

**SUMMARY AND AGENDA  
FOR INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY**

*Integration Report 2005*  
*Summary and Agenda for Integration and Diversity*

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## INTRODUCTION

*Integration Report* shall give an overall picture of the state and development of integration in Sweden. The report shall also include analyses explaining the situation as it is and point the way towards achieving the integration-political goals decided upon by the Swedish Parliament. The most important findings are summarised in this introductory chapter.

We start off by putting the contents of the report in a broader context and point to the challenges awaiting Sweden with regard to integration and integration policy. Also given is a brief account of Government integration initiatives in recent years. Thereafter the contents of the *Integration Report* have been summarized chapter by chapter. Sweden's integration policy is set in an international context.

The overall findings of the *Integration Report* underline the need for real changes. Therefore, in the Agenda for Integration and Diversity, we develop five areas for increased opportunities and reduced rifts.

### *Sweden is an immigrant country*

Sweden is an immigrant country. Of Sweden's overall population, 12.2 per cent are born in another country. (SCB 2005) Compared to other countries, Sweden is on a level with the USA and Germany, has a higher proportion compared to the Netherlands, France and the United Kingdom, and considerably higher proportion compared to our Nordic neighbours Norway, Denmark and Finland. (OECD 2005) Ever since the post-war period, except for some years at the beginning of the 1970s, Sweden has had a migration surplus. During the past 20 years, Sweden has had an annual immigration average of more than 50 000 people. In 2004 the immigration figures were 62 000,

this entailing a migration surplus of just over 25 000 (SCB 2005).

It is estimated that the proportion of foreign-born in the Swedish population will increase. By the year 2014, according to SCB, 14.5 per cent will be foreign-born and by the year 2050 it will be 18 per cent (SCB 2005b). Add to this the increase in births in the population with foreign background. The question of integration and ethnic diversity will, therefore, be even more important in the future.

Migration goes hand in hand with globalisation – a development that can benefit a small (population-wise) country with large foreign trade. Countries that use immigration and integration in a good way gain significant competitive advantages in the global economy.

The significance of integration will increase even more in importance when bearing in mind the ageing population. More residents need to access the labour market in order to meet labour needs and in order to finance the country's future welfare.

The European Union, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Council of Europe and the International Labour Organisation have all paid attention to integration as a question for the future. Within the EU, the issues has been raised in connection with its legal and economic cooperation. The socio-economic agenda for employment and social inclusion concerns among other things, immigrant integration. Integration is regarded as decisive with regard to the Lisbon Strategy that aims to make the EU the most competitive and knowledge-based economies with high, sustainable growth with better and more jobs, and social cohesion. The EU's work with integration is principally inter-governmental

and is based on exchange of information and best practice. Each year the member states submit information that is published in the form of an annual report on integration. (COM/2005)389) A handbook on integration has been compiled under the auspices of the Commission (European Commission 2004).

The EU's anti-discrimination directives in year 2000 gave the Union a legal basis for combating, at the EU level, discrimination based on gender, race and ethnicity, religion and belief, disability, age and sexual orientation. The member states pledged to transpose the directive into national law no later than 2003. The member states also pledged to guarantee certain rights to so-called »third-country nationals who are long-term residents«, such as freedom of movement within the Union.

### *Immigration and diversity demand changes within the various sectors of society*

The integration policy is a policy that concerns the entire Swedish population, and not just immigrants.

The integration policy replaced the 1997 immigration policy following strong criticism that the immigrant policy was mainly directed at immigrants as a group. In a parliamentary debate, and prior to the decision on the new integration policy, the Minister of Integration at the time spoke about the need for a shift in perspective:

The immigrant policy, along with the special administration that was built up to implement it, has unfortunately reinforced the division of the population into a »us« and »them« and thereby contributed to the upsurge of an outsider feeling experienced by many immigrants and their children in the Swedish society.

Immigration and diversity impose new demands on society. In integration policy, questions about integration are a matter for general policy and the various sectors of society. This is the basis for the Government's integration-policy proposition *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden* (1997/98:16). Integration policy shall permeate and impact on several different policy areas – such as the policies concerning the labour market, education, housing and livelihood. Efforts in these areas will open opportunities. For example, rules, laws and practice need to be adapted and altered so that people who immigrate have an opportunity to participate in the labour market and in society. However, during an introduction period, special efforts should be directed at immigrants new to a country. Focusing special efforts on immigrants as a group should only be made during their initial period in Sweden.

The point of departure for integration policy is not only providing individuals with equal rights and opportunities, but also equal responsibilities. All citizens, irrespective of their country of origin, have obligations as well. Naturally the law applies to all, but a citizen is also obliged to observe the legal and tax system and, for example, through self-sufficiency, contribute to the country's development and well-being.

### *The Government's integration-policy initiatives*

The Government has stated that it has high ambitions with regard to integration. In its 2002 declaration, the Government named two areas that "overshadow all other tasks" in its mandate period. One was to make working life more humane and reduce sick leave from work; and the other was to increase access of foreign born to the labour market.

Since the autumn of 2002, parliament has adopted two Bills related to its integration policy. Protection against discrimination has been expanded (Proposition 2002/03:65) and new initiatives have been taken within the labour market policy (Proposition 2002/03:44).

The Government has appointed several committees of inquiry, which presented during the mandate period 17 Swedish Government Official Reports (SOU). Five SOU reports emerged from the first Government committee of Inquiry on integration-policy and power. During 2004 a new inquiry was appointed to report on power, integration and structural discrimination. It produced two reports during 2005 and two in 2006. Another Government Inquiry, on structural discrimination due to ethnic or religious affiliation, presented its report in 2005. Two SOU reports concerned metropolitan activities and interpretation. Now the very latest is that the Government Committee on Discrimination has tabled a proposal for a combined law against discrimination. Several issues of the Department series (Ds) also dealt with integration questions.

Two reports were presented in September 2003: *Etablering i Sverige – möjligheter och ansvar för individ och samhälle* (SOU 2003:75) and *Vidare vägar och vägen vidare – svenska som andraspråk för samhälls- och arbetsliv* (SOU 2003:77). The first-mentioned Government Inquiry was appointed in December 2001 with the assignment to look into the reception and introduction of refugees. According to the assignment, the committee should, among other things, identify, analyse and explain obstacles to self-sufficiency, participation and a long-term sustainable integration. The other Government Inquiry dealt with Swedish language tuition for migrants (sfi).

In the autumn of 2005 the Government decided to establish a parliamentary committee (Dir. 2005:94) to carry out an overview of the goals, focus, organisation and efficiency of the integration policy.

Several reports were thus presented, new Government Inquiries and working groups were appointed. A proposal for changes within the introduction system was submitted to the Government. Two Bills were passed by parliament.

## The most important findings in the *Integration Report 2005*

This *Integration Report 2005* includes chapters specially dedicated to developments in the labour market, housing, schools, adult education and validation, and public health. Reporting on the conditions for young people has been integrated into the other areas. What follows is a brief summary of the most important findings.

### *The labour market*

The Government's goal is employment for 80 per cent of the entire population between the ages of 20 and 64. For those born outside Sweden, the goal is a rise in the employment rate with a figure approaching that for the entire population. The employment rate for foreign-born increases, approaching the employment rate for those born in Sweden, when conditions on the labour market are good, and decreases when times turn bad. In 2005, 81 per cent of the native-born population (20–64 years old) was in employment, while only 64 per cent of the foreign-born population had jobs. This points to a narrowing of the gap between native-born and foreign-born, particularly with respect to women born outside Sweden. However, since Statistics Sweden (Statistiska centralbyrån) has altered its statistics processing, the change for 2005 must be viewed with caution.

In previous issues of the *Integration Report* we have shown empirically that discrimination is one important cause that underlies these differences on the labour market. This assessment was based on findings from quantitative studies, primarily of adoptive children and of indigenous youths of non-European background. Studies of those who lost their jobs during the beginning of the 1990s also indicate that discrimination is an important factor.

In this year's *Integration Report* the earlier findings were reinforced by two new studies on youths in the labour market, and once again show the same picture. Particular attention is, drawn to the fact that most

jobs are filled through informal recruitment channels. In the labour market therefore, it is an asset to have relatives, friends and neighbours who can mediate contacts that facilitate entry into the labour market. Those born outside Sweden lack these contact providers to a greater extent than those born in Sweden. When informal recruitment channels are used, this often leads to better-paid jobs for native-born than for foreign-born.

### *Young people's entry into the labour market – polarisation tendencies*

Young people who have participated in the Swedish school system from start to finish have a worse situation in the labour market if they themselves or their parents were born outside Sweden. The situation is particularly unfavourable for young people of non-European background. But there are also positive tendencies for those with a university education. After several years in the labour market, university-educated young people have the same level of employment and incomes, regardless of what country they or their parents were born in. The differences between young people of Swedish and foreign backgrounds remain, however, for those who have as maximum a completed secondary education or less. We can thus see a polarisation within the group with foreign background. Those who have had a lower-level educational background encounter difficulties in the labour market, whilst those with a higher education manage approximately equally well on average.

### *Can labour market policy overcome these obstacles?*

Labour market policy could serve to overcome the obstacles encountered by those with a foreign background. The contacts established in the labour market by the Employment Service official could be a substitute for the informal contact that many of foreign-born lack. Labour market policy programmes that subsidise a part of wages can counteract discrimination in connection with the filling of vacant positions. Indeed, results of evaluation research show that these are the types of labour market policy instruments which are effective for those born in Sweden as well as for foreign-born. However, there are deficiencies in the management of labour market policy. Access to different types of programmes is not always influenced by the individual jobseeker's needs and circumstances. Those who do not have unemployment insurance risk being referred to less effective programmes. Foreign-born belong to this group.

### *The first years in Sweden*

The first years in Sweden for refugees and other immigrants are of particular interest in an integration-policy perspective. The establishment of newly-arrived immigrants in the labour market continues to be sluggish. In recent years, about 30 per cent of newly-arrived immigrants of active working age are in employment after three years in Sweden, plus minus a few per cent variation depending on the state of the economy.

Efforts to change and develop these procedures to make it easier for those born outside Sweden to get a job that better corresponds to their abilities have been going on in municipalities for several years.

According to the Swedish Integration Board's latest study, there have been improvements in introduction programmes, but the deficiencies remain considerable. Swedish lessons are now intermixed with workplace training to a greater extent than previously. But more than half have still not received any workplace training during their introduction period, and even fewer have received any training in their professional field. However, there are significant variations between municipalities.

Foreign-born university graduates are considerably more likely to have jobs below their level of qualification than university graduates born in Sweden. It is important to be offered a job without delay, but foreign-born university graduates who begin with a low-status job run considerable risks of getting stuck in such jobs.

### *Self-employment*

This 2005 report maps out self-employment. Results show that self-employment for the foreign-born group is just as large as for the population as a whole. Foreign-born entrepreneurs have a positive attitude to self-employment but state that discrimination is an obstacle.

The proportion of self-employed among foreign-born employed persons is slightly less than nine per cent, about 1.5 per cent higher than self-employed born in Sweden. However, when we look at the proportion self-employed among the entire population, native-born self-employed persons outnumber foreign-born. The reason for this divergency is the lower employment rate among foreign-born. People of foreign background also start companies to the same extent. Today every fifth new self-employed is someone with a foreign background.

The extent of self-employment varies within the group of foreign-born – between different regions of origin and between men and women. The largest

proportion of self-employed is to be found among people born in Asia, with those at the bottom end of the scale among people born in Africa. When it comes to the proportion for self-employed men and women, the proportion for self-employed men is greater in all groups.

### *Housing*

The ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation in Swedish cities is, to a large extent, a reflection of the economic divide between different sections of the population. Because cities most often have an established geographical division of different forms of tenure, with concentration of rented flats in one area and of terraced and detached houses in another, housing becomes divided along socio-economic lines. This makes residential segregation sensitive to the rise or fall of the economy.

During the economic crisis in Sweden in the 1990s, the economic divide in society grew, and this was reflected in greater rifts between housing areas. The economic revival of the late 1990s, with increased employment, has contributed to fewer and fewer housing areas being marked by a low employment rate. Yet differences between prosperous and economically vulnerable city areas continue to grow.

One of the more worrying tendencies is that the ethnic dimension of residential segregation is becoming increasingly clear. The proportion of foreign-born in economically vulnerable areas appears to be growing steadily, regardless of the state of the economy.

Housing shortages allow landlords to make ever-higher demands on prospective tenants. In *Integration Report* we point out several signs that there are restrictive or discriminating structures in the Swedish housing market that prevents or complicates for individuals with a foreign background to have a »housing career«.

Attempts have been made to lessen residential segregation by political means, most recently with the so-called metropolitan policy (Storstadssatsningen). Few political initiatives have been as thoroughly evaluated as the "metropolitan policy". The collective assessment of those who evaluated it was that the state's objective to break segregation was unrealistic. However, many elements of the campaign have been important in that they have mitigated some of the negative consequences of segregation.



### *Primary and secondary education*

#### *The proportion of young people entitled to the upper secondary school's national programme has dropped*

Within the compulsory nine-year education system, it is now possible to follow the various groups of pupils over a period of six years, from the 1998/99 academic year to the 2003/2004 academic year. In that period, the proportion of those qualifying to the upper secondary school's national programme has dropped by just under 1 percentage point, to 89 per cent. The proportion of qualified pupils of foreign background was just over 77 per cent, a drop of about two percentage points since 1998/99. At the same time as the proportion of those qualified to study the upper secondary school's national programme has dropped a shade, the average qualification value has increased amongst those who qualified. This shows that some pupils have done very well, while for those who have not done so well the proportion is greater.

For young people of foreign background, the period during which they have been resident in Sweden is of major importance concerning the extent to which pupils achieve educational goals. There are notable differences between boys and girls, and girls with a foreign background manage very well. On average, the girls, in fact, have a higher qualification assessment compared to boys with a Swedish background.

#### *More and more young people with a foreign background are studying the individual programme*

As growing numbers of young people with a foreign background are not becoming qualified for the national upper secondary programmes, their proportion on the individual programme, IV, is increasing. The individual programme is the programme with the biggest proportion of pupils with a foreign background, with about 30 per cent of the pupil group nationally and 50 per cent of the pupil group in the major cities. In contrast, IV the individual programme is only the third-biggest programme for pupils with a Swedish background. Proportions in the other programmes do not differ markedly from one another. We note, however, that with regard to the other programmes, the proportion of young people with a foreign background is greater than the proportion of those with a Swedish background with regard to the pre-study programmes.

#### *Just over half the pupils with a foreign background complete their secondary education*

In upper secondary education, we follow the results of pupils who began in 1997/98 to 1990/00 by measuring what proportion of them has completed upper

secondary education five years later. The proportion of pupils who complete secondary education within five years has increased slightly, to just under 67 per cent. There is a big difference between pupils with a Swedish background and a foreign background. 70 per cent of pupils with a Swedish background have completed upper secondary education, but only 52 per cent of pupils with a foreign background. Among those studying the IV programme, only 13 per cent have completed upper secondary education after five years.

#### *Compulsory and upper secondary education has failed in its mission to provide equal schooling for all*

Compulsory and upper secondary education has failed in its mission to provide equal schooling for all. Analyses show that the socio-economic position and educational status of the parents explain many of the differences in school results. That means that schools are unable to compensate for pupils' disadvantages in terms of social and economic circumstances.

#### *The proportion of young people with foreign background that go on to higher education is increasing*

One area of pupils' education career shows positive results, and this is in higher education. The Government's goal is for 50 per cent of each year's pupils to go on to higher education before the age of 25. Young people with a foreign background are close to that goal. Just over 48 per cent of young people with a foreign background go on to higher education, compared with just under 46 per cent of young people with a Swedish background who do. The proportion of students with a foreign background is also increasing among those who are starting out in higher education. The total number of new students in higher education was 83 300 for the 2003/04 academic year. Of these, 17 per cent had a foreign background.

#### *The effects of residential segregation show up in school*

The current residential segregation situation, with ethnic and social undertones, is one of the sources of unequal education conditions for children and young people in compulsory education. There is a negative gap between pupils living in the "segregated" metropolitan areas and the rest of the country. This is with respect to qualification assessments, marks in Swedish and qualification for the national upper secondary programmes. The gap between vulnerable residential areas and the rest of the country with respect to the proportion of pupils qualified for the national upper secondary programme has widened, even during the period when the metropolitan policy was being implemented.

Studies show that a concentration of pupils whose parents have a weak socio-economic position negatively affects the pupil's marks. The conditions of the pupils in the so-called "vulnerable" areas to benefit from education are also affected by the large turnover of pupils in these schools. Moreover, the ethnic dimension of residential segregation has to be taken into consideration. Studies show that the marks of the foreign-born pupils are affected negatively by the concentration of pupils with a foreign background if the number of children with similar backgrounds exceeds about 70 per cent at the school. The biggest losers are new arrivals who end up in schools where there are already many foreign-born children.

#### *The right to choose a school*

The right to choose a school is strongly linked to residential segregation. A study of pupil mobility in Stockholm showed that one in five compulsory-education pupils exercised the right to choose and move to a municipal or independent school in another part of the city. In some vulnerable city districts – Rinkeby, Spånga-Tensta, Skärholmen and Kista – 45 per cent of the pupils in year 9 attended schools in other areas.

The right to choose has both segregational and integrational effects. It has opened up opportunities for pupils to escape the school segregation that housing differences entail. Pupils from the suburbs often travel long distance to schools in the city centre. At the same time this freedom of choice leads to socio-economic segregation for those who remain, as it is the pupils with the best resources who change schools.

There are many and complex reasons why pupils choose to leave schools branded as bad in vulnerable areas, but primarily they are opting out of "trouble and hassle" and opting into "Swedishness". By moving to a school in the city centre, the pupils hope to learn "correct" or "better" Swedish and learn it in a "quieter educational environment". According to what the pupils themselves say, they really have been given access to both these things. Paradoxically, for most of them it has not led to higher marks but to lower marks. The average results for school changers have dropped, which, according to the pupils themselves, is because demands are higher in their new schools.

#### *Public health*

In this *Integration Report* we use two inter-complementary measurements for gauging health: sick leave from work (the ill-health count) and self-perceived health. The two measurements provide a similar picture of the health status.

The ill-health count increased sharply between 1997

and 2003. Between 1997 and 2002, the proportion of illness cases in the working population more or less doubled. The number of people with long-term illness, i.e. who had been on sick leave for at least 60 days, increased from approximately 108 000 in 1996 to 241 000 in 2003. During the last few years, the number has dropped. There is a big difference in the ill health count between those born in Sweden and foreign-born, but an even bigger difference between men and women. Generally speaking, foreign-born women have the highest ill-health count.

A picture similar to that for sick leave emerges in studies of self-perceptions of health. 20 percent of the women born outside of the Nordic countries state that their general health is bad, which is four times more than among native-born women. One in three foreign-born women has a reduced sense of mental well-being, compared to one in five native-born women.

Work conditions appear to play a very considerable role in the differences we see. Women working in the public sector and in industry are the worst-affected group.

#### *Those who are not included become "excluded adults"*

In the chapter on public health we also draw attention to the fact that almost 25 000 foreign-born people have ended up outside of the general policy. These 25 000 are not part of the unemployment or health insurance schemes, and therefore not party to the right to rehabilitation aimed at working life. Most of them do not get their working functional ability assessed, which means that badly needed health measures are never applied.

We have called this group, who only get access to maintenance support, "excluded adults". Two thirds of the group are foreign-born, and most of them have arrived as refugees or as relatives of refugees, which means that they have been entitled to services within the introduction programme for newly-arrived refugees. It is not just a question of initial difficulties getting established in a new society. 75 per cent of foreign "excluded adults" have been living in Sweden for at least five years.

#### *Adult education and validation*

For several years now, and in a number of different reports, the Swedish Integration Board has established that the route to work and self-support for foreign-born adults is too long and too complicated. In *Integration Report 2005*, we look more closely at two measures intended to lead to improved opportunities in the labour market.



### *Adult education*

In earlier reports, we have highlighted the fact that hundreds of foreign-born university graduates spend years studying in the basic adult education programme (Grundvux), which is intended for those who have missed parts of their primary and lower secondary education.

This year's in-depth studies show that those university graduates studying in the Grundvux programme are not primarily newly-arrived refugees and immigrants, but that most have been in Sweden between 12 and 15 years. Before they came to Grundvux the majority had already completed the Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) course, and passed. In other words, these people have gone through introduction programmes, passed the SFI course, and then returned to school to study Swedish and other supplementary courses.

The main reason for this is the lack of a system that, at an early stage, guides persons with tertiary education through the different available alternatives to further education or to the labour market. Other obstacles are the requirements for general qualifications in Swedish and English in order to be allowed to supplement a foreign degree, and an incomplete initial analysis of individual needs and goals. Continued education can also become a way for the municipality to avoid paying maintenance for individual graduates. The measures of the Employment Service are often beyond their reach. These interacting structural obstacles, combined with the sometimes negative preconceptions of officials about foreign work experience, mean that people fall into an education trap from which it may take them many years to extricate themselves.

### *Competence validation at the upper secondary school level*

Validation is a way of clearly and visibly documenting an individual's education and working experience. For foreign-born people, it can create more opportunities for jobs that match individual competence, or for further education, but it can also lead to a downgrading and fragmentation of the individual's actual competence. As yet, no national system exists for guaranteeing the quality of competence validation acquired outside Sweden, nor is there a quality assurance system for those performing validations.

Validation should be done after a thorough survey has shown that there is a need for it. If there is such a need, the validation should be done as early as possible in order to highlight existing competence and establish whether it needs to be supplemented.

However, in actual fact, the level of Swedish language knowledge is often allowed to determine whether validation should be done or not. In other words, there are informal rules that prevent early validation. It may, however, be also due to a lack of resources. Validation is usually only performed as a labour market measure, and to provide the person with a job where demand exists. It is the actor who is prepared to finance validation that decides which profession to validate. Often this leads to a validation of the "excluded adults" "foreign" competence not becoming a validation of actual competence, but of a fragment of it. Furthermore, a higher education may be downgraded to an adjacent competence, at a lower level, in order to suit local needs. For example, secondary school teachers may be validated as primary school teachers if there is a shortage of such teachers in the municipality.

In other words, the validation of competencies acquired outside Sweden does not always amount to a step up the scale, as is normally the case, but may instead mean one or more steps down the competence scale. Thus, evaluating an individual's competence contra established criteria is less about highlighting competence and more about identifying what it lacks compared to the established criteria.

## Sweden compared to other countries

International comparisons of integration are difficult to make due to the fact that countries differ significantly when it comes to reporting statistics and formulating policies. This has been pointed out in earlier issues of *Integration Report*. Comparisons can also be sensitive since countries may have different societal values and political goals.

At the same time, international comparisons are most important because they can contribute to establishing an insight into the Swedish integration policy and provide ideas on how to improve integration in society. Swedish integration policy has been developed and debated from a strictly national perspective but without international comparisons. We would therefore like to draw attention to the Swedish integration and Swedish integration policy based on some international comparisons.

### *Immigration to Sweden builds on the asylum instrument*

Sweden is distinguished by a large proportion of immigrants via the asylum system and a correspon-

ding small proportion of non-European labour market migration. 40 per cent of those granted permanent residence permits in recent years are refugees; a high figure compared to other OECD countries. (OECD 2005)

#### *Large proportion of highly educated immigrants in Sweden*

International comparisons show that countries that base substantial parts of their immigration policy on quota or points system have the most highly educated immigrants. In spite of this fact, Sweden, along with the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway, the USA, belongs to the group of countries that characteristically have a relatively large proportion of highly educated immigrants. In these countries more than 30 per cent of the foreign citizens have a university or university college education. In such an OECD-context comparison, Sweden's percentage is higher than Australia and Canada. Add to this, the many with doctor's degrees. In the USA 440 000 foreigners have doctorates, which is 25 per cent of the doctorate community. Also in Sweden 25 per cent of those with doctor's degrees are foreign-born, while the figures for Canada and Australia are even higher, 45 and 54 per cent respectively. Hence Sweden is similar to those countries that actively recruit highly educated labour. This is also reflected by the fact that we have relatively few immigrants with a short education. In several OECD countries more than 40 per cent of the foreign citizens between 25 and 64 years have an educational level below the 3-year upper secondary education level. In France the figure is 64 per cent and in Belgium 53 per cent. The corresponding figure for Sweden is 24 per cent.

#### *Good conditions through equal rights*

A research study (Ds 2005:3) as part of the Government Inquiry on integration policy and power has specifically compared the extent to which countries in Europe have adapted their legislation so that political, civil and social rights apply equally to all citizens and those foreign citizens with residence permits (for one year or more).

According to the report, rules and legislation have been adapted in Sweden so that equal political, civil and social rights apply. The only exception is the open discrimination on grounds of citizenship when it comes to the right to residence permits, where positive favouritism is shown Nordic citizens, and regarding the possibility to vote in municipal elections directly following national registration of third-country nationals. The other seven studied countries have

considerably more often differentiated rights for citizens and non-citizens.

Common to the legislation of the surveyed countries is that the social rights of third-country nationals are limited, especially if they are not refugees. The only country that stands out is Sweden. Once a person has been nationally registered and resides in a municipality, there are no major legal differences compared to Swedish citizens. Swedish legislation is alone on this point.

Swedish citizen legislation is also singularly distinctive by not having integration pre-conditions. In France one must fulfil assimilation requirements before citizenship is granted; in German the pre-requirement is a knowledge of the German language; in the Netherlands the pre-requirement is integration; in Switzerland "suitability" is the pre-requirement; and in Austria the person seeking citizenship must have a positive attitude towards that country. British statutes stipulate that the individual must intend staying in the country, must be able to speak one of the official languages and must take an oath of loyalty and allegiance. Moreover, good character references must be provided by three British citizens.

To sum up: The report establishes that "compared to other countries, Swedish legislation factually and formally fulfils in many points the Government statute on equal rights and integration goals better than corresponding legislation in the other countries ..." (Ibid., Page 174)

#### *High marks for Swedish integration policy*

According to *European Civic Citizenship and Inclusion Index* (Migration Policy Group 2005), Sweden is ranked second place along with The Netherlands in a comparison of integration and immigrant inclusion policy of the EU 15 countries, being designated an index value of 553. Belgium comes out top with an index value of 586; Denmark ranks bottom with a 410 index value; and the EU-average is 500. Sweden has few formal obstacles to participation in the labour market, favourable conditions for family reunion, sound residency conditions that generally engender full rights, an inclusive citizenship policy as well as an extensive legislative structure and measures to combat discrimination.

The report is compiled annually by the think tank Migration Policy Group and is one way to follow-up and compare integration policy within the EU. The index is a systematic way of gauging how favourable policy in the member states is to include immigrants. The countries' policies are compared to a normative ideal policy for justice, civic cohesion and inclusion.

Not only is the index a measure of how good integration in the member states is, it also shows to what extent the countries adhere to the recommendations worked out by experts and voluntary organisations, which build on the ideals formulated in the European Union and international conventions.

#### *Advantageous attitudes to immigration and diversity*

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) is an institution within the EU that monitors the incidence of racism and discrimination in the member states. The work it mandated in the year 2005 resulted in two different series of attitude surveys: the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey (EUMC 2005). The surveys show that, compared to other EU countries, the Swedish population's attitude to immigration and diversity is very positive. Differences in attitudes between the member states is extensive and cannot be fully explained by factors such as differences in education or unemployment between the countries. The authors of the surveys mean that the media climate in the interplay of populist politicians may explain why some countries are more negative than others.

World Value Survey is a global study that monitors social, cultural and political developments by doing interviews with representative selection of persons in different countries. As far as the attitude of the Swedish people towards immigrants and ethnic diversity is concerned, the latest survey in the year 2000 showed that, of all the 66 countries included in the study, Sweden's attitude was the most sympathetic. For example, 97 per cent of the Swedes replied that they would not object living next door to an immigrant – an attitude that bodes well for integration. (World Value Survey 2000)

#### *Large divide on the labour market in many countries*

Sweden belongs to a group of countries where there are big differences with regard to employment of native-born and foreign-born. Common to all these countries is the relatively small percentage of labour migration. Thus statistics state the obvious that employment figures are high in those countries that select immigrants to meet the demands of the labour market.

In spite of these differences between the countries, we can still say that the level of employment for immigrants born in Sweden is not lower than that for a number of quite comparable countries. OECD-figures from 2003 show that the difference in employment between foreign-born and native-born was greatest in Denmark (23 percentage units), with a 10 per

cent difference or more in Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands and Sweden. (OECD 2005) If we look at the difference in unemployment for 2002/2003, the highest was in The Netherlands. It was also high in Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and France.

When we compare Sweden with other countries, we find that especially foreign-born women have an quite good situation on the labour market. Foreign-born women have a higher employment rate in Sweden (60 per cent) than in The Netherlands, Finland, Germany, France, Denmark and Belgium. Differences between foreign-born and native-born women are greatest in Denmark, where the employment rate is an entire 25 per cent units higher for those who are born in Denmark. Thereafter follow Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Finland and Sweden with employment differences of between 17 (Germany) and 14 (Sweden) percentage units.

Sweden's position, however, is less advantageous when it comes to men. Together with The Netherlands, Finland, France and Germany, foreign-born males in Sweden have an employment rate of about 65 per cent. Denmark has the biggest differences concerning foreign-born and native-born males. The employment rate for foreign-born males is just over 21 percentage units lower than for those who are born in Denmark. After that follow The Netherlands with a difference of 15 percentage units, and Sweden and Belgium with 11 percentage units.

If we divide OECD's employment rate comparisons for foreign-born of both gender, we get the following interval pattern:

- In the lowest interval, between 40–50 per cent, is Belgium (with a 47 per cent employment rate for foreign-born)
- In the next interval, between 50–60 per cent, are Denmark, Germany, France, Finland and The Netherlands.
- In the interval between 60–70 percent we have a large clump of countries. This group includes both Sweden with an employment level of 62 per cent for foreign-born and Canada at 68 per cent.
- At the very top level, between 70–80 per cent, are Portugal (73 per cent employment rate for foreign-born) and Switzerland (72 per cent).

OECD also states that immigrants are still relatively concentrated in few sectors of the labour market. Generally speaking immigrants are over-represented within the construction sector, hotels and restaurants and domestic services. But the sectorial division differs greatly between the countries. Notable for Sweden is that foreign citizens seldom work within the

construction industry. Health care, however, is a sector where foreign citizens work more often in Sweden than in other countries.

In spite of the fact that there are now published statistics of foreign-born instead of per citizenship, statistics still cannot be used to assess the integration policy of the various countries. The figures produced for the international statistics reflect phenomena other than the integration policy. As always, the southern European countries are at the top, since almost only persons who have a job are allowed to enter and stay in these countries. The English speaking overseas countries that actively recruit well educated labour have, as always, only minor differences in employment rates between foreign-born and native-born.

#### *OECD has studied the situation in Sweden*

OECD carried out a special review of the labour market integration in Sweden; it was part of a project covering the labour market situation for foreign-born in different countries. (OECD 2004c) The review pointed to several collaborative factors that contributed to the unsatisfactory integration on the labour market for foreign-born.

Great importance was given to the crisis in the 1990s that afflicted foreign-born to a considerably greater extent than those born in Sweden. The review also pointed to the negative effects from transferring the responsibility for introduction in Sweden in 1985 from the Labour Market Administration to the local authorities, which consequently resulted in less focus on entrance into the labour market. Finally, according to OECD, an explanation for a slower establishment on the labour market is that immigration during the past fifteen years has been largely due to humanitarian reasons and the fact that immigration mostly came from countries outside Europe.

Furthermore, OECD goes on to say, employment problems can scarcely be solved without strong economic expansion. Some more concrete proposals underline the need for a better system for validation, early contact with the labour market, more efficient language education and efforts to combat discrimination. The report would also like to see an emphasis on the inclusion of systematic evaluations.

## Development towards integration and diversity

Presented in this final section are four overall conclusions stated in this Integration Report. It concludes with an Agenda that highlights five measures for integration and diversity.

### *Overall findings*

It is the view of international experts that, compared to other European countries, Sweden has an integration policy that provides good opportunities for integration and its legislation and statutes give equal rights to immigrants. Inadequate integration in Sweden, therefore, can hardly be explained by immigrants not having formally equal rights. In spite of this, the *Integration Report 2005*, points out the big differences in living conditions between native and foreign born. Today's society has not succeeded in providing conditions for participation and an early access to the labour market. An immigrant country must open its portals and let in its new inhabitants.

Four overall conclusions come to the fore in this Integration Report:

- Employment and economic development have a decisive influence on other integration areas, such as housing, education and health.
- Social welfare systems have unintentional effects on integration possibilities
- Goal conflicts and counteractive control instruments within the bureaucracy exclude inhabitants
- Major shortage of effect evaluations of integration measures.

### *Employment and the economy – have a decisive influence*

Many different factors in this *Integration Report* reflect the uneven conditions between foreign- and native-born in Sweden. Notably obvious is that the areas are inter-dependent, development within one area depends on what happens in another. In the long-term, it is the structures that set the preconditions and economic cycle that shape developments.

Common to all areas is that foreign-born are disadvantaged by rules and regulations, norms systems and routines that have discriminating effects.

Changes in the economy in general affect development on the labour market and the housing market, resources for schools and public health and the financial health of the municipalities.

Characteristic for the past few years is the strong growth in the economy without any corresponding positive effect on employment; possibly with the exception of the year 2005, which saw a slight rise in employment figures. Many of the improvements and set backs described in this *Integration Report* are not, therefore, wholly a result of integration measures, but must also be seen in the light of how much the state of the economy has changed.

Residential segregation is linked to how the labour market has developed. More jobs also increase oppor-



tunities for making a “housing career” and reduce the number of economically deprived housing areas. In its turn, segregation affects opportunities for residents on the labour market. As we pointed out in Integration Report 2003, and irrespective of individual factors such as education level and age, there is a great deal of evidence to show that those who live in economically deprived housing areas have poorer opportunities than those who live in wealthier housing areas.

Similar linkages exist between residential segregation, school results for youths and the labour market. Youths who attend schools where very few pupils have Swedish backgrounds have poorer school results than those who attend other schools. This connection applies irrespective of the education level of the parents and their situation on the labour market. School grades and education level are important to the opportunities for youths when competing for job vacancies and attractive education and training places.

Good public health presumes equally good health. There are major differences in the state of health between foreign-born and native-born; with foreign-born women having the poorest health. Behind these differences lie the unequal conditions on the labour market. Here the connection also goes in both directions: poor health leads to poorer opportunities on the labour market; exclusion from the labour market results in poor health.

The introduction process during the first years in Sweden should pave the way for a stable future life in Sweden for refugees and other immigrants. Here there are also connecting links between the various areas. The state of the labour market influences the state of the housing market, which, in turn affects the housing for newly-arrived refugees. If newly-arrived refugees are concentrated in economically vulnerable housing areas thinly populated with Swedes, then the chances are that this will have a negative effect on the opportunities for adults on the labour market and their children have less opportunities in school.

The same thing applies with regard to validation of informal competency. Validation of occupations is governed by the labour demand on the labour market and where one lives.

#### *Social welfare maintenance systems influence the actions of actors*

Unemployed native-born receive unemployed insurance benefits to a greater extent than those unemployed foreign-born. More commonly unemployed foreign-born receive maintenance support from the municipality's social welfare services instead. Unemployment insurance is financially considera-

bly more advantageous than maintenance support. Furthermore, the way welfare measures and support are financed also has ramifications for what kind of programme is available to the unemployed.

An example of this is that jobless individuals on unemployment insurance may not be registered in the “others” category at the office of AMS (abbreviation for Labour Market Board), which means that the employment Service will not provide welfare assistance and that the jobless person will not be included in AMS's statistics on the number of unemployed. Different financing systems may be one of the explanations for why over 40 per cent of those in AMS's “Others” category are foreign-born, and for why so many of them have a university education. There are thus tendencies for those on maintenance support to be excluded from national labour market programmes and referred instead to municipal training and labour market programmes, the effects of which are virtually unknown.

Here lies part of the explanation for why so many foreign-born university graduates are stuck for such a long time in basic adult education programmes intended for those who educationally are below compulsory primary school level. Various surveys and interviews suggest that there is an incentive for officials to try to transfer jobless individuals they deal with to somebody else's financing system. For example, university graduates born outside Sweden may be transferred from municipal maintenance support to the state education financing system – and ultimately to their own wallet.

There are also examples that indicate that many municipal labour market programmes are not aimed primarily at facilitating an individual's access to employment in the regular labour market. Instead there are motives to use the programmes to persuade the Social Insurance Office that the jobless person is in such poor health that he or she ought to have access to one of the Social Insurance financing systems. The reverse can also apply: that the programme is used to persuade the Employment Service that the jobless person is close enough to the labour market to have access to one of the service's programmes and to the financing systems that are linked to the national labour market policy programmes.

In other words, the various sources of support engage in a kind of pass-the-parcel game, in which the circumstances and needs of the jobless individual are not always the main concern. This may have contributed to the fact that close to 25 000 foreign-born people find themselves in a situation where they end up on maintenance support as the only measure,

with other measures and forms of assistance virtually non-existent.

#### *Goal conflicts and counteractive control instruments*

The integration policy permeates all sectors, which means that responsibility therefore lies with a large number of authorities, where matters concerning integration are sometimes regarded as something not part of the core activity. A large part of the policy is carried out by and in the municipalities. When many people are involved, it becomes difficult to avoid goal conflicts.

One example is the overriding goal of the metropolitan policy to “break segregation”. This goal will hardly be achievable using only welfare projects in economically vulnerable housing areas. If segregation is to be broken, the goal must be incorporated in considerably broader policy areas involving housing construction and other infrastructural aspects of the planning and development of the entire city.

Another example is the reform regarding freedom of choice within primary compulsory and upper secondary schooling, which counteracts the efforts at improving the quality in suburban schools that is made within the metropolitan policy. A considerable exodus of clever pupils with foreign background is going on from schools in the vulnerable housing areas of large cities. The brightest pupils will move even if their schools maintain a high quality.

There are also goal conflicts within an authority. One example of this is the Labour Market Board’s control of goals and results. Foreign-born is a prioritised group in the Government’s goal for the labour market policy. But they are not even included when the overall goals are converted into sharp quantitative terms for the concrete activities going on out among employment offices. The quantitative goals, for example, to reduce the number on long-term sick leave, can cause employment offices to downgrade those who are more difficult to place in the labour market because they run the risk of being exposed to discrimination. Consequently the incentive would be to place foreign-born in the search categories that are not reckoned among the unemployed and do not get any service from the employment offices.

An important question is thus if the current formulation of goal- and result-control in a number of policy areas is an incentive to an effective integration policy.

#### *Large shortage of effect evaluations*

Very little is known about the effects of different kinds of integration policy measures. This shortage

of effect evaluations applies to everything from comprehensive integration policy changes to all the temporary projects that feature in many measures for immigrants.

During the last few years, however, the Institute for Labour Market Policy Evaluation (abbreviated IFAU in Swedish) has increasingly focused its activities on integration policy aspects. IFAU’s mandate includes analysing the accumulated effects of the labour market policy for the individual and society. IFAU, however, does not have any mandate to specifically concentrate on the integration-policy aspects of its evaluations. There are still far too few evaluations that analyse the effects of different programmes separately for native-born in Sweden and foreign-born.

Following the extensive employment crisis of the early 1990s, municipalities have been given an ever-growing role in labour market policy. However, the effects of the municipal labour market policy programmes are largely unknown. Many of the participants in these programmes were born outside Sweden. We also lack knowledge about the effects of »immigrant programmes« run by other lead actors. There are rare exceptions, but the general picture is that these types of programmes are not evaluated. To the extent that evaluations do exist, they do not measure effects. What they evaluate is whether or not the programme reached the intended target group, if cooperation proceeded according to plans, or whether the project managers consider their goals to have been achieved.

When the Metropolitan Policy was launched, it was followed by a very ambitious evaluation programme. Some overall conclusions may be drawn from these evaluations, one being that area-based, individual measures are incapable of breaking segregation. Despite all this evaluating activity, there is a paucity of knowledge with regard to the effects of the policy; what is an effect of the Metropolitan Policy, what is an effect of other measures, and what is an effect of the state of the economy?

The Swedish National Agency for Education, and the Swedish National Agency for School Improvement regularly evaluate developments in compulsory and upper secondary education. The statistical material is excellent, and increasing attention is being paid to the results of children and young people with a foreign background – by the agencies themselves as well as by the research community. The effects of major institutional reforms, such as the independent schools reform and the right to choose a school, have also been analysed from an integration policy perspective.



In contrast, there are no evaluations which could explain why the Swedish for Immigrants education programme produces such poor results, year after year.

Other important integration policy areas are public health policy, adult education and validation of actual competencies. There are a few ongoing research projects in public health which include some attempts at evaluating effects. The overall picture, however, is that there are single descriptions and some follow-ups, but no evaluation of effects that we have been able to find.

Validation of actual competencies and adult education are areas that affect many immigrants. Foreign-born students are over-represented at all levels of municipal adult education, particularly with respect to foreign-born who have upper secondary or higher education. There is a remarkably large shortage of evaluations in this area.

Finally, the introduction process during the first few years in Sweden is very important for the future prospects of newly-arrived refugees. The Swedish Integration Board follows developments in this area by means of regular follow-ups based on interviewing officials and participants in the introduction programmes. However, at present it is not possible to evaluate either the overall effects of the introduction programmes or whether a certain type of focus produces better results than other types. In many cases, municipalities lack data about who is participating in the programmes – and they are under no obligation to provide such information.

## An agenda for integration and diversity

In this year's *Integration Report* the Swedish Integration Board list five measures for achieving greater opportunities and reduced rifts. The agenda deals with the development of conditions for equal opportunities.

The initiative areas in this year's agenda are to:

- Create a more open labour market that provides better opportunities for entrance and advancement for the foreign-born population
- Develop initiatives against discrimination built upon the principle of equal treatment for all
- Develop opportunities for the introduction of new arrivals in Sweden in collaboration with the social and economic stakeholders
- Reduce residential segregation and segregation's negative effects for children and youths in primary and lower secondary schools

- Provide better conditions for knowledge-based decisions.

### *Open labour market*

The *Integration Report* 2005 shows more clearly than ever that jobs are the lever for integration. Without jobs and a secure income the opportunities for choice on the housing market are slim. The precarious situation of the parents on the labour market is transferred to the children since the school is unable to successfully compensate for the socio-economic rifts that exist among the parents.

### *Labour market integration requires broad initiatives*

To achieve better integration on the labour market, it is not enough just to focus on that which is traditionally regarded as integration policy. Initiatives against discrimination and a reinforced labour market policy have not resulted in increased employment of foreign-born. Overall new jobs on the labour market are required to lower the unemployment and increase the opportunity for integration on the labour market.

Employers can be/feel uncertain about the qualifications and skills of a new job seeker on the labour market. This uncertainty has discriminating effects. In economic research, this is known as statistic discrimination, i.e., the employer tries to keep down costs for in a recruitment by ascribing group characteristics to candidates instead of looking at individual qualifications.

Uncertainty can be minimised and thresholds lowered through not only validation of education and experience, but also through vocational training and a labour market policy that subsidises jobs.

Lessons from evaluations of labour market policy show that the most effective programmes are those that resemble a regular job, such as recruitment and employment support. Such initiatives can contribute to reducing the risk to the employer in taking on personnel and providing a smoother change over from unemployment to a job.

### *Examine the thresholds into the labour market*

The labour market's way of functioning can influence the chances of a newcomer to find a job on the labour market. (Arbetslivsinstitutet 2006, SNS 2006, OECD 2004, SOU 2004:2, Försäkringskassan 2005, IFAU 2005) Obstacles existing in the general policy can thereby contribute to explaining why it takes more time for an immigrant to establish himself on the labour market.

*Integration Report* 2005 pays attention to the incentives that different support systems create for the

actors that make decisions about different measures. The individual risks being afflicted by enclosure effects. There are reasons to have a good look at the thresholds, incentives and marginal effects also for individuals. This applies, e.g., to the marginal effects that afflict jobless with a-kassa (unemployment benefit fund) and maintenance support. (SOU 2004:2, ALI 2006, Proposition 2004/2005:1 appendix 3, page 21) Much in the same way as the effects of high labour taxation on low incomes have in Sweden. (OECD 2004, IFAU 2005, SNS 2006)

Decisive for integration is that new inhabitants are rapidly given the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the labour market. At the same time there must be opportunities for advancement, so that those born outside Sweden do not get stuck in low qualified jobs below their qualification level. This *Integration Report* draws attention to this with regard to university graduates. Continued initiatives may be required also when the individual has a job as, for example, happens in some programmes for new arrivals in the USA. (*Rapport Integration 2002*)

Internationally, Sweden stands out by having foreign-born persons represented in certain sectors of the labour market. Sectors where immigrants are strongly underrepresented should be particularly examined in order to identify possible obstacles.

### *Initiatives to counteract discrimination*

In several surveys, the Swedish Integration Board has shown that explanations of differences in employment between foreign and native born does not lie to any great extent on special skills of the foreign born population. Neither the educational level nor any cultural differences can explain the big differences in employment between those of foreign birth and those born in Sweden. Explanations are rather to be found in discriminating and unfair regulations that make it difficult for newcomers on the labour market. Exposing and eradicating discriminating structures is thereby an important task in the work of integration.

### *Focus on structural obstacles in the general policy*

In this *Integration Report*, the Swedish Integration Board has identified a number of mechanisms in the general policy that risks being unfair to foreign born. Many of the problems are established during the initial introduction period in Sweden. We have also shown that there is widespread focus on problems – officials tend to focus on that which deviates from the norm rather than base decisions on the resources of the individual – which gives rise to discriminating effects for the individual. It is important that Govern-

ment rules and regulations are adapted to the diversity of the population and that institutional routines and norms do not hinder equal treatment for all. The integration-policy perspective in the steering of goals and results by the authorities must be reinforced, so that goal conflicts between and within institutions are avoided.

The State Audit Institution (Riksrevisionen) has pointed to the need to strengthen the impact integration policy has on the activities of government authorities. (Riksrevisionen 2005) The Swedish Integration Board has therefore been commissioned to make an analysis of the integration-policy results and gains based on the goals and indicators for the integration policy laid down in the Government's budget proposition for 2006. This will subsequently act as a basis for coordinating and strengthening the Government's steering of the authorities so as to increase the impact of the integration policy.

How other mechanisms in the general policy affect those born outside Sweden should also be looked into. Researchers, e.g., disagree in what way the employment protection has any effects on employment as a whole, but it is relatively undisputed that it affects the access to the labour market differently for different groups of employees. (OECD 2004b) An important question is the balance between security for those who have a job and job opportunities for those unemployed.

### *Offensive campaigns against discrimination*

Campaigns against discrimination is the area within the integration policy that has been most under the spotlight in recent years. EU has pushed through new legislation against discrimination and equal treatment. Swedish legislation has been tightened up and broadened (Proposition 2002/03:65) and the DO (Ombudsman against Discrimination) has been given increased resources. The Discrimination Committee has tabled a proposal for a new cohesive discrimination legislation. (SOU 2006:22) The Government has appointed a commission to report on structural discrimination and the Swedish Integration Board has been commissioned to carry out so-called "situation testing" in order to find out how widespread discrimination is in working life.

There is a growing admission by society's central institutions that discrimination is a serious problem. It is also the view of a large majority of the Swedish population that discrimination does in fact exist and that it is a problem. Discrimination denial occurs marginally. The Swedish population also show little acceptance of discrimination and support for equal

rights is well and truly anchored (Integrationsverket 2005c).

#### *Special treatment or equal treatment?*

Measures against discrimination should be based on the principle of equal treatment. Focusing on equal treatment reduces the risk of special negative treatment for foreign born. Instead of disavowing the principle of equal treatment for all by introducing quota allocations or other strong forms of affirmative action, integration will be better served by combating negative special treatment by emphasising equal rights, equal obligations and equal opportunities. It is in the general policy that we ought to seek the solutions, and not via special solutions based on group affiliation.

If equal treatment is to be guaranteed, individuals must have insight into decisions effecting him or her. Therefore, the housing market should be more open to insight, the allocation of rented flats should take place according to open and non-discriminatory principles, and property bidding should be carried out in an open fashion. This would pave the way for better conditions for equal treatment.

The question of affirmative action has been the focus of topical discussion during 2005. A single discrimination Act is welcome but we must be careful to make exceptions from the principle of equal treatment. Well-advanced anti-discrimination efforts with distinct goals, active measures and a strong follow-up are central to the work of breaking down barriers, counteracting negative special treatment and laying the groundwork for actual possibilities. This can be done without having to widen legal opportunities for quotas and stronger forms of affirmative action.

#### *Improve conditions for newcomers' introduction*

During their initial period in Sweden, individual newcomers should be given opportunities for getting a job and participation in the society. At the end of this period no particular efforts should be made on behalf of immigrants because they happen to be born outside Sweden.

This is the intention of introduction, but not the outcome. The introduction process has had a lack of goal attainment for a long time, despite continuous developments. Inclusion on the labour market for newly arrived immigrants is too slow.

*Integration Report 2005* gives further examples of shortcomings during and after the introduction. Along with earlier follow-ups and introduction evaluations, the report shows that the time in the municipal introduction for many newly arrived immigrants

does not pave the way for entrance into society. Instead, there is risk that the introduction functions as a waiting room. Sections of the basic adult education and validation show that, after the introduction, a number of other programmes follow that risk prolonging the time in the waiting room.

#### *Need for system changes during the initial period in Sweden*

The Swedish Integration Board has previously pointed out to the Government the need for system changes during the introduction period that gives better opportunities to enter the labour market and become self-sufficient. An introduction should consist of some kind of vocational training combined with other measures such as language tuition and civics as well as validation of education and vocational experience. The introduction period should also include rehabilitating and function-raising measures, e.g., working-life focus on rehabilitation of traumatised refugees. Hence the reason why the Swedish Integration Board in 2001 took the initiative to reach a central agreement between the pertinent state authorities, municipal and county council organisations on the further development of the introduction.

The analysis in the *Integration Report* points out that the shortcomings within the introduction may be due to goal conflicts among the collaborating actors. Actors such as municipalities and state authorities need clear unequivocal motivation for their efforts on behalf of newly arrived immigrants. For example, state financing of the introduction should be structured in such a way as to increase the incentives for the actors involved so as to speed up efforts towards integration. Clarification of responsibilities and roles are also most important. The Labour Market Board must be given a clearer role with regard to working-life focused activities for newly arrived immigrants.

Regional and county councils ought to play a greater role than they do today, both with regard to reception planning and the development of introduction measures. At the same time we know that only a few municipalities collaborate with actors outside municipal boundaries (Integrationsverket 2005). Regional work requires coordination and regional »motors«. At an initial stage, the Swedish Integration Board should have such a role within the framework for the experimental undertaking the Government has given the Board, to be carried out during 2006 and 2007, for the purpose of developing cooperation within several selected counties or regions. The central, regional and local agreements on development of better programs for newly arrived refugees and other immigrants, ini-

tiated by the Swedish Integration Board, has given structure and legitimacy to the cooperation between the actors involved (Integrationsverket 2005b). This will now be utilised in the continued work. Subsequently the experimental undertaking can form the basis for a more extensive change nationally.

### *Reducing residential segregation*

Evaluations of the Metropolitan policy show that the policy goal to break segregation through area-based campaigns was unrealistic. A large part of the actions within the metropolitan policy has had important effects in that they mitigated parts of the negative consequences of segregation.

For a policy aimed at breaking segregation to be successful, it should be lifted from the housing areas to the municipal and regional level. Plans for new infrastructure and housing planning are important features in a more long-term and overall policy for breaking segregation. A concentration of the same forms of tenure must also be combated in order to avoid isolation and enclosure of the kind we see today. Those efforts should be combined with activities adapted to the area-based way of working, for example, compensating pupils in the school for their deteriorated conditions.

Also important is to prevent discrimination on the housing market. One way of doing this is to increase public insight into how rented flats are allocated. Better statistics on which flats are allocated by private landlords to the local municipal housing department, and which flats the landlords themselves rent out should make it easier to analyse the allocation processes in the housing market.

At municipal level, the influence of the housing companies owned by the municipal could be used as an instrument for discrimination prevention. Politicians can, through directives and goals, control an important segment of the municipal housing market, and also segregation development within municipal housing.

### *The effects of residential segregation show up in school*

The current residential segregation situation, with ethnic and socio-economic overtones, is one of the largest sources of unequal education conditions for children and young people in compulsory education.

Efforts in schools, especially in the larger cities, is about relating to an environment of ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation. A concentration of pupils whose parents have a weak socio-economic situation has a negative effect on the pupils' marks.

Opportunities for the school to create equal con-

ditions would be considerably improved with less residential segregation. A continued policy for those housing areas where a large part of the city's economically and socially resource-weak population live can, however, contribute towards mitigating the negative effects of segregation.

An important activity with which to offset the negative affects of a social and ethnic housing segregation is to make sure that children with foreign backgrounds who have recently arrived in Sweden are given the chance to a schooling in an environment with better opportunities for successful studies.

### *Knowledge-based decisions*

The integration policy's development must be governed by knowledge. The follow-up is also important in order to identify the mechanisms in the general policy that disadvantages people who have immigrated to Sweden.

An ambition, therefore, of the *Integration Report* 2005 has been to examine the role played by evaluations within the integration policy and what the evaluations tell us about the effects of the various undertakings.

We know a lot more than we did previously but more follow-ups and evaluations are needed, particularly with regard to the effects of activities during the initial period in Sweden, validation, basic adult education, municipal labour market activities and other "projects for immigrants". There the effects are almost unknown.

IFAU (Swedish abbreviation for Labour Market Policy Evaluation) has the most developed evaluation activity and the best methodological knowledge, but this applies, however, only to the labour market policy. Nevertheless, IFAU is not responsible for analysing the accumulated effects from an integration perspective or for further developing the labour market policy from an integration perspective.

Among other tasks, one function of the Swedish Integration Board is to follow-up and evaluate the development of society from an integration policy perspective, but no mandate to initiate evaluations. To the extent follow-ups and evaluations are carried out, the next step lacks a coordinated strategy to preserve the results and convert them into a practical policy.

Thus, for the moment there is no thought-out integration perspective with regard to evaluation activities, nor a systematic evaluation strategy within both the state and the municipal sector. Also lacking is a coordinated responsibility for ordering evaluations, receiving the results of the evaluations and using



them in order to develop integration measures within different policy areas.

#### *Collaboration is necessary*

The Swedish Integration Board has begun two major projects for developing systems for further development of knowledge about the integration processes and the effects of the integration undertakings. Both demand substantial commitments from the other collaborating actors.

During 2005 the groundwork was laid for a future national system for evaluating the introduction phase for newly arrived refugees and immigrants. Together with six specially selected pilot municipalities – Borås, Karlskrona, Landskrona, Linköping and Västerås – as well as Sweden's Communes and County Councils and the Labour Market Administration, the Swedish Integration Board has drawn up questions to mea-

sure the effects of measures during the introduction period of newly arrived immigrants. The plan is that the system is operational by autumn 2006 to be used by all the interested regional and local authorities. For the system to function the active participation of these bodies is required.

In 2006, various authorities will also initiate a formal cooperation aimed at following up and analysing how integration is developing in Sweden. The bodies concerned shall provide the Swedish Integration Board with documentation corresponding to various indicators. The new follow-up system with 24 measurable goals will give a more complete picture of integration development in Sweden. A coordinated, overall analysis will be made by the Swedish Integration Board, which will submit its first report to the Ministry of Justice on 30 June 2007.

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