

Integration Through Music

-Giving Refugees a Voice

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Spring term 2018
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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine how singing in a choir can promote integration and social inclusion for asylum seeking immigrants. It also compares the integration efforts of the Swedish government vs. civil society and explores how the music teachers feel about their dual roles as social workers.

The data for this qualitative study was collected through both participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Four music teachers working with integration choirs were interviewed, a language choir was observed under a period of two months and three members of that choir were also interviewed. All of the informants and the choir were found through the organization Körkraft, a non-governmental organization that is dedicated to building up language choirs across Sweden and working towards socializing across ethnic boundaries that exist in our society today.

The results show that participating in a choir gives participants several tools which can facilitate their integration into society and break their isolation. However, it is up to the individual to use them. The tools include social capital in the form of bridging and bonding networks formed in the choirs and cultural capital in the form of learning the Swedish language and customs.

Keywords

English: Social capital, integration, social inclusion, music, civil society

Svenska: Social kapital, integration, social inklusion, musik, civilsamhälle

Number of words

17,480

Thank you

I would like to thank my supervisor Lambros Roumbanis for being enthusiastic about my research, for encouraging me and making me believe that I am a good writer. Your feedback has been invaluable.

Thank you, Marie and Charlotte, for welcoming me into your world from the very first day we met. You truly are changing the world and inspiring everyone around you with your energy and passion. You led me to Mark and Cecilia who also make the world a better place. You have all inspired me to start writing music again.

Thank you, Anders and Henry, for your unwavering support and for making cups of tea when I most needed them.

This paper is dedicated to the women at Akalla Women's Center- it has been an honor to sing together and bond through the power of music. It is also dedicated to all the asylum seekers I have worked with over the past five years who helped me more than I could ever help them.

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1. Introduction

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) describes society as “fields” where there are constant battles going on; a power struggle for resources (i.e. forms of capital). Each person’s position and possibilities are defined by the amount of capital they have and directly increase or decrease their chances of winning the stakes in the game of life. Forms of capital include resources in the form of social networks, language skills, education, and finances, amongst others (Bourdieu, 1986). Everybody is a pawn in this game, independent of their race, gender, or ethnicity. Now imagine you’ve fled a war-torn country and arrived in Sweden as a forced migrant, unfamiliar with the language, customs, and social codes. Yet you too are thrust into this battlefield of survival where your chances of succeeding and integrating into the new society depends on your ability to accumulate these forms of capital while at the same time ‘competing’ against Swedish natives and trying to cope with the trauma of both your past and your present. To further complicate matters, you have to wait at least 21-23 months to even have your case reviewed by the Migration Board during which time you are not allowed to work nor have access to language courses (Migrationsverket, 2018a). This playing field could be described as uneven at best. Some of the informants for this study, refugee women from Uzbekistan, Somalia and Afghanistan, all described a feeling of invisibility stemming from a lack of linguistic skills which in turn isolates them from society. This is not even a question of losing the game, they’re sitting on the sidelines. These women are not alone.

According to the United Nations’ International Migration Report 2017 there were 258 million migrants in 2017 with over 60% of all international migrants living in Asia (80 million) or Europe (78 million) (2017). In Sweden we have seen an influx of immigration and refugees in the last few years with a peak of more than 160,000 refugees in 2015 alone (Migrationsverket, 2018b). Some call it ‘problematic’ and it has been a topic across the country in the news as well as at dinner tables. Integration is a question for politicians, social workers, teachers, individuals; it’s an issue that affects us all, directly and/or indirectly. Social exclusion has become an ever-growing social problem as all people and groups do not have equal means or opportunities to participate in society. These opportunities are determined by social, economic, political and cultural processes. The state has become overwhelmed; in 2016 alone, 111, 979 cases were decided, almost 307 cases per day (Migrationsverket, 2017a). However, people are still waiting up to two years for their cases just to be heard. The Swedish government offers Swedish courses as a first step to integrate but these courses are only available to people once they have residence status. This leaves a gaping hole for those people still waiting. This is where civil society is taking action. Civil society consists of citizens’ relationships in various associations and organizations (Diaz, 1997). These organizations range from knitting to clownery to various performing arts, all focusing their efforts on helping to integrate the asylum seekers waiting for residence status from an overburdened state.

Körkraft is one of those non-governmental organizations whose methods include creating various types of language choirs for asylum seeking youths and women. They see learning Swedish through singing as a way to break the new arrival’s isolation, a way to meet Swedes and build up a social network and a stepping stone towards being integrated into Swedish society. Unlike the rigid immigration process, the only thing you need to join the choir is to show up. As one informant in this study says, music transcends languages and has the power to break down fears and walls, enabling a sense of compassion and camaraderie. This can

mean everything to a newly arrived refugee with no social ties to their new country or cultural capital in the form of language or otherwise.

If integration is facilitated by the acquisition of language skills and social networks, Social Capital Theory can be a useful tool in analyzing if singing in a choir can lead to different forms of capital and therefore leading to integration and social inclusion into Swedish society. This study shows how learning language through singing in a choir can help the participating refugee with the tools to at least get on the playing field.

1.1 Aim and Questions

My aim with this study is to research how singing in a choir can promote integration and social inclusion for asylum seeking immigrants.

- How do choirs promote social inclusion through music and music education in multi-ethnic suburbs?
- How do the music teachers see their role in terms of being music teachers vs. social workers?
- In what way can the practices in the choir lead to competences resulting in different forms of social and cultural capital?

1.2 Limitations

Although Social Capital Theory (SCT) is being used for the study, only two aspects of this theory will be studied in depth as they were found to be most relevant; social capital and cultural capital. Economic, human, symbolic, and other forms of capital are briefly discussed but not analyzed in depth. Integration also has many sides but most relevant to this study are José Alberto Diaz's (1997) dimensions on social and communicative integration. Therefore, I will not be analyzing other dimensions such as political or economic integration even though they can all influence and have an effect on the others (Diaz, 1997).

1.3 Definitions

Unaccompanied minor- a child under the age of 18 who comes to Sweden without either of his or her parents or any other adult who has entered the parents' place (Migrationsverket, 2017b).

An **asylum seeker** is a person who is seeking protection in Sweden. He or she has not received a final response to his application for asylum (Migrationsverket, 2017a). In this study the terms **new arrival**, **refugee** and **immigrant** are used synonymously.

Fika- a Swedish word describing a concept of Swedish culture involving taking a break and sharing a cup of tea or coffee and a little something to eat. It "refreshes the brain and strengthens relationships" according to Swedish Food (2014).

The terms **informant** and **respondent** are used synonymously throughout study.

2. Background of the Current Sociopolitical Situation

This section describes the current situation of refugees in Sweden, the efforts to integrate them by the state vs. civil society and background information about Körkraft, an NGO focusing efforts on integration of refugees through language and integration choirs.

2.1 The Situation of Refugees in Sweden

Sweden has seen an influx of immigration and refugees in the last few years with a peak of more than 160,000 refugees in 2015 alone, including more than 35,000 unaccompanied minors (Migrationsverket, 2018b). That is the largest number of applicants per capita in the EU. As a response to the ‘crisis of 2015’ Sweden has revised its asylum policies considerably. After November 24, 2015, most asylum seekers have been given temporary residence permits as opposed to permanent ones. Sweden is a signatory to the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol which defines refugees as a person who

“...owing to the well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, sex, sexual orientation or membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” (SFS 2005:716)

When granted asylum through a permanent or temporary residence status, refugees are entitled to certain benefits from the state for two years (SFS 2017:584) during which time they are classified as new arrivals (Migrationsverket, 2017a). The Swedish Public Employment Services has the task of helping new arrivals enter the labor market as well as orientating and guiding them into society (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2017; Migrationsverket, 2017b). The benefits also include language classes called SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) (ibid.). Language can be seen as an important tool to facilitate opportunities within the job market and also allow for ease of navigation and communication in society.

However, if you are waiting for your case to be reviewed by the Swedish Migration Board, as an adult you do not have rights to these benefits. As a child you are protected under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and have the right to go to school where you can learn Swedish (Migrationsverket, 2018c). According to the Migration Board’s web page, the current waiting time to have your case reviewed is 21-23 months and a further 4-6 months for a decision to be made (Migrationsverket, 2018a). The informants in this study, the women at the Akalla Women’s Center, all corroborated this information. Most of them have been waiting more than two years for their first interview. Thus, they do not have the right to language classes through the state nor do they receive help with questions regarding the Swedish society.

2.2 The State vs. Civil Society

In a paper written on behalf of Sweden’s municipalities and city councils in 2017, the problem of an overburdened public sector is made clear as the municipalities urge a stronger

partnership with civil society. In this call to action, which they describe as central for the development of community, they describe civil society as a force for revitalization, for local and regional development and for the renewal of welfare (Berglund, 2017). They report that due to extensive reception of asylum seekers and new arrivals in recent years, it's important that all society's efforts be mobilized, and that cooperation develops between the public and civil society in order to jointly create the conditions for successful integration. The areas to be developed include social interventions for vulnerable people, political exclusion and the reception and establishment of new arrivals. One way to collaborate is to strengthen ties in the social arena with various associations, including cultural organizations (ibid). The relationships made within associations and organizations is what makes up civil society and participation in those organizations and resources available to the new arrivals can facilitate integration (Diaz, 1997). Diaz highlights that early intervention is key, offering help to refugees early on in their integration process is important in order to offer tools to learn communication skills, build up their social network, and participate in building up a tolerance for different ethnicities (ibid). The government concedes that civil society plays an important part in creating social arenas for these relationships to happen (SOU 2017:12). As seen above, most new arrivals have to wait at least two years for their first meeting with the Migration Board and are not offered language classes during that time. One of the women interviewed for this study has been in Sweden for eight years and is still trying to get permanent residence. Without assistance from the state, what are the new arrivals supposed to do while they wait for their applications to be processed?

Körkraft is one of those organizations whose focus is integration of new arrivals without permanent residence status.

2.3 Who is Körkraft?

Körkraft is a musical NGO which puts together choirs that focus on language training through music and building community for asylum seeking youths and women as a means to promote integration and social inclusion. According to the two founders, Marie Bejstam and Charlotte Rider, singing in a choir is an old tradition in Sweden and is a fundamental part of Swedish culture and way of (social) life. Their language choirs are targeted to asylum seeking youths and women; new arrivals who are too old to study in high school and are not allowed to study SFI (Swedish language classes provided by the government to immigrants granted residence status). Singing in one of their choirs becomes a way to develop their language skills, build up a social network and break their isolation in Sweden. Körkraft's webpage cites neurological research that shows that singing has been shown to be a stimulating way to learn language by using several forms of senses at once, i.e. singing and moving simultaneously (Körkraft, 2018). Other research by Oxford University shows that singing together is the most effective activity to form social ties (Pearce, Launay & Dunbar, 2015). There are three different types of choirs:

Language Choirs

There are currently two language choirs. One choir was started at a women's center in Akalla, a multi-ethnic suburb of Stockholm, on request by the women themselves. About 40% of the women are 25 or younger and are all waiting for their asylum requests to be processed. They rehearse one day a week for two hours.

Another choir was started at a SPRINT (language introduction) high school which is run by Stockholm municipality for refugee youths aged 15-19. They are learning Swedish at this

preparatory high school while they wait for their asylum requests to be processed and in the hopes of being able to attend a regular high school. They rehearse one day a week.

Buddy Choirs

Körkraft is building up their network of buddy choirs. I observed the rehearsal of a buddy choir which was a mix of the SPRINT choir and the choir from a music school called Lilla Akademien based in Stockholm. Every six weeks these buddy choirs meet and rehearse and every semester they have a workshop together. This culminates in a final concert.

Mixed Choirs

This choir is voluntary and both Swedes and asylum seekers can sign up. Previous singing experience or language skills are not a requirement, everyone is welcome. The goal with a mixed choir is to create a social meeting space for all people with music and singing being the common interest.

Körkraft is an organization focused on building networks; they have a network for like-minded choir leaders who have the same vision of building a socially integrated society through the use of music and also have networks of integration choirs throughout Sweden which can then share resources, help each other and expand.

The main message of Körkraft is that in a choir, all voices have equal worth independent of religion, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socioeconomic status or sexual orientation (Körkraft, 2018).

3. Theoretical Perspectives

The question of immigration is a complex one. For this reason, a combination of theories will be used. José Alberto Diaz's (1997) theory on the process of integration can be used to explain what integration is and which dimensions are important during primary integration which is the time the informants in this study are currently experiencing as they wait for their asylum requests to be processed even though some have been here as long as 8 years. Although it was done in the eighties and nineties in Sweden, it is still relevant today. Social Capital Theory (SCT) echoes Diaz's theory that the acquisition of language skills and a social network are vital to becoming a functioning and integrated member of society. The concept of SCT has been traced back as far as 1916 to a West Virginia school reformer named L.F. Hannifin (Daniel, 2009) but this study focuses on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and also Robert Putnam who expands Bourdieu's SCT with his ideas on trust, reciprocity and voluntary organizations. Also included in this study is research on noneconomic social capital to counter Bourdieu who writes that all capital is basically a quest to gain economic capital in the end (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital, with the goal of learning language as opposed to economic gains, better reflects the needs of the new arrivals that I came into contact with during this study.

3.1 Social Capital Theory

This theory was popularized by Bourdieu in the 1970s and early 1980s. Though he may not have been the first to mention Social Capital Theory (SCT), he was certainly not the last. SCT has been expanded upon by several others, including political scientist Robert Putnam who contemporized SCT in a 1993 study of democratic institutions in Italy and then again in his book *Bowling Alone* (2000). Although the contemporary ideas of Putnam are more relevant to my study, his theories are built on Bourdieu's ideas. Because of this, Bourdieu's concept of social capital must be explained before going on to explaining Putnam. This gives an idea of how combining their ideas and examining similarities and differences help to understand how the choirs work with new arrivals in building up their social capital, leading to integration.

3.2 Bourdieu's Ideas on Social Capital Theory

Bourdieu is responsible for bringing the concept and term social capital into present-day discussions and is commonly cited for his attempts to identify and conceptualize this complex theory. According to Bourdieu (1986), capital can present itself in many guises; the fundamental ones being economic, cultural and social. These forms of social capital are resources used in conflicts and power struggles that are carried out in different social arenas or 'fields' as Bourdieu calls them. These fields represent society as a whole. Each person's position and possibilities are defined by the amount of resources (i.e. forms of capital) they have and determine who occupies "the dominant positions within their respective fields" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 76).

Social capital is a network of connections which is achieved through an ongoing process of interaction with others. These relationships can be built in all parts of one's life, i.e. at school, at work, within a family, or in your neighborhood. According to Bourdieu, these relationships are a type of investment, whether consciously or unconsciously, with the intention of producing some kind of benefit in the short or long term (Bourdieu, 1986). He basically saw social capital as a way to access resources through social connections and increase the ability of a person to advance their own interests. These resources and connections are often found in groups and social networks and ongoing participation in these groups leads to higher social capital and even economic rewards.

Bourdieu places emphasis on membership in groups since they provide each of the members with "the backing of the collectivity owned capital" which means that each person in the group feels a sense of ownership in the group (1986, p. 249). Being a member of a group and social networks also improves your social position and Bourdieu writes that the size of the group directly impacts the number of connections one can effectively mobilize; the bigger the group, the more connections one can possibly have (ibid).

Some modern examples of groups and networks in Sweden are sports clubs, associations, religious congregations, classes, political parties, and music groups such as choirs and orchestras. All of these are voluntary associations. Group memberships creating social capital have a "multiplication effect" on the influence of other forms of capital (see Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988). The outcome of ongoing participation of these networks and associations is various forms of social capital and social connections eventually leading to economic capital which, in capitalist societies, is the ultimate reward.

Bourdieu (1986) describes cultural capital as a person's education that provides advantage in achieving a higher social status in society. This encompasses knowledge, intellectual skills and language.

“Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee” (Bourdieu, 1986).

For the purposes of this paper, Bourdieu’s (1992) ideas will be narrowed down to his thoughts on “linguistic capital” which he refers to as the skills of speaking an “official” language according to those with authority and power. Looking outside Bourdieu and thinking in broader terms, citizenship can be included as “a part of the institutionalized form of cultural capital” because its possession affects one’s standing in society (Diken, 1998, p. 101).

Lastly, Bourdieu argues that in a capitalistic society, economic capital is the fundamental resource. Therefore, accumulation of social and cultural capital is a quest in improving one’s economic standing in society. Participation in networks leads to accrual of mutual benefits, social connections and resources which will ultimately lead to economic reward (Bourdieu, 1986). He writes that where economic capital accumulation is not possible, religious and symbolic capital may be the only forms of capital accumulation (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 118).

However, a more recent study on social capital as it pertains to the situation of refugees argues that language, categorized by Bourdieu as a cultural capital, can be experienced as noneconomic social capital which can lead to breaking a social isolation stemming from lack of language skills. This is discussed later on in the theory section.

3.3 Putnam’s Ideas on Social Capital Theory

The research of American political scientist Robert Putnam is being included in order to balance and expand the views of French sociologist Bourdieu. His fundamental definition of social capital as a concept is very similar to Bourdieu’s at the core, but on a broader social scale it adds new layers, a complexity and a modern twist. This is demonstrated even in the fact that Putnam uses the internet as an example of a place where people connect, describing society as polymorphous and constantly changing (Putnam, 2000). Bourdieu’s theory and ideas, while still very much relevant, are building blocks to Putnam’s version which adds further dimensions to social capital. With migration and globalization happening at lightning speed, a more modern view on social capital is more relevant to this study on how the accumulation of social capital through music can lead to integration.

Putnam applies his concept to a broader social scale and focuses on the system level behaviors at regional and national levels. He describes the principle of generalized reciprocity as the “touchstone of social capital” (Putnam, 2000, p. 134). This simply means doing something for another person today without immediately expecting anything in return but confident that one day, that person or somebody else will return the favor. Scratch somebody’s back and eventually somebody will scratch yours. This idea is paramount within social networks because this not only builds reciprocity but also social trust. This trust (one of Putnam’s themes) not only “lubricates social life” but makes society more efficient than a distrustful society, leading to increased civic engagement and is the core of social capital (Putnam, 2000, p. 21). Social capital is most powerful when the social relations give and take. A society of many ‘virtuous’ but isolated individuals does not necessarily have social capital (ibid).

Putnam described those who trust others as “all-around good citizens, and those more engaged in community life are both more trusting and more trustworthy” (Putnam, 2000, p. 137). In virtually all societies, people like the refugees in this study are described as being less trusting, probably because they are generally treated with less honesty and respect and they are merely reporting a reflection of their personal experience and social norms in their surroundings (Putnam, 2000, p. 141).

3.3.1 Altruism, Voluntary Associations and Integration

Putnam talks about sending a check in the mail vs. working *with* people. “Social capital refers to networks of social connection- doing *with*. Doing good for other people, however, laudable, is not a part of the definition of social capital” (Putnam, 2000, p. 117). Altruism and philanthropy are central measures of social capital. Civic engagement and associations like choral societies not only provide social capital but also foster robust norms of social reciprocity.

3.3.2 Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

In Robert Putnam’s book, *Bowling Alone*, he describes two different types of social capital; bonding (or exclusive) and bridging (or inclusive). Bonding in social capital is referred to homogenous social networks and bridging refers to social networks between socially heterogeneous groups (Putnam, 2000). Putnam’s examples of bonding social capital are ethnic fraternal organizations, church-based reading groups and country clubs which he describes as a kind of sociological superglue (p. 22). These people tend to be similar in terms of demographics and socio-financial positions. A choir is a good example of bonding social capital as there is a creation of shared identities, emotional closeness, social support, reciprocity and trust which can lead to solidarity within the group. These ties can mobilize the group around a common purpose or goals, for example learning and singing songs together for an upcoming choir concert. Bonding social capital is a base from which to establish bridging and linking ties to other groups (Putnam, 2000). “Bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion” (ibid, p. 22). Since these networks are more heterogeneous, they are good for finding “weak” ties rather than “strong” ties that already exist in your bonding network; if you are looking for a job, it can be more valuable to network with more distant acquaintances who move in different circles (Granovetter, 1983). Putnam (2000) describes bonding social capital as good for “getting by” while bridging social capital is crucial for “getting ahead” (p. 23).

3.4 Language as Noneconomic Social Capital for Linguistically Isolated Refugees

In this study, the authors cite references by migration scholars that show that “immigrants who speak their host society’s dominant language have better socioeconomic outcome than immigrants who do not” and highlight how earlier research has focused mainly on how “linguistic social capital can be exchanged for other forms of capital” (Nawyn, Gjokaj, Agbényiga, & Grace, 2012 p. 256). This ties in with Bourdieu’s theory that all forms of capital eventually lead back to economic gain which he has been criticized for. I would like to point out, however, that Bourdieu saw society as a dynamic and complex plurality of social fields and to study one or two fields isolated from the others may not give a whole picture of how the fields interrelate. Even economists often focus on how social capital can be turned into economic gains (Sobel, 2002). However, based on their study of Burundian and Burmese refugees in the US, the findings conclude that refugees who are linguistically isolated

experience language as noneconomic social capital; language gives them social power and access to necessary information (Nawyn et al., 2012). These linguistic resources were a key component to their immigration as lack of language skills led to feelings of not being respected and difficulty in developing social connections and networks with the aim of social inclusion and accessing essential information. The study found that “a lack of dominant language skills can leave immigrants isolated from their communities” and leads to feelings of exclusion and isolation for immigrants and refugees (ibid).

Siegal, Martin, and Bruno (2000) define a household as linguistically isolated if a language other than the language of the host country is spoken in the home and no adult in the household is proficient in that language. Let's take a look at statistics of Akalla where the women's center is located. Akalla is located in the district of Rinkeby-Kista where 49,902 people were residents in 2017. For all ages, 29,047 people were born outside of Sweden and 12,149 people were born in Sweden to two parents who were not born in Sweden (Stockholms stad, 2018). We do not have statistics on exactly how many of the adults are proficient in Swedish but if 82.6% of the residents in the Akalla region are either born in a non-Swedish speaking country or are born to two parents who are non-Swedish, the chances are quite high that the household could be defined as linguistically isolated. In a community like Akalla where the concentration of linguistically isolated households is high, the social capital available through dominant language ability is low (Nawyn et al., 2012). In a study by Portes and Rumbaut (2006) they describe how immigrants living dispersed in predominantly English-speaking (or in this case, Swedish-speaking) communities develop at least limited bilingualism while immigrants in highly concentrated settlement areas are more likely to not learn the new language and keep speaking their own.

3.5 What is Integration?

The term ‘integration’ is often used in media, debates, research, etc. and can have various definitions. It's a complicated concept that is often described as both a process and a state. For the purposes of this study, I will be using Diaz's (1997) definition as well as his theory on integration.

Diaz has written two studies on integration. *Choosing Integration- a Theoretical and Empirical Study of the Immigrant Integration in Sweden* (1993) talks about immigrants' process of integration into the Swedish society and examines the various integration processes of different ethnic groups, highlighting the labor and refugee immigration to the host society. In his book *Primärintegration och bidragsberoende* Diaz (1997) talks about the two different stages of integration (primary and secondary) and the seven dimensions of integration which occur during those stages:

1. **Communicative integration:** the individual is a visible, participating and involved member of society through the ability to understand and express themselves in the new language and understand media and information
2. **Economic integration:** gives the individual access to work and income
3. **Social integration:** the individual creates valuable social capital and resources through contact with natives
4. **Housing integration:** the individual can choose where to live and is given the opportunity to expand their social network through social activities in the (preferably ethnically mixed) area in which they live
5. **Family integration:** is achieved by the individual for example marrying or moving in with a native in the new country, giving them access to diverse social relationships

6. **Political integration:** the individual has access to full political rights
7. **Personal integration:** the individual's subjective experience of satisfaction over aspects such as housing, work, income, etc. (Diaz, 1997, p. 33)

According to Diaz, an immigrant's first part of the integration process in a new country is important as it lays the groundwork for continued integration. He calls this *primary integration* and the first four dimensions fall under this category. It's the crucial time where the immigrant learns the new language and makes contacts with people and a job market that are not a part of the ethnic minority. Primary integration is the foundation for longer-term and more widespread integration where the individual extends their social network and participation in community life (p. 34). The reception of refugees is one of the most important ways to help them integrate right from the start. With the right resources, you can create positive conditions for the new arrivals which sets the tone for their new life (Diaz, 1997, p. 11, 16). The last three dimensions are the basis for *secondary integration*.

Diaz (1997) states that it's not unusual for researchers to focus on one dimension of integration even though he argues that integration is multidimensional. In modern migration research, Diaz finds that often integration is comparable to assimilation. However, there are many examples of ethnic minorities that have adapted well in society but managed to retain their distinct cultural character. Diaz differentiates between integration and assimilation, describing assimilation as socialization leading to total uniformity with the host society through learning the language, social codes and values leading to eliminating all differences of cultural identity and patterns of behavior. Integration, on the other hand, can be seen as a process where the immigrant participates in social life through permanent access to different social arenas. Seen in a sociological, multidimensional view, integration is a social phenomenon related to the quality of the immigrant's participation in different types of social relationships in the host society (Diaz, 1997).

Diaz (1997) describes the process of an immigrant integrating into a new society as a two-way street; it depends on the immigrant's own efforts and resources but also the society's ability and will to create opportunities for the immigrants (p. 35.) He also says that people who arrive to Sweden must become active participants in social life in order to make contacts and build up a social network, find a job, and generally have access to the tools of society, whether it be information or language classes. According to Diaz, integration is achieved when immigrants achieve equality with the domestic population (p.11).

In this study, I subscribe to Diaz's multidimensional definition of integration. I also believe, as Diaz writes, that integration is mutual, and that focus must be put on not only integrating the immigrants but that we must all integrate with each other. The different dimensions of integration can be tied to different dimensions of social capital theory. For the purposes of this study, I will focus on the dimensions of social integration and communicative integration and how they relate to the informants in this study as well as their acquisition of social capital through singing in a choir. The women in this study are still in the primary phase of integration even though they have been in Sweden up to eight years.

This study focuses on integration but another central aspect that has emerged from the empirical data is that through singing in the choir, the women report feeling a sense of belonging that they otherwise haven't felt in their new country, that the music and the choir offer them a temporary escape from their day to day lives.

3.6 Reflections on Social Capital Theory

For this study I chose the theories that overlap and tie into each other to best explain how singing in a choir can lead to higher integration. Diaz's theory on integration processes highlights that a new arrival must first learn the language of the host country in order to be able to communicate and make themselves understood as to not be an invisible member of society. He also highlights the importance of making contacts with natives in order to build up social capital. This ties in with Social Capital theory where the accumulation of capital leads to improving your position in society, thus leading to a higher level of integration. Bourdieu describes language skills as cultural capital and a network of social contacts as social capital. Putnam builds on this and says that these social groups can be bridged to other groups which can lead to connections that can help you find a job, for example. His view is more voluntary, that we can build up our own network. In fact, Bourdieu has been criticized by previous researchers for being vague and lacking conceptual clarity (Sullivan, 2002). Bourdieu has also been criticized for being deterministic, as if individuals were on a path with no free will or consciousness (King, 2000). In this sense, Putnam offers a more voluntary view in the sense that people build up their own social networks and aren't just born into them.

Putnam also highlights the importance of trust and voluntary organizations like *Körkraft*. The Nawyn (2012) study on refugees shows that without language skills, refugees experience isolation in their new country. This was reflected in my own study where the women I interviewed described a feeling of being invisible in Sweden due to lack of language skills. Singing in the choir is their attempt to break that linguistic isolation, to give them the confidence to learn sufficient Swedish to feel brave enough to communicate with native Swedish people in order to build up their social network and start feeling integrated in the Swedish society.

4. Previous Research

The question of integration is a big one and appears on many arenas, political and sociological. Unfortunately attempts at integration don't always work as there still exists social exclusion, racism and segregation in society. In a study by Hedström et al. (2016), they show that Sweden has a high level of school segregation which has increased over time, more so than other Nordic countries (Spaiser, Hedström, Ranganathan, 2016). In a report put out by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, housing segregation is a problem that has an ethnic dimension and affects mainly people in low income suburbs (Boverket, 2010). People in the segregated areas tend to be unhealthier, have higher rates of unemployment, lower income and higher rates of dependency on state welfare aid (ibid).

In a report on racism and racial intolerance in Sweden, Ericsson (2016) writes that Sweden is often viewed as a country with a generous migration and asylum policy, based on international solidarity and ideas about human rights. On the contrary, the policy in Sweden has been extremely restrictive for long periods and has been influenced by explicit preconceptions about race due to refugees often being depicted as a threat to Swedish welfare and culture. Ericsson (2016) explains that these threats never materialize, however, due to the fact that Sweden has become increasingly affluent over the last 150 years.

Many studies show where integration has failed. However, in this paper I choose to focus on the various creative ways civil society is using their skills and tools in order to promote integration, just as *Körkraft* has done, providing people with social and cultural capital as a

means to become socially included. Before exploring these innovative methods, we will examine what cultural citizenship is.

4.1 The Search Process

Google Scholar, Google, the SU University library search page, Libris, Diva Portal, a journal called Music Education Research, Annual Reviews, the International Migration Review, and ResearchGate have been used to find previous research done on Social Capital Theory, theories on integration, social organizations integration through music. Primarily peer reviewed research has been used. Inspiration and ideas have come from looking through the reference lists of the books used as main literature.

4.2 Cultural Citizenship and Invisibility

Isolation and invisibility emerged as a theme while collecting empirical data for the study. Therefore, more research was done on cultural citizenship and community as it relates to asylum seekers to see if the feelings described by my informants could be generalized to the general population of refugees. In her book *Asylum, Migration and Community*, O'Neill (2010) defines cultural citizenship as:

“The arts and culture in the broadest sense are integral to processes of belonging and important to fostering cultural citizenship and social justice. Cultural citizenship is understood as the right to presence and visibility, not marginalization; the right to dignity and maintenance of lifestyle, not assimilation to the dominant culture; the right to dignifying representation, not stigmatization” (p. 107).

Research conducted in 2002 and 2005 (O'Neill & Tobolewska, 2002) further supports the findings of research by Dumper (2002, 2005) for Refugee Action which highlights the impact of isolation and how it affects the mental health and confidence of refugee women. At a June 2008 Making the Connections seminar focusing on women and migration, O'Neill (2010) observed that the voices of the migrants were usually mediated by others (journalists, advocacy groups, researchers), they faced barriers such as a gender-biased asylum system and that the women often felt invisible through their migration experiences. Furthermore, at the seminar:

“It was suggested through discussion that in this challenging and often painful context, arts and cultural activities could enable women to share experiences, facilitate connection, communication and foster cultural citizenship. These activities may also open up employment possibilities” (O'Neill, 2010, p. 224).

In the results/analysis section of this paper, similar findings are described. The language and integration choirs serve as an arena to connect and build social capital, leading to bridging capital which can lead to potential future employment. Building cultural capital through learning Swedish also serves to break the linguistic isolation the women feel, leading to greater feelings of presence and visibility.

4.3 Integration and Football

Jesper Fundberg (2004), ethnologist at Stockholm University, wrote an article in which he examined football as an arena for integration. In response to his own question if football is

good for integration between different ethnic groups in Sweden, there's no clear yes or no as there are both positives and negatives. On one hand, sports are available for everyone independent of their cultural, social, or religious background; all people are welcome to meet and grow together. Sport is a democratic meeting place, meaning there are no hinders for people to join. You don't need a social network or language skills to play a sport even from the first day you arrive to a new country but those are two benefits that can be acquired over time as you play with others or on a team (ibid). On the other hand, Fundberg (2004) also highlights that from a gender perspective, girls of all genders play less football and that there's an absence of studies from a class perspective as well. He also writes that sports incite feelings and that it's not uncommon for racist comments and a "we vs. them" feeling to emerge on the playing field in the heat of a game. Fundberg (2004) concludes that more empirical studies are needed to answer the question of what integration through sports actually means and how to measure it.

Ager & Strang (2004) see sports clubs as a way to build social bridges and broadening cultural understanding which in turn can lead to widening economic opportunities. Their study, commissioned by the Home Office in London, uses "the proportion of refugees who report actively mixing with people from different ethnic backgrounds and perceived friendliness of local people (by refugees and non-refugees)" as some of the core indicators for determining policy level in regard to immigration and asylum (p. 18).

In an article by Thomas Peterson (2000), he sees sports as an arena for integration and football as a tool to teach immigrant youth Swedish values. Examples of these values include punctuality, humbleness, determination and being orderly. Furthermore, Peterson (2000) writes that football is a way of communicating without language, being part of a group and an opportunity to be validated even if life around you is chaotic; an opportunity to be mindful and forget life for a while (ibid).

4.4 Integration and Music

Music has long been used as a tool for integration in schools, organizations, churches, etc. One world-wide organization is El Sistema, started in 1975 by J.A. Abréu in Venezuela. Orchestras are established in lower socioeconomic areas with the aim of using musical engagement to foster social inclusion and empowerment in young people (El Sistema, 2018). El Sistema started chapters in Sweden in 2010 and now includes 8,000 children in 35 different locations. Authors Åsa Bergman and Monica Lindgren (2014, 2015) have written two different studies on how El Sistema promotes integration through music and helps children in Sweden participate in society. The results show that integration depended on similarities of people playing together and that it was related to cultural affiliation (2015). They have also done research in Venezuela which showed that the organization has been successful in questions regarding psychosocial health, self-confidence and motivation for education as well as involving the community in a positive way (2014). Chris Harkins (2014), a Senior Public Health Research Specialist in Scotland, has been working with the El Sistema project for many years. In his report on Scotland's partnership with El Sistema, called 'Big Noise,' Harkins writes that participation in the program enhances the mental and emotional wellbeing of the participant in three ways; happiness derived from music making, belonging through participation and fostering relationships, and thirdly increased confidence and self-esteem as a result of acquiring musical skills and receiving regular praise (2014, p. 12).

In the journal *Music & Arts in Action* there is an article by Michael Uy (2012) of Oxford University in which he analyzes El Sistema's program using Paolo Freire's theory of Praxis, which says that in order to make a change, the participant must take an active part in their own transformation. This sentiment is echoed in Diaz's (1997) integration theory in which he argues that immigrants must actively become participating members of society for true integration to occur.

In the book *Interkulturella perspektiv- Pedagogik i mångkulturella lärandemiljöer* (2016) Eva Saether has written a chapter about music education for social development and social change. She uses an agonistic model to analyze music and identity and also discusses the music teacher in the role of a social worker. She writes that playing music together can create a strong feeling of togetherness and that by giving youths musical tools and knowledge it can give them more power over their lives both on a micro and macro scale (Lorentz & Bergstedt, 2016). Deliége & Davidson (2011) write about 54 migrants who were interviewed by participants in a musicology course in Austria. Some of the theses that resulted from the study were:

“Migrants identify emotionally with the music of their culture, which helps them to feel at home in a new environment. Music is easier to understand across cultures than language. Music promotes intercultural contact by arousing curiosity and creating a social atmosphere” (Deliége & Davidson, p.1-2, 2011).

Musicologist Lars Lilliestam (2009) also writes that practicing music together has a social aspect; very often you meet friends in the band, orchestra or choir that you're participating in. This bond is strengthened by having a common goal, spending time and having a 'fika' together, giving concerts, possible trips and sharing experiences together. Lilliestam (2009) also says that singing together in a choir gives people a sense of belonging and purpose in life- rehearsals every week, a chance to get out of the house and a possibility to be a part of the ensemble's history. As well as emotional wellbeing, there are physical side effects to singing as well. When we listen to and practice music, adrenaline is secreted, your pulse goes up and endorphins are activated. Lilliestam highlights a study from Karolinska Institute that shows an increased sense of wellbeing amongst choir singers in relation to singing which he claims is affected by the creativity and community which is created by the choir (ibid).

The authors Lundberg, Malm and Ronström (2000) argue that collective music performance does not require a homogenous group. Through practicing music together, a group of people can experience strong feelings of togetherness without ever having to discover if they have something in common beyond these emotions (ibid).

4.5 Integration and the Performing Arts

The Ministry of Stories (Berättarministeriet) is a non-profit foundation that runs creative writing workshops for children between the ages of 8-18. There are currently 5 locations in socially disadvantaged areas in Sweden and the writing centers are free of charge and even work with schools to equip teachers with curriculum programs, methodologies and inspiring ways to teach. Their vision is to help all children in Sweden conquer the written language in order to be able to actively participate in society. Though it's too early to accurately measure the success of the program, in 2016 alone, 10,202 children had visited the writing centers and 930 teachers had used the teaching programs (Berättarministeriet, 2016).

The Swedish Church is currently working on a project where art and culture are used as a resource for integration (Svenska Kyrkan, 2016). In four different communities around the country, an artist is chosen to lead new arrivals and refugees in a cultural project which can involve sound, embroidery, painting, and other art forms. The church claims that art can provide language to people's experiences, beyond words, and can also create important stories about what it's like to be human (ibid).

Another example of civil society's efforts is a project called Clowns Without Borders, focusing on promoting integration through culture in a fun and simple way (Kultur Stiftelse, 2018). The organization, Kultur Stiftelse, trains unaccompanied minors in the art of clownery which has shown positive results for their establishment in Sweden. They highlight the importance of laughing and temporarily forgetting about your troubles and also aim to help the youths continue to develop as future active leaders in local organizations (ibid).

4.6 Summary of Previous Research

From playing in an orchestra to singing in a choir to embroidery to clownery, there are a multitude of creative ways civil society has answered the government's call to action. One important factor, as emphasized by Diaz (1997), is that although programs and initiatives for integration are vital, integration is a two-way street. You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink, so it is with new arrivals and refugees; successful integration depends largely on the help available *and* also the personal effort of the immigrant.

5. Research Method

This section describes the methods used in this study as well as justifying the choice of these particular methods. It also describes how the data was collected, the selection of informants as well as the analysis of the data. The end of the chapter describes ethical considerations as well as validity and reliability.

5.1 Methods

Choice of Method

This study uses two qualitative methods; semi-structured interviews and participant observation. These were chosen because the aim of this study is to research how singing in a choir can promote integration and social inclusion for asylum-seeking immigrants and the focal point is people and their interpretation of that topic. Social reality is dependent upon the individuals who create it (Bryman, 2011). Semi-structured interviews were used because they give the informants a chance to give details, subjective answers as well as for the interviewer the chance to ask follow-up questions. The aim of research interviews is to visualize a phenomenon from multiple perspectives (Esaiasson et al., 2012, p. 251-252). To get as many perspectives as possible, participant observation was also used and is described by Aspers (2007) as a way to access a particular field. Participation in the choir and building a rapport with the women opened up the door to interviewing them later on.

5.2 Choice of Informants

The target population in this study were choir leaders and refugees participating in integration choirs. Körkraft was chosen because they are a network of choirs with many partners throughout the country. Through meeting the two founders, Marie Bejstam and Charlotte Rider, I was able to attend and participate in their weekly choir rehearsals in Akalla at the women's center. From an ethical standpoint, children were not interviewed in this study even though I was able to attend and observe the rehearsal of a buddy choir in order to experience another type of choir. At that rehearsal I met the music director at Lilla Akademien, Mark Tatlow, and sat down to interview him a few weeks later. Cecilia Öhrwall, a music director at Songlines, was another contact made through Körkraft and was interviewed for this study as she directs various integration choirs. Three refugee women from the Akalla choir also agreed to be interviewed for this study.

5.3 Approach and Implementation

During April and May of 2018, I attended 4 choir rehearsals at the Akalla Women's center for a total of 8 hours of active observation where I sang with the women and also chatted during fika breaks. I was invited to attend a 2-hour rehearsal of Lilla Akademien and the Sprint class and mingle afterwards. The three teachers involved, Marie, Charlotte and Mark were all interviewed on separate occasions. The fourth music teacher, Cecilia, was interviewed in connection with observing her choir group from Songlines sing at a demonstration for Human Rights. On the day of my final rehearsal, I interviewed three women in the choir during a fika which made for a relaxed setting and gave them a chance to ask me questions as well (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The focus of this study was placed mainly on the results from interviews with the music teachers and the women refugees. Though two rehearsals with children were observed, more empirical data was gathered from the interviews and observations at the women's center. Roughly twelve hours were spent with Marie and Charlotte in the form of meetings, fikas and lunches as well as e-mail correspondence.

At the Akalla women's center I focused on observation because most of the women had a lower level of Swedish. Participating also gave me access to be a part of the energy of the choir, doing something together with the women and feeling a part of the group. I also had access to the fika breaks which, as discussed later in the analysis section, turned out to be a key time for the participants to bond. Interviews can happen several times but usually occur only once, whereas observing the women let me come back week after week, each time giving the feeling of being more and more accepted by the group as we started to get to know each other more personally. It also gave me the chance to spend more time with and observe Marie and Charlotte who I interviewed for the study, even the opportunity to eat lunch together after the choir rehearsal where we could discuss further. During one of my last observations, three women agreed to sit and talk to me during a fika break. The women may not have been open to talking and sharing with me had I been an anonymous researcher doing a one-off interview. I didn't have access to an interpreter, but the women had a good enough mix of Swedish and English skills for us to understand each other.

My informants have a voice and the best way for their voices to be heard is a combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

5.4 Thematic Analysis

The empirical data was analyzed thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Notes from the observations were made in a notebook (so as not to draw too much attention) and later typed up in a document where they could be seen together as a whole. From the interviews and observations, themes and information both emerged and were carefully selected which were perceived to be most relevant to my study and my research. As described by Rogers, we as researchers have four different forms of power over our informants. In the second modality, called 'non-decision-making view of power,' we have the power to decide what we deem to be 'worthy' of inclusion in our reports, which stories are worth telling (Rogers, 2012). As I went through my material and decided what was most relevant and important to highlight in my study, I tried to reflect critically on this view of 'hidden' power I have as a researcher and tried to include my informants' voice as much as possible. The study, after all, aims to give a voice to those who feel invisible in our society.

5.5 Ethics

This study keeps in line with The Swedish Research Council's research ethical guidelines and their four requirements: information, consent, confidentiality and usage (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002).

All informants gave consent to be interviewed and recorded and were informed of the aim of the study. They were also informed they could stop at any time and only answer questions they felt comfortable with and that notes and recordings would only be used for this study and destroyed afterwards. The music teachers were given the option to be anonymous but declined. Thus, I introduce each informant but do not always specify who said what. The women wished to remain anonymous by name but consented to writing which countries they come from. Although I observed two rehearsals with children, I decided not to interview them from an ethical standpoint. Instead, I observed and also talked about them in my interviews with the music teachers in order to be able to illustrate the different situations for refugee adults and unaccompanied minors.

According to Bourdieu, we as researchers can have the advantage of a certain linguistic capital over our informants (Bourdieu, 1996). However, a translator was not used, mainly because the interview with the women was spontaneous. Also, their language skills were sufficient enough to get across their sentiments. We mixed Swedish and English. I also believe the atmosphere would have been different with an 'outsider' present; by the time we did the interview I had already spent many hours with the women and we had built up a rapport. Kvale & Brinkmann (2014) discuss interviewing over cultural borders and suggest the interviewer acquaint themselves with the culture of the informants in order to reduce offending anyone either verbally or nonverbally. Having worked with refugees myself for over five years, I felt I was not in danger of offending anyone based on lack of cultural knowledge. The interviews were done in Swedish and English and informants who spoke Swedish were all informed that their interviews would be translated into English.

5.6 Reliability, Validity and Generalizability

Validity can be described as how well a study measures what it intends to measure, in this case if singing in a choir can lead to competences resulting in social inclusion and integration (Esaiasson et al., 2012, p. 56). As several methods were used in collecting empirical data, a

broader picture of the acquired capital is given, also allowing it to be studied from several different angles. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002, p. 122) argue that a variety of methods can increase validity because you are researching the phenomena in different ways. A disadvantage of using several methods could be that it is harder to generalize the result as it can become more fragmented, making it difficult to draw conclusions. For example, my observations will be different to someone else's observations. The questions I used for the music teachers and for the women refugees are slightly different and I also used a semi-structured style, being open to questions not on my interview guide. One problem with the validity in this study is that I interviewed more teachers than participants. My results may have been more valid if I had been able to interview more refugees on their subjective experiences on how singing in the choir had personally contributed to them being able to better integrate into society.

Reliability refers to the absence of errors, such as poor sound recording, misunderstanding of the respondent's statements or being inattentive during the gathering of empirical data because of stress (Esaiasson et al., 2012, p. 63). This was avoided as much as possible by taking careful notes and transcribing verbatim. Because I wrote alone, it's possible I avoided misunderstandings that may occur between the authors. However, it's also possible I missed a point of view that could have been pointed out by someone else. Having another person present during the observations would have surely broadened my scope and given new ideas. The interviews were conducted in quiet spaces except for one which was done in a café. This resulted in background noise but was still good enough to be transcribed word for word.

Generalizability can be described as the ability to draw universal results based on the findings of the study, in this case to draw conclusions about the general refugee population in Sweden based on the answers of the informants of this study (Esaiasson et al., 2012, p. 154). This possibility depends largely on whether a good validity and reliability have been achieved. Despite the shortcomings mentioned above, the study is considered to have a good quality of validity and reliability even though the empirical data is too small to be representative of such a varied group of people. The study can contribute a deeper understanding of how music and singing in a choir can result in tools for greater integration, independent of the participant.

6. Result and Analysis

As this study aims to research how singing in a choir can promote integration and social inclusion for asylum-seeking immigrants, four choir leaders/music teachers have been interviewed as well as three participants of a language choir that I actively observed and participated in over a period of two months.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the respondents' answer to what integration is and is compared to Diaz's theory of integration. We then move on to analyze the three themes that emerged in my observations and interviews;

Invisible, isolated and excluded

What happens during choir rehearsals?

Music teachers or social workers?

6.1 Integration

The term integration is an important one in this study. Type 'definition of integration' into Google and you'll get 569 000 000 results. Yet the main definition used for this study has been that of sociologist J.A Diaz (as discussed in the theory section). However, since the voice of the respondents is the most important one in this paper, the voice I wish to make heard, it was important that I got an understanding of their idea on what integration means.

Firstly, it's important to note that the choir teachers all agree that integration isn't really working in Sweden on a grass roots level. They describe Sweden as a country with mixed messages. The official message is that Sweden is an integrated society which is happy to welcome foreigners. In practice, however, there's a discrepancy between what we say and what we do. Charlotte says that we talk about being open to people but then "collect them in these high rises in the outskirts of Stockholm" instead of welcoming them into society. She says integration hasn't worked due to a very rigid system and a lack of communication.

"Sweden is a society where you don't want to tell people- you know that you think people are doing things wrong according to society's rules but you're not willing to tell somebody else that they're doing something 'wrong' because that would be rude. But you're thinking it, that they ought to know better, but you're not willing to tell them. So, integration will not work if you don't have communication." (Charlotte)

Because they perceive that integration hasn't been working in Sweden on a state level, the teachers have taken into their own hands the task of working with asylum seekers.

When asked to define integration, all teachers agree that integration is a multi-faceted term but broken down to its simplest form, integration is relationships. Marie says integration includes making friends with established Swedes. The women in Akalla describe integration as "meeting people and talking." Mark describes the Swedish culture as diverse. He says that diversity can create difficulty and chaos but that it's possible for relationships to come out of it and agrees that integration is really just relationships:

"All we're really talking about is relationship...breaking down the barriers so that people can relate to each other with respect and with tolerance and with interest and with understanding and without prejudice. And for me that's what it's all about...a diversity, a unity within diversity but it's based on relationship and I don't think you can do it without relationship." (Mark)

Mark takes it one step further and says that for integration to occur during a rehearsal, you need to be present to everybody else through the medium of music. "If two people are really present to each other then they will integrate, even if they only integrate for half an hour or half half an hour but then there's a relationship there."

The informants stress the importance of understanding one another, learning about their culture and social codes and how meeting people and building relationships is a two-way street. Cecilia describes that learning about other people's language and singing songs in everyone's language fosters understanding and pride for the participants. Marie adds that learning each other's social codes is also crucial to integration because understanding that someone's actions were based on respect rather than lack of knowledge gives us more tolerance and new ways of thinking.

There was also discussion about the difference between integration and assimilation:

"It's hard to define integration. You have to look at the difference between assimilation and integration. Assimilation for me, if it's going to be complete, then you kind of leave what you have behind you and become totally one with the culture and society that you've come into. Integration would be, for me, carrying what you

have with you and adjusting to the society you come to and learning to interact with the new people and whoever is established in society then also learning how to interact with who has come new. So integration is when both kind of get braided. The new and the old gets braided together in some way. But for integration to really work, I believe, there has to be an element of assimilation in there too. But, you know, I think that's incredibly individual." (Charlotte)

Diaz (1997) writes that in the first phase of integration, the refugee will be limited in their possibility to integrate if they don't learn the language of the host country, get a place to live, update their professional skills or participate in mixed social arenas. The opinions of the informants echo this, especially when it comes to meeting native Swedes and building relationships with them. Later in this study we explore why the women in this study have had a hard time doing this.

6.2 Invisible, Isolated and Excluded- How Do Choirs Promote Social Inclusion?

6.2.1 Breaking Linguistic Isolation

The women interviewed for this study describe a feeling of loneliness and isolation in Sweden. Simply stated, "I usually feel invisible. I have felt like that." This stems mainly from lack of Swedish. All three women agree that if you live in Sweden, you have to speak Swedish. The three women all agree that they feel they can't do 'anything' if they don't speak Swedish and that lack of linguistic skills make life harder.

In Nawyn's (2012) study, similar findings report that a lack of dominant language skills left immigrants feeling isolated and excluded from their communities. These women come from linguistically isolated households in a community which is a highly concentrated settlement area which means the social capital available through language ability is low; they are more likely to continue speaking their own language than develop at least limited bilingualism (ibid). Unfortunately, they don't have the right to work or take Swedish classes through the government because they are seeking asylum. These women, however, have taken advantage of the resources available to them at the women's center, namely four hours a week of Swedish classes and the weekly, two-hour language choir in order to learn Swedish and build their cultural capital. They also report learning through their own initiatives, studying at the library and also learning from their children who learn Swedish at school. Marie discusses the importance of language in the integration process:

"Integration isn't only finding friends. In Akalla there aren't any other Swedes, it's just asylum-seeking women, but there is integration because we are teaching them the language. Without the language, it's not so easy to integrate whatsoever. To make them more self-assured in the language makes them dare to talk to more people and make contact. We talk a lot about concepts and cultural/social codes and history for them and for us."

She goes on to explain that basic preschool methodology is used at Akalla; pictures, motion, and lots of repetition so the concepts stick. When you sing and have fun, endorphins are released in the brain, making it red and active during which time more information goes in and sticks in the brain making learning language through music is particularly effective. This is corroborated by Kraus & Chandrasekaran (2010) who write that neuroscience research has shown that music training leads to brain plasticity and changes throughout the auditory system, shaping individual development. They argue for more music training to be used in education. The women also add that in addition to having fun, they can forget their troubles and exist in happiness for a little while.

Even though the informants have been here 2-8 years and have tried learning Swedish on their own and through the women's center, it is from competences learned in the choir that they feel are starting to be able to communicate. The women felt, and still feel (to a lesser degree) that their Swedish was textbook and didn't understand the slang of the natives. The choir focuses heavily on modern words/meanings and also on pronunciation. Cecilia explains:

"We really go through the texts and what they mean, how to pronounce and enunciate. We also provide links to the artists that have sung the songs so that they can listen if it's a pop song. All the vowels can be totally different, and we practice the language a lot. And that's a natural way to start learning the language. The pronunciation, for example."

The women explain how they feel the choir has helped with not only language and pronunciation but also confidence to be able to meet people:

"In the choir we listen to the pronunciation and we repeat. It has helped, the meaning of words and pronunciation especially. When I learn a new thing I get really really happy because I didn't understand it before but now I understand! It feels good." (Anonymous)

"I used to be scared to meet Swedish people because I thought they would laugh at me because I can't speak Swedish, I thought they would laugh at me. But now, no. Now it's easier because I can talk and it's better." (Anonymous)

The women in O'Neill's (2010) study also report to feeling isolated and invisible. The study shows that the isolation impacts the mental health and confidence of refugee women. Cultural citizenship is described as the right to presence and visibility, not marginalization, and that arts and cultural activities (such as singing in a choir) could enable women to "share experiences, facilitate connection, communication and foster cultural citizenship (O'Neill, p. 224). This could explain why the choirs are so important for the women; they are not only given tools to break their linguistic isolation but they're also learning about social codes. However, communication is defined as a two-way process of reaching mutual understanding, exchanging information and connecting people (Business Dictionary, 2018). This means the women need to take their tools and try to use them.

6.2.2 Social Codes and History

Diaz (1997) describes language as an important part of communicative integration because it gives the immigrant access to information and knowledge such as social codes. Three of four teachers highlight the importance of learning social codes in a new country but feel this information is elusive if you don't have native Swedes in your social network:

"People here don't talk about social codes. Yes, we are offended if a man doesn't shake our hands as a woman. We've worked our butts off to be treated equally, so that's just a part of society. The grownups that come here from other countries aren't getting this education. First, they're in their asylum-seeking quarters where they're quartered unless they have a friend they can live with. The women's center helps." (Charlotte)

In the rehearsals I observed in Akalla, some of the social codes discussed were the importance of shaking hands, wearing a headscarf, throwing garbage on the street, queuing, voting and which wildflowers are protected by law in Sweden and can't be picked. The women in the choir were fascinated to learn that shaking hands is a sign of peace and that not shaking someone's hand can be interpreted as a sign of bad faith and that women in Sweden used to wear headscarves but fought for the right not to, making it a sensitive issue for many. Marie and Charlotte discuss the background of the social codes and how important it is to learn not

only someone else's culture and history but even your own. Marie says that understanding each other's traditions and cultures is the "practical side of integration" and helps avoid accidentally offending people.

All of the teachers also talked about how teaching people, refugees and Swedes alike, about Sweden's history can create a deeper understanding for people immigrating now and make us all humbler. All of the choirs in this study have at some point sung a song called 'The Emigrant Song' and use it to teach Sweden's history of emigration in the 1850's when over one million Swedes emigrated to North America. Cecilia explains:

"We teach the kids that Sweden has also been a country that had conflict. That should be explained in schools, so kids understand and have understanding for those who are coming here. Wow, my grandmother also left her country, you know?"

Marie says that the cultural and economic journey refugees are making in the few months it takes to travel here is comparable to doing a trip of "...over 100 years in terms of opinions, ways of thinking, in what is right or wrong and how the economic situation looks like." She also says that its personal choice how far into the Swedish culture a person wants to go but a basic understanding and respect of the unwritten rules of how society works is vital to building a life here. This is why so much time is spent on social codes, history, and selecting songs with meaningful texts. For example, many of the songs sung during my time with the choir were about home and roots; what it's like to leave your home, cutting roots, growing new roots and what that all means. Part of growing roots in a new country, according to Marie and Charlotte, is learning cultural inheritance and social codes. The teachers believe an understanding of social codes also contribute to breaking isolation. They also believe that turning on the radio and recognizing the songs as well as knowing which songs to sing at Christmas and graduations can make one feel a part of the cultural inheritance in Sweden and more socially included.

6.2.3 Bringing Music TO the people

The teachers have all understood that to reach as many refugees as possible with the aim of social inclusion, it is important to go *to* them instead of waiting for people to show up. When Körkraft has a camp for kids, they hire camp counselors who go to the suburbs and bus the kids to wherever the camp is held. When the kids have concerts, they bus the parents in as well in case they don't know how to get there and also in case they lack the funds to get there themselves. They travel to the rehearsals at their own expense. They describe that despite good intentions, simply putting up a note somewhere urging people to come to an activity doesn't usually work. Cecilia says that people who have learned Swedish have an easier time finding her choirs but it's important to reach out to people who don't take their own initiative. Marie gives the example of failed outreach programs through church, saying that even though many churches have opened their doors and welcomed refugees, people don't always find them. This can be a combination of not knowing the language, not having a bus card, not being able to navigate in a new society and also having a different religion, for example Muslim, and not wanting to go to a church.

"If you want to get people involved you have to go to where they are because for them it's a big step to jump into Swedish society. I have consciously built this program outside of the church because I want everyone to mix. There's nothing wrong with it, but for me there is. If we are multicultural, like it is here, my vision of building society through choir music has to happen outside the church otherwise we will only reach a small segment of the population." (Marie)

Bringing the choirs to people fosters social inclusion and allows the teachers to reach a larger segment of the population, hence creating larger ripples of change.

6.2.4 Sub-analysis

The women in this study express feelings of isolation and social exclusion. The leaders in this study have determined that the best way to reach new arrivals is to go to them instead of vice versa which fosters more inclusion. Learning the language and pronunciation through song has shown to be invaluable for the women; they are having fun, learning while their brains are active and stimulated enabling information to stick and also experience being more understood due to improved pronunciation. As the women are in the primary integration phase, the process of basic language learning is indispensable for successful long-term integration (Diaz, 1997). The choirs are speeding up the process by simultaneously teaching social codes, the unwritten rules in Swedish society that are difficult to learn if you're new in a country with no ties except to people from your own culture. Even if the women were allowed in school, social codes are not taught there. Learning simple things like not throwing garbage on the street and which flowers are illegal to pick can make a big impact on the way a Swede may view a foreigner and how accepting they are of them. The women are also taught an understanding of why some people may react to things like headscarves and not shaking hands.

However, the women face some hindrance in their social inclusion. One is the lack of confidence in their linguistic ability holding them back from talking to strangers and making new friends. Building up language and social skills in the choir aim to remedy that but it is up to the individual to take that step. Another, more detrimental hinder is not assimilating. Charlotte describes that the women long to make Swedish friends and build up their social capital and network. However, most Swedes are working during the day and socialize in the evenings. The women in the choir are free during the days but due to their family obligations and religious beliefs do not go out at night. Two women describe their situation when asked about going out at night to meet friends:

“My husband doesn’t allow me to go out at night to meet Swedes.” (Anonymous)

“I have kids, so I can’t go out.” (Anonymous)

Charlotte addresses the predicament of the women and says they have a cultural limit that will exist until a certain element of assimilation takes place and the women start going out at night. In the current situation, they will not meet other Swedish women unless they get their papers and can go out and work during the day.

“I do see a difference, actually, between those with a strong religious Muslim identity and those with not, with either Christian or a little more secular. Those women will go out. There are elements there that make it difficult. So, with them the focus is language and with that they can do whatever they want so they have a bit of a tool with that.” (Charlotte)

This falls in line with Diaz’s (1997) integration theory that unless the immigrant is willing to adapt to the new culture and become active participants in society, their chances of gaining access to integration-promoting resources such as social prestige and contact are greatly diminished (p. 11). As Charlotte describes, the choir can provide the women with tools of language and social codes to combat social exclusion. These tools have already helped the women feel more confident to break their linguistic isolation but as long as they decide to continue staying home in the evenings, follow strict religious codes and not assimilate to a

certain degree, that person will face limits in how much integration can occur. Unfortunately, in terms of work, these women are limited until they have permanent residence status. Thus, the choirs are providing tools, but the actual integration depends on a mix of migration policy and individual effort.

6.3 In what way can the practices in the choir lead to competences resulting in different forms of social and cultural capital?

This section explores what happens during the choir rehearsals that leads to different forms of social capital in addition to the cultural capital we explored in the previous section. One thing that the refugees in this study have in common is lack of citizenship in Sweden. Ahrne (1994) writes that in a rapidly globalizing world, solidarity between people seems to be limited without organizational bonds and that citizenship becomes increasingly important. He describes belonging to an organization as a place to go where you have an identity, are needed and recognized and where you mean something. “Outside organizations, in the semi-organized field, you are anonymous, and nobody demands anything from you (Ahrne, 1994, p 5).” This is especially true for the women in this study who describe feeling isolated and excluded. The choirs give refugees a bonding social network which can lead to bridging ties outside of that network.

6.3.1 Social Networks

This paper has studied different types of choirs and all of them provide a social network in some way. The choirs that provide the most social contacts for the participants with native Swedes are the integration choirs (which are comprised of new arrivals and native Swedes) and the buddy choir (which is comprised of two separate choirs, a language choir and an established Swedish choir), meeting several times to rehearse and then performing a concert. The Akalla choir is composed of refugee women but they do have contact with the staff at the center and the choir leaders. Cecilia says that consistent meeting is key, not only having one-off projects for vulnerable groups. Marie talks about the phenomenon of joining associations in Sweden (in Swedish: *föreningsliv*) and how many immigrants aren't aware of it. She says that after work, everyone disappears, and the non-Swedes are wondering where everyone went:

“Many refugees ask- where are all the Swedes? They don't see them. Because they're not at the cafes and they're not downtown and they're not sitting in the gardens. Well they are in associations, they pay to be there, so you have to think about what you're interested in and join an organization. You like chess? Go there and pay and meet Swedes.” (Marie)

Joining a voluntary association is the way many Swedes meet and build social capital. Another Swedish phenomenon is the *fika*, the time when people take time to sit and connect with others while drinking coffee and having a bite to eat. In my observation of the choir I often reflected on the importance of the *fika* breaks. After an hour of singing, we took a 15-20-minute break to drink coffee, relax and just talk. Those were the moments when I got to know the women on a more personal level, when they showed me photos and videos of their families and weekend activities and chatted animatedly about what was happening in their lives. Mark says the connections that happen during the break wouldn't work if we brought random people into a room and told them to drink coffee and talk. Charlotte agrees:

“I think we are social people and meeting each other is really the most important thing. But everyone can't just find a reason to go and have coffee with their neighbors so we get together and sing... the break time is when

you can connect and explain certain things and when you have a human connection then what you're doing together in music has more meaning because there's a deeper meaning when we're doing it together and we kind of know each other better. But maybe the singing also kind of gets rooted in you in a different way so that you enjoy it more too! We can study study study but it's not until you take a break that it all sort of starts to sink in."

Cecilia says it's hard to describe what meeting in song actually is but that the music was what brought fantastic people together that may not have otherwise met.

"The first time Voices Without Borders met, someone had made us cinnamon rolls for our fika break and right away people made contact. It was quite strange (in a good way), because we had met and a kind of magic happened when we talked to each other." (Cecilia)

Learning the language while singing gives valuable cultural capital but the breaks are when people can actually talk to each other and connect on a personal level, giving a chance to get to know someone deeper and build a friendship which results in social capital. Those social connections can happen on different levels, to those in the choir as well as other networks:

"At Songs Without Borders we work a lot with integration. We have two Facebook pages, the social one and one for integration. The social one you can get tips and ideas about projects and courses, after rehearsal we usually have a language cafe where some people sit and work with the text." (Cecilia)

Here we see a clear example of how being a part of the choir results in social connections on many levels; to those in the choir and even to those in other choirs. This can also be seen as a type of bridging social capital.

6.3.2 Bridging/bonding/linking

In the women's center choir in Akalla, the members are brought together and bonded by gender and immigration status. Linking capital exists between the members and the choir directors. Through learning language and building up cultural capital, bridging capital is built as the women become more proficient in the Swedish language and are able to more effectively communicate in their community. Upon presenting myself during my first choir rehearsal in Akalla, one young woman approached me and asked about studying social work in Sweden. It was her goal to become a social worker but didn't know any personally and wondered if she could stay in touch with me to ask questions. This is an example of a bridging contact made as a direct result of attending the choir rehearsal.

The Akalla choir is an example of a bonding network which is more homogenous which Putnam (2000) describes as having strong ties and good for "getting by." A buddy choir, however, can link you to a more heterogeneous network with people who move in different circles. Granovetter (1983) describes these bridging networks as having "weak ties" and are "...better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion (Putnam, 2000 p.22)". This can be valuable in an individual's integration efforts as illustrated by Marie:

"If you're in an integration choir and maybe end up in a buddy choir, you have this social network later when maybe you're looking for a job. You have reference people with Swedish names. That is SO important! Those things happen."

A choir is an example of a group that simultaneously bonds along some social dimensions and bridges across others. Cecilia talks about how the youths in her choirs serve as ambassadors, teachers and bridges to other kids, helping other new arrivals into the network and therefore

creating ripples so that even more people meet and bond. They're also creating more social capital by bringing new people into the choirs.

6.3.3 Sub-analysis

Diaz talks about the importance of mixing in different social arenas and Putnam also talks about voluntary associations that create trust and bonds.

A choir (as a voluntary association) produces resources as a collective which are in turn shared by its members. The choirs in this study give a name to the creation of a sense of solidarity between the members and institutionalizes the capital that is being accumulated and shared. This solidarity is grown from the social and cultural "profit" that results from membership in the choir. Even though Bourdieu (1986) would view each person as singularly deriving benefits, the choir (and thus social capital) can be seen as a collective phenomenon.

From this perspective, the formation of voluntary associations (i.e. a choir) can be seen as both individual and collective participation in creating networks of relations that will enable the access and accumulation of social capital (ibid).

This is particularly illustrated by the buddy choirs and the integration choirs in which the refugees are mixed with ethnic Swedes. In the language choir at the women's center in Akalla, the members of the choir are mostly asylum-seeking refugees with no ethnic Swedes as members. The women are obtaining social capital in the form of connections with the staff at the center, but it can be argued that the more obvious form of capital obtained is cultural capital, learning Swedish and social codes. Putnam (2000) also stresses the importance of voluntary associations and describes social capital as networks of social connection from being with people. He names a choral society as an example of an association that provides social capital and fosters robust norms of social reciprocity.

6.4 Music Teacher vs. Social Worker

We have seen that participating in a choir can provide members with cultural capital in the form of language and social capital in the form of social connections. The teachers all agree that none of those things would happen if music didn't bring people together and they take their roles as music teachers very seriously. Cecilia says, "Singing together is the starting point and then there's everything surrounding that."

Music is the powerful element that is woven through the fabric of every meeting, every rehearsal and every fika. Taking this one step further, Mark says that this particular type of social dimension works within music better than other art forms such as theater or painting because of the nature of music itself and what happens when you use your bodies perform together. Because you are using your body to produce the notes, those notes are *you* in that structure. He explains that to make harmony, you have to have difference and dissonance which is an important element:

"You can create these structures that are both dissonant and harmonious. If it's a proper piece of music and if those notes are being sung by people, then the people experience that dissonance and that harmony, so they can become comfortable with the dissonance and comfortable with creating the harmony and of course, the dissonance kind of holds the harmony together." (Mark)

When different people of different backgrounds get together, there is difference and there is dissonance. But without that, harmony cannot be created. Mark goes on to say that we aren't

actually using music to integrate or achieve a social end, it's the music that's doing the integration. As a result of making music together, people can experience the integration that's on offer. Mark also talks about how music transcends the different languages and that the parts come together even though everyone is singing in their own language, that you can hear the differences but experience the unity:

"With language that's kind of to do with timbre, so a number of these building blocks, can themselves be shown to represent aspects of the social experience that we have that has to do with diversity, unity, disorder, order, hatred, friendship, tension, relaxation, all those things. The musical art itself has those things in it." (Mark)

Another aspect all the teachers agree with is that music enables compassion, empathy and can act as a healing force. Mark says that music itself opens you up and that music works best with people with whom you can love and respect and that you can play with musically, adding that he can't perform music with people he hates. A basic respect and understanding is also present. He adds:

"I've always felt that music, when it's performed, as I believe it can be (I wouldn't say as it should be) then it's something which enables empathy between people, between performers, and between performer and public and it encourages a compassionate attitude to life because if you've had that experience with somebody, you can't then go and kill them or hurt them. You've opened yourself to that person. So *that* I've understood."

Charlotte adds that the songs sung in the choir are heavy in nature and sometimes she and the choir members cry together. She describes this as an emotional release which is healing and important for us to do as individuals and also as a society:

"We need to look at life and experience the emotions because it's dangerous if we become a society that presses them all down. So, we have to do that." (Charlotte)

6.4.1 Music Teachers on Their Role as Social workers

The music teachers talk about being the change they want to see in our society. They envision a society that is compassionate and inclusive for all people and they all believe that singing music together breaks down people's fears and barriers. When that wall is down, magic can happen; people who have shared a musical experience can build relationships with each other which is the very basis for integration to occur. Out of the dissonance comes harmony and unity. The music teachers see themselves, civil society, as a resource during a time when the government seems to be overloaded in the question of integrating refugees.

"When the system is collapsing, you've got people who roll up their sleeves and just do it." (Charlotte)

They describe Sweden as a country built up on the socialist ideals that the state will save you, nobody will be left out and everybody will be taken care of. The problem with that ideology is that people have become lazy and have adopted a 'not my problem' attitude. This in turn creates the Catch 21 that the state becomes both the enemy and the savior:

"Swedes think that the state should save them and when they don't they get mad and it's the state's fault. So, there were good intentions behind building up society, but it created a kind of laziness and finger pointing, it's someone else's problem." (Charlotte)

They discuss how everyone needs to use the tools and resources available to them to help build up Sweden and help your neighbor. Because music is their profession, Marie, Charlotte and Cecilia all describe music as their tool, the way they can contribute.

“Almost all of us in the network, we are educated with a music background but use music as a tool to build up society/community. I think that’s how we see ourselves. I think we have an inner view of wanting to be a part of building up the community using the skills that we have, our thing, which is the music.” (Marie)

“Music is my tool. It’s the same thing with learning Swedish, music is our tool. People are working with integration through football, through SFI, through language cafes, all sorts of ways. Music is my method, it’s what I know, it’s what I love.” (Charlotte)

While Cecilia says music gives her strength, Mark discusses feeling a sense of responsibility as an artist but is still trying to figure out how he can use his art form at the service of the current social situation. He believes that everyone should work from where they are, that everyone has their own unique gift that they can use to contribute in their own way.

“I have a responsibility to find out how, what, this music that I’ve been entrusted with through those who have given me opportunities and those who have educated me and so on, how I can then pass this on, pass it out into those around me. And I’m the first to say I’ve not found the answer to that at all.” (Mark)

Charlotte and Marie noticed that other people were starting choirs and started *Körkraft* as a way to build up a network of those people. Charlotte describes that she likes personal initiative and private organizations because you can avoid a potential danger zone of lack of communication and accountability. She attributes the foundation of all our integration problems in Sweden to the ‘it’s not my problem’ mentality but also sees that when institutions are failing, “...there is an enormous strength in people.”

The women in Akalla also recognize the importance of voluntary organizations when the state fails.

“If you don’t have permanent residence you can’t go to SFI (Swedish for Immigrants), you can’t do anything. But we can come here to the women’s center.” (Anonymous)

One teacher says they believe voluntary organizations are important because many refugees don’t trust the state after waiting many years to have their asylum case heard.

6.4.2 Sub-analysis

All the teachers share the sentiment that they don’t have the answers. They are empathetic, driven members of society who see that the state is overburdened with the question of refugees and integration. They are using whatever tools they have available to them, in this case music, in order to build up a more inclusive society. All teachers describe having a passion for what they do and for helping people but do so as music teachers, not as social workers. Charlotte explains that to be able to work socially she also has to know her occupation and tools, to know how to handle them well and to expect the best of people all the time (even musically) to try to raise people to the next level. Marie categorized people into those who think the state should fix everything and those who believe humanity should come first. The teachers in this study clearly belong to the latter category.

In regard to trusting the state, Putnam (2000) describes trust as the core of social capital, that a distrustful society is less efficient with decreased civic engagement. The presence of voluntary organizations could be a way for Swedish society to help build up trust amongst people who feel they have been let down by the government. The informants express frustration and are more likely to turn to a voluntary organization rather than an institution

who they feel has repeatedly failed them. Hence, building social and cultural capital through a voluntary organization like a choir can be seen to be more likely. Diaz (1997) writes that apart from individual efforts, integration depends on various social systems, one of them being civil society in the form of individuals, groups, associations and organizations that work together and can create conditions for solidarity, cooperation and understanding over ethnic borders (p. 14). The teachers interviewed in this study see a need for more integration efforts and they see their tools of music as a way to help.

6.5 Summary of Results

The women in Akalla are linguistically isolated immigrants in a linguistic resource-poor community and are poor in language-based social capital (or cultural capital). This has ramifications for their integration that go far beyond the economic concerns that dominate the literature on immigrant assimilation. As seen in the O'Neill (2010) study, many refugee women often feel invisible and isolated through their migration experiences which affects their mental health and confidence. Existing studies of social capital indicate that these women, who have few weak ties to Swedish speakers and an almost non-existent social network of Swedish speakers, are at a disadvantage both socially and economically (Nawyn, et al., 2012). Results from this study show the informants are also lacking in knowledge about Swedish social codes. Non-verbal communication, such as many social codes, was described by Karlsson (2007) as being more important than verbal communication. Diaz (1997) attaches great importance to language skills in the integration process and believes the immigrant has true freedom when they learn Swedish and can become a visible, participating member of society through the ability to understand and express themselves in the new language as well as understand information given to them. This falls in line with cultural capital which includes language and this communicative integration in the primary phase is also a prerequisite for entering into secondary integration. Social integration happens through contact with natives resulting in social capital and resources. This is equal to social capital, according to Social Capital Theory.

As we have seen, the women are not allowed to take SFI classes through the government. Hence the need for groups and voluntary associations like the choirs which provide social capital in the form of meeting Swedish people who run and work at/with the women's center as well as cultural capital in the form of linguistic skills and social codes which can contribute to breaking their linguistic and social isolation and enabling them higher possibilities to integrate and be more socially included. As O'Neill (2010) points out, the arts and culture are integral to processes of belonging and to fostering cultural citizenship and justice. She also says, however, that cultural citizenship includes the right to maintain your lifestyle, not assimilation to the dominant culture (p. 107). Here we see a potential conflict as Diaz and many of the music teachers believe a certain degree of assimilation is required for integration to successfully occur.

The findings of this study conclude that the participants of the language choir are given tools which are fundamental to being able to integrate into Swedish society. However, simply joining a choir does not guarantee social inclusion or integration. The choirs provide participants with the social and cultural tools mentioned above; language and pronunciation, social codes, Swedish history, a social network (though different for the adults and youths). Diaz (1997) writes that integration is a two-way street. It depends on the society's ability and will to create opportunities for the immigrants- this has been done by civil society as demonstrated by the presence of the choirs and other organizations. However, the immigrant's own efforts and resources are invaluable in determining the success of their integration in the

new country. Diaz's sentiment was echoed by several of the music teachers interviewed for this study. They describe that a certain element of assimilation must occur in order for the women in this study to go out in the evenings and meet Swedish friends, practice their Swedish in order to further improve and expand their social networks which in turn can lead to opportunities such as future employment. The women themselves say that they are not 'allowed' to go out in the evenings, greatly limiting the chances of using the tools they've been learning.

The women in the study do face the barrier of not being able to work legally in Sweden until they are granted permanent residence and also express worry. They feel anxiety about the uncertainty of their future and potentially not being able to stay in Sweden. Understandably, it can be difficult to find the motivation to learn the language of a country where you don't know if you can stay or not. One factor which could help in this area would be for the Migration Board to be able to process cases quicker, cutting down the waiting time for all the thousands of refugees waiting in limbo.

7. Discussion

Today's Sweden is a melting pot of cultures, nationalities and ideologies and the question is how to integrate the new with the old. This study has used Diaz's (1997) integration theory which says that successful integration depends on the teamwork of the government, the market and the civil society. Not all problems in the immigration arena are solvable by political means. Political decisions are indeed important, but the civil society can create social meeting spaces where relationships can be made; people, organizations and institutions must work together to create opportunities for solidarity, cooperation and understanding over ethnic borders (ibid). This study has shown positive forces brought on by the result of the efforts by civil society, in this case music and choirs. As a future social worker, I was particularly interested in the phenomena of civil society's response to an overburdened state, of regular citizens using the tools they have to help the issue of immigration and in effect becoming a sort of social worker themselves. As a musician, I was interested in combining this with research on the power of music, both healing and as a creator of social bonds. I believe that there will be more organizations in the future that focus on integration and build on people's interests. This phenomenon is here to stay, and the state can't do it all by itself. We social workers can learn from civil society and working together in the future can produce massive results and be mutually beneficial.

This study has reinforced that the integration of new arrivals is conditional on several factors; the resources available upon arrival from the state, efforts of civil society and personal effort. Structural constraints such as segregation and racism do pose limits. However, social capital offers an understanding on how individuals can create and mobilize the social resources available to them through singing in a choir which serve as tools in their social inclusion. Interesting future research could be focusing on how civil society can work together with the state on integration issues. Another area of study could be on immigrant assimilation; how varying degrees of assimilation impact their level of integration into Swedish society.

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9. Appendix 1- Refugee Interview Questions

About the integration choir

What country are you from?

How long have you lived in Sweden?

How hard/easy has it been to settle/feel like home in Sweden?

How long had you been in Sweden when you began in the choir?

How much Swedish did you know then?

How hard/easy was it to *understand* the Swedish used in the choir?

Was it easier/harder to *understand* Swedish after a while?

Why?

Community and Friends

Did you know some people in Sweden when you began in the choir?

Did you get any new friends through the choir?

How was it to be among children/youths from so many different countries?

Can you elaborate why?

We meet in the choir once a week, did you have any other activities that often?
How was that?

About *learning* Swedish in the choir

Was it anything that made it easier to *learn* the Swedish language in the choir?

Was it anything who made it harder?

What was the difference from the Swedish *learnt* in school?

How hard/easy was it to learn Swedish in school?

How much Swedish do you know today?

About the singing

How was it to sing in the choir?

Did you experience anything particular while singing?

Were there anything in the choir that felt extra good/fun ? (Fore example, the warming up, the singing part, the songs etc.)

Can you elaborate why?

How was it to hear your own voice while singing?

Was it possible to express your feelings through singing?

How did it feel?

What things in life have helped you to learn Swedish better? (For example school, friends, choir, or else)

ADDED QUESTIONS

How many centers/resources do you have access to in Akalla?

Do you ever feel invisible in this country?

10. Appendix 2- Teacher Interview Questions

Berätta först om dig själv, din bakgrund och vad du jobbar med nu.

Vad betyder integration enligt din uppfattning? Vad innebär den på praktisk nivå för en individ?

Om du flyttat till ett annat land, vad skulle du behöva för att känna dig integrerad i samhället?

Vad kan körsång bidra med i en integrationsprocess?

--Akalla kören och Sprint kören är annorlunda. Hjälper de integrationsprocessen på olika sätt? Hur?

Varför är språket viktigt?

Hur kan sång främja språket?

Vad är körsångens effekter?

Hur ser människans behov av social gemenskap och tillhörighet ut?

Hur ser du din roll som musikpedagog och socialarbetare? Hur hittar du balansen?

Körkraft är en frivillig organisation och ni arbetar med andra villkor och motiv än statliga myndigheter, en sorts civilsamhälle insats för integration. Hur ser du på dig själv som extrakraft vid sidan av statens/myndigheternas insatser? Hur ser du på skillnader och likheterna?

Är det något jag inte har frågat som du vill berätta?