through further integration and tolerance. The inquiry shows it is mostly the female respondents who are discontent with the way communication works and who also, more than males, notice that misunderstandings occur at work both with colleagues and patients. There are several explanations for this. One factor is the cultural background of the male and the female respondents, i.e. which cultural characteristics dominate and how easily they therefore adapt to the structure present in Swedish medical care. Another factor is related to what men and women want to get out of communication and what men and women in general believe is good communication. It may also depend upon the fact that it is more difficult for a foreign female doctor (the inquiry was directed towards foreign doctors) to be accepted in a predominantly female workplace (Berbyuk Lindström, forthcoming).

Recruitment of physicians

A number of projects have been initiated to manage the need for medical personnel, especially for physicians, which exists in Sweden today. The ambition has been to recruit

doctors who are already residing in Sweden but who do not hold Swedish certification. Municipalities and regional councils have also gone abroad to recruit personnel. A collaboration project which has acted to facilitate access to the Swedish labor market is Legitimation.nu (Registered Professions) – a project running between 2003 and 2005, working to speed up the possibilities of gaining Swedish medical certification and the process of integration for foreign medical personnel. The project has offered Swedish language courses with medical terminology, occupational training, preparation for medical knowledge tests, compilation of resumes and competence profiles, validation of professional skills, as well as professional guidance. The road to a Swedish professional certification and eligibility for persons with a non-European degree in the health sector has been shortened significantly and the competence of the target group has been taken care of to a great extent. Registered Professions is a joint project involving Universities/University Colleges in Western Sweden, the County Labor Board in Västra Götaland, the Validation Center in the Göteborg Region and Region Västra Götaland. The project has received financial support from the Swedish government and the County Labor Board in Västra Götaland. At present, the project lives on in the form of a collaborative network. It would be desirable if funds could be found allowing the project to live on as a permanent operation, as the operation means a safeguarding of resources of great personal relevance for many individuals as well as for society as a whole. Currently, developmental work is being carried out in the so called validation field, which is trying to find functioning methods to measure real competence. This is a collaborative project with the following participants: the Validation Center of the Gothenburg Region, the Västra Götaland Region and the Sahlgrenska Academy.

2.2.5 The Police

The increased ethnic diversity in society is not reflected in the staff make up of the police force to a very large extent. 3.1 percent of the Swedish Police staff are immigrants, and 1.8 percent of the police academy students[11].This is being noticed by the National Police Board, and in several of the police departments around the country, work has begun to change this.

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[11] The share of police officers and civil employees who were born in Sweden and have two parents born outside Sweden is 2.3%; and with only one parent born outside Sweden 7.3%. The share of police academy students who were born in Sweden with two parents born outside Sweden is 3.8%, and with only one parent born outside Sweden 7.7%. (Swedish Police Service Annual Report 2006)

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

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

In the information folder "Polisyrket – något för dig?" ("The police profession – something for you?") the National Police Board informs candidates about which requirements apply for admission to the police academy and states that they welcome applicants with an ethnic or cultural background other than Swedish and that they also want more women to apply. Academic studies, further knowledge in languages, work experience and knowledge of other cultures are considered to be extra merits.
(www.polisen.se/inter/mediacache/4347/4637/Polisrekrytering2005.pdf)

The police recruitment in Malmö has, among other things, initiated collaboration with the Employment Agency and the adult educational association Eductus and the European Social Fund concerning unemployed persons with a foreign background with an interest in police work. The cooperation, knick-named "Utryckningen" ("The operation") is a preparatory 5 month course, aiming at increased possibilities of admission to the police academy for unemployed persons with foreign background. The course contains 200 hours of language studies, physical training and lectures by the police.

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

2.2.6 Good practice

As we have seen, there are several projects aiming to increase the ethnic diversity in the Swedish public sector. Two good examples of this are the collaboration projects *Legitimation.nu* (Registered Professions) (c.f. section 2.2.3) and "*Utryckningen*" *("The Operation")* (c.f. section 2.2.4). There are also several interesting initiatives aiming to increase consciousness regarding diversity issues and intercultural competence in different activities. An example of this is the educational program "*Integrationsmentorn*" ("*The Integration Mentor*"), which is a new university program run in collaboration between Region Västra Götaland, two Folk High Schools, Borås University College, and the Intercultural Resource Center in Western Sweden. It is a program with an inter-cultural perspective, intended as an in-service training for employees in different professional fields in the region where an increased competence in inter-cultural education is desirable in order to create better service for customers/clients of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and thereby contribute to the improvement of the integration process in the region. Examples of such professional fields are the employment center, banks and insurance companies, the National Social Insurance Office, schools, child and geriatric care, social services and commerce.

2.2.7 Summary

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

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

Medical care is the part of the public sector which seems to have come the furthest in the integration process when it comes to education, recruitment and employment of a workforce with a foreign background, managing positions being the exception – similar to other sectors this area lack persons with a foreign background. For more details on the multicultural medical workplace we refer to the case study in PART 2, section 2, and on the intercultural policiary workplace we refer to the case studies in sections 3 and 4.

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

2.3   Cultural Diversity in Education

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

2.3.1   Primary Education

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

- Finnish
- Albanian
- English
- Persian
- Turkish
- Kurdish
- Somali

Table 1.2.5 below shows the amount of students participating in mother tongue training. There we can see that participation is high in major languages such as Arabic but low in smaller languages and among pupils with Finnish and English as their first language.

TABLE 1.2.5: The ten largest mother tongues in compulsory school, October 15 2004 (Source: Swedish National Agency for Education, Skolverket Rapport 265, 2005)

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

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

There are large Finnish speaking populations in the regions of Mälar valley around Stockholm, Göteborg, and near the Finnish border in Torne valley. Of the five national minority languages in Sweden, Finnish has the largest amount of speakers. In the fall and spring semester 1999/2000, Finnish mother tongue training in compulsory school was offered in 111 out of 289 communes in Sweden, and education in Finnish at eight Swedish-Finnish private schools, as well as for a few students in some ten other private schools. The other four national minority languages in Sweden are Sami, meänkieli (a Finnic language in Torne valley in the north of Sweden), Romani chib and Yiddish. (Skolverket, 2001).

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

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

of economic resources. There are still schools offering a bilingual education, but the number of schools is reduced.

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

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

However, according to a report from Skolverket (2001), all the national minorities have been and to some extent still are subject of discrimination. Even if this is no longer in accordance with the official policy, the majority society exerts an assimilation pressure on the individuals within the minority groups. At school, this is expressed in the discrepancy between the jurisdiction which grants pupils from ethnic minorities support in their development of mother tongue proficiency and cultural identity, and the limited opportunities actually offered to the majority of these pupils.[12]

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[12] An important milestone for the national minorities in Sweden is the Swedish government's ratification of the European framework convention on the protection of national minorities and the European regulation on regional and minority languages. The conventions took effect on June 1, 2000 for Sweden's part, and this means that the national minority issues are thereafter regulated by internationally firm commitments. The aim of the conventions is to guarantee an effective protection for the national minorities and the rights of members of the minorities (SOU 1997:192 and Government bill 1998/99:143 on national minorities in Sweden). The ratification means a reorientation in the Swedish official attitude to the historic minorities. As a critical remark we may observe that there are only a few concrete measures in the area of education. Sweden has shown a low level of ambition as regards the teaching of the minority languages at school. This has had a negative impact, for example, on the education in Finnish, especially when at the same time many Finnish parents have had a negative attitude to the teaching of Finnish to their children (Huss & Spiliopoulou Åkermark 2005).

The right to mother tongue support and training also comprise children in child care/kindergarten and pre-school. There the mother tongue teacher visits once a week, and stays between two and six hours. However, according to the Swedish National Agency for School Improvement (2006), in reality only 10% of the children receive the mother tongue support that they are entitled to, and the share of children receiving mother tongue support varies a lot between different local communes.

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

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

acquisition of knowledge and languages. It would also facilitate the school entry of newly arrived pupils and contacts with their parents (Hallandsposten, 21st of Feb. 2005).

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

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

2.3.2 Secondary Education

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

2.3.3 Cultural background of teachers in primary and secondary school

The cultural composition of students and parents has changed to a much larger extent than has the composition of teachers in compulsory school and upper-secondary school. The majority of the foreign born teachers work as mother tongue teachers, and it is rare to find foreign born teachers in compulsory school teaching subjects such as Swedish and social studies. At upper secondary school, it seems somewhat more common to find foreign born teachers in "non-linguistic" fields such as mathematics and physics (C.f. PART 2, Section 5 CASE STUDY: High School).

In 1977 mother tongue teacher training programs started at university level in Sweden. Many teachers holding a foreign teacher's degree have attended these programs, and now work as mother tongue teachers. To many teachers with a foreign teacher training, the journey towards an employment in the Swedish school system seems too long and uncertain. Many are discouraged by the thought of years of complementary studies

financed with study loans, especially in relation to the uncertainty of future employment opportunities. Therefore, to work as substitutes is an option for many (Bredänge, 2003).

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

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

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

2.3.4 Impact of government policies

Educational institutions are one of the main arenas for the implementation of government policies, and the national curricula are the government's principal tool for the implementation of political ideology in the educational sector. The national curricula depict the ideological visions, the requested values and aims that the schools are to obtain within

the educational system. The pedagogical staff is required to interpret the goals and ideals, formulate local syllabi and turn these into practice in their daily work in the class room.

The national curriculum states common fundamental values (värdegrund) that all education should be based on, as well as express and transmit. These values are based on a profound respect for the uniqueness and equal value of each individual. The values in question are democracy, respect for each individual's intrinsic value, respect for the common environment, the integrity of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, the equal worth of every human being, the equality between men and women and solidarity with vulnerable and exposed people, which in accordance with the ethics of a Christian tradition and western humanism, are to be developed through the fostering of the individuals towards a sense of justice, generosity, tolerance and sense of responsibility.

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

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

"Cultural diversity" is mentioned in the 1994 curriculum for the compulsory school, Lpo 94. It states that "[the] internationalization of the Swedish society and the growing transnational mobility entail high demands on people's ability to live with and realize the values residing

in cultural diversity. Awareness of the own cultural heritage as well as participation in the common cultural heritage gives a confident identity which is important to develop, along with the ability to understand and enter into the conditions and values of others. The school is a social and cultural meeting place which both has opportunities and responsibility for strengthening this ability in all those working there" (our translation). In the 1994 national curriculum for the non-compulsory school, Lpf 94, "cultural diversity" is mentioned once: "The international perspective also includes the development of understanding of the cultural diversity within the country" (our translation).

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

2.3.5 Swedish language skills

In her thesis (2003), Runfors points out the work of Hosseini-Kaladjahi (2002 and 1998), who, I quote, "has analyzed a number of integration programmes and integration projects of the 1990s and who analyzes the assumptions they are based on. Segregation is perceived as a consequence of high unemployment, while unemployment is perceived as a consequence of lacking competence among "immigrants", especially proficiency in Swedish. Lack of competence is in turn perceived as a consequence of segregation - as a consequence of lack of dealings with "Swedes". Lack of contact with "Swedes" and the thereof following lack of competence and language skills contribute according to these assumptions to further unemployment. The main strategy in the integration programs is to increase the competence among "immigrants". Further, this competence, in local action plans and projects, often was concretized as proficiency in Swedish. The strategy thus became to increase language proficiency among the "immigrants.
This system of descriptions, which really are assumptions, of the situation in "Swede scarce" suburban areas thus forms a model *of* reality, which in turn constitutes the

foundation for a model *for* reality - the foundation for outlined actions and solutions. A complex of social issues was hereby translated to a specific problem, where "good Swedish" stands out as the utmost concretization of actions promoting integration.

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

2.3.6 Good practice

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

An example worth mentioning is the city investment initiative called Storstadssatsningen 2000-2005, decided on by the government in 1999. The initiative focused on seven communes in the regions of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö characterized by among other things high unemployment, low participation in elections, and a broad cultural diversity. The initiative contributed large investments aiming at increasing the level of democracy, increasing employment and altering segregation. The educational sector was one of targeted areas and seems to be one of the most successful. A considerable amount of the activities were aimed at children's' language development and amelioration of school results. These have been judged relevant and will continue within the ordinary school activities in the coming years. The good practice examples below reflect three aspects of the initiative made in the educational sector on primary level. The information is based on the evaluation of the initiative Storstadssatsningen in Göteborg (Bak et al. 2004).

2.3.6.1 Competence development of preschool personnel

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

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

2.3.6.2 The Language and book-projects

The work with the Language (mainly Swedish so far) and book-projects in the multicultural schools, in the suburban areas, has thoroughly increased the pupils' language development and should remain a permanent part of the pedagogical activities. The combination of language development and reading, in combination with intensive work in conversation, by means of a respectful dialogue, has contributed to the creation of conditions enhancing democracy. The combination of many books, a skilled and pedagogical librarian has had a major impact on the pupils reading activities, as well as on and the teachers' use of reading as a major pedagogical part of the education. An intensive pedagogical work filled with pleasant reading of fiction is a useful instrument in promoting children's reading skills and language acquisition, particularly in schools with multilingual

children. As a consequence of the project, the school library has become a creative meeting place for both pupils and teachers. The language and book-projects have increased both boys and girls desire to read, but the increased interest has been most notable among boys. The reading activities have been combined with an analysis of language development, offering the teachers a focus on the bilingual children's positive language development and language acquisition process, which also has facilitated discussions with parents about their children's language progress (Bak et al. 2004).

At Bergsgårdsskolan the language and book project has been permanented and further extended. A librarian assistant has been employed, the opening hours have been extended and more books, particularly in Swedish easy to read, have been purchased. As a result, it has become increasingly popular among the pupils to borrow books in the school library and many of the pupils have enhanced their reading ability (Personal interview with Katarina Herthelius, school librarian at Bergsgårdsskolan in Hjällbo, Göteborg, 22 November 2006).

2.3.6.3 Open meeting places and the engagement of parents

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

2.3.7 Sfi- Swedish for adult immigrants

There are a number of educational institutions for adults in Sweden, such as Sfi (Swedish for immigrants), municipal adult education (Komvux), adult education for adults with learning disabilities (Särvux), vocational training courses (arbetsmarknadsutbildningar), various educational associations (studieförbund), as well as folk high schools

(folkhögskolor) and also universities and university colleges (högskolor). Below we will first present some information on Sfi (Swedish for immigrants) and then briefly describe the situation at the university level.

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

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

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

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

In 1994 Sfi became part of the 1994 national curriculum (Lpf 94), and since then national tests are conducted and the students receive grades. In 1997, the Swedish National

Agency for Education presented the report "Vem älskar sfi?" ("Who loves Sfi?"), which was followed by the latest reorganization of Sfi in 2003. Then Sfi received a new course plan consisting of several study paths, enabling a combination of Sfi with vocational training, stages or work, depending on the students' educational background and their plans for the future.

In 2002-2003, the Swedish National Agency for Education organized in-service training at university level for ca 750 Sfi-teachers in Swedish as a second language, didactics and methods, and also supported the development of new forms of cooperation and teaching methods in cooperation with among other the National centre for Swedish as a second language. Skolverket, 2003).

The priority given to Sfi-teachers was most welcome, because a large number of Sfi-teachers have not completed the required one year university course in Swedish as a second language, and most Sfi-teachers are still in need of a broad competence development. Today, approximately 80 per cent of the Sfi-teachers have a pedagogical education (Skolverket, 2005). In addition, in smaller communes, the Sfi-teachers often also lack colleagues. An additional difficulty lies in the limited economic budgets of the local communes, and therefore in-service training is mostly not prioritized (Skolverket, 2003).

The Sfi-teachers' task is a challenging one, given the fact that Sfi-students may vary in age, level of education, experiences, language skills, health and aims of study. "Within Sfi we find young people as well as senior citizens, professors and analphabets, war disabled, disabled, persons with learning difficulties, and newly arrived persons as well as participants who have resided in Sweden since long. The Sfi-teachers have to be able to meet all these individuals and offer them the support they need. In order to do so the teachers are not only required to have knowledge of Swedish as a second language and civics, but must also be able to cooperate with various functionaries in the municipalities, for example the employment agency, the municipal refugee coordination, social services, NGO's, training work places, and other adult educational institutions. All this requires a very broad competence" (Skolverket, 2003. p. 11).

Most refugees receive 3 hours daily Swedish language training during their first year in Sweden, together with other immigrants. However, in order to speed up the language

acquisition and integration process, the language studies need to be combined with work place training. To date, the cooperation between local actors in order to provide access to work places has not been sufficient, and must be extended in the future. The latest reorganization of sfi in January 2007 can be seen as a step in this direction.

2.3.8   Third Level Education

2.3.8.1   Introduction

There are 61 program providers offering academic programs in Sweden (universities, university colleges and independent educational institutions). 36 of the universities and tertiary institutions in Sweden are state-run and offer students specific programs or individual courses of study. The universities and university colleges are located in more than 20 towns and cities across the country. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education, 43% per cent of the students continued on to study at the tertiary level within three years of completing upper secondary school in 2002 (Skolverket, 2005).

2.3.8.2   The background of students and staff

Recruitment to tertiary education is socially uneven. The probability for an individual with a white collar background to enter university is six to seven times higher compared to an individual with a blue collar background. However, half of the university students are first generation academics, while the other half are of academic background. So, universities in Sweden are both arena for social mobility, as well as for academic reproduction. The prevailing studies all highlight social background as the determining factor (SOU 2000:47).

The cultural background of students

During the academic year 2004–05 16.400 students from countries outside of Sweden were new enrolments in undergraduate programs, thus constituting 20 % of the total number of new enrolments. More than half of them took part in student exchanges within the Erasmus programme or through bilateral agreements between tertiary education institutions in Sweden and abroad. Since 1996 the share of students from other countries has risen from 9 % to 20 % of all new enrolments. In postgraduate programmes, 20 % of all new enrolments also come from other countries, however most of them stay for a longer

time, finishing their education in Sweden. (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education Annual Report 2006)

However foreign non-immigrant students (Erasmus) have a high share of the enrolment, immigrant students and students born in Sweden with immigrant parents are neither underrepresented nor overrepresented among the new enrolments in tertiary education. There are, however, major differences found between different nationalities. Whereas Iranians and young people from western European countries are well represented, immigrants from African countries are significantly underrepresented. There are also major differences between programs. Health care and technology programs are more frequently selected among young people with foreign background compared to programs in humanities or social sciences. Dentistry, biomedical analysis, medicine and engineering are programs with large shares of students with foreign background. In recent years law programs have also attracted more students with immigrant background (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education Annual Report 2006).

Table 1.2.6 below shows the share of newly enroled students with foreign background at some of the universities and university colleges in Sweden. Notably, the Medical University Karolinska Institutet and the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm have a high share of new students with foreign background, whereas Chalmers a university of technology in Göteborg has a surprisingly low share. In order to attract more students with foreign background, students at Chalmers have been enrolled as "mentors", visiting schools in suburban areas in order to promote further studies among compulsory school pupils and high school students.

Table 1.2.6. Newly enroled students in tertiary education with foreign background 2005. %.

Sweden (total)	16
Uppsala University	17
Lund University	15
Göteborg University	16
Stockholm University	22
Umeå University	8
Linköping University	12
Medical University Karolinska Institutet	35
Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm	28
Chalmers University of Technology	11
Malmö University	23
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences	5
University College of Borås	20
University College of Dance	8
Royal College of Music	18
National Academy of Mime and Acting	11

(Source: Swedish National Agency for Higher Education Annual Report 2006)

The cultural background of personnel

The staff of universities and the university colleges in Sweden have the largest relative share of persons with foreign background in the entire public sector. In 2005 18.3 % of the staff at the universities and university colleges in Sweden had foreign background (10.800 employees) and there is a long university tradition of receiving guest researchers and encouraging international exchange (Swedish Agency for Government Employers, 2005).

Figures from 2005 show that 70 % of the university staff with foreign background is found in research and teaching, whereas they are underrepresented in management and administration (Swedish Agency for Government Employers, 2005).

As for the ethnic make-up of the university staff, figures from year 2000 (SOU 2000:47) indicate that 10 % of the university staff had foreign citizenship, compared to 5 % of the total population. Within the group of foreign born employees, there was a clear European dominance, whereas the group of Asia- and Africa-born was smaller within the university personnel compared to the total population. As far as we can see, this tendency still seems to hold.

2.3.8.3 Initiatives for increased diversity

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

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

(Mångfald i högskolan, 2000).

Legislation

Below follows legal acts on diversity pertaining to the university:

- the University Act (1992:1434) and University ordinance (1993:100)
- The Equal Treatment of Students at Universities Act (2001:1286)
- The Prohibition of Discrimination Act (2005:480)
- The Act on Measures against Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Ethnic, Origin, Religion or Belief (1999:130)
- The Prohibition of Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Disability Act (1999:132)

- The Act on a Ban against Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Sexual Orientation (1999:133)
- the Equal Opportunities Act (1991:433)

2.3.8.4 University based research on international migration and intercultural communication

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

IMER - International Migration and Ethnic Relations

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

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

Important Swedish IMER research topics:
- social welfare/policy and the social/human rights of immigrants
- legislation and international law;
- various aspects of labor market integration and working life;
- housing and segregation;
- language;

- health;

- gender issues and immigrant women;

- integration

- citizenship, identity and belonging;

- migration and globalization.

(Vasta et al. 2003:37)

To these topics we may also add more recent research on

- education

- structural discrimination

(personal communication with Kerstin von Brömssen, PhD, 19 December 2006).

Vasta et al. (2003:38) point out that, while immigrant integration and participation is well covered in the Swedish IMER research, there appears to be very little research on the 'integration' of Swedes into a multicultural society. An extension of this would include research on cultural relations between ethnic groups, including the Swedes. Since 2003, however, some development in this respect has taken place and research on for example on the housing strategies of the majority population has been conducted (personal communication with Kerstin von Brömssen, 19 December 2006).

Vasta et al. (2003:38) also point out the issue of racism/discrimination at the institutional level: "Although there is much on policy discrimination such as in housing segregation or institutional discrimination in the work place, the problem of institutional racism may need to be more clearly differentiated. For instance, there appears to be a need for more research on institutional racism in the bureaucracies including in the police, the universities, state and local government authorities, and the media. The links need to be made on how structural racism is informed by everyday racism."

In 2005 and 2006, however, Masoud Kamali, professor of sociology has written several government investigation reports on power, integration and structural discrimination in Sweden based on critical race theory. The reports (cf. http://www.sou.gov.se/maktintdiskrim/publikationer/index.htm) have created a vivid media debate, arousing both positive and negative reactions from researchers, politicians and others.

Research on Intercultural Communication

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

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

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

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

There is also the "Journal of Intercultural Communication", which is an electronic journal with peer review available at http://www.immi.se/intercultural/ It belongs to category A on the European ranking scale on academic journals.

The journal is run on 100% voluntary work, in cooperation with the Immigrant institute in Borås, Sweden. The journal works well and has a very large number of readers from all around the world. Statistics on the number of readers shows for example that in October

2006 there were 34 000 hits. The statistics are available at the website
http://www.immi.se/internetstatistik.htm

2.3.8.5 Good examples at the university

Student organizations

The students' union SFS has published a very good, practical and empowering handbook entitled "Handbok för kåraktiva. Att arbeta konkret för jämställdhet och mångfald i högskolan." which could be translated as "Manual for students active in the students' union. Equality and diversity work at the university in practice." It is focusing on how to work with ethnic diversity issues at the university in practice.

2.3.9 Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.   CONCLUSIONS

3.1 Integration and segregation

One of Sweden's main goals concerning the treatment of immigrants is "integration". Since what is meant by this goal is by no means clear, it quickly leads to the issue of what integration is and how it best should be achieved? It is probably safe to say that integration is not the same as "segregation", i.e. a society where immigrants live segregated from the majority population and from each other is not an integrated society. Such a society could

be a multicultural society but it would in this case be a segregated multicultural society rather than an integrated multicultural society. It is also probably safe to say that integration is not "assimilation", i.e. a society where all immigrants quickly loose their first language and culture, in order to learn and be assimilated into the culture and language of the majority population, is not an integrated multicultural society.

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

Thus, in (SOU 2004:73) it is stated that in the public sphere of the majority society, important areas for (integrated) participation are the labor market, the educational system, the organization activities and the political system. "Participation is an important prerequisite for integration. One reason for integration not being achieved may be the majority society hindering minorities from participating in the social life on equal terms. Discrimination is an example of such a hindrance. Another reason for insufficient integration may be that the minority does not accept the rules of the game decided on by the majority society, but instead tries to find solutions in terms of segregation or creation of a new mixed culture" (SOU 2004:73. p.15-16. Our translation).

"The point of departure for the Swedish integration policy is that all individuals shall have equal rights, possibilities and obligations. The Swedish Integration Board highlights the importance of access to employment in order for a good integration into the Swedish society to take place. Employment per se does not equal integration, but according to the board, it is through work that the individual receives the prerequisites of controlling his/her own life, and thereby obtains the possibility to participate in the society" (SOU 2004:73. p. 16. Our translation).

"In contrast to integration, segregation is characterized by separation from a whole. Segregation constitutes a test on the social solidarity within society. In its extreme form it may result in lack of interaction between different populations in society. Segregation may be defined as an attempt for the minority to keep traditional ways of living, values and norms within the private sphere, and at the same time reduce participation in the majority society's public sphere to a necessary minimum. Segregation may also be the result when the majority society, or parts of it, hinders the access of minority groups to essential resources in society such as education, work, housing and political influence (SOU 2004:73. p. 16. Our translation)[13].

Probably an increased awareness of prejudice and behaviors excluding outsiders is a first step on the road to increased cultural diversity, but even more, it is a matter of a will on the part of the majority population to let go of some power. The balance between well functioning integration in the labor market and support for ethnic and cultural diversity is difficult. Cultural and lingusitic diversity implies difficulties but at the same time, they imply extra available resources in Sweden, both for business and for social relations.

3.2 Means to achieve integration

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

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

Legislation can be used to introduce laws and regulations that support and facilitate integration or prevent and hinder discrimination and segregation. Education can be used to describe, analyze and explain phenomena related to multiculturalism as well as to give practical training in how to facilitate integration, how to make positive use of its consequences and how to prevent discrimination. Persuasion and attitude are involved in both legislation and education but can also be viewed as a factor with wider application

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

over and above these two means, e.g. in influence through the media. Below, we will summarize some of the ways these three means have been used in Sweden.

3.3 Group differentiation in host and immigrant population

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

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

(i)   linguistic and cultural background

(ii)   profession

(iii)   level of education

(iv)   economic situation

(v)   age

(vi)   gender

(vii)   type of immigration, i.e. political asylum, family reunion, job seeker

(viii)   social network

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turning to the private sector, we might say that the government goal cannot like in the public sector be implemented "top-down". In the private sector, the same goal has to be attained in a more "bottom-up" manner, by persuasive argument. Companies must be

brought to believe that hiring a greater number of immigrant employees will be in their best interest. Like in the public sector, the means for this are information aimed at attitude change, showing the advantages of a multicultural, multilingual labor force combined with training in intercultural communication, intercultural differences and conflict management.

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

3.5 Anti discrimination

Sweden has already in the past created several laws banning discrimination on ethnic grounds. However, the implementation of these laws has not been very strict, so that very few cases have actually been brought to court, and in even fewer cases, there has actually been someone found guilty of discrimination. Because of criticism of this state of affairs, the laws have been made somewhat stricter, resulting in a slight increase of court cases and persons found guilty.

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

In the autumn semester of 2003, the University of Uppsala reserved 30 positions out of 300 available positions for studying law at the university for students with an immigrant background. On the 21:st of December, 2005, the regional court of middle Sweden (Svea Hovrätt) ruled that damages for an amount 75 000 SEK should be paid to two students who had parents born in Sweden and who felt discriminated against, since they were not admitted to studies of law in Uppsala.

Besides legislation, there has also been support for web sites reporting on discrimination. See for example www.do.se. 357 cases of ethnic discrimination at the workplace in Sweden have been reported to DO (the ombudsman against discrimination) January 2005 - January 2006.

3.6 Contacts with country of origin and possible return

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

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

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

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

3.7 Treatment of asylum seekers

One of the most discussed issues concerning asylum seekers in Sweden is their treatment while their applications are being processed. In the past, many adult asylum seekers have often been forced into passivity for years in a refugee camp while waiting for a decision. Today, those who are expected to wait for more than four months for their asylum application to be processed are granted work permit in the meantime. They may thus work but are not allowed to attend courses in Swedish for immigrants (Sfi) or other studies during the application process. The fact that they are allowed to work is positive since it leads to a more productive use of time and minimize illegal jobs. It is on the other hand

unfortunate that studies are not allowed. In several cases asylum is not granted and the asylum seeker can neither be sent back to his/her home country, as is the case for many Iraqi Kurds today. They lose years which they could have spent on for example studies, investing in their future, to the benefit of society.

3.8 Opportunities for private business

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

3.9 Recommendations for further research and training

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

1. Sector differentiation

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

2. Perceived needs

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

3. Cultural diversity and synergy

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

4. Awareness of cultural differences and prejudice

We need to know more about the conditions under which information about cultural differences leads to prejudice and under which conditions it does not.

5. Training directed to majority host populations

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

PART 2 - CASE STUDIES

1. Introduction

1.1 Aims of the present investigation

In the framework of the European Intercultural Workplace project we have carried out 6 case studies at workplaces in Sweden in the fall of 2005. The aims of the case studies have been to study the impact of ethnic diversity on the Swedish workplace and to identify and examine the main intercultural issues in the organizations perceived by the managements, employees and clients. We also wanted to find cases of good practice and provide recommendations, both educational and other, in order to enhance intercultural communication at the workplace.

1.2 Case Studies

The case studies that have been carried out in Sweden are presented in table 2.1.1. The public sector is covered by four studies, two of which concern the educational sector. The studies were done in October through December 2005 by the researchers indicated in the table. The supervisor of the studies was prof. Jens Allwood.

TABLE 2.1.1:   Swedish case studies, researchers that carried them out, organizations, and number of managers, employees and customers/clients.

Legend: Management = persons with employer's responsibility at the workplace; Swe = Swedish, Non-Swe = persons born outside Sweden; (p) = physicians, (n) = nurses, (o) = other; Customers/clients, see the text below.

Place of work/ Organization	Management		Employees		Customers/ Clients	
	Swe	Non-Swe	Swe	Non-Swe	Swe	Non-Swe
Health Care **Nataliya Berbyuk** **Lindström**	--	--	(p) 17 (n) 89 (o) 26	(p) 105 (n) 9	157	10
Local Police **Randi Myhre**	6	--	18	--	--	6
Border Police **Randi Myhre**	8	--	18	5	--	--
High School **Margreth Börjesson**	1	--	4	3	7	8
Exchange Bank **Emily Öhman**	2		3	1	--	--
Retail Shop **Kaarlo Voionmaa**	--	2	2	--	3	1

In the table, the term "Customers/clients" refers to a heterogeneous group of persons. In Health Care they are patients, in Local Police, interpreters and a group of Kurdish youngsters, in High School students, and in Bank and Retail Shop customers.

1.3 Methodology

The methods applied comprise questionnaires, focus group interviews, interviews, observations on the spot, audio/video recordings and transcriptions. The questionnaires were of two kinds, one that the Swedish team made to start the data collection without delay in the autumn 2005, and the other that was a close adaptation of the EIW questionnaire that the team received after the data collection already was under way. The Swedish questionnaire was used in the study of High school and the Exchange Bank. The studies dealing with the Local Police and the Border Police made use of the EIW questionnaire. The Health Care study used a questionnaire of its own, and the Retail Shop study did not have any use of a questionnaire. In spite of the variable form of questionnaires they all included detailed questions on anonymized personal profile, interaction between different ethnic groups and within the groups of managers, employees and customers or clients where applicable; attitudes to diversity; recruitment and career opportunities; educational needs; and practical cultural diversity in the organization under scrutiny. Table 2.1.2 gives an overview of the methods applied in the respective case studies. There, we indicate the number of subjects in the questionnaires (QUEST), and interviews (INT), times applying the method, direct observations (OBS), and the number of video recordings (REC) and transcriptions (TRANS). In the focus group interviews (FOC), we indicate the times and the total number of participants, respectively.

TABLE 2.1.2:   Methods applied in the Swedish case studies

Case studies	QUEST	FOC	INT	OBS	REC	TRANS
Health Care	277	--	60	10	70	70
Local Police	19	--	13	1	--	--
Border Police	30	2 / 8	5	1	--	--
High School	23	--	3	2	--	--
Exchange Bank	6	--	6	2	--	--
Retail Shop	--	--	8	2	1	--

Applying the methods, the main worry was the fact that the studies were to be carried out within a fairly short span of time – except for the study on health care that is based on data collection during several months.

1.4   Structure of the report

Firstly, we present the case study conducted in the Swedish health care. See Part 2, section 2. The Swedish health care has become increasingly multicultural in both staff and patients in the past decades and the health care sector is therefore of great relevance to study. Secondly, there are two case studies that investigate the National Swedish Police. They concern, respectively, a local police station in a suburban setting and a border police terminal located at an international airport. See Part 2, sections 3 and 4. Thirdly, there is one case study dealing with education, which is an investigation of a High school, see Part 2, section 5.

Section 6 deals with a private exchange bank, an intercultural workplace with an ethnically diverse staff. The other case study that deals with the private sector concerns a small retail

shop owned by two immigrants. Immigrants are overrepresented among small private business owners in Sweden and retail shops of the kind presented in this study are a common feature in urban and suburban settings in Sweden. See Part 2, section 7.

In all case studies, we discuss findings concerning language skills, communication styles, cultural codes and practices, relations between co-workers, and discrimination. We present the findings relative to challenges and good practices. By challenges we typically mean problems encountered in everyday social interaction. These problems may often seem trivial, but taken together they can make a hinder, i.e. be a challenge to a more harmonious social atmosphere at the workplace. Additionally, whenever relevant we also give recommendations concerning the respective issues.

The case study report includes section 8 where we present a schema that we will use to present the main findings of the case studies and in section 9 we connect the two parts of the report.

2. CASE STUDY: Health care

2.1 Introduction: Intercultural communication in Swedish health care

Sweden rapidly changing from a monocultural into an intercultural society is reflected in the health care system, traditionally a relatively monocultural workplace. Increasing tempo of immigration raises the issues of providing culturally competent health care to patients of different cultural backgrounds. According to official statistics 2006, 12.2 per cent of the persons residing in Sweden are born outside Sweden. If we include those who are born in Sweden with both their parents born outside Sweden, the total share amounts to 15.8 (Statistics Sweden). To provide health care to patients with different cultural backgrounds demands both linguistic and cultural competence from the personnel.

Furthermore, apart from health care seekers, the patients, representatives of other cultures than Swedish are seen among health care personnel. Today, they are met not only among assistant nurses and cleaners, low status jobs, but physicians and nurses as well. In 2004, there were more physicians educated outside Sweden than in Sweden that got Swedish medical license (1109 out of 1868, 59%, see Table 2.2.1 below).

TABLE 2.2.1:   Medical education- country of education before Swedish medical license

Läkarutbildning - utbildningsland före svensk legitimation.						
År	Utbildning i				*Summa*	*Totalt antal*
	Sverige	Norden	Övriga EU	Tredje land	*Utl.utb.*	*leg läkare per år*
1991	856	144	-	145	289	1145
1992	816	134	-	156	290	1106
1993	798	97	-	118	215	1013
1994	810	122	80	133	335	1145
1995	751	76	45	123	244	995
1996	785	51	29	139	219	1004
1997	770	61	46	139	246	1016
1998	724	88	44	138	270	994
1999	742	122	82	137	341	1083
2000	757	146	129	153	428	1185
2001	741	177	214	197	588	1329
2002	812	177	257	224	658	1470
2003	806	347	229	315	891	1697
2004	759	179	743	187	1109	1868

Source: The National Board of Health and Welfare (as cited in Lindberg)

(Translation: Läkarutbildning- medical education, utbildningsland före svensk legitimation- country of education before Swedish medical licence; år- year; utbildning i Sverige- education in Sweden, Norden- Scandinavia, övriga EU- the rest of EU, tredje land – the third world country, summa utl. Utb. – total educated abroad; total leg läkare per år – total registered physicians per year)

The increase in 2004 of the number of physicians educated within the European Union ("övriga EU") coming to Sweden compared to previous years can be explained by the fact that the medical licenses obtained within the EU are automatically accepted and the physicians can start working after a short language training course. The EU-physicians working in Sweden come mainly from Poland, Germany, Hungary, Greece and Lithuania. For the physicians from Poland, Germany and Hungary, special recruitment programs have been initiated in different parts of Sweden, starting from year 2000.

Unlike the physicians from the European countries, who may start working in Sweden almost immediately, physicians educated outside EU and Scandinavia have to apply first for an evaluation of their medical education, complete it with some courses if needed and pass a so called "TULE-prov" of medical competence (for non-specialized physicians). They also have to pass a Swedish language test. This process has proved to be rather tedious for many physicians, taking between 2 and 8 years. It is not surprising that many of the non-EU physicians have had to start working outside their education, for example, opening pizzerias and small shops. To make the process of obtaining Swedish medical license more structured, projects such as "Projekt utländska läkare" ("Project Foreign Physicians"), "Legatimation.nu" ("Registered Professions), Stockholm project and Malmö project have been initiated in 2000-2003 (for more information see Ekström 2004). It might be reflected in the increase of number of physicians from the third world countries in 2002 (224) and 2003 (315).

Concerning **nurses**, which is the largest occupation category in health care, the statistics show that a majority of them are educated in Sweden (see Table 2.2.2 below).

TABLE 2.2.2:   Nurse education- country of education before Swedish medical license[14]

Sjuksköterskeutbildning - utbildningsland före svensk legitimation.					
	Utbildning i			*Summa*	*Totalt antal leg*
	Sverige	Norden	Övriga EU	Tredje land	*Utländsk utb.*	*sjuksköterskor/år*
1994	3811	108	46	64	218	4029
1995	1751	64	21	78	163	1914*
1996	2574	67	18	62	147	2721
1997	3220	78	25	64	167	3387
1998	3103	192	30	55	277	3380
1999	3025	264	33	73	370	3394
2000	2874	348	51	69	470	3344
2001	2904	403	62	39	504	3408
2002	3131	374	78	51	503	3634
2003	3408	358	119	45	522	3930
2004	3824	167	118	31	316	4140

Source: The National Board of Health and Welfare (as cited in Lindberg)

(Translation: Sjuksköterskeutbildning- nurse education, utbildningsland före svensk legitimation- country of education before Swedish medical licence; utbildning i Sverige- education in Sweden, Norden- Scandinavia, övriga EU- the rest of EU, tredje land – the third world country, summa utl. Utb. – total educated abroad; totalt antal leg sjuksköterskor per år – total number of registered nurses per year)

The increase in number of legitimized nurses can be partially explained by the extension of nurse training under 2001-2002 that lowered the necessity of recruitment. Out of 4140 nurses who got their medical license in 2004, only 316 (about 8%) were educated outside Sweden.

The number of nurses educated within the European Union increased in 2003 and remained unchanged in 2004. It can be explained by the same factors as mentioned for the physicians above. The number of nurses with education from Norway and countries of the third world decreased in 2004. The low number of nurses from the third world can be explained by the need for completion of their education, that consequently results in getting the "Swedish" nurse exam. Consequently, they are statistically counted as educated in Sweden.

All the above mentioned indicates that intercultural communication is a highly relevant issue in the Swedish health care, encompassing both communication between the health

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[14] *comment: Extended education 1992 to 120 points, fewer licensed year 1995)*

care providers themselves (physicians, nurses, assistant nurses, etc) as well as between health care providers and health care seekers (patients).

In this case study, we will focus on issues of intercultural communication in Swedish health care between health care providers and patients as well as between different categories of health care personnel. The case study report is divided into three main parts: Firstly, **intercultural communication between Swedish health care providers and non-Swedish patients (2.2.1)**, secondly, **intercultural communication between non-Swedish health care providers and Swedish patients (2.2.2)**, and thirdly, **intercultural communication between non-Swedish physicians and Swedish health care personnel (2.2.3).**

The case study data have been collected at a number of public health care institutions within Västra Götalandsregionen (Western Sweden). Four large hospitals, three in Göteborg and one in Skövde have been involved. Furthermore, three health care centers in Göteborg have participated as well. Concerning the hospitals, different wards have been selected, such as surgery, rehabilitation/geriatrics, eye, etc. All of them have non-Swedish physicians and other health care personnel among their staff members.

2.2   Issues / Challenges & Responses

2.2.1   Intercultural communication between Swedish health care providers and non-Swedish patients

2.2.1.1   Language

Language problems are often reported to be the "main problems" in interaction. This is not surprising as they are easily noticeable, in contrast to problems arising from cultural differences. Problems regarding pronunciation and the patient's lack of understanding of what the physician says may result in loosing important information and creating uncertainty, anxiety and stress (see, for example, Roberts et al 2005). Below follows some suggestions that the personnel report to be useful for health care personnel to follow in order to minimize the risk for lack of understanding/misunderstanding due to language problems:

- *Talk slowly and clearly!*
- *Avoid terminology and slang!*
- *Listen! Do not interrupt!*
- *Wait for the answer!*
- *Use open questions!*
- *Ask if you don't understand!*
- *Give feedback!*
- *Use an interpreter when required!*

To overcome language problems with some patients, particularly with newcomers and elderly immigrants, an interpreter's help may be needed. It may seem simple to use an interpreter, but the health care provider needs special skills. Below, some of them are highlighted, as well as examples of problems experienced.

Interpreter's help in intercultural consultation

To start with, the health care provider should be careful about the choice of interpreter. The following persons may function as interpreters: the patient's relatives, e.g. husband/wife, child, brother, etc; health care personnel with the same linguistic background as the patient, or an authorized interpreter. All of these alternatives have their strengths and weaknesses, which are briefly presented below.

Patient's relatives as interpreters

The patient's relatives know the patient, and, if the patient is unable to report the symptoms, etc, they may be able to provide useful information. Furthermore, the presence of relatives or friends often adds to the patient feeling secure. However, the patient's relatives might not possess sufficient language skills to interpret correctly. Moreover, they might not translate everything, considering some pieces of information to be unnecessary. Sometimes they might even have own unexpressed motives that result in missing information.

Health care personnel with the same linguistic background as the patient as interpreter

One of the physicians from Iran expressed his annoyance with always being the one who has to take care of all the non-Swedish patients, and above all patients from Iran. He pointed out the fact that there often are dialectal differences, and that he would prefer to

use Swedish as a lingua franca rather than Farsi (Persian) in order to understand the patient better. Moreover, he experienced that being the one to whom all the non-Swedish patients were "sent" confirmed his status as a foreigner and added to singling him out. Moreover, he experienced that the patients from his country of origin were more demanding than the Swedish patients, motivating it by "we come from the same country, you must help me!" However, often he could not do anything and they felt frustrated.

Authorized interpreter

Being the best choice, the involvement of an authorized interpreter still requires certain skills from the health care provider. The physician should keep in mind to speak to the patient, not to the interpreter (avoiding leaving the patient and talking to the interpreter). Further essential aspects are to avoid interrupting the interpreter, and to inform the patient about the professional secrecy. For useful tips concerning communication with interpreter see Wretmark (1984).

Non-verbal communication in medical encounters

The influence of cultural differences concerning non-verbal communication on the medical encounter is less represented in research. A common comment from the Swedish personnel is that some non-Swedish patients often keep too short a distance and have too close body contact, which might make the health care provider feel awkward.

Another aspect I would like to mention here concerns gender differences at the level of body contact. In Sweden, the physician has complete access to the patient's body, unlike in other cultures, where a number of requirements may apply. For example, in the case with a Muslim female patient, a female physician is preferred. However, in spite of the fact that Islam allows a male physician to take care of a female patient if her life is in danger, it is not always followed in practice (Samuelsson, 2001).

2.2.1.2   Cultural codes and practices

The role of the family

A number of Swedish respondents express their non-understanding of the family role in patient treatment. In many cultures, family involvement in the patient's treatment process is essential. Often the physician is expected to talk to the family rather than to the patient about the treatment, diagnosis and possible complications. This was commented on by a Ukrainian physician, who pointed out that all news, but especially bad news, is told to the family, not to the patient. One of the reasons for this is that it is the family's responsibility to cover the treatment costs, e.g. in Ukraine, where there is often a shortage of medicines, the relatives have to provide them for the patient. In Sweden, on the contrary, it is the patient, the individual, who is in focus, rather than integrated in the family. Naturally, in some cases, it might be problematic for the Swedish personnel to understand the family involvement, which sometimes seem to subdue the patient's voice.

Time

The issue of time – to be on time, to be punctual in general, and for a consultation in particular, is essential in Sweden. One is expected to be on time. In intercultural communication, the issue of informal time is often discussed in relationship to such aspects as being on time and being late. The patient being late creates irritation from the personnel.

Patients arriving 20 minutes after the assigned consultation time are perceived as being extremely late in Sweden, while in, for example, Saudi Arabia it would be a minor delay. It is not surprising that punctuality might cause problems.

2.2.1.3   Communication styles

Physician's role

A less patronizing style, shorter power distance, and the Swedish physician's informal tone can be seen as less professional by non-Swedish patients. In Sweden, it is acceptable for

a physician to check FASS[15], but it is uncommon in other countries, which might result in the patient thinking: "This doctor is not good!" Moreover, another issue should be taken into account:

In Sweden, it is essential to involve the patient in the decision-making. The physician has an advisory role, rather than being an authority. This might create anxiety and lack of confidence in patients who are used to a different communicative style, i.e. the physician being the one who gives orders and makes decisions, the patient being rather passive. This difference in expectations concerning communicative styles might result in an unsuccessful consultation.

2.2.2 Intercultural communication between non-Swedish health care providers and Swedish patients

2.2.2.1 Evaluation of communication

To start with, one might wonder if the non-Swedish physicians and their patients are satisfied with their communication. Patients' as well as physicians' satisfaction with communication is often an essential factor for the quality of the health care, planning of the course of treatment, and consequently the patients' well being. As the results of the questionnaire show, both the non-Swedish physicians and the Swedish patients are generally satisfied with their communication.

The analysis of the questionnaire data also indicates that the female patients are to a higher extent than the male patients dissatisfied with the consultations with non-Swedish physicians, the explanations provided by the non-Swedish physicians, and they also report more instances of misunderstanding than the male patients do.

A possible explanation as to why the female physicians and patients tend to be less satisfied with the communication compared to the male respondents might be a difference in male and female communicative styles and a difference in views on experienced difficulties in developing relationships.

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[15] FASS is the abbreviation of "Farmaceutiska Specialiteter i Sverige" (Pharmaceutical Specialties in Sweden). It contains a register of pharmaceutical facts from the medical industry for physicians and pharmacists.

The research in the area of gender and communication shows that females in interaction are seen as being more egalitarian, are better in understanding of non-verbal signals as well as more willing to use them, e.g. they smile, nod, and gaze more, are more physically expressive, and approach others more closely, as well as are more emphatic, more self-disclosing, more relationship oriented, more trusting and liking of others, and are more comfortable with emotional closeness (Hall and Roter, 1998). More specifically, health care communication research shows that female physicians are more inclined to initiate psychological discussion as well positive talk and social conversation; they also engage more in partnership building and provide more emotional support and empathy for their patients compared to male physicians. This often results in an increased patient participation in interaction (for overview of the studies see (Roter et al 1998) and (Bylund & Makoul, 2002)). This research also shows that female patients tend to be more emotionally expressive, value more affective communication, are more inclined to develop interpersonal relationships with their physicians, and are more eager simply to discuss their problems with physicians rather than to solve them; they are also reported to be more sensitive to communication and tend to change physicians due to communication problems more often than male patients do (for an overview of research see (Elderkin-Thompson & Waitzkin, 1999)). Therefore, a possible explanation for the finding that female physicians and patients seem to be less satisfied with their communication might be their experienced difficulties in developing relationships with each other during consultation due to differences of language and culture.

However, one should bear in mind that gender is just one of the factors, and that it cannot be separated from other factors that influence interaction, e.g. the patients' level of education, age, psychological status, the nature of experienced problem, etc.

Swedish patients as described by the non-Swedish physicians

The interviewed non-Swedish physicians often describe Swedish patients as tolerant, patient and helpful with language problems, e.g. helping the doctor with finding the right word, repeating, talking slower and clearer, as well as providing explanations to the physicians, together with their relatives and friends, when present during consultations.

Word-finding problems are common in intercultural medical consultations between physicians and patients, and the data shows that both parties attempt to solve it. The

physicians use gestures as well as try to use medical terminology. However, problems with patient's lack of understanding of medical terminology might occur, as mentioned by a Polish female physician:

"Kanske i början var det mycket svårare på grund av språket. Den som är verkligen svårt är att känna till vanligt familjär språk som patienten använder hemma. Till exempel, vi brukar använder ordet "kolon" istället av "tjocktarm", men inte alla patienter förstår. Så de vanliga vanliga ord som man bör använda med patienten. Vi förstår patienten bra, men patienten kan inte förstå oss."

"Maybe in the beginning it was a lot more difficult because of language. The real difficulty is to know the ordinary familiar language that the patient uses at home. For example, we usually use the word 'colon' instead of 'large intestine', but not all patients understand. So these ordinary ordinary words that one should use with the patient. We understand the patient well, but the patient cannot understand us."

Other difficulties such as understanding numbers, e.g. in personal numbers and telephone conversations, have been mentioned by the respondents as well.

Problems with small talk and understanding humour

An issue raised by the non-Swedish physicians is the problem with small talk. Requiring language and cultural competence, informal conversation might be problematic, as an Iranian female physician mentions:

"I hemlandet kunde jag skämta med patienten lite grand, han blev lite glad och jag också, vi skrattade… kanske jag kan lite nu … det är lite grand mildare stämning…"

"In my home country I could joke a little bit with the patient, it made him a bit happy and me too, we laughed… maybe I can a little bit now… it is a little bit milder atmosphere…"

Consider the example below, an excerpt (translated from Swedish) from the interaction between a male patient and a female physician from Iran that illustrates the above mentioned issue:

Doctor*: do you work or?*

Patient*: yes*

Doctor*: what do you do?*

Patient*: I bend plastic (*laughs*)*

The doctor leans forward and doesn't seem to understand what the patient means

Patient*: no we make brackets for mobile phones and stuff like that.*

However, when the patient realizes that she does not seem to understand him he immediately explains what he means.

In spite of language problems and cultural differences, the data shows that the Swedish patients in general have a positive picture of the non-Swedish physicians, who are viewed as being accurate, listening and professional. The non-Swedish physicians' accuracy is especially emphasized. It might be explained by the physicians' awareness of their lack of language competence and fear of being misunderstood, which results in a higher level of attentiveness. This is reflected in the non-Swedish physicians' giving more verbal feedback to their patients compared to the Swedish physicians indicating listening and involvement. Furthermore, the non-Swedish physicians use repetitions and reformulations in order to check the information received from the patient to a higher extent. The Swedish patients' conflict avoidance strategy is often reflected in the physicians' comments such as "You never know what the patient thinks about you."

2.2.2.3 Communication styles

Power distance between physician and patient

Concerning cultural differences, the non-Swedish physicians accentuate the difference in power distance between physician and patient in Sweden and in their respective home countries. According to Hofstede (Hofstede 2001), the Power Distance Index (PDI), used to refer to the extent to which less powerful members of society expect and accept an unequal distribution of power within a culture, is relatively low for Sweden (31) compared to the countries of the non-Swedish physicians, e.g. Colombia (67), Germany (35), Hungary

(46), Iran (58), Poland (68), and Russia (93).[16] The non-Swedish physicians experience the consultation with the Swedish patients as informal, characterized by patient involvement in decision-making. Some of the non-Swedish physicians favour it, for example an Iranian female physician:

> *"jag hade inte svårt med det. Jag tycker att man har rätt att fråga... Jag använde samma metod i Iran också, fast det var lite konstigt då. Jag tror på den här metoden, jag tror den är bra. Därför var det inte svårt så mycket för mig"*

> "I had no difficulties with it. I think that one has the right to ask *...* I used the same method in Iran as well, although it was a little bit strange at the time. I believe in this method, I believe it is good. That is why it was not very difficult for me"

However, a German male physician interprets the familiar way in which patients talk to him as lack of respect.

> *"Här (i Sverige NB) är mannen (läkaren NB) som mer serverande. Doktor... mmm… man måste serva dem (patienterna NB). Det var otänkbart att någon kunde ringa mig på telefon och fråga… jag måste plocka i journalen… och säga honom vad hon har på röntgenbilden vad som helst. Det var otänkbart. Här de ringer, man måste titta i journalen, man måste förklara... prata med dem. Det var inte så. Här är man tjänare för dem, man måste serva..."*

> "Here (in Sweden NB) one (the physician NB) is like more serving. Doctor… mmm… one has to serve them (the patients NB). It was unthinkable that someone could give me a call and ask… I have to search in the case book… and tell him what she has on the X-ray, anything. It was unthinkable. Here they call, one has to look in the case book, one has to explain… talk to them. It was not like that. Here one is a servant to them, one has to serve…"

Swedish patients are most often reported to be eager to be involved in decision making, i.e. the physician doesn't have "the sole right" but is expected to provide all the necessary information to the patient. In some cases, the non-Swedish physicians reported it to be

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[16] The values for Poland, Hungary and Russia are estimated. Hofstede, Geert (2003) Geert Hofstede Cultural Dimensions. Retrieved 16 September, 2006, from the Internet: http://www.geert-hofstede.com

difficult to change into this way of communicating with patients from a more "paternalistic" one, when the physician solely decides upon the treatment.

Health and disease

Another problem is the difference in views on **health and disease**, and such "Swedish diseases" as fibriomyalgi (fibromyalgia), utbrändhet ("burnout"), elöverkänslighet ("increased sensitivity to electricity") (Beland 2003) which are not always seen by the non-Swedish physicians as a "disease". A physician from Germany pointed out that the Swedish patients have a tendency to demand "att vara sjukskriven för minor åkommor" ("to be put on the sick-list for minor complaints"). Some physicians also report that the patients don't report pain in the same way as the patients from their countries of origin, i.e. they don't cry loudly, they are calm and inexpressive, which makes it difficult to understand how serious the patient state of health is.

Gender

The difference in views on gender roles should be taken into consideration in educating health care personnel. One of the Swedish patients pointed out a non-Swedish physician's non-understanding of her studies: "Hon tyckte inte att kvinnor skulle studera fysik som jag då gjorde" ("She didn't think that women should study physics as I did at the time"). It is not surprising that this worsened the contact between the physician and the patient. One may also presume that, as in the case with non-Swedish patients, there might also be uncertainty about the level of body contact accepted. The physician from a Muslim culture might have problems with deciding on how close he may examine a female patient. This problem has been described by Fiscella et al (1997).

2.2.3 Communication between non-Swedish health care providers and Swedish health care personnel

Undoubtedly, successful communication between physicians and patients is essential for the quality of health care provided. However, it is not less important that the health care providers are able to communicate with each other. How does communication work between non-Swedish physicians and Swedish health care personnel?

2.2.3.1 Evaluation of communication

The results of the project show that the non-Swedish physicians and Swedish health care personnel are satisfied with their communication in general. At the same time, one can see that the non-Swedish physicians are less satisfied with their communication with the personnel compared to their communication with patients, i.e. only 66% of the non-Swedish respondents report satisfaction with their communication with the Swedish personnel. Concerning gender, the same tendency can be observed as in the communication with patients, i.e. non-Swedish male physicians are relatively more satisfied with their communication with Swedish health care personnel compared to female non-Swedish physicians, i.e. less than 9% of the male respondents answer "less satisfactory," compared to 13% of the female respondents. Among Swedish health care personnel, the least satisfied are female nurses (20%) and other personnel (25%). The same explanation as above can be given to explain the females' relatively lower level of satisfaction compared to male respondents. Moreover, that the nurses are less satisfied than other occupational groups with their communication with physicians might be a consequence of more contact between these two groups due to work responsibilities compared to other categories who work less with physicians.

2.2.3.2 Communication styles

Less visible Swedish health care hierarchy

In most of the countries that the non-Swedish physicians come from, the physician's word is not questioned. However, in Sweden where the health care system is less hierarchical, or, to be more precise, less visibly hierarchical, the physician might experience that s/he has to motivate her/his decision for the nurse and other personnel. Communication doctor-nurse in general is considered to be complex (Hojat 2003). According to the study, cultural differences might additionally encroach on the relationship. In many countries the nurse is "serving" the physician and has considerably lower education (e.g. in Ukraine the nurse education is not a tertiary education while in Sweden a nurse licence require a three-year tertiary nurse education). Nurses are often reported by the non-Swedish physicians as having much informal influence due to being the dominant occupational group in health care, i.e. if you as a physician work well with the nurses, you are considered to be "a good doctor".

A Swedish senior physician commented that elderly male non-Swedish physicians often experience more problems with changing their communicative style compared to younger physicians. The younger female physicians are also observed getting more resistance from the female personnel than the male physicians, which is probably due to the fact that the health care is a predominantly female-dominated workplace, where nurses typically are female and physicians male. This has been reported in other studies as well (Lichtenstein 1998, Robertsson 2003).

To ask for help – am I good enough?

In spite of the fact that in some countries the physician's work is underpaid, which often results in migration, being a physician is prestigious and physicians represent a highly educated and respected social group. Naturally, coming to a new country and often, after a long "waiting time" spent learning a new language and, in some cases, completing medical education as the physicians from outside EU, one tries to do one's best to succeed at the work place. Asking for help is often seen as a sign of lack of knowledge, and, as the Swedish personnel reports, many non-Swedish physicians attempt to solve their problems themselves and avoid asking for help. Furthermore, in conversations they might not be eager to express their lack of understanding, and some may nod and say "yeah, yeah" instead, as for example a Chinese physician, who by doing so prevents loosing face and saves his interlocutor's face as well. However, this might raise concern about the medical safety, given that lack of understanding/misunderstanding could have serious consequences.

"Jantelagen"/"the Jante law": don't say, do it instead!

Another aspect worth mentioning is the general negative attitude in Swedish society to those who boast and rather say than do. A physician's attempt to highlight his or her good qualities by expressing them verbally in order to convince the personnel that s/he can do something might be seen negatively by the followers of the "Jante law", the rules of which say:

1 *You shall not think that **you** are special.*
2 *You shall not think that **you** are of the same standing as us.*
3 *You shall not think that **you** are smarter than us.*
4 *Don't fancy **yourself** as being better than us.*
5 *You shall not think that **you** know more than us.*

*6 You shall not think that **you** are more important than us.*

*7 You shall not think that **you** are good at anything.*

*8 **You** shall not laugh at us.*

*9 You shall not think that anyone cares about **you**.*

*10 You shall not think that **you** can teach us anything.*

This concept was described by Aksel Sandemose, the Danish/Norwegian author, in his novel *A refugee crosses his tracks* (En flygtning krysser sitt spor) in 1933, and the main idea is that one should not claim being better than others (Daun 1989). This is a phenomenon that non-Swedish physicians should be aware of since it often makes a tremendous impact on how the colleagues view the new physician from abroad.

Basically, to keep a low profile is preferred at Swedish workplaces. Understatements are rather common, and are often interpreted as humbleness. And humbleness is seen as a very positive quality. To highlight one's qualities may on the contrary interpreted as boasting. This is reflected in the negative first line of the "Jante law" above.

Loneliness under critical observance

Interviewing the non-Swedish physicians, I often experienced a hidden but still strongly felt feeling of loneliness. It is quite uncommon to make friends at work places in Sweden, as the Swedes are known to draw a sharp line between their private life and work. This phenomenon has been highlighted by several other authors and researchers such as Allwood (1982), Phillips-Martinsson (1983) and Herlitz (1998), who also point out other traits of Swedish mentality. It may be strange for a physician used to other attitudes and may evoke a feeling of being excluded. Non-Swedish physicians often experience psychological suffering from being an "outsider" at the work place, being "singled out" by accent, behaviour and appearance. They often work under critical observance. Comments from the personnel such as "You have only Hungarian medical license, not Swedish" often create anxiety and stress for a physician. They often lack critical feedback due to the Swedish conflict avoidance. All this results in a tough experience for a non-Swedish physician who attempts to make a career in Sweden.

Positive aspects of communication with non-Swedish physicians

More respect for elderly patients is one of the comments that the Swedish personnel provide about their positive experiences of communication with non-Swedish physicians. In Sweden compared to other countries, the age aspect is less highlighted. Other aspects such as competence and willingness to work, to learn new things and to be a part of the work place are also mentioned.

2.3 Conclusions and recommendations

As we can see, intercultural communication competence for health care personnel and patients is essential for the quality of health care. In this section, I will try to summarize the results of the study and try to provide some recommendations, which hopefully might be found useful for the people who are in the same situation as the informants of the study. Moreover, some ideas could be used for courses in intercultural communication.

2.3.1 Language

Language competence is essential, and as we can see, it is one of the most common complaints from the participants. It is not surprising given that problems with production and understanding are often clearly visible. The non-Swedish participants, both physicians and patients, mention problems with using Swedish as a foreign language while the Swedish participants emphasize problems with understanding the "broken Swedish" of their non-Swedish communicative partners. In both cases, uncertainty and stress might occur.

One of the non-Swedish physicians commented in the questionnaire that "Broken Swedish doesn't mean broken mind." However, lack of language competence and a slower tempo of interaction, unfortunately, often lead to the native speakers becoming suspicious and thinking something like "Is s/he a good doctor? If s/he cannot talk, and comes from a poor third world country, can I be sure that s/he can help me?" The loneliness mentioned by the non-Swedish physicians in the study has, unfortunately, quite often its roots in the tremendous lack of tolerance and patience from the personnel, e.g. a 25 year-old nurse gets impatient and shows that she cannot wait a couple of seconds more for the non-Swedish physician with 20 years of working experience to make up a sentence in Swedish!

Of course, this is not unrelated to culture – lacking respect for elderly people and the "flat" Swedish hierarchy might explain the nurse's behaviour. It explains the above mentioned lower level of satisfaction with communication for both Swedish personnel and non-Swedish physicians compared to the patients. Well, what about the patients?

The patients often have to wait several weeks or even months to see a doctor in Sweden due to the shortage of physicians in some areas. Naturally, getting a chance to see a doctor, the patient is often happy to have the chance to talk to a professional. Suspicions, anxiety and stress are, of course, not uncommon from the patient's point of view. Sometimes the physician cannot find the right word, uses gestures, cannot joke and console the patient properly. Her/his accent may be funny or make it difficult to understand. However, the patient may receive 10-20 minutes consultation time with a physician who has problems with the Swedish language and who is often accompanied by a Swedish nurse assisting in case of non-understanding. For the nurse it may be difficult to work on a daily basis with a physician with language difficulties, who might be completely new to the routines and traditions of the Swedish health care.

Recommendations concerning language

Language problems should not be ignored, and language training for non-Swedish health care personnel should include the vocabulary used in everyday health care practice. I suggest that the following aspects and techniques for language training be included in language-training courses:

- Medical terminology and their Swedish correspondences. It is essential to be able to talk to the patient in "ordinary Swedish" – not by using Latin or English terms. Swedish slang and expressions used in spoken language should also be included.
- Be aware of your body language! Of course, it often happens automatically that when a person cannot express her/himself s/he uses gestures or other body movements to find a way out. However, in some cases it is not easy to do it. I would suggest training this ability in the participants.
- Speak slowly and clearly! This is important to remember for non-Swedish staff in order to enhance the possibility of mutual understanding in an intercultural setting, given that a rapid speech rate in combination with an accent might be problematic

for the listener to understand. The participants should also be aware that elderly patients may have hearing problems.

- Listen to what your patients/colleagues say! Do not interrupt since you may miss much information and, as in Sweden interruption is a sign of impolite behaviour, it will not make a good impression on the patient/colleague.

- If you don't understand, say so! Ask the listener to repeat what s/he has just said. Of course, it might be a delicate thing to do given that nobody is eager to show lack of language knowledge, but it is better to ask for help than to make mistakes due to lack of understanding.

- Read literature, newspapers and watch Swedish TV. These are sources of language and also of information that you may use in talks during coffee breaks at work. People often appreciate when someone from another country is interested in their culture and everyday life.

- To course organizers: non-Swedish physicians should have the opportunity to visit Swedish work places DURING the language course in order to both receive language training and to discover routines. This will prepare them for their future work. During their work place visits they should be offered the opportunity to talk to both Swedish physicians as well as nurses.

- Other valuable tools are role-plays and video-recordings of non-Swedish physicians communicating with "patients", including subsequent watching and analyzing. They can be used for both language training as well as cultural training for the physicians.

- A mentor should be provided for the non-Swedish physicians when they start working. The mentor should be a person who is able to assist with both language problems and other problems.

Concerning the non-Swedish patients and language problems, I would like to point out the opportunity to get an interpreter for the interaction. This opportunity is essential to keep in mind and to use when required.

Concerning the Swedish personnel, I would once again like to mention the necessity of having patience, speaking slowly and trying to understand what is being said as essential factors for success in intercultural meetings.

2.3.2 Communication styles

As I have already mentioned, the Swedish indirect communicative style and conflict avoidance can be quite confusing for those who are not used to it. The non-Swedish patients might experience the Swedish physician as "unsure" and even suspect her/him/ of being a "bad doctor." Moreover, the Swedish view on active involvement of the patient in the decision-making process might make patients feel that the physician is not experienced enough. The non-Swedish physicians often report being confused and unsure about what their colleagues and patients "think about them". Critical and open feedback is often unavailable, and many of the new physicians need to learn from their own problems. Moreover, it is common in Sweden that people don not solve the problem themselves; they do not express emotions openly, but rather go to the superior at the workplace and complain that, in our case, this or that doctor from, for example Germany is not good. It is not surprising that the physician, often stressed with learning new routines and a new language might be surprised that colleagues who do not show any visible signs of disapproval or annoyance complain to the boss. One can see it as "talk behind one's back." This leads to frustration and stress, increased uncertainty and alienation.

How direct or indirect you are is related to politeness. The non-Swedish physician might be seen as "direct" in a negative way, i.e. "osmidig" ("inadaptable") due to differences in communicative styles as well as to lack of language competence, i.e. problems with formulating the message in a less direct way. Similarly, non-Swedish patients might be seen as "impolite" and even aggressive for the same reason.

Another issue I would like to mention here is the hierarchy aspect and addressing people. As mentioned, titles are not widely used in Sweden, which may be confusing for the physicians in terms of not knowing how to express politeness and respect to a superior. Moreover, physicians often expect to be treated with more respect by nurses, especially in countries where the power distance is high. In Sweden the power distance is low, which also may be a source of problems.

Recommendations concerning communication styles

Below, I provide some suggestions for overcoming and solving problems related to differences in communicative styles.

- To superiors: if you receive complaints from the staff about a non-Swedish colleague like: "He is not good!", always ask WHAT is not good. Make the person who complains motivate the statement. Try to explain why the problem might have occurred.

- To non-Swedish physicians: be aware of differences in hierarchy in Sweden and in your country of origin. Avoid demanding from subordinates and try to ask them for help instead.

- To the Swedish personnel: be aware of possible differences in communicative styles. Do not take it personally.

- To non-Swedish personnel: be aware of differences between the Swedish communicative style and the style of your country.

2.3.3 Cultural codes and practices & relationships between co-workers

In this section, I would like to mention some aspects relevant to the differences in codes and practices as well as issues related to relationships with co-workers experienced by the participants. To start with the issue of time, it is important to be punctual in Sweden. This concerns both patients and personnel. Other issues, such as issues related to differences in clothing, e.g. Muslim female wearing a veil, have also been mentioned. This is also related to views on female subordination and passivity and males being "oppressors," that is not always the case. Most societies are far more "masculine" (in Hofstede's terms) than the Swedish society, and one should be aware of it.

Religious differences have been mentioned by the respondents as sources of problems as well. Religion should undoubtedly be part of the training for Swedish personnel. It is valuable not only for communication, but for medical treatment as well, e.g. avoidance of medicines that contain alcohol for Muslim patients should be known for the health care providers.

I have already mentioned differences in hierarchy and gender. Another issue is the issue of the relationship team-individual. Sweden is an individualistic country from many perspectives where every one should take care of oneself. It often results, unfortunately, in the above-described loneliness experienced by the non-Swedish physicians. Moreover, the fact that having friends at workplace does not mean that you are friends outside the

workplace can be experienced as frustrating. It might take a while until you are invited to a Swedish home.

Another issue that is important is to know is something called "team work." In Sweden, it is common to work in teams, which are often characterized by a rather democratic atmosphere. You are often expected to take your own initiative and not await detailed orders from the management. Non-Swedes who are used to a less democratic way of work may experience this as lack of organization and security.

Recommendations concerning cultural codes and practices and relationships between co-workers

Below follow some suggestions concerning cultural codes and practices:

- Be on time!
- Be tolerant to cultural differences.
- In different societies views on male and female roles differ from the Swedish "equality" view. The Swedish personnel should be aware of this, both communicating with, for example, a Muslim husband who might sometimes talk instead of his wife who is the patient as well as communicating with a Muslim male physician, whose "direct" style of communication with nurses might be due to differences in power distance rather than to views on male-female inequality.
- Many participants express interest in learning more about religion and its influence on the patient's preference for treatment methods (I suggest the work of Hallingberg & Larsson (1997) as well as Ekblad (1996) for this purpose).
- Interpreter's help and the ways to get the most of it have also been mentioned as lacking in the curriculum.
- Both Swedish and non-Swedish personnel have expressed interest in getting more information about Swedish culture, in order to understand their own behaviour, values and beliefs (for the Swedish personnel) as well as to compare them with the country of origin (for the non-Swedish personnel)
- It is important to provide the non-Swedish physicians with a detailed overview of the structure of the Swedish health care and the way team work functions. Moreover, in the beginning, a representative of the personnel should assist with the new routines.

- Another aspect that I have observed giving lectures for health care personnel is the quite common unawareness of COMMUNICATION in itself and the lack of consideration and even ignorance of communication, the main focus being on medical examination. Last but not least, the health care personnel should be made aware of the importance of successful communication.

2.3.4 Discrimination

Research at Swedish workplaces shows that few non-Swedes in general, and physicians in particular, are found in leading positions (Magnusson & Andréasson 2005). All the above mentioned problems, e.g. language, cultural differences, lack of knowledge about routines, uncertainty, lead to problems in career development for the non-Swedish physicians. As far as I can see, it is often even more complicated for females than males to succeed with their career. For a non-Swedish female who attempts to make a career and at the same time "keep up" to the requirements on females posed in her culture, i.e. being a good mother, wife, etc, might be a burden and lead to both physical and psychological problems.

In informal conversations, many non-Swedish physicians pointed out that it was difficult even to get a chance to come to an interview ("it is enough that you have a name that is not Swedish"), and, unfortunately, cases where immigrants change their names into Swedish ones are not uncommon. As I have mentioned earlier in the report, language problems can be taken for lack of professionalism, and the fact that you do not understand makes plenty of opportunities to be cheated. Verbal comments on a person's culture are also reported. Comments like "Så här gör vi i Sverige" ("We do it like this in Sweden") are mentioned sometimes when a non-Swedish physician presents her or his view on something common in her/his country of origin. Questions such as "Do you have operation rooms in Iraq?" might make the Iraqi surgeon think that people perceive her/him as coming from a completely uncivilized country.

The examples are many, and there are many different ways of handling discrimination. Below, I will present just a few suggestions.

Recommendations concerning discrimination

To the non-Swedish personnel; I would encourage them not to give up and continue to strive for their goal. Do not expect that things will be easy when you come to another country. Be open, have tolerance and patience.

I would like to address the Swedish personnel by using the words of Ranjana Srivastava and Declan J Green in their article about foreign medical graduates – the colleagues of the non-Swedish physicians in Australia:

In medicine, the road is long for us all, but for the foreign medical graduate it is inevitably more winding and rough. It is our obligation to not abandon our colleagues along the way, but to seek to ease their journey with small, personal gestures and larger, administrative measures. While they tend out society's sick, we must not deny them their own bruises that often lie just beneath the surface. It is only then as physicians we can truly call ourselves healers. (Srivastava & Green 2004)

The majority of the Swedish respondents who participated in the study have never worked outside of Sweden, apart from Norway and Denmark. Never having experienced being the one who is new and "different" at the workplace, it may be difficult to feel the necessity to provide support and help for newcomers. This issue should be raised in the course of medical training.

2.3.5 General conclusions

The new heterogeneous workforce creates challenges connected to cultural differences, which have an impact on working life, e.g. conflict solving, differences in views on power distance between superiors and subordinates, attitudes to work, working conditions, expectations of appropriate behaviours, attitudes, socially accepted norms and beliefs, etc. In addition, to cultural differences, language difficulties add to the complexity of the situation. It is therefore fairly clear that future educational programs for the groups involved should benefit from more information regarding many of the factors discussed above.

3. CASE STUDY: Local community police

3.1 Introduction

The Swedish Police Service is one of the major state run agencies I n Sweden with approximately 24 600 employees of which 17 400 are police officers[17]. The police force serves the Swedish public which has become increasingly ethnically diverse in the last decades. To date, 12.2 percent of the Swedish 9 million population are immigrants. Among Swedish Police staff their share amounts to 3.1 percent, and 4.0 percent among police academy students[18]. The police aim at recruiting more staff with immigrant background in the future.

National Police Academy Training

All police officers have to complete the National Police Academy training program. The program consists of 2 years of post-upper secondary training followed by a 6 months trainee period within the police organization. The training program is offered at Solna Police Academy, Växjö University and Umeå University, and is also offered as a distance training via an educational platform on the Internet in cooperation with the police authorities. (www.polisen.se)

In order to be admitted to the National Police Academy the applicants must have completed their upper secondary studies (allmän behörighet), hold Swedish citizenship, have a driver's license, and be in good physical and psychological condition. The applicants have to pass entrance tests which consist of physical tests and Swedish language tests, including reading comprehension, vocabulary, and spelling. Those who pass the tests are further interviewed by psychologists.

The national police academy curriculum consists of several modules necessary for police work, but lacks a course specifically teaching intercultural communication. Aspects of

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[17] Approximately 65% of the employees are men. Women make up one fifth of the police officers, and about three quarters of the civil staff.

[18] The share of police officers and civil employees who were born in Sweden and have two parents born outside Sweden is 2.3%; and with only one parent born outside Sweden 7.3%. The share of police academy students who were born in Sweden with two parents born outside Sweden is 3.8%, and with only one parent born outside Sweden 7.7%. (Swedish Police Service Annual Report 2006)

intercultural communication could be brought up in term 2 case *Crime prevention work. Racism and Discrimination*, in term 3 case *Youth*, and in term 4 case *Violence in close relations*. Some aspects of intercultural communication may also be part of the themes *ethics and communication*. Intercultural communication may also be linked to the National Police Academy educational aims of developing "förmåga att kunna kommunicera i komplexa förhörs- och andra situationer" (ability to communicate in complex questioning and other situations), and "förståelse för utsatta gruppers situation" (understanding of the situation of vulnerable groups). Ethics, values and diversity issues are said to be in particular focus in the National Police Academy training in 2006-2007. (http://www.polisen.se)

The Community Police

The community police areas have their own police station and personnel, who interact with the public on a daily basis. It is the community police that the general public mostly meets. The community police is headed by the community police chief and assistant community police chief. The community police has a broad work field ranging from heavy criminal gangs to so called 'everyday offences' committed in the area, such as theft, assault, criminal damages or public order disturbances.

The local police station investigated in this survey has existed for over 25 years. It is situated in the middle of an area where the majority of the residents are migrants and refugees. Over 80 different nationalities are found among the approximately 70 000 residents in the local community police area. Arab, Assyrian, Kurd, Somali and Turk are some of these nationalities. Depending on the neighborhood, 50 to 90% of the residents are migrants.

44 police officers were employed at the police station at the time of the survey (October 2005), 27-28 of them having external duty. All the staff members were born in Sweden, and some had one or both parents born in another European country. The only religious belonging reported was Christian. Thus, a rather homogenous Swedish staff interacted with a multicultural public on a daily basis. The police officers encountered plaintiffs, witnesses, and suspects and some of the police officers had a youth oriented work.

Only a few years back some 8-9 police officers with immigrant background were employed at the police station, and during that time 13 different languages were spoken among the employees. The assistant chief explained that they had lost these police officers partly because police officers with immigrant background are sought-after in the police organization, and partly because they were young and liked to try different positions within the police. The career possibilities at the police station were described as limited.

The survey consisted of a questionnaire distributed at the local police station. A small pilot questionnaire was distributed first, followed by a revised questionnaire. In all, 19 respondents (out of 44) filled in and returned the questionnaires which covered questions on personal profile, interaction with diversity, attitudes towards diversity, discrimination and racism, issues arising from diversity, educational needs, and good and bad examples. Of the respondents, 6 had managing positions, 11 were ordinary police officers, and 2 occupied civil positions. All were born in Sweden, but 5 employees had one or both parents born outside Sweden.

Information has also been obtained from interviews. 6 interviewees were policemen (including 1 in managing position and 2 former employees) and 1 was a civil receptionist. All were born in Sweden. Also 4 young immigrant residents and 2 interpreters were interviewed.

3.2 Issues / Challenges & Responses

3.2.1 Language

Language command

One of the challenges reported by the police staff at the local police station regarding their interaction with the multicultural public concerns difficulties regarding language command. The daily interaction with clients who do not speak Swedish or English, or are in the process of learning Swedish, naturally entails language difficulties and sometimes misunderstandings, which could be experienced as problematic and frustrating, and sometimes also humorous.

Use of interpreters

In order to enable communication and ensure mutual understanding professional interpreters are frequently used. However, working with interpreters is reported as a challenge in itself. The three-part interpretation situation yields a situation of indirect communication between the police officer and client. A direct communication would be preferable but is often not possible.

Employment of staff with language skills and cultural knowledge

At the workplace language skills and cultural knowledge were perceived as merits and assets in police work, and sometimes the personnel's language skills in other languages than Swedish were used to overcome language difficulties. In the police station reception, the local police had consciously employed a person with immigrant background who used her mother tongue when required in interaction with residents from related linguistic backgrounds. The receptionist's immigrant background was also considered a positive signal to the public. Both her cultural background and language skills were perceived as valuable assets, beneficial in contacts with the ethnically and culturally diverse public in the community police area.

Several respondents stated that employees' linguistic or cultural skills had been of good use many times. Several colleagues had, by using their skills in other languages, contributed to establishing good relations with the public and solved language problems. The reception was mentioned as a good example of this kind, and other situations mentioned were above all use of language skills in taking reports from plaintiffs and in questionings. Other potential advantages were also pointed out, such as calming down street rows and enhanced possibilities of finding informants within different ethnic groups. Since an important part of criminal detection work is based on having reliable informants, it is of great value to the police to have informants in various ethnic groups.

Multilingual labor force

At the police station, the first person with whom the public generally meet is the civil employee working in the reception. The receptionist appreciated her work and expressed a general satisfaction with the interaction with the residents in the area. The receptionist's main task is to be of service to the public by supplying information and assisting with taking

reports. The main language of communication was Swedish, but the receptionist often used her mother tongue in interaction with residents from ex Yugoslavia and Albania. Her language skills facilitated the dialogue with many clients of these nationalities, who could use their mother tongue and were thus able to make themselves understood more easily. Many of those visiting the police station are also frightened of the police. Refugees often have negative experience of the police in their home country. Some also feel that they have been negatively treated in Sweden. Sometimes the receptionist told the clients of her own immigrant background and thereby conveyed a feeling of understanding. She was astonished how her simple service and natural helpfulness often made the clients compliment her on her kindness.

Humor

There did not seem to be any problem with understanding humor or using humor between the staff and the clients. A police officer related how it is important to accord time to create a good atmosphere and that an ounce of humor can make the demanding work a bit easier and more stimulating. With time the police officer had also noticed that it was possible to joke about most subjects, even about subjects considered as taboo, such as religion. Sometimes language difficulties also gave rise to amusing or ambiguous expressions.

Verbal expressions - Death threats

A police officer pointed out that expressions such as "I will kill you" are more frequently used in some cultures. The expressions mostly indicate anger, but sometimes also deep concern. Threats of this kind were reported daily to the local police. Some of the threats were seriously meant, but most were simply expressions. The police has to take these threats into consideration and find out the gravity of the threats.

Interpreting non-verbal communication

One of the police officers interviewed pointed out differences in body language as a challenge, particularly to interpret different gestures. Two other interviewees mentioned body posture and gaze as not being evident to interpret at first. A police officer mentioned that he had interpreted Somali young men's avoidance of eye contact as a manifestation of nonchalance at first, but had then come to the conclusion that this was not the case. In Sweden, a certain level of eye contact is often interpreted by the interlocutor as a sign of honesty and sincerity. Complete avoidance of eye contact may be experienced as if the

interlocutor is hiding something, or as nonchalance. In other cultural contexts, full avoidance of eye contact with a person, such as an authority, may be a sign of respect/submission.

A female police officer recalled how she felt offended by a Muslim Somali professional interpreter's refusal to shake her hand, explaining that he should not touch a woman's hand for religious reasons. In Swedish professional contexts the participants usually start their interaction by looking at each other, shaking hands and introducing themselves to each other.

After the avoided handshake the police officer started to pay more attention to non-verbal interaction between Somali men and women in order to find out how they use to interact with each other. Several police officers mentioned how they paid attention to non-verbal communicative behavior in order to work out differences in cultural patterns of interaction.

3.2.2 Communication styles

Direct communication

Several of the interviewees commented on indirectness in communicative style. One police officer expected the suspects involved in questionings to give straight answers (only 'yes' or 'no' and to tell their story ("the Swedish way") from "A to B", and experienced frustration when some suspects insisted on telling their story from "B to A". Questionings often lasted two hours instead of one, which was experienced as frustrating and tiring.

Another police officer mainly used open questions instead and tried to avoid yes/no questions in order for the suspect to open up and develop his/her views and experiences. The aim was to create a more relaxed atmosphere in order to illicit information and also to be able to help. This patient approach allows for a broader acceptance of different cultural aspects on how narratives are constructed.

3.2.3 Cultural codes and practices

Cultural and religious food issues were not of relevance at the workplace since there was no canteen where lunch was served. There were no examples of religious dress codes to

be found among the staff either[19]. However, interviewee expressed a negative attitude towards police officers wearing religious symbols of all kinds, arguing that it would take the focus away from the professional role of the police and instead highlight religious aspects. The police officer considered religion a private issue and argued that in the professional police role of the police private beliefs should not be displayed. Another police officer reacted to the little number of Muslim women applying to the Police Academy. The question is whether wearing for example a veil would constitute a barrier to recruitment in the first place[20].

3.2.4 Issues regarding gender and children

Crime committed against women and children

Crime committed against women and children is a challenge reported. One of the police officers works with what in Sweden is called "hedersrelaterade brott" (crimes related to honor), where the victim is mostly a woman and the committer is mostly a male member of her family. Another police officer works with children subjected to violence and abuse. The work is experienced as strainful since it is difficult to experience women and children being badly treated. Spanking is part of child rearing in many cultures, whereas in Sweden it is forbidden by law. The police officer working with child abuse has noticed that crimes where children are subjected to physical violence often involve residents with immigrant background, whereas crimes of sexual child abuse mainly involve native Swedes.

Taking orders from women

Two respondents in managing position reported having experienced problems working with women/men and taking orders from women/men. In the interviews particularly some male non-Swedish citizens' negative attitudes towards female police officers were pointed out as problematic.

Female police officers seemed to develop different strategies to cope with for example flirting or patronizing attitudes or situations where they are ignored. Some were said to become more active than their male counterparts in order to gain respect. Examples of support from male colleagues and management were provided by the interviewees. One

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[20] On March 1st 2006 the Swedish National Police adopted the possibility of letting police officers wear religious/cultural hair dresses such as veil or turban.

example was of a male colleague asking a reluctant client to talk to the boss, thus referring to his female colleague. There were also examples of situations where female police officers had asked a male colleague to take over because the male immigrant client was reluctant to talk to a woman.

3.2.5 Attitudes towards a diverse workforce

The management and employees varied in their perception of which benefits were to be drawn from an ethnically diverse workforce. The management perceived above all increased representation, increased legitimacy and an improved public image of the police, which may reflect important issues on the management's agenda. The management also found increased overall competence as a major benefit, which the employees perceived as the most important benefit. The employees also notided a positive impact on the contacts with the public, something which the management seemed somewhat more skeptical to.

However, neither the employees nor the management believed that ethnic diversity would improve the social atmosphere at the workplace to a large extent. As for the impact on communication at the workplace, the employees' views were more positive than those of the management.

The overall results from the questionnaires show that most respondents had a positive experience of and/or a positive attitude towards a multicultural workforce and perceived more benefits to be drawn from an ethnically and culturally diverse personnel compared to potential disadvantages.

3.2.6 Discrimination

Xenophobia and verbal comments

Most respondents stated that they had not experienced discrimination at the workplace. However, three respondents (all native Swedes) did report experience of discrimination from the Swedish public and the non-Swedish public. No cases of discriminatory acts or utterances from the local police staff were reported, but the assistant community police chief reported an incident where a police officer from another district had used unsuitable expressions during a police intervention in the local community area. He related how there may be differences in the level of harshness in the interventions made by the local police compared to other police units temporarily intervening in the area. Since the local police

officers are used to interact with the residents in the area, their interventions may be characterized by more calmness and security, and thereby entail less friction, compared to interventions made by other units who are less familiar with the area.

Two interviewees believed that xenophobia was to be found at all levels in the police force. They had experience of some police officers using a certain jargon, including negative comments about some ethnic groups. The assistant community police chief highlighted the importance of intervening and stopping any racist or discriminatory statement immediately. The management did not tolerate racist or discriminatory statements at the workplace. On the other hand, he believed prejudice to be as common within the police organization as within society in general.

Two interviewees also reported that many immigrants believe that they are checked on for the only reason of being immigrants, and that police officers are often accused of racism. Looking for a person who according to the description is black, the police officers would of course check on black persons who resemble the description. According to the interviewees, some youngsters also tried to intimidate police officers by accusing them of racism in order to prevent them from intervening or checking on them.

An interviewee pointed out that police officers with racist or xenophobic attitudes would have difficulties working in the area given the ethnic diversity of the majority of the residents. Those suffering from xenophobia would thus try to find work elsewhere.

Recruitment

According to the management, new recruitment was run centrally for most employments, and the management said that they welcome employees with immigrant background at the workplace.

The assistant community police chief and one formerly employed police officer with immigrant background have experienced that police officers with immigrant background encounter more difficulties compared to their Swedish colleagues being accepted by the immigrant population in the area.

3.2.7   Training issues - preparation for dealing with interculturality at the workplace

People from approximately 80 nationalities resided in the local community police area at the time of the survey, and the majority of the police officers, all born in Sweden, interacted with the ethnically diverse public on a daily basis. The management felt adequately prepared for working with a diverse public, having many years of experience from doing so. This was also the case for most of the employees. Only two respondents stated that they did not feel adequately prepared for interacting with an ethnically diverse public. One of them had 3.5 years of police work experience, but only a few weeks of work experience in the local community police area. "I would like to learn more languages and would like to receive more information on religion and culture", he said.

All community police officers had National Police Academy training, however there was no specific course teaching intercultural communication in the police training program. Neither was there any regular in-service training for working with an ethnically diverse public offered by the local community police. In the past, however, some lectures on culture, social issues and religion in relation to police work had been organized for the personnel, which 5 of the 19 respondents had attended. Lectures had been held by invited speakers, such as an imam informing about Islam, and representatives from immigrant organizations, and the police officers had then for example been informed about how the Swedish police were perceived by different ethnic groups, and had also received some good advice for positive interaction. One respondent had also received a special in-service training in honor related crimes for crime investigators. The lectures were described as useful in terms of increased understanding, insight and knowledge. In general, the employees mainly learned intercultural communication by interacting daily with the residents in the area, in particular with plaintiffs, witnesses and suspects from different ethnic groups.

A majority of the respondents also socialized with people from other nationalities outside work, something which several respondents said contributed to insights in different views and perspectives, as well as a deeper understanding of what the migrants' situation implicates.

Most respondents reported satisfaction regarding the interaction with the management, employees and public. One of the formerly employed police officers in the area used the

expression "cultural chock" for describing the initial work experience in the local community police area. With time she learned how to interact with the public, to gain respect, to be explicit and concise when giving orders, to use eye contact to a large extent, to accord more time to establishing good relations, to interpret linguistic expressions used by the youngsters in the area, to interpret body language, to intervene in groups by talking to the unofficial leaders, to deal with accusations of racism when for example searching the pockets of a person with immigrant background, and so forth.

Relations with young immigrants

During an hour's conversation with teenage migrants during an evening visit at a local youth recreation center in the community police area both positive and negative aspects were brought up. 4 teenage boys from Iraqi Kurdistan did not seem to notice police officers in the area very often. One of them had a positive view of the police and said he aspired to become a police officer himself in the future. Two other Kurdish boys also said they would like to, but did not believe ever being able to meet the requirements for admission to the Police Academy. They had come to Sweden in their teens and had encountered difficulties completing Swedish upper secondary school. The preparatory course "Utryckningen" (mentioned in Part 1, section 2.2.5) could be a future option for them if they manage to complete upper secondary school successfully. Their hopes were low. However, they believed they might work as mechanics in the future. They felt safe in the neighborhood, having extensive social networks of family members, relatives and friends living in the area.

As several of the police officers pointed out, the area is segregated, with more social problems than strictly policiary problems. Many of the residents in the area have experienced war and discrimination and now face difficulties regarding housing and possibilities regarding employment and education.

3.3 Conclusions and recommendations

3.3.1 Employment of personnel with linguistic and cultural competence

There is a need for language and cultural knowledge among the police which may be met by employing police officers and civil officials with immigrant background. Further employment of staff of Swedish and non-Swedish origin with both language skills and

cultural competence is therefore recommended. The need of a good command of Swedish is of course of great importance since Swedish is the main language of communication. However, employment of skilled staff with knowledge of other languages and cultures than Swedish, for example Arabic, Kurdish, and Somali, would facilitate communication and interaction with the ethnically diverse public in the area. It would also be beneficial as regards finding informants in different ethnic groups. A recommended target group for future recruitment to the National Police Academy could therefore be interpreters, who are bilingual and possess a broad knowledge of at least two societies and cultures.

By employing individuals with immigrant background, the staff composition also comes to reflect the Swedish society to a larger extent, given that approximately 15% of the Swedish population consists of immigrants and persons born in Sweden with two parents born outside Sweden. The corresponding share among police officers in Sweden is 3.9% and 9% among the civil police staff.

3.3.2 Backup for police officers with immigrant background

A vital recommendation concerns the community police management's experience of difficulties for police officers with immigrant background to be accepted by the immigrant populations in the area. The police need to be prepared for this challenge and to prepare practical strategies on how to overcome difficulties of this kind. Strategies of support may be discussed and trained at the National Police Academy as well as among the management and staff. The challenge resembles the experiences that female police officers have previously encountered and still encounter to some extent today. Without backup from the management and colleagues it is possible that police officers with immigrant background leave work positions where their cultural and language resources could be of very good use. Backup is thus a challenge that needs to be dealt with.

3.3.3 Training needs

Both the management and most employees felt adequately prepared for working with a multicultural public and staff and they kept learning in their daily interaction. In the survey, 14 respondents were asked to choose 3 of the most relevant alternatives below, that they found would be useful for working with etnically diverse groups. The results are as follows:

- information on different cultures (11 persons)
- intercultural communication (5)

- language training (5)
- anti-racism/discrimination training (5)
- information on diversity/equality legislation (4)
- information on diversity policy (2)

As we can see, most of the respondents perceive information on different cultures as the most important training need. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not contain an explanation of the term "Intercultural communication". This is certainly a flaw, given that most people are unfamiliar with the term "Intercultural communication" and what it stands for. Actually, intercultural communication is also based on information on different cultures, both culture general and culture specific information. However, the focus is not so much on, for example, habits and religious customs, but rather on cultural similarities and differences in communication patterns, including body language; in attitudes, values and norms; in aspects such as relation to authority and showing respect and politeness; in time orientation; in gender roles; in collectivism and individualism, only to mention some of the central parts of intercultural communication. Given that the respondents ask for information on different cultures, we believe that intercultural communication training could actually be beneficial for the police management and employees.

Based on the information obtained in the personal interviews, we would also recommend that the training included body language in order for the police officers to both become aware of the Swedish non-verbal behavioral norms and their interpretations and reactions to deviations from these norms, as well as to acquire awareness and knowledge of non-verbal communicative behavior in other cultures in order to avoid drawing wrong conclusions. The course could include aspects such as gaze (degree of eye-contact, directing gaze), facial expressions, body posture, head and body movements, gestures, proximity between interlocutors, touch, smell, dress and jewelry. As regards differences in communication styles, it could be beneficial for the police officers to increase their awareness regarding cultural differences in directness/indirectness in communication style and cultural differences in power distance and potential implications.

Only a few of the 14 respondents put forward training needs regarding information on diversity/equality legislation (4) and information on diversity policy (2). However, the questionnaire answers show that there is a general low degree of knowledge of their diversity plan.

3 respondents in managing position claimed that there was a written ethnic diversity plan for the workplace. One added that it was for the overall police organization. In fact, at the time of the survey, there was no specific diversity plan for the local police. 2 respondents knew that there was none for the specific workplace and the remaining 14 respondents stated that they did not know. 1 respondent believed that the diversity plan influenced working conditions and recruitment to a large extent, 1 to some extent and 2 not at all. The remaining 15 respondents had left the question unanswered. The results of the questionnaire thus point at a need for increased knowledge of both the current legislation as well as the national police policy regarding discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds.[21]

3.3.4 Public information

Several participants expressed the need for more public education and information materials written in a manner easy to understand, addressing both the immigrant population and the majority population. Both the Swedish and non-Swedish public lack knowledge of the jurisdictional system, and naturally newcomers are initially unaware of the Swedish legislation and rule system.

At the local police station, information folders in other languages than Swedish could therefore be of help to the public, for example folders explaining what will happen after a report has been submitted. At the time of the survey there was only one important folder translated into several languages available, informing about an association which offers support to victims of crime.

We also suggest that central parts of the Swedish law system, such as women's rights and children's rights be brought up for information and discussions in courses in Sfi – basic Swedish language courses for immigrants residing in Sweden[22] and other relevant fora. Physical punishments, such as spanking, are an integrated part of child rearing in some cultures, whereas it is forbidden by law in Sweden since 1979. The police officer working with

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[21] According to DO, the ombudsman against ethnic discrimination, the diversity plan of the police authority needed to be further developed before it could be considered acceptable and in accordance with Swedish law (DO report "Välkommen till staten? En granskning 2005 av hur statliga myndigheter förebygger etnisk och religiös diskriminering på arbetsplatsen". (Welcome to the state? A scrutiny 2005 of how public authorities prevent discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds at the workplace). 2006)

[22] C.f. Part 1. Section 4.7

child abuse said that the parents often claimed that they did not know and would have refrained from beating their children if they did.

4. CASE STUDY: Border police

4.1 Introduction

The case study covers a border police terminal located at an international airport. The workplace is characterized by ethnic diversity both among the public and the staff. At the airport, where the border police have a gate keeping role, the main work task is border surveillance.

The work is headed by the border police chief and the assistant chief. At intermediate managing level are the chiefs of shift teams and at the next level the border police sergeants of the guard. The employees are either police officers or occupy civil positions, mainly passport control. Normally, 20 to 40 staff members work during a day or evening shift, depending on the hour. The main task in passport control consists of verification of the passengers' identity, the legality of passports and visas, and their right to be in Sweden, particularly regarding arrivals from countries not members of the European Union or the Schengen/Amsterdam Treaty. The staff is also of service to travelers in need of help or advice. When required, police officers take care of further control and questioning.

At the border police terminal, the ethnic diversity among the personnel has increased since the installment of the Schengen/Amsterdam treaty in 2001. At the time of the study 8% of the employees are immigrants, a figure which may be compared to 12% of the total population. Although immigrants are still underrepresented among the employees at the border police, the workplace is very diverse compared to the general scarcity of employees with immigrant background in the Swedish police.

Contrary to other European countries, passport control is a civil position in Sweden. The civil status is the main reason as to why the border police have been able to recruit more employees with immigrant background compared to, for example, the community police. The recruitment base for civil positions is of course much larger compared to the limited number of trained police officers with immigrant background existing today.[23]

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[23] When new recruitment of passport control officials took place in connection with the implementation of the Schengen/Amsterdam Treaty in March 2001, a number of immigrants were employed in order to meet the need for different languages and cultural competences at the border terminal. The management

This study is qualitative rather than quantitative in its scope. It is based on accounts of communication and interaction reported by the management and employee respondents[24] in their questionnaire answers, and by the participants in the interviews and focus groups. Supplementary information has also been obtained in three telephone interviews with one police officer in intermediate managing position and two passport control officials.

Two focus groups with civil staff employed in passport control were organized. In both groups 3 of the participants were female and 1 male. The first group was held with employees with non-Swedish background, and the second with employees with Swedish background.

The questionnaire covered questions on personal profile, interaction with diversity, attitudes towards diversity, discrimination and racism, issues arising from diversity, educational needs, and good and bad examples. 70 copies were distributed to the management and employees at the border police terminal including both police officers and passport control officials. The questionnaire was filled in and returned by 30 respondents. Of the 30 respondents 8 were police officers in managing position and 22 were employees. 5 of the employees were police officers and 17 occupied civil positions in passport control. All respondents were permanent Swedish residents. Swedish citizenship is a requirement for employment in the Swedish police force. All but two passport control officials reported Swedish nationality. 4 respondents were immigrants, and a further 13 reported immigrant background in the sense that one of their parents (7) or both their parents (6) were born outside Sweden. Swedish was the predominant mother tongue. 7 respondents reported another first language than Swedish, and 2 of them were bilingual. All speak Swedish fluently.

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characterizes several of the employed immigrants as overqualified, with several years of university studies behind them. Despite their educational level, several have encountered difficulties finding work in Sweden.

[24] Observe that, occasionally, we indicate the number of respective respondents in brackets. So, for instance," (6)" reads '6 persons'. We also alternately use the term participant and respondent. Both refer to a member of the border police work force who took part in this study.

4.2 Issues / Challenges & Responses

4.2.1 Language

The main challenge or barrier reported by the participants is difficulties regarding language fluency (11). The daily interaction with clients who do not speak Swedish or English naturally entails language difficulties and misunderstandings, which sometimes can be experienced as problematic and frustrating and sometimes also give rise to stimulating and humorous situations. Language difficulties may also include deviations in pronunciation (10) and problems with idioms or foreign expressions (2).

The immigrant respondents have lived in Sweden in average 14.5 years and master Swedish to a very large extent. Nevertheless, language difficulties may sometimes occur. The management mentions an employee who had encountered some difficulties in written Swedish skills who was accorded extra hours at an in-service computer training program.

None of the immigrant respondents report any problems of being hindered from using his or her mother tongue. Most respondents do not consider the personnel using their mother tongue as a problem, but some do (5). Staff members who do not understand the language spoken may feel excluded, something which is commented on by an immigrant respondent: "När det händer är det utfrysande om man inte förstår" (When it happens it is freezing out if one does not understand).

Employment of staff with language skills and cultural knowledge

Language skills are of good use in the daily border police work with travelers, and also in questionings. 13 languages are spoken among the respondents. The employees with immigrant background contribute with their specific linguistic and cultural knowledge in their interaction with passengers and assist with their skills when needed. The cooperation between the personnel is based on a professional need for each others competencies, and complementation of each other's skills is mutually appreciated.

The personnel's language skills in other languages than Swedish are used to overcome language difficulties. Professional interpreters are used in communication with asylum seekers and in questionings in order to enable communication and ensure mutual

understanding, and sometimes the personnel with immigrant background may be of assistance. Sometimes other travelers may be of service as informal interpreters.

Several respondents add comments describing their immigrant colleagues in positive terms, as skilled and good-hearted persons. 23 respondents give examples of good use of their immigrant colleagues linguistic and cultural competences in their daily work at the border terminal in contacts with travelers and asylum seekers, in situations of assistance, control and further questioning. They are said to facilitate the communication with travelers, to solve misunderstandings and to save both time and energy.

By employing police officers and passport control officials with various linguistic and cultural competences the possibilities to communicate with persons belonging to various ethnic groups increases. A mother tongue speaker is also able to interpret information and non-verbal signals that a non-mother tongue speaker may not be aware of, and is also aware of cultural codes of conducts, which entails increased possibilities of identity control, and, for example, calming down irritated passengers.

Authorities that cooperate with the border police, for example the customs and the coast guard, sometimes also ask passport control officials to assist them with their language resources.

4.2.2 Communication styles

Directness/indirectness

Problems with directness/indirectness are reported by 4 respondents. Problems regarding conflicts and the notion of loosing face are reported by 2 respondents, one born in Sweden and one born outside Sweden. One points out that "Svenskar gillar ej konfrontation" (Swedes dislike confrontation) and that they often avoid fronting conflicts. The respondent would prefer a more direct communication and less conflict avoidance in order to actually solve conflicts that arise at the workplace.

4.2.3 Cultural codes and practices

Time

The time aspect is important at Swedish workplaces and it is common knowledge to all employees irrespective of ethnic background. Problems related to time such as not being on time for work or often changing plans are reported by 4 respondents, but, according to the respondents comments, late arrivals occur as frequently among native Swedes as among immigrants.

Covert prejudices concerning food

Food issues are not relevant at the workplace since there is no canteen where lunch is served. The employees bring their own food, and food issues are only relevant in the sense of exchange of recipes. However, a participant from a Muslim country states an example of a question which could be interpreted as an expression of curiosity or ignorance, but may also be experienced as discriminatory:

-"Have you got ham on your sandwich? Aren't you a Muslim?"

-"I'm from a Muslim country, but I'm not religious."

Cultural dress codes

Clothing is not an issue at the border police terminal since all wear uniform. The only female Muslim respondent does not wear veil. The question is, however, whether she would have been recruited in the first place if she did[25].

4.2.4 Relations

Relations with the public

Police officers and passport control officials with immigrant background are generally accepted by the public, and nothing in the study indicates that they would worsen the relations between the police and the public. It seems rather obvious to us though, that if the ethnic composition of the police employees would reflect the population as a whole to a larger extent, chances of a more effective communication would increase and thereby also reduce crime.

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[25] Since March 1st 2006 the Swedish National Police has adopted the possibility of letting police officers wear religious/cultural hair dresses such as veil or turban, following the model currently employed in Britain.

Gender relations

A challenge encountered is related to gender. Some respondents have experienced problems working with women/men (5) and taking orders from women/men (5). Some male citizens' attitudes towards female police officers are sometimes experienced as a problem. 4 border police respondents state that incidents occur "Sometimes but it usually settles after a while", "Nothing serious", "Maybe to some extent" and "People with certain cultural backgrounds are reluctant to take orders from a female employee, but this is not the case in general".

The management relates how a police trainee had difficulties interacting respectfully with the female officials and how he consequently was not offered a further employment.

Equal treatment of employees

As for relations between co-workers, 5 respondents with Swedish background report problems with equal treatment. Since they do not provide any examples of unequal treatment we can only speculate about the reasons. It could be related to the hierarchical structure of the border police, or to gender, or to age, or possibly to different relations between the management and the employees of Swedish and non-Swedish background. One of the interviewees in managing position explains that he has a more understanding and less demanding attitude towards employees with immigrant background compared to employees who have Swedish as their mother tongue.

Relationship between co-workers

The interaction between the employees is experienced as either satisfactory (19) or very satisfactory (11), without any notable difference regarding ethnic background. The appreciation of the interaction points at a good general fellow feeling among the employees.

Several participants express appreciation of their colleagues with immigrant background not only on a professional level but also on a personal and social level. Some participants mention conversational topics ranging from discussing food traditions and exchanging recipes, to sharing personal experiences and discussing news events. Some also mention an informal mutual learning from each other, which is enriching on a personal level. By interacting and learning from each other a more nuanced picture of different ways of life,

cultures, attitudes and values are shared. The majority of the respondents socialize with both colleagues with Swedish and non-Swedish background during breaks and meals at the workplace. There seem to be a general openness towards all colleagues irrespective of ethnic background. This openness is also reflected in the respondents' social life outside work, where 2/3 of the staff state socializing with people from other ethnic backgrounds outside work. 12 of the respondents have also lived in another country for at least 6 months, an experience which also may be beneficial for intercultural interaction.

Relationship between management and employees

The majority of the respondents are also satisfied with the interaction between the management and the employees of both Swedish and non-Swedish background (20). 4 are very satisfied with the interaction between the management and employees of Swedish and non-Swedish background. However, 5 respondents with Swedish background express dissatisfaction regarding the interaction between the management and employees of both Swedish and non-Swedish background. The dissatisfaction does not seem to be related to ethnic diversity but rather to the need of more support from the head management at the workplace, and it also seems linked to the process of reorganization taking place at the workplace, and to reduced possibilities of swift solutions in a highly hierarchical organization, where planning and implementation not always go hand in hand.

Relationship between public and border police personnel

At the airport the personnel encounter an international public on a daily basis. They interact mainly with travelers from all over the world, but they also encounter asylum seekers and sometimes illegal immigrants. They check travelers' passports and visas and their right to be in the country. The main surveillance is focused on so called third countries, not part of the Schengen/Amsterdam treaty. Different languages are used when required for facilitating communication and strategically for verification of identity and mother tongue. The officials are also said to develop a sixth sense regarding signals of suspect appearance and behavior.

The respondents are either satisfied with the interaction with the Swedish public (20) and non-Swedish public (23), or very satisfied with the Swedish public (9) and the non-Swedish public (7). No respondent reports being unsatisfied with the public, irrespective of ethnic origin.

4.2.5   Discrimination

Most respondents say that they have not experienced discrimination at the workplace (20), however, some do state having experiences of discrimination (4) and some think it is difficult to say (6). Below we will have a further look at the examples reported.

A respondent with long work experience at the border point says that discrimination used to occur quite a lot earlier but that it is decreasing at tremendous speed. The respondents report discrimination to have occurred from Swedish employees (4), employees with non-Swedish background (2), the Swedish public (3), the public with non-Swedish background (2) and the Swedish management (1). One example reported by the management concerns two employees from former Yugoslavia where one felt discriminated by the other. Several interviewees experience as discrimination that their British counterparts may let Swedish citizens with slightly broken passports into Britain, but not citizens with other backgrounds in the same situation.

Covert discrimination

Two employees with immigrant background are more hesitant as to their experience of discrimination: "sometimes one wonders" and "maybe". Sometimes it is difficult to know whether statements or questions are posed out of simple curiosity or if there is a negative touch to them. One of the immigrants suggests a positive interpretation as the most constructive interpretation when in doubt.

Discriminatory language use

The border police has essentially a gate keeping role, and some employees express a general hostility towards for example asylum seekers, which may be experienced as difficult for immigrants or refugees employed to cope with. Examples of a certain jargon used with xenophobic attitudes towards certain ethnic groups are other negative experiences expressed. Certain statements or questions about food or religion may also raise an uncertainty as to whether there is a negative touch to them or not. Certain discriminatory events are reported, but discrimination seems to be diminishing.

It may be that it is difficult to come to terms with xenophobic attitudes that some employees express in their attitudes towards for example asylum seekers. It seems like these issues "lie under the carpet" not only in the police organization but in society in general. What we

do see is that intercultural workplaces both give rise to these questions and also in a sense solve them. By working with each other and getting to know each other they learn from each other and may enrich each other with their mutual differences, similarities and resources. The border police staff is a living example of this.

4.2.6 Impact of ethnic and cultural diversity

Based on the questionnaire data, the respondents disagree to a large extent with the statement that there are no advantages to be drawn from an ethnically and culturally diverse staff. They do not seem to find that ethnic diversity among the personnel has a negative impact on either the communication at the workplace, the social atmosphere, on public relations, the image of the police, nor that it decreases the attraction of the police organization as an employer either.

On the contrary, most find diversity to be advantageous. The major advantages perceived are above all enhanced representation and increased overall competence at the workplace. Other advantages perceived are improved image of the police, increased attraction of the police as an employer and a positive influence on the contacts with the public.

On the other hand, the average result regarding the statement that there are no disadvantages to be found is rather neutral. There may thus be disadvantages that are out of the realm of the questions posed in the survey.

Profiling national identity at the workplace

In the focus group with 4 native Swedish employees a sense of nostalgia regarding the rapid demographic changes that have occurred in Swedish society was expressed. The lack of pride of being Swedish was also commented on, although I personally would prefer the word 'joy' to 'pride', since 'joy' more accurately describes the experienced feeling and excludes any ideas of superiority. In the focus group with native Swedes several participants relate how immigrants often express enthusiasm about their national identity, whereas the enthusiasm is often damped by Swedes. Expressions of joy of a national identity seems to be somehow taboo in Sweden, and symbols such as the Swedish flag have become linked with ideas of nationalism, xenophobia and racism. The respondents described "being Swedish" as almost considered as something "fult" (ugly). This idea may

create internal conflicts as well as tensions in interaction with people with other ethnic backgrounds.

Personal features important for the police

In what follows, we briefly discuss the question as to how the border police view different personal features in regard to their professional role. These data are based on questionnaire data carried out with the border police. 5 indicates 'most important' and '0' indicates 'not important at all'.

TABLE 2.4.3:   Preference order of personal features among the border police

	Management (Born in Sweden) (8)	Employees (Born in Sweden) (18)	Employees (Born outside Sweden) (4)	Average scores (30)
Competence	4.3	4.7	5.0	4.6
Personal qualities	5.0	4.9	5.0	4.9
Cultural background	1.8	2.2	3.0	2.2
Knowledge of Swedish	4.8	4.9	5.0	4.9
Knowledge of other languages	4.0	3.8	4.0	3.9
Age	1.8	1.8	1.0	1.7
Gender	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.9

Among the border police respondents, knowledge of Swedish is considered the most important factor of all, together with personal qualities. In literature Swedish language competence is often described as the "needle's eye" which immigrants have to pass in order to obtain an employment (Runfors 2003). For the border police management, personal qualities scores somewhat higher than knowledge of Swedish.

Knowledge of Swedish is of course important. Police work is dependent on good communication, both within the staff and with the public. Since the Swedish language is the main instrument of communication at the workplace, although other languages are also used, good communicative skills in Swedish are required. Competence and knowledge of other languages are also considered important by the respondents but even more so personal qualities and knowledge of Swedish.

The most divergent views found among the respondents concern the importance of cultural background. The border police management and employees born in Sweden accord less importance to cultural background than do the immigrant employees themselves. The two former categories perceive cultural background almost as (un)important as age. The divergent views on cultural background may be interpreted in different ways. A high score may be interpreted as cultural background being valued as an important asset, which could explain the immigrants' high scores. A low score could consequently be interpreted as a low value accorded to the contribution of cultural skills. On the other hand, a low score could also be interpreted as an indication of equality, i.e. that no difference is made between people of Swedish and non-Swedish background, the same as with age and gender.

A border police employee also adds that other diversity than cultural or ethnic is equally important, for example **sexual orientation**. Persons who are gay, lesbian, or bisexual are minorities who run a risk of encountering difficulties and discrimination at the workplace. One of the Swedish focus group participants works actively with diversity issues regarding sexual orientation within the police organization.

4.3 Educational needs

At the border police terminal no training in intercultural issues has been organized for the employees. Nevertheless, all respondents feel adequately prepared for working with an ethnically and culturally diverse public and staff.

Some of the border police respondents have Police Academy training. The respondents occupying civil positions have no Police Academy training, but a high general educational level. The four immigrant respondents have also lived in a bicultural setting for many years, and one has training in conflict solving, one has extensive experience of international work.

Many staff members have experience from living, studying and working abroad, and the majority socializes with people with other nationalities than Swedish outside work. Several of the interviewees point out that they also learn from each other. Interacting daily with each other could be described as an informal training. By asking questions, being open and curious they may learn a lot from each other. Some of the interviewees with immigrant

background say that they gladly inform their colleagues about their countries and cultures if they wish.

Both the management and employees feel adequately prepared for working with an ethnically and culturally diverse staff and public. However, the majority of the respondents, both management and employees, point out information about different cultures (20) as an important training need in order to improve their efficiency in working with people with different ethnic background. Some also perceive training in intercultural communication (15) and language training (12) as important. Some also express the need for information on diversity policies (7), anti-racism/discrimination training (6), and information on diversity/ equality legislation (6).

The most important training need for all staff categories is thus general and specific information about different cultures and intercultural communication. For employees with non-Swedish background more information on Swedes, Swedish culture, Swedish laws and regulations, social issues, and Swedish language skills are also pointed out.

4.4 Conclusions and recommendations

Challenges of ethnical and gender based diversity

There are several challenges linked with ethnic diversity at the workplace. The major challenge reported in the interaction with the public concerns language. A linguistically and culturally diverse staff thus meets the needs existing at the workplace. Since Swedish is the main language of communication among staff members, employment also requires a good command of Swedish.

Other challenges put forward are related to gender issues, such as certain male individual's reluctance to take orders from female officials, and simmering more or less covert tensions due to xenophobia.

However, most respondents are satisfied with the interaction between management, staff and public, irrespective of ethnic background and almost all feel adequately prepared for working with an ethnically diverse public and staff, despite no intercultural training offered

to the employees and management. Most of the participants have acquired their intercultural skills and knowledge in their daily interaction with an ethnically diverse public.

Perceived advantages of diversity at the workplace

The respondents put forward several advantages of an ethnically diverse staff in the survey. One of the major advantages perceived is the increased overall competence.

The daily use of the personnel's language skills and cultural knowledge facilitates identity checks and communication with travelers and asylum seekers at the airport and thus improves service and means of control as well as saves time and energy. There is a need for language and cultural knowledge which is met by employing police officers and civil officials with various ethnic backgrounds[26].

Another major benefit with a multiethnic staff perceived is the increased representation at the workplace. By employing individuals with immigrant background in the police organization the composition of the staff comes to reflect the Swedish society to a larger extent. The immigrant background of the passport control officials at the border terminal is considered as a positive signal of this kind.

The language resources at the border police terminal are also used and appreciated by the authorities that cooperates with the border police, for example the customs and coast guards.

Recommendations on education in culture and intercultural communication

Intercultural communication skills are a professional prerequisite since the border surveillance work consists of daily interaction with people from different cultures, and communication is the most important instrument. In order for the border police staff to be able to communicate effectively in different situations, it is of great importance that they acquire knowledge of general and specific cultural communication patterns and ways of thinking. The most important training requested by the respondents is above all more knowledge about different cultures and intercultural communication.

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[26] According to a telephone interview with the new head of border police management, 35 languages are now spoken among the personnel (163 employees) in the border police in the region. November 22, 2006.

5. CASE STUDY: High school

5.1 Introduction

The Swedish high school under scrutiny in this study has about 1500 students and 150 teachers. According to the principal, about 7 % of the teachers are non-Swedish. There are no statistics available on the ethnic groups represented among the students, but, based on our field observations, we estimate that at least 15 % of them have immigrant background[27]. There are both European and non-European ethnicities in the school.

The students of the school are not under the jurisdiction of the educational system, but it concerns a non-compulsory form of school. The education offered to them is very broad and they have a great freedom of choice with no less than 14 different 3-year programs.

The programs are organized in sectors, and each sector consists of four teams. Each team is headed by a principal, who is responsible for the education, the teachers and the students, their comfort and cooperation. Each team includes approximately 7-12 teachers working together, planning the term, helping each other and discussing the disposition of the lessons, possible problems and so on. They hold conferences and meetings with the students' parents on a regular basis.

5.2 Issues / Challenges & Responses

In this study, we used the questionnaire as described in 1.3. In total, 30 questionnaires where sent to the participants involved and in all 22 answered: the principal, 6 teachers of which 3 are Swedish and 3 non-Swedish and 15 students of which 7 are Swedish and 8 are non-Swedish. From the questionnaires we learnt a number of aspects of the intercultural communication at this workplace such as how the participants experience the cooperation between different personal categories in the school, and how they experience their own cooperation with Swedish/non-Swedish employees and students respectively.

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[27] The term "immigrant background" here includes persons born outside Sweden and persons born in Sweden with both parents born outside Sweden.

In addition to the questionnaires, a recorded interview was held with the principal, and two telephone interviews were carried out with one of the Swedish teachers and one of the non-Swedish teachers. The interviews gave us complementary data on a number of the questions in their questionnaires.

5.2.1 Language

Manager, teachers and students

The Swedish principal reports that he has encountered language problems with non-Swedish male teachers and to some extent with non-Swedish students. The principal is of the opinion that the teachers in question should enhance their knowledge of the Swedish language by attending a course in Swedish as a second language (*svenska två*).

A Swedish teacher says that there have been some occurrences of misunderstanding with a non-Swedish teacher because of language. In one particular case, it was difficult to understand what the non-Swedish teacher explained during a lesson he was attending.

A non-Swedish student reported that she had encountered difficulties achieving a more satisfactory cooperation with other students at the school due to language problems. A Swedish teacher told that she often helps new non-Swedish employees with the Swedish language, especially in pronunciation and vocabulary. It is also worth emphasizing that for the non-Swedish students there is always the option to attend the course in Swedish as a second language, which is adapted to their level of command of the Swedish language.

5.2.2 Communication styles

At a multicultural workplace such as this school, different cultural communication styles are bound to meet and even clash against each other. We have some indications that among the teachers there are covert tensions between the colleagues that pertain to different communication styles.

A non-Swedish teacher notes that his colleagues are afraid of conflict, but none of his colleagues have perceived the situation as such. Within the teachers' team the indirectness seems to be typical of the communication style.

The curriculum of the school is planned in cooperation between the principal, teachers and students. In this manner, the students exert considerable influence on the contents of the education.

5.2.3 Cultural codes and practices

In the questionnaire, only non-Swedish teachers considered cultural background as an important issue. Since cultural practices, connected as they are to cultural background, seem to mean a lot to the non-Swedish teachers, the Swedish teachers and students alike should be informed what their non-Swedish workmates think of these matters. This may concern such issues as clothing (e.g. Muslim women carrying veil) or food.

The school has cooperation with several schools abroad. In the school, there are visits of exchange students, and teachers and students plan to make study tours abroad. Furthermore, a 'culture week' (*kulturvecka*) is an annual happening at the school, and students appreciate it very much. In connection with activities like these the students become more acquainted with other cultural codes and practices than the Swedish ones (culinary dishes, music, dance, language etc.).

5.2.4 Relationship between coworkers

The general picture of the relations between different groups in the school is positive. Previously, there were some confrontations between Swedish and non-Swedish students but this is not the case any more.

The principal has the highest position in the hierarchy at this workplace, and he finds the interaction or cooperation satisfactory with all parties. Next in the hierarchy, several Swedish and non-Swedish teachers report that cooperation does not function well with a few persons in the teachers' team. One Swedish student mentioned that there were problems in cooperation with non-Swedish employees – it remained unclear, whether they were teachers or other staff. It also remained unsettled, what was at issue when it came to unsatisfactory cooperation. It seems fair to say, however, that the lower down one gets in the hierarchy the more indications one gets of unsatisfactory interaction and cooperation. The overall challenge in regard to cooperation between co-workers seems to be to identify the potential grounds for conflict and unpleasantness within the teachers' team and remove them as far as possible.

5.2.5 Discrimination

In the present context, discrimination concerns issues such as gender, racism and promotion in the professional career.

Gender

The issue of gender seems to be problematic for the teachers' group. In the questionnaires, only non-Swedish teachers considered gender as an important factor at all. In another connection, several Swedish teachers report, however, that gender has significance as according to them one of the non-Swedish teachers is unwilling to cooperate with women. They assume that this is because of religious reasons. Also the principal maintains that there has been gender-based discrimination by male non-Swedish teachers on their Swedish female colleagues. What this was more specifically, remained, however, unclear.

Indications of racism

One of the non-Swedish teachers says that there is covert racism within the teachers' team. The challenge is, then, to clear up, whether this is the case and more generally, discuss this issue openly within the school.

Promotion

Promotion at this workplace means getting a higher teacher's position (e.g. having a tenure instead of working by hour). The Swedish teachers think that no discrimination whatsoever relating to promotion occurs, whereas the non-Swedish teachers maintain that this is the case.

5.3 Educational needs and ideas expressed

According to the principal, the teachers and students there is no education in intercultural communication offered at the school. The principal does not think there is a need for a specific training, except for complementary Swedish language training for some of the non-Swedish teachers.

Two of the teachers ask for education in foreign countries' culture, language and history as well as education in Swedish language, culture and history. Two teachers also request

open communication and thorough and deep discussions about multicultural issues. One of the non-Swedish teachers states that "As long as we talk about 'we' and 'they' integration will continue to fail".

Two teachers perceive a need of education for the school management, for example in psychology, increased knowledge of people, body language and social life. Most of the students do not answer to the questions on educational needs, but some ask for intercultural training.

Language is important since it is the main tool of communication, but several of the participants are also of the opinion that the school needs to continue to educate, work and train in order for people from different cultures to achieve a deeper mutual understanding of each other, which is what intercultural communication is about.

Some of the teachers propose further training, study trips, and that the teachers could teach each other by using each other's competence. For example, one teacher has solid knowledge in history, another has a specific knowledge in the Latin American or Arabian culture, and yet another has a solid knowledge in the Swedish language or another language.

For the moment samples are given from different cultures, but much of it is taking a superficial view of things, and a wish for a deeper education in different cultures is suggested. Some propose workshops, role play and an opportunity to learn something specific from the Swedish culture or another culture.

Another suggestion that perhaps could be seen as a small contribution to this research is that more of the colleges of education, in major cities such as Gothenburg, Uppsala, Umeå and Malmö, could further develop a preparatory education for non-Swedish students, and create something like the college of education in Stockholm, thus a 'Linguistic base year' for non-Swedish students. Further more it is important with the cultural exchange between Sweden and other countries and their cultures, and also the views of Bengt Nilsson about an 'internationalization on the home ground' for the students.

5.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

Language

The Swedish and non-Swedish teachers alike rated knowledge of the Swedish language as less important than the teaching competence and personal suitability. We would recommend that the role of language in all teaching activity be thoroughly discussed in the teachers' team and with the students. This is even more important given that there is a large group of teachers and students with other first languages than Swedish.

Communication styles

In order to create a more open communication style, we recommend that the teachers' team be assisted by an external mentor competent to counsel in matters concerning social relations.

Discrimination

Based on our observations and the answers the subjects of the study have given in the questionnaires, it seems obvious that the teachers and students alike are hesitant to point out specific instances of discrimination. This may be due to an unsatisfactory definition of the term *discrimination*. Irrespective of this, however, the leadership of the school should investigate whether there is any discrimination occurring in the school and remove all factors that may incite any form of discrimination.

Education

We find that courses in intercultural communication are needed at the school, preferably both among the high school leadership, staff and students. However, so far no training in intercultural communication has been offered to any of the groups at the school and few are familiar with the term. However, there is a course in intercultural communication for pedagogic leaders offered at Lund University, and we would like to recommend it for the pedagogic leadership at the high school investigated. It could be a valuable first step in developing further strategies for education of the leadership, staff and students.

6. CASE STUDY: Exchange bank

6.1 Introduction

We have studied integration within an exchange bank that has offices in all the major cities of Northern Europe, and is expanding further. The employees have a lot of contact with customers, and they receive training from the day when they first start working for the company. They do not, however, receive any training in intercultural communication.

Many of the customers are non-Swedes, and this is reflected in the number of non-Swedish employees, and their combined language knowledge as well. Like one of the interviewees said: "If somebody at our office doesn't know the language a customer is speaking, chances are that somebody in another branch speaks the language as most languages are represented in the bank."

In this city, the bank has 119 employees of which 26 have a non-Swedish background. For a white-collar job, this is extremely good representation as 26 out of 119 equals 22 per cent. Considering that 19 per cent of the population in Sweden has a non-Swedish background, i.e. at least one parent born outside of Sweden, it would seem that non-Swedes are in fact over-represented at this workplace.

Daily interaction between clients and employees include deposits and withdrawals as well as money exchange, information on travel destinations and advice on what currency to use. Because of the sensitive nature of the transactions that take place at the workplace, trust is even more important than at many other workplaces. This is why the bank has invested in extensive security measures. Unauthorized people are prohibited to enter the offices of the bank and security cameras monitor every transaction made. Even the cleaning of the office area is taken care of by the cashiers – no external cleaning help is hired – and is therefore part of the work description.

The persons participating in this study came from two different offices in the same city. Even though both offices are centrally located, one of them inside a mall and the other one along the main street, the type of clientele they have, varies somewhat. Both offices get a lot of tourists, but the one inside the mall apparently gets more "business customers". The

biggest customer group for both of these banks is probably prospective tourists, i.e. native Swedes and immigrants looking to travel abroad, who have a need of very specific knowledge of the country they are heading to.

This multi-cultural workplace demands not only flexibility from the employees, but also knowledge of different languages and also of different cultures. Handling money in a respectful way is necessary, and what is respectful differs from customer to customer. Like one of the cashiers pointed out, one customer can flaunt their money, waving huge sums around in the open, with little or no concern for the risk of being robbed, and then the next one is a retired old lady exchanging minor sums - in her eyes huge amounts - but very scared of losing it. The right attitude and reception of customers is maybe even more important than linguistic competence.

For this study, both personal interviews, as well as questionnaires were used. The subjects' work descriptions ranged from regional manager, and second office manager, to cashier. The work descriptions for these different levels differ little from each other from a customer's point of view. The regional manager works at the same place as the others do, and is easily accessible to the employees. Of course, differences do exist between the different work descriptions, most notably in how much responsibility the different employees have.

A representative from all of the aforementioned levels was interviewed; the three interviews that were conducted were all audio recorded. Additional personnel filled out the questionnaire. All in all 6 people returned it, including the interviewees. Of these only one had non-Swedish background. The questions on the questionnaire were thought of as quite difficult by several of the participants, and this is most likely the reason why only a handful were filled out.

6.2 Issues / Challenges & Responses

6.2.1 Language

In the opinion of the regional manager the knowledge and use of Swedish is one of the most important factors. Without sufficient, close-to being without accent, oral skills in Swedish, the prospect of working at this bank are slim-to-none. So, at this workplace,

knowledge of Swedish and English and their intelligible pronunciation, is of utmost importance. Accents of a heavier nature are discouraged since the work consists almost entirely of customer service. This applies for domestic accents, as well as foreign accents. The challenge is, then, to balance adequate linguistic diversity.

As a good practice example, applicants have been given trial periods to test if their knowledge of Swedish was good enough to handle customers of all kinds. However, the willingness to give applicants a chance has in most cases resulted in jobs. This company manages its linguistic diversity well with sufficient encouragement as well as recruitment strategies.

6.2.2 Communication styles

The communication styles did not seem to differ depending on origin of the employees. Because this is a customer service job, politeness is an important aspect of customer satisfaction, and all employees are couched in this thinking in connection with the internal education given at the start of their career.

All interviewed employees were adept at handling conflicts and there seemed to be no issue of either losing face or having different views on hierarchical structures.

There are many imaginable challenges when discussing communication styles in intercultural work environments. This bank, however, seemed to have no problems within the office and only small problems with a few too-familiar-acting customers.

6.2.3 Cultural codes and practices

Although culturally diverse, food is not an issue at this workplace, since there is a lunch break and all are free to eat whatever they want. In the same vein, clothing is not an issue either, as the bank has a uniform. However, nobody mentioned a veil-policy, but in light of other Swedish companies' veil-policies as well as public opinion wearing a veil or similar attire, would probably be acceptable. However, to date, none of the employees wears a veil.

This bank has had no need to make any adjustments to practical matters of differing cultures because it handles them well. Employees wear uniforms which helps create a team spirit as well as blur the lines between different cultures and cultural dress codes.

6.2.4 Relationship between co-workers

Different cultures view hierarchical structures differently, and it is therefore amazing how well this bank has handled the cultural diversity. In all levels of administration there are representatives of non-Swedes. There is already an over-representation of non-Swedes working at this bank, so no recommendations are necessary considering recruitment or relationships between co-workers.

Most of this bank's Swedish employees are female. In the other Nordic countries, there is apparently a more balanced gender distribution. There is a wish to even out the gender imbalance, but not much is actively done to do so.

6.2.5 Discrimination

Nobody mentioned any kind of discrimination within the workplace. There certainly seemed to be no lack of access to promotion; many office managers and head-cashiers were of non-Swedish origin. In addition, the cashier of non-Swedish origin who was interviewed told about the encouragement she had gotten from her superiors to apply for the position as head-cashier.

The cashier, who also happened to be the only non-Swedish representative, talked about how it was to be the only one at her office with a non-Swedish background[28]. She claimed that no discrimination against her from her co-workers or superiors had ever taken place, but that some customers could not understand why someone who was not originally from Sweden could work at a white-collar workplace like a bank. We were told about how some, especially old Swedish people, treated her and others with non-Swedish background. The cashier also told us that she had been encouraged to take courses that would advance her career within the bank.

When discussing intercultural issues at the workplace, it is not uncommon to hear about discrimination, or at the very least indirect allusions to it. This was not the case at this

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[28] To preserve at least some of her privacy we will refer to her country of origin as an "Arab country".

bank. Everyone seemed happy with their chances of getting promotions. A best practice example is that with promotion comes a clear assignment of new areas of responsibility so that in order to get a promotion one has to study specific subjects which obviously are the same for everyone.

6.3   Conclusions and Recommendations

The employees, despite origin, were all happy with their employer and did not have any complaints. However, it became clear after the interviews that some problems existed that had to do with mostly xenophobic customers and customers who did not understand that those who spoke their mother tongue were there to work and not to chat. It is apparently not uncommon for these customers to become agitated when told to either present their business or let them help the next customer. It is hard to do something about these intercultural issues because the clients cannot be educated, and the employees are doing nothing wrong.

Existing education

This bank has a training program for all new employees, which was greatly appreciated by all the employees. The training program also gives the employees the option of working at a branch office in another country which further advances the internationality of the bank. However, intercultural communication is not part of the training program, despite the relatively high share of non-Swedish customers and staff.

Educational needs

Reverse intercultural training would probably be well received by the personnel. By "reverse intercultural training" we mean teaching staff with a non-Swedish background to handle Swedish customers who are not happy having someone with a different cultural background than their own, handling their money.

Many of the employees described feelings of confusion when faced with different cultures, although they seemed capable of handling all sorts of customers. If intercultural training would be offered the employees, we believe it would greatly increase both customer satisfaction and job satisfaction. A simple course in intercultural communication, especially relating to financial matters and politeness, would probably be well received.

7. CASE STUDY: Retail shop

7.1 Introduction

The shop is located in a district of a town in Western Sweden. In this district of T-town,[29] there are about 6 000 inhabitants, of which the immigrant population makes up 32 per cent. The shop is a typical kiosk, similar to hundreds everywhere in the country. There, one can buy refreshments, candy, newspaper, fill in pools, buy food etc. The immigrants that own this shop, Kemal and Ana, are middle-aged immigrants from Iran.

Since their background is important for the matter at hand, we may briefly say that the Shah's government sent them to Sweden to study. While in the country, the Islamic revolution broke out in Iran, and they found it impossible to go back home. Subsequently, they got asylum in Sweden as political refugees.

They bought the shop from a Swede in 1999. They have two shop assistants, Kerstin and Monica, who are Swedish. In addition, they have from time to time youths gaining work experience in the shop. Kemal says that he aims at having an ethnically diverse work place partly because the customers also represent different nationalities.

The shop is open from 9 a.m. till 9 p.m., and there are almost constantly customers dropping in. As far as the connections between the I-shop[30] and the wholesale trade are concerned, Kemal says that they have both Swedish and immigrant suppliers. According to him, 10 per cent of the shop's suppliers are firms owned and run by other immigrants.

The data of the present report were collected through interviews and observations; the use of questionnaires was not a suitable method for this study, there being a negative response overall when we tried to use them. We conducted seven interviews, one with Kemal, the owner, and two with the employees, Kerstin and Monica. The other four interviews with customers were conducted in the shop. All interviews proceeded according to a list of questions that we had prepared in advance. The interviews were audio-recorded and written down immediately afterwards.

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[29]We stick strictly to anonymity, which is why we use pseudonyms of persons and locations alike in this study
[30]"I- shop" is a pseudonym for the shop.

7.2 Issues / Challenges & Responses

7.2.1 Language

Fluency

The owner who runs the shop is not a native speaker of Swedish; he is, however, very fluent in spoken Swedish but less so in the "academic language", as he puts it, i.e., the written language. His linguistic or perhaps, rather, rhetorical skills are well-developed, something he can make use of while running the shop. During our fieldwork, we could observe that he was very skillful in bringing home his points, and convincing his partners. (See 7.2.2. for more specifics on this point.)

The obvious difference between Kemal's and his employees' rhetorical skills is at least partly based on their respective cultural background. Culturally, Kemal has been raised in an environment where oral skills are highly appreciated. Until very recently, this has not been true in Swedish culture where people have conceived of "retorik" (rhetorics) as something suspect and even intrinsically dishonest. This does not meet what the post-industrialized labour markets call for. There, rhetoric skills are valued, and as indicated, Kemal does possess them.

Accent

The owner is aware of his accent, but he thinks that he cannot do much about it, and says that "the language is a tool and not a handicap". Customers think that the accent does not matter, which means, evidently, that Kemal's accent is not disturbingly foreign.

The employees speak Swedish with the local accent, which accords well with the good relations between the personnel and the Swedish customers.
Note that speech accent has not been studied in the business context. So, we do not know whether and if so to what extent it matters in intercultural communication occasions such as the ones taking place in the retail shop. On the other hand, the social relevance of accent, foreign and domestic, has been studied by Åsa Abelin and Jens Allwood (1999) and by Sally Boyd, Åsa Abelin and Beatriz Dorriots (1999). Exploring accent differences in business relations along the lines established by these researchers would be a definite gain of ground for intercultural communication studies.

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Expressions

Certain linguistic expressions are of strategic importance for the running of the shop. This concerns, especially, the phrases by which the members of the personnel address the customers, such as the use of address forms and the polite answering of the phone. The challenge is to get the employees and temporary staff to use the proper forms of address.

The members of the personnel have been instructed by Kemal to answer to the phone in a polite manner, using for example the phrase: "Välkommen till I-butiken i T-town" (Welcome to the I-shop in T-town). While visiting the wholesale market, we learnt from other businessmen that customers of the I-shop are treated very well on the phone.

Politeness in addressing people and, in general, good manners are vital if one wants to succeed in the business world, and Kemal has without a doubt realized this.

Of course, one may wonder who Kemal, an immigrant to Sweden, is to give instructions to his Swedish employees as to how one should address people in Sweden. Do they not know better than Kemal how people are supposed to behave themselves in Sweden? Here, one must remember that a large part of the kiosk's customers are immigrants. Being very informal and egalitarian, the Swedish way of dealing with people does not, perhaps, take due notice of the ethnic diversity of the clientele. This does not mean that the Swedish employees should renounce their Swedish way of doing things. On the contrary, what Kemal expects of them is to expand their social behaviour patterns so as to cope with people with all kinds of different cultural background.

7.2.2 Communication styles

Directness

Directness of communication becomes an issue on several occasions in the daily management and running of the shop. Firstly, it is relevant between the owners and the ordinary employees, when they discuss work schedules, vacations, salaries and pension benefits.

The last time the employees put in for a raise, Kemal found it impossible to accept. Instead he offered them a raise in their pension benefits, which they accepted. These negotiations were conducted individually and directly.

Secondly, directness is at issue in the interactions between the personnel and "cumbersome" customers. These may be youngsters messing around outside the shop or persons with discriminatory views and ideas. The employees told us that the youngsters are no longer a problem, because Kemal went to them and discussed with them directly. By doing this, he managed to stop their disruptive behaviour near the shop.

Kemal played the role of a kiosk-owner behaving in a straightforward manner,. Stopping the youngsters' disruptive behaviour, he defended his kiosk, since unrest in the neighbourhood of the shop is bad for business. Moreover, Kemal's directness also suits the Swedish culture, because there, adults are expected to "göra rätt för sig" (= lit. do right for oneself, or to do one's part so as not to be a burden to other people). This "göra-rätt-för-sig" brings with it that people not only take care of their own livelihood, but also that they protect what is dear to them, such as their property.

Expressing opinions freely

We can establish that the employees are free to express their opinions in the presence of the owner. This is in full accordance with both the Swedish culture and the culture Kemal belongs to. In his culture, differences of opinion are tolerated as an integral part of close and lively social interaction.

Note, however, that in the social interaction proper, there is an interesting difference between the cultures. In Kemal's culture, people do not mind overlapping one another, that is to say, talk simultaneously, whereas in the Swedish culture, the opposite holds; one may not "prata i mun på varandra" or 'interrupt one another' but should "låta den andra prata till punkt" , 'let the other finish speaking'. Accidentally, we could verify these cultural differences on the spot, as Kemal quite clearly dominated in his conversations with other people.

So, in both cultures, one is free to express one's mind but there is a big difference as to how this freedom is managed. In Kemal's culture, there is typically competition on turns, whereas in the Swedish culture such competition is generally lacking. Furthermore, a

slower tempo of interaction normally guarantees that everyone has time to express her or his opinion.

We heard customers praising the running of the I-shop, and they did this while the owner (Kemal) was within earshot. First, we got a little suspicious that this was simply playing to the gallery, as it were. Since Swedes do appreciate social harmony, they occasionally do not express their true opinion but play to the gallery or act as "ögontjänare" - 'eye-servers'; that is, they fawn.

We were convinced, however, that the customers freely expressed their opinion in approving of the way the shop is run. From the intercultural point view, it is important to note that because of his cultural background, Kemal expects the customers to express themselves honestly as regards the shop. Otherwise, they would show disrespect, something Kemal does not expect of them, since he knows that he treats them well. Here, we observe that strong cultural elements are at play, since showing respect is a central notion in the culture Kemal belongs to.

Politeness

The owner of the shop thinks that politeness is not the "second nature" of Swedes as it is of the people coming from his country of origin. He has instructed the employees to talk more politely with customers. They do not find this a patronizing procedure but quite appropriate, since making customers satisfied is important for all members of the personnel. However, they have not followed Kemal's advice to use the pronoun *ni* (2 PL pronoun), which he, partly on erroneous grounds, thinks is the most polite pronoun in Swedish.

Hierarchy and addressing people

All staff members use *du* or the first names when addressing one another. There are no signs of showing hierarchic relations between the persons through the use of certain other forms of address. Having it otherwise would make the shop fairly un-Swedish, that is, a workplace without "a flat power structure", which is typical of Sweden.

It seems that non-hierarchical relations suit both Kemal and the employees. Remember that the shop is a very personal enterprise to Kemal and Ana. Consequently, all persons in this enterprise are to be treated well, that is, without strict and impersonal divisions of

roles. This accords well with the Swedish culture containing as it does appreciation of social harmony and aspirations of social equality.

7.2.3 Cultural codes and practices

Time

A great challenge for the personnel is to have a working schedule that suits all of its members. This task is settled through agreements within the personnel, and primarily, of course, between the owner and the employees. Another challenge is to motivate young native Swedes to work during the weekends, as they are gaining paid work experience in the shop. They typically prefer leisure time to the better pay for "uncomfortable hours".[31] According to Kemal and the business people we interviewed at the wholesale market, immigrant youngsters, that is, young people whose parents or either parent come from Middle East region[32], have a very different attitude, asking for the better paid weekend and evening jobs.

Many immigrant youths' positive attitude to work may not only be based on economic factors but also on their cultural background. Comparing them with Swedish youths, we may posit that Swedes, typically, in the last thirty years, and, until very recently, have had the idea that if one is not capable of earning one's livelihood, the social authorities will come to help. Thinking in this manner is not natural for the youths' whose cultural back-ground and cultural frame of reference is outside Western Europe; in their minds, the family and its livelihood are of central importance.

We contend, then, that by working unsociable hours these young persons do so not only for money but perhaps more importantly because that is what is expected of them as members of their family and culture.

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[31]Making these claims we have not specified what constitute "uncomfortable" or "unsociable hours". For members of other cultures / religions, Christian and Swedish holidays such as Christmas and Midsummer holidays may not be seen as bad times to work. Surely, it is not so hard to work late on a Saturday if your friends are not all at a party. Obviously, we should elaborate on this issue a little more before taking it as an established truth.

[32]In the present context, we are dealing with people from Middle East region and we are not making any claims concerning cultures outside this area, or Sweden, of course.

Moreover, the notion of "time at one's disposal" seems to be different in the cultures concerned. Swedish youths think that time is something they manage as they please; earning and having money is important for them simply because it makes life a lot easier. In order to achieve a better standard of living they sell their time to employers.[33] In contrast to this, many "immigrant youths" conceive of their time as partly belonging to their social group, parents and family. This observation is confirmed as we observe that in many retail shops owned by immigrants, family members typically work at both 'comfortable' and 'less comfortable' times. Their time is not exclusively their own business but something in the disposal of which they have to consider their closest relatives.

7.2.4 Relationship between co-workers

Kemal had a vision of starting a retail shop of his own. When realizing his vision he and his business companion have steered the running of the shop, something that could have brought with it a hierarchic management of affairs. In our interviews with the employees, they did not mention, however, anything that could be connected with hierarchic relations between themselves and the owners. (See our discussion on hierarchy under 7.2.2.)

Gender

The female shop assistants told us that, at times, immigrant male customers behave without proper respect toward them. The employees find it difficult to tackle this kind of behaviour. However, they did not specify what the behaviour was like, and we had no possibility of asking these men, either, for their version of what had happened. We can point out several alternative interpretations of what might have taken place. It could have been that the males did not know Swedish too well, that the prosodics of their talk were wrongly interpreted by the employees as making sexual or similar such insinuations, that their way of coordinating verbal and non-verbal behaviour sent signals that they in fact did not mean etc.

The significant part of the gender issue is that Ana, one of the owners, is a female immigrant herself, and she is a good example of an immigrant woman who is independent and inspires respect from the customers and employees alike. Ana's behaviour coincides nicely with the developments that have taken place in her country of origin, where female

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[33]We think that this consumerist life style is typical of many European people but here, our focus is exclusively on people in Sweden.

emancipation is under way. However, there is every reason to believe that the position of females is going to get better world wide because of the pressure of there being better educated and more socially conscious girls and women.

Team / individual

A general but unspoken assumption in the shop is that all members of the personnel will do their best, i.e. all are expected to pull together. In the interview Kemal explained that the social harmony is a core value for him, and this is closely connected with the idea of "team spirit" and "pulling together". On the other hand, however, the shop is a place where the employees earn their livelihood. So, even if there definitely is a sort of team-spirit in the shop, it does not mean that they are obliged to compromise over their wages. Negotiations of wages, for instance, can be tough, but they are direct and conducive to fair agreements. (See 7.2.2.)

Task vs. relationship oriented

The fact that "hårt arbete" ('hard work') is emphasized in the running of the shop, suggests that social interactions are rather task-oriented instead of being relationship-oriented (cf. 7.2.3).[34]

In addition, social harmony and politeness in one's behaviour are key values for the owners, and these features accord with the relationship-oriented interaction. So, the challenge is to strike a balance between these two orientations of social behaviour.

The customers, Swedish and non-Swedish alike, describe the reception they get in the shop unanimously as "kanon", lit. 'cannon', "very good" and "toppen" 'top'; "really good" (cf. 7.2.2). These reactions seem to indicate that the staff have succeeded in their attempts to run the shop well with respect both to the material tasks and the relevant social relationships.

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[34]Traditionally, the notion of "hårt arbete" belongs to the fundamental aspects of the Swedish culture. As is well known, this falls back to religion, or what Max Weber calls "die protestantische Ethik". However, more than seventy years of a welfare state seem to have slackened the traditional Swedish notion of "hårt arbete". Now, it is the social welfare state that will guarantee one's livelihood in the last resort.

7.2.5 Discrimination

During our fieldwork, we could establish that there is no discrimination against any party of the shop. In fact, discriminating would violate the very ground of the business principles spelled out by the owner, in this context, as 'the shop is an extension to home, where conflicts are dealt with directly and in the spirit of social harmony'.

Verbally commenting on peoples' cultures

When we asked the employees to comment on other cultures, it turned out that they had concrete standpoints on the issue. They noticed that cultural differences come up in peoples' names, for instance, and Kerstin said that immigrants often have "namn som inte går att uttala" ('names that one cannot pronounce'). Since first names make an integral part of one's identity, we find it discriminatory not to pronounce them correctly, that is, the way persons themselves want them to be pronounced.[35] So, Swedes should be told how to pronounce foreign "impossible names".

As mentioned before, the cultural differences also concern the issue as to how immigrant male customers behave themselves with respect to the female employees. See our discussion on Gender, in 7.2.4.

7.3 Recommendations

Deficient writing skills in Swedish are, perhaps, not a very great problem in everyday business, but they may constitute a barrier in the development of business. This is why we recommend that further education and training in written language skills be arranged for adult immigrants already active in the Swedish labour market.

Cultural differences concerning communication styles or people's ideas and beliefs regarding such differences are important for the business activity where the profit at least to an extent depends on verbal and non-verbal communication. This is why we recommend studies in intercultural communication be made. The training concerned could

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[35]First names are important cultural markers and a central issue for intercultural studies. Some immigrant groups seem to stick to their original first names, while other groups think otherwise. Thus, for instance, Finnish immigrants to Sweden have typically given Swedish first names to their children. Obviously, they do this in order to make it easier for the children to assimilate in the host country. Finnish parents will in this manner diminish the chance of their children being discriminated against by Swedes. Having Swedish first names, which function as the primary means of addressing people in the country, the children do not "stick out" in the crowd.

be tailored for people establishing themselves as entrepreneurs in the multicultural private sector.

The Swedish labour market is known to have flat power structures. This kind of cultural features that relate to organizational power relations should be clarified for newcomers and especially immigrants who come from countries where power structures differ from those prevailing in Sweden. Apparently, the Swedish employees enjoy working in the I-shop at least partly because of the limited power distance.

We suggest that in the curriculum of the Swedish schools be introduced a subject *mångfald* 'diversity', where a subcourse of intercultural communication should be included. Since the number of different ethnic minorities and languages is very large in Sweden, this could be a popular subject at school.

8 GENERAL SUMMARY

The main aims of the European Intercultural Workplace project are twofold: 1- to provide insights into the current intercultural workplace in Europe through analysis and case studies; and 2- to provide training materials to improve intercultural understanding and relationships within the workplace. The case studies were planned to meet these aims. They were done to consolidate and elaborate on the national situational reports and to be useful in providing material for inclusion in the training manual to be developed later.

The questions to which the EIW-teams were to find answers included the following:

1- What kind of challenges do management, staff and customers encounter as regards intercultural relations? 2- Are there examples of good practice to be found at the workplace regarding intercultural interaction? 3- How may the intercultural competence of the staff be further developed, i.e. what are the training needs of, above all, staff and management?

The case studies were conducted in health care, local police, border police, high school, retail shop and exchange bank. The methods included observations, questionnaires, focus group interviews, personal interviews and some audio/video recordings with transcriptions.

8.1 Summary of findings of the Swedish case studies

Below we will summarize the findings of the case studies according as to if they can be seen as challenges, good practices, or recommendations regarding training needs or other recommendations. The case studies are named by the name of the study, e.g. **Health care** = study of the health care. The classification of the findings in this summary is based on the following five aspects of intercultural relations (cf Allwood 1985):

Five aspects of intercultural relations

1 Language and communication

Body; phonology (writing); vocabulary; grammar

2 Understanding, interpretation

Also including cultural background information, e.g. attitudes and values

3 Interaction

Interaction sequences; turn management; feedback; spatial configurations; rhythm; forms of address; modes of interaction

4 Some other factors influencing language and communication in interaction

Individual background; activity, i.e. purpose of interaction; roles; artifacts and social and cultural environment

5 Other structural factors

Laws; regulations; policy; organizational structure

8.1.1 Challenges

1. Challenges: Language and communication

- **Health care**: Non-native doctors and patients non-fluent Swedish

- **Local police** and **Border police**: Customers' (i.e. residents'/travelers') lacking command of Swedish or English

- **Health care**, and occasionally **High school**: Non-Swedish doctors, teachers and students have problems with idiomatic Swedish

- **Bank:** To maintain as broad language competence among the staff as possible

- **Health care, Local police** and **Border police**: Non-Swedish staff and clients' accent occasionally interpreted as a hindrance

Comments: Problems with language. We notice that in five of the six workplaces Swedish linguistic competence seems to be a problem, namely in the Health care, the Local police, the Border police and the High School.

In health care, non-native physicians from other EU-countries are not required to attend longer courses in Swedish before they start working in a Swedish hospital. It is up to the employers' to decide whether their language competence is sufficient. Typically, the physicians neither have much experience of using medical Swedish nor everyday Swedish prior to taking the job in Swedish health care. Therefore, their situation is fairly precarious from the point of view of language and communication. Language difficulties is also a problem when working in the local or border police. Language is a central part of their job and constitutes a difficulty among the linguistically diverse public in the major cities of

Sweden (e.g. Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö), where the police should be able to adapt their language to a fairly variable linguistic and communicative reality.

2. Challenges: Understanding, interpretation (cultural background information, e.g. attitudes and values)

- **Health care,** and **occasionally Local police:** Ethnocentric interpretations of body communication

- **Health care, High school,** and **occasionally Border police**: Swedish conflict avoidance and indirectness, lack of open feedback by Swedish colleagues

- **Health care:** Short power distance experienced as lack of respect by some non-Swedish staff

- **Health care:** Some non-Swedish staff members experience informal tone between superiors and subordinates as problematic

- **Health care:** Some Swedish staff members experience some non-Swedish staff's being late as problematic

- **Health care:** Swedish and non-Swedish staff have problems to understand each other's humour

- **Health care:** Language difficulties mistaken for lack of professionalism by patients

- **High school, occasionally Local police** and **Border police:** Accusations of xenophobia and racism occur

Comments: Problems with understanding. Most aspects of non-native use of language causes problems of understanding, and here, body communication has been mentioned. In our studies, it seems that in several workplaces there is a tendency to stigmatize a non-native kind of language use as a hindrance for more fluent interaction. In health care non-native doctors' language difficulties can put their professionalism under dispute.

In our studies of the Bank and Retail shop, linguistic and communication problems are not mentioned. In the Bank, the requirements of language skills are set very high to begin with to guarantee that no such problems will occur. In the Retail shop, the owner himself is an immigrant who manages communication without any hindrance. His conviction is that "language is a tool, not a handicap".

In the local police and border police it is sometimes difficult for the staff to understand the clients due to language problems.

The Swedish cultural behaviour pattern of avoiding conflict, showing short power distance and having an informal tone may constitute a challenge for non-Swedes that come from outside of the Nordic countries. Even different notion of time and humour cause friction. This is important to keep in mind when thinking of **intercultural training needs**.

3   Challenges: Interaction

- **Health care** and **Local police**: Difficulties working with interpreters

- Occasionally, **Health care, Border police,** and **High school**: Tensions and simmering conflicts between some of the staff members

- **High school** and occasionally **Health care**: Difficulties working in team

Comments: Problems with social interaction. In this part, the challenges concern interaction. The claim is that the challenges depend on interaction that does not function well and not necessarily on language or understanding. So, difficulties with interpreters appear as they do not manage interaction well, and tensions and conflict simmer in the high school.

4.   Challenges: Structural factors (laws, regulations, policy, organizational structure)

- **Local police, Border police, High school** and **Retail shop:** Underrepresentation (in the sense of lower relative share than in the population at large) of immigrants from outside the Nordic countries among the staff

- **Health care, Local police, Border police[36],** and **High school:** Underrepresentation of immigrants from outside the Nordic countries in managing position

- **Health care,** occasionally **High school**: Discrimination of non-Swedes occurs as regards promotion

Comments: Here, the challenges are formal selection criteria (over and above attitudinal factors like xenophobia). The first step is to make the management aware of the situation.

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[36] After the case study was carried out there has been a change in management at the border police terminal investigated. The head of the border police is now (2006) a person who was born in Sweden with both parents born outside Sweden.

In public service professions and in education dealing with integration the balance of cultural and ethnic diversity is of importance.

8.1.2. Good practice

1. Good practice: Language – Understanding, interpretation – Interaction

- **All workplaces**: Attentiveness to language use: more feedback, better listening between non-Swedish staff and Swedish clients, as well as between Swedish staff and non-Swedish staff.
- **Local police, Border police, Bank** and **Retail shop,** occasionally **Health care:** Staff members pay attention to non-verbal communication
- **All workplaces**: Short power distance (often but not always) experienced positively by both Swedish and non-Swedish staff

Comments: In all workplaces that we have investigated we have found positive examples of attentiveness as regards the use of language. Non-Swedish doctors are very attentive to the feedback while interacting with their patients, the border police could describe in a lively manner how passengers passing the customs interact with them linguistically; the staff in the retail shop pays a great attention to the proper treatment of their customers etc. It may be the case that the ethnic diversity promotes interlocutors' attentiveness in these respects, and is therefore a background factor that contributes to the good practice of communicative attentiveness.

Comments: Communicative awareness and attentiveness to bodily communication. It also seems that work with clients with different cultural backgrounds heightens employees' awareness of non-verbal communication where body communication and non-linguistic communicative signals (clothing, jewellery etc.) are included. Of course, the awareness connects to different needs in each case. So, for instance, in the bank and police especially, such features as customers' trustworthiness and honesty are in focus while in health care patients' symptoms are of main concern. In all workplaces, we could also find increased attentiveness with regard to feedback and listening within the staff and between staff and customers. This may be due to the fact that interlocutors typically present different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and these features make them more alert while taking part in the interaction.

Comments: Short power distance: Other practices are more purely connected to cultural background attitudes, such as the often positive experience of short power distance at the Swedish workplaces. Short power distance means that hierarchy is not openly marked in interactions at the workplace. This is indicated in the way members of the staff address each other, among other. The most common and neutral form of address in Sweden today is using the personal pronoun *du* (2 person singular). A persons' first name is also mainly used and titles are mostly avoided in addressing people. According to our observations, all parties agree that at the Swedish workplace a general informal manner of talking prevails. However, this may initially be interpreted by non-native speakers of Swedish, particularly newcomers, as a sign of too informal relations and create uncertainty as to how to show respect.

2. Good practice: Understanding – Interaction – Other factors

- **Health care, Local** and **Border police, Bank** and **Retail shop**: Appreciation of co-workers irrespective of ethnic origin

- **Local** and **Border police**: Xenophobic superiors or employees move to another place of work

- **All workplaces**: Openness and mutual aid at work. Mutual communicative help within staff and between staff and customers.

- **All workplaces**: Neutral or positive attitude at the workplace to diversity

Comments: Ethnicity and cultural differences make a complex that should be investigated from different perspectives that include understanding, interaction (including activity and its purpose, feedback etc.) and other factors such as interlocutors' background and their roles. So, for instance we have observed that typically, parties at the workplace appreciate ethnic origin and that more specifically, customers have a positive picture of non-Swedish employees. These attitudes are based on understanding and interpretation that for their part are grounded on interactions between the parties. Positive attitudes to cultural diversity lead to concrete measures such as transfer of xenophobic personnel from multicultural customer work to other assignments or other work, and mutual aid between members of staff with different cultural backgrounds.

3. Good practice: Other factors – Structural factors

- **All workplaces:** Ethnic/religious dresses are allowed at the workplace.

- **High school:** The curriculum of the school is planned in cooperation between the principal, teachers and students

Comments: Structural good practice includes the fact that in Sweden, ethnic/religious dresses are allowed at the workplace. This is not completely without restrictions but holds in the main. One may observe, moreover, that in the public media, the debate has continued for a long time as to what dresses and headgear should be allowed in what professions.

The curriculum planning that takes place in the high school is a good example of co-operation where parties are engaged to work for a common goal and through it feel responsibility for the teaching and studies.

4. Good practice: Other structural factors

- **All workplaces**: Employment of culturally and linguistically competent staff

- **Border police:** Continued recruitment of linguistically and ethnically diverse staff in passport control, other divisions of the police and the customs.

- **Bank** and **Retail shop**: Immigrants present at all levels of the organization, including managing positions

- **Local police** and **Retail shop**: Cooperation with local authorities, schools, women's refugee centers etc.

- **Health care, Border police, High school, Bank** and **Retail shop**: Cooperation with institutions in other countries

- **Local police**, **High school**: Some in-service training with information on different ethnic groups and cultural practices have been arranged for staff

- **High school:** Some cultural events have been arranged for staff and students

Comments: Structural factors include employment of immigrants, cooperation between different institutes/institutions and educational arrangements of shorter and longer terms. As regards immigrants' representation at the Swedish workplace, one must keep in mind that development has all the time gone towards more multiethnic and multicultural workplaces in the country. Swedish state organizations, business companies with more

than ten employees etc. are obliged to have diversity plans to guarantee that no ethnic or other kind of discrimination occurs.

The positive experience of an ethnically and linguistically diverse staff employed in the border police has had positive spin-off effects regarding further employment. Further employment of staff with immigrant background has continued in the border police passport control. The number of languages spoken among the border police staff now amounts to 36 (2006). Other divisions of the police and the customs have also shown interest in recruiting culturally and linguistically competent employees.

To date, however, it seems that most Swedish business has not fully succeeded in tapping the resources that are available in the form of cultural and language knowledge of non-Swedish applicants. We do observe, though, that in some workplaces good practices have been developed in this direction as Swedes and non-Swedes alike are involved in cultural events and training. In this area, plenty of opportunities are offered for mutual cultural learning, which is, of course, one of the basic elements of a well-functioning multicultural society and needs to be further developed.

8.1.3   Training needs, recommendations

1. Training needs, recommendations: Language and communication

- **All workplaces** except for **Retail shop**: Training in professional terminology would be useful

- **All workplaces**: Improving Swedish language competence by reading literature, magazines, watching Swedish TV and talking to people

Comments: The above recommendations concern language knowledge and skills, and they are straightforward. They apply to all workplaces with the exception that in the retail shop the learning of professional terminology is perhaps not needed given that the employees are native Swedish and the immigrant owner knows the trade very well. We recommend language acquisition that is intimately connected to different kinds of activities such as those in the profession itself but also in hobbies, media and social interaction with Swedish people. The practical language acquisition may very well be combined with some kind of more classroom oriented language teaching. However, the class room teaching

must not in any case provide the sole language input to those people who try to learn the language. Depending on the interest and motivation of the language learner there is a broad variation of language courses available in the major cities of Sweden, and also Internet courses. There are both paying courses offered by various private associations and businesses, as well as free language courses at various levels: basic, high school, and university level for adults, both available for daytime and evening studies, part time as well as full time.

2. Training needs, recommendations: Language – Understanding – Interaction – Structural factors

- **Health care** and **High school**: Swedish courses are needed for some non-Swedish members of staff

- **All workplaces**: Intercultural communication training, including communication styles and body communication

Comments: **Language courses**

As we have noticed in the case studies, language courses are needed for non-native employees in health care and high school. These courses could be tailored to meet the respective needs and requirements of each of these workplaces. Another option is for the individuals to foresee their needs by pursuing language studies. Opportunities for this was dealt with in the previous section above.

Comments: **Courses in intercultural communication**

At the six workplaces investigated very little or no training in intercultural communication had been offered to the management and staff. Most of the staff and management had thus acquired their knowledge of intercultural communication and interaction by working with non-Swedish customers and staff, i.e. by trial and error.

A majority of the participants have expressed a need for training in intercultural communication and information on religion, habits and customs.

An opportunity for facilitating intercultural relations would therefore be to offer training in both general intercultural communication and, where needed and requested, in communication between particular cultures (eg. Swedish – Iraqui), depending on the specific needs at the workplace.

It is usually a good idea to illustrate a general overview of communicative and behavioural patterns and parameters with examples from the host country in question. To the extent that this is possible, these patterns should then be contrasted with patterns familiar to the course participants. Thus, at the Swedish workplace it is of relevance for both Swedes and non-Swedes to discover the particularities of Swedish communicative and behavioural patterns and prevailing norms.

We have found that in every workplace there is need for courses in intercultural communication and in diverse customs of the respective parties. The training should not primarily be theoretical but practical in kind. Several workplaces such as the retail shop could function as a good example of a workplace where intercultural relations and communication have naturally developed to the benefit of all parties, both the owner, employees and customers alike.

The Swedish cultural behaviour pattern of avoiding conflict, showing short power distance and having an informal tone often constitute a challenge for non-Swedes that come from outside of the Nordic countries. These issues are examples of issues that should be dealt with in an intercultural training course, contrasting different ways of viewing power distance, directness/indirectness, politeness and respect. Other examples concern different notions of time and humour should be addressed since these topics also sometimes cause friction. What should be brought up should depend on the backgrounds of the participants and their planned activities in the host culture.

3. Training needs, recommendations: Understanding,
- **All workplaces**: Increase your tolerance toward cultural differences
- **All workplace, to Swedes**: Be careful if you mix an open and positive attitude with a patronizing attitude

- **All workplaces**: Training focus should besides issues of communication also be on cultural and religious customs that are not primarily communicative. Such issues, in fact, also influence communication, since they influence interpretation and understanding.

Comments: What attitudes to express is a difficult part of intercultural relations. Basically, the question is not to pretend attitudes and to be genuinely interested in other cultures. An immigrant learnt from her teacher in Swedish that she speaks the language well, but shortly afterwards she met a Swede who right away stated that her Swedish was quite poor. Apparently, while wanting to show a positive attitude to her student, the teacher had been unable to tell the unpleasant truth to her student. The student experienced this as a kind of patronizing attitude.

8.1.4 Other recommendations

1. Other recommendations: Interaction

- **All workplaces, for management**: Pose concrete questions about what is wrong, if employees complain about a person

- **All workplaces, for non-Swedish employees:** Given the egalitarian nature of Swedish interaction: Unless you know the person well - avoid commanding colleagues and use, for example, polite questions instead

Comments: All pieces of advice given above connect to interaction, and more specifically to interlocutors' awareness of what happens in interaction in all workplaces investigated. The pieces of advice advocate an honest and equal kind of social interaction. The debate atmosphere in Sweden seems to support development towards more informed and open relations between different ethnic and cultural groups. This may be a problem for some people, and in view of it, polite questions are to be preferred to straightforward questions as suggested in the findings.

2. Other recommendations: Understanding - Interaction

- **All workplaces:** Use mentors

- **All workplaces:** Use employees as sources of cultural information

- **All workplaces:** Encourage various food traditions at the workplace

- **All workplaces:** Discuss gender roles, ethnicities and religions present at the workplace

- **All workplaces:** Discuss pros and cons of immigration

Comments: The recommendations given above are straight forward; they deal with understanding and interaction as indicated by the schema. The intercultural relations benefit from contacts with other traditions, which is why we recommend a culturally more varying cuisine at the workplace, for instance. Note also the idea of having mentors who are people who know well the Swedish conditions of living and working and who can support newcomers to get into and develop at the workplace. We have in mind workplaces such as hospitals, police and schools, for instance. The mentors are there to help the newcomer manage with problems and perhaps more importantly, to develop her/his personal, social and professional skills.

3. Other recommendations: Structural factors

- All workplaces: Study the Act on Discrimination (in Sweden) and make sure management and employees possess knowledge of its contents

- **All workplaces:** Have a policy of recruiting competent multicultural staff with non-Swedish background

- **All workplaces:** Develop strategies to support and backup employees with immigrant background

Comments: It is our common observation from the workplaces that we have investigated that a lot remains to be done in order to achieve a fully integrated multicultural labor market in Sweden. Especially, the knowledge resources that the non-Swedish labor force possesses should be taken care of. At the same time, it is important that non-Swedish applicants to jobs have correct and broad information of Sweden (history, geography, industry, holidays etc) as well as the Swedish labor market and social life apart from adequate knowledge of Swedish. Given globalization, we need more and not less contributions and investments concerning integration at the Swedish workplace.

Of course, as a manager one should think, whether in-service training could remove xenophobia. We feel, however, that the policy against expressions of xenophobia must be clearly stated and part of common understanding among the personnel.

9. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From the 1950s to 1970 immigration to Sweden mainly consisted of labor recruited by private Swedish industry. In 1970 labor force immigration was halted, apart from the Nordic countries and later the EU-countries. Since then new immigrants have mainly been refugees and cases of family reunion.

The immigrants who came in the 1950s and onwards participated in the Swedish welfare policy and were accorded the same social rights as Swedish citizens, with the exception of the right to vote and acquisition of property (land and house). It took 7 years of residence to acquire Swedish citizenship. Now it takes 2 years for Nordic citizens, 4 years for stateless persons and refugees, and 5 years for others. Special policies directed towards immigrants were not implemented until the 1960s, e.g. courses in Swedish for immigrants, information about Sweden in several languages and immigrant bureaus. The policy adopted was in practice a policy of assimilation. This was supposed to change in 1975 when Sweden adopted an official immigration policy under the device of *"jämlikhet, valfrihet och samverkan"* (equality, freedom of choice and cooperation). Cooperation meant planning and cooperation together with immigrant and refugee organizations and entailed several reforms such as *hemspråksreformen* (mother tongue reform) in 1977 according pupils' with another mother tongue than Swedish first language training in school (See Part 1, section 4.2) and *rösträttsreformen* (the right to vote) in 1976, which accorded foreign citizens the right to vote in local (communal) elections once they had resided in Sweden for three years. There was also funding for cultural activities in minority languages, e.g. radio and TV programs and literary production in other languages than Swedish. Information and education were also developed, from university courses to study circles (SOU 1996:143).

For many senior immigrants the year 1975 is remembered as the crest of Swedish immigration policy and they deplore that the golden years of *"equality, freedom of choice and cooperation"* did not last longer than 1984, when Invandrarverket (the Swedish Immigration Board) took over responsibility for refugees arriving to Sweden in cooperation with the local communes. After 1984 the reception of refugees was organized so that Invandrarverket signed agreements with the local communes. It turned out to be a form of social care that led to passivity among the refugees and at the same time created tensions

in some communes. In 1988 a referendum was held in a Swedish commune about receiving 14 refugees in the commune or not. The local inhabitants voted against receiving refugees in their commune and for some time thereafter it became more difficult to find communes willing to receive refugees. In 1991 the political party Ny Demokrati (New Democracy), which had a xenophobic political program, entered the Swedish parliament. They were only in parliament for three years, but many of their proposals were nevertheless adopted.

To date, in 2007, 12 % of the Swedish 9 million population are immigrants. If we add those who are born in Sweden with two immigrant parents the relative share amounts to 15 % of the Swedish population. Most immigrants live in the urban and suburban areas of the three major cities in Sweden, i.e. Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö.

Looking at the current situation we see that there are some challenges that have been dealt with well, such as adult education, where adults with both Swedish and immigrant background have the opportunity to develop their knowledge and skills. There are, however, other major challenges where measures have failed and therefore remain to be solved. Below we will look into several challenges that need to be dealt with.

The major organizational challenges posed by immigration involve fundamental living conditions, primarily housing segregation and unemployment. In the larger Swedish cities today we find segregation in terms of immigrants residing in certain suburban areas. We also find some mixed areas, and segregated Swedish areas. The combination of segregated immigrant areas and high unemployment rates among the immigrants has often a negative impact on the children's school results. In some suburban schools the number of pupils with Swedish as their first language is close to nil. This has a negative impact on the Swedish language education, particularly in primary and secondary school. The teachers in the suburban areas express deep concern about the pupils' future given that good Swedish language proficiency is required on the labor market as well as for advanced studies. The pupils in the Swedish segregated areas do not risk encountering language difficulties, but definitely miss out on ethnic and cultural diversity.

Regarding employment, there is a correlation between access to work, country of origin and amount of time spent in Sweden. It appears that Nordic citizens have less difficulty in

finding an employment compared to other Europeans. Asians encounter more difficulties than Europeans, and African immigrants/refugees encounter most difficulties getting employed. The likeliness to find an employment also increases with the amount of years spent in Sweden.

The responses to immigration from the state and municipalities have included introduction plans for newly arrived immigrants. The plan includes education, such as Swedish for immigrants. For adults, free courses in Swedish for immigrants have been organized for more than 30 years now. The Sfi-courses have been developed, debated, evaluated, revised and changed several times (see Part 1, section 2.3.7). Other supplementary education has also been developed and is offered at different levels, from analphabetism to tertiary education. The Integration Mentor training, described in Part 1, can also bee seen in the light of educational efforts carried out to meet the need of intercultural training that the new situation poses. The unemployment centers have also been given increased resources in order to increase the possibilities of giving more individually tailored support.

Some action has also been taken regarding validation of foreign vocational qualifications. See the example of Legitimation.nu for non-European medical staff (Part 1, section 2.2.4). However, it is important that validation of foreign diplomas and working skills be further developed. To date many immigrants, both with academic background as well as with more practical vocational training, end up with years of supplementary education before they are able to pursue their professional career. By the time they have completed the supplementary courses their professional skills have often become outdated. This refers in particular to those with education from outside the EU, such as an Iraqi surgeon. Many have therefore been forced to change their profession, often into low-skilled work such as taxi drivers or shop assistants.

Other government initiatives, such as development of trainee positions in order to increase the employment rate among immigrants, also need to be increased. Government initiatives have so far been insufficient given that the unemployment rate is 17% higher among immigrants than among Swedes.

As for legislation, ethnic discrimination at the work place was prohibited by law in 1994, and the legislation was further strengthened in 1999. Since 1986 a discrimination

ombudsman has been installed (see Part 1, section 1.2.2). Many organizations have adopted diversity plans for their work place, since the legislation requires that employers and labor unions actively promote diversity. However many describe the diversity plans as "shelf-warmers", thus highlighting the gap between the ideas and intentions put on paper and the actual reality. Nevertheless, anti-discrimination legislation does have a certain impact on the management's recruitment policies. As a border police chief put it: "I don't pay much attention to the diversity plan except for when we are to formulate new recruitment ads. Then it is important that the formulations are correct".

However, it is impossible to force new ideas onto people. If the official pro-diversity propaganda does not correspond with Swedish people's every day life, then it is useless, nulla facie. On an attitudinal level, a major challenge is xenophobia (racism). Prejudice about different ethnic groups is more or less common, and easily lead to discriminatory behavior. As the case studies show, there is more or less covert discrimination to be found (see all case studies in Part 2 under section Discrimination).

Other attitudes towards immigrants regard victimizing and pitying them. These attitudes are neither interesting nor empowering for immigrants who, like most of us, want to use their resources, lead their lives and make their contributions in society.

Immigrants have taken important initiatives. Many start their own business for example. In fact, there is a 2 % overrepresentation of immigrants among private business owners in Sweden. They use both their business skills as well as social capital, as shown in the case study on the Retail Shop (Part 2, section 7).

Many of those who do not find a legal employment do not remain passive but find other kinds of work, such as black jobs in restaurants, shops, taxi, cleaning, or work as hair dresses, mechanics etc. Naturally, they do not figure in the official statistics. Their salaries are mostly low and their pensions, insurance, social and labor rights are zero. Therefore, measures encouraging and facilitating legal work are a prerequisite in order to avoid further widened gaps in society.

As we also have seen in the case studies on for example Health Care, Border Police and Local Police, High School, and Exchange Bank, most employees express a positive

attitude towards working with a multicultural public, and most are either neutral or positive towards working with an ethnically diverse staff. As noticed in for example the Police case studies most also socialize with persons from different countries outside their work (See Part 2, section 3 and 4). There is also solidarity to be found, mutual aid and cooperation as we have seen in all the case studies. There is a general positive attitude towards people who work hard, do their share of the work, and want to learn the Swedish language. (On condition that they are submissive and do not assert themselves or stick out too much.)

New research centers and sometimes university departments have been established to study the effects of migration. One example of this is the field of IMER (International Migration and Ethnic Relations), and another is Intercultural Communication (see Part 1, section 2.3.8.4)

There is also a large number of immigrant organizations cooperating with the communes, thus contributing to the integration process (see www.immi.se).

It is of great importance that the immigrants are allowed through in politics and media, and that the native Swedes let go of their monopoly on migrant issues. Ideas emanating from the migrants themselves must be passed through and be taken into serious consideration.

General educational recommendations
Intercultural training for management and employees
We recommend courses in intercultural communication for management and employees who in their daily work encounter a multicultural staff and public. This is particularly important for personnel working in school, police and health care, where the power situation is asymmetrical and the clients are dependent on the staff's benevolence.

Since we base a large part of our judgment of other people on our reactions to their communicative behaviors, it is important that we become aware of our own cultural communication patterns, both verbal and non-verbal, and discover similarities and differences with other cultural patterns of communication. It is also of value to discover cultural similarities and differences in attitudes, values and norms in order to obtain a better understanding of ourselves and of others. Increased awareness of how we interact and communicate will hopefully entail that we avoid jumping to hasty conclusions and

thereby improve our chances of fruitful interaction and communication with people with different cultural backgrounds. We also need awareness about stereotypes and prejudices, how we as humans need to make generalizations about the world, and the importance of revising the stereotypes as we learn more. We need to balance our generalizations in order to avoid prejudice which easily entails a discriminatory behavior.

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www.migrationsverket.se
www.pluskompetens.com
www.polisen.se
www.redcross.org and www.redcross.se
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11. APPENDIX

Examples of studies dealing with immigrants in the Swedish labor market:

AMS (2001), Rätt man på fel plats – en studie av arbetsmarknaden för utlandsfödda akademiker som invandrat under 1990-talet (The right man in the wrong place – a study of the labor market for foreign born academics who have immigrated in the 1990s), Ura 2001:5.

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