Grilling Alone; the Dark Side of Social Capital in Malmö

Exploring impacts of social networks in the integration of an Afghan community

by

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Abstract:

Increasing societal integration and improving the quality of life are among the fundamental themes of urban sustainable development. In defining their vision of a "Sustainable City", the municipality of Malmo, the third largest city in Sweden, stresses the importance of having an integrated, multi-cultural society. However, Malmo still has to overcome many obstacles on its pathway to sustainability as its large immigrant population continues to face issues of non-integration. These are most visible in terms of socio-economic exclusion and residential segregation of refugees from non-Western countries.

The main focus of the study is to explore the quality of social relations and ties within a specific group of immigrants, Afghan refugees in Malmo, by applying two concepts of Social Capital, i.e. bonding and bridging networks. The concept of social capital focuses on social relations and structures as resources that can facilitate a well-functioning society through trust networks, shared norms and mutual obligations. Moreover, the concept is often viewed as a tool which can improve one's chance of successful educational outcomes. As education is a pre-requisite for entering the labor market, and thus stimulating social integration, this research focuses on Afghan students between ages of 15-20. The analysis was carried out by means of qualitative research interviewing.

While social capital can provide a bridge between immigrants and their inclusion in Swedish society, this research finds that the respondents rely on their high-levels of inter-connectivity among other groups of immigrants (i.e. "bonding" social capital). This can act as a substitute for the lack of "bridging" social capital, not being utilized by the respondents, but has consequences for the sustainability of the city as a whole as it also reinforces the reliance on bonding social capital.

Acknowledgment:

Contents

1-Introduction

1-1.problem definition

International migration is an increasing phenomenon in the modern world (UN, 2006). Statistics show that throughout the past half century, immigration has evidently increased in the more advanced nations of the world (Putnam, 2007).

Among different reasons, new waves of immigration are driven by war, unemployment and social conflicts in parts of the world, mostly among developing countries. Although such immigration is mainly triggered by the will of individuals to achieve a better life (UN, 2006), the process has a very challenging nature. Successful migration can lead to social and economical improvements in both the country of origin and the host country. However, the success of migration lays in achieving a "functional integration" namely the mutual adaptation of migrants and the host society. Being a multidimensional process, successful integration depends on knowledge of local language and access to the labor market as well as familiarity and acceptance of the norms and values of the host society.(ibid) Achieving this goal can become problematic when immigrants driven from their homes have significantly different cultures, norms, values and lifestyles than their new host country.

Sweden is among those countries facing higher rates of immigration in recent years. Like most other EU countries, Sweden has received lots of immigrants since the Second World War. Andersson (2007) has categorized immigration to Sweden in three broad groups: immigration due to the Second World War, labour immigration between 1950s and 60s, and refugee and family reunion immigration from the 1970s up to present time. In 2007 immigration to Sweden broke records with about 100 000 person's in-migration to the country. The majority of the immigrants came from another EU country or some country in Asia. Immigrants from Asia were mainly represented as refugees, or people who have immigrated for family reunion reasons (SCB , 2008a) from the greater Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Iran and Afghanistan (SCB,2007). Diagram 1.1 shows the trend of immigration to Sweden between 1997 and 2007.

Diagram 1.1

Number of immigrants to Sweden the years 1997-2007, by group of country

(SCB,2008a)
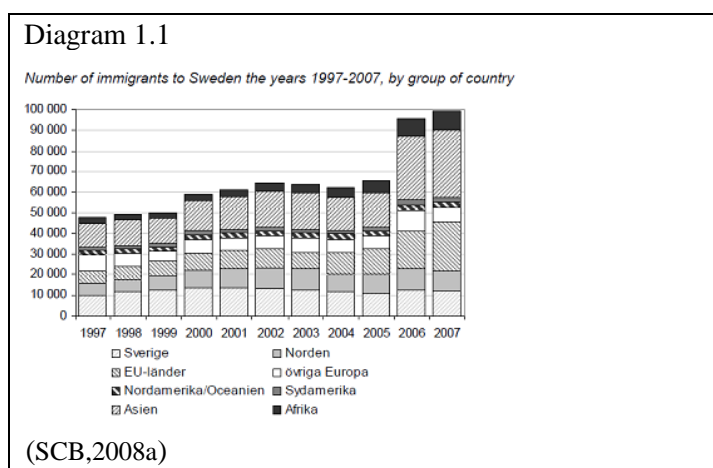
Following the same trend as other Swedish metropolitan cities, the City of Malmö is hosting a substantial immigrant population with a wide variety of nationalities and reasons for migration. In total, 36% of the city's population is from a foreign origin. (Malmö Stad, 2008) That alone means immigrants are an important part of the city's future residents. However, since the 1990s, Malmö

along with other big Swedish cities has been facing the "*immigrant issue*" (Andersson, 2007), mostly featured in ethnic segregation and socio-economic exclusion of certain types of immigrants.

Immigrant exclusion from the "Swedish" society has a multi-dimensional perspective, with differences in background, type of profession and skills, education and also age as some distinct reasons. These problems are reinforced by new living conditions, since the immigrants tend to settle together in clustered patterns, at least initially, thus forming "ethnic / minority" enclaves. Voluntary enclaves provide the newly arrived immigrants with mutual support and help to preserve and promote the members' own culture and group identity (Brama, 2008). In this way the enclaves act as a means of overcoming the problems of living in a new environment. However, as residing in an enclave is usually associated with lower rates of acquisition of the host country's skills and norms (Edin et al, 2003); high dependence on intracommunity relations over the long-term will lead to problems for both the immigrant and host communities by acting as an obstacle to social integration of both groups. This problem gets more sever based on the degree of social and cultural differences of the host and migrant societies.

It should be kept in mind that not all immigrants are ethnically different from the native population (Putnam ,2007).; Danish immigrants, for example, do not face major challenges regarding language ,culture or lifestyle in the Swedish society.

Moreover, As Brama (2008) respectively states the recent segregation research in Sweden favors the idea of enforced formation of ethnic enclaves as a result of clustering imposed through external pressure from the host society. In this way, ethnic segregation occurs along an ethnic hierarchy, where the groups occupying subordinant positions such as Africans or Western Asians are most segregated, while the residential patterns of Western Europeans more or less follow those of the Swedish majority.

Incomplete integration not only impacts the immigrants as individuals; on a collective scale, it also contradicts with Malmö city's "sustainability" goals and policies.

In the recent years, cities have shaped different sorts of goals and visions. Accordingly citizen's responsibilities have changed too. An example of this is the integration of "sustainable development" policies into urban planning. (Formas,2005) Continuous changes in society result in changes in life style and professions. At the same time, technological progress puts more emphasis on the importance of knowledge and expertise and eventually previous valuable factors are being replaced by new attitudes towards lifestyle, education and jobs. For example while education could be just an extra merit and possibly not the most important factor in a small war stricken village in Afghanistan, it definitely has a great value in Malmö, where entering the labor market requires a certain amount of skills and expertise. In this regards, contact and interaction between the host society and newly arrived immigrants becomes an important means of conveying the knowledge and increasing information about values, norms and responsibilities.

1-2. research focus:

One of the concepts that has received great attention in the field of social sciences in recent years is "social capital." The concept of social capital uses social relations and social structures as a resource that facilitates the proper functioning of society (Coleman, 1988, Putnam, 2000, Field, 2003). By sharing the same social networks, people tend to access more information and achieve common values

and therefore mutual obligations and higher levels of trust towards one another. The existence of social capital in a society impacts and facilitates cooperation between the society's members. All the mentioned factors can contribute to having a functional integration. A point that should be kept in mind, however, is that while social relations can lead to acceptance of people by the social structure, they might also result in exclusion of people (fukuyama,2001) Bordeu, an important researcher in field of social capital, argues that within a society, some members have stronger social capital than the others.(Richardson,1986,pp248-251)Accordingly based on the problems that immigrants can face due to differences in language, culture and norms, it could be suspected that there may be differences in the type and amount of social capital between immigrants and their host society.

1-3. aim of research:

The aim of this research is to explore the quality and quantity of social capital among second generation young immigrants that have moved to Sweden with their families. The second generation immigrants, especially the ones that have moved to the host country at an early age, do not face all the difficulties that their parents do. Through school, they are able to learn the language and get connected to different social networks. And through the process of socialization at school, they come to know about norms and values of the society. However, it is important to keep in mind that the social capital these young people receive from their parents and families is influential in their educational progress as well as in their adaptation to school condition. Coleman (1998) emphasizes the importance of social capital that is given to children by their parents. Family values and attitudes towards education and jobs are among those values that are related to parent's background.

The focus of this research then is to explore the quality and (to some limited extent) quantity of social capital within a well known immigrant-dense neighborhood. And see how it affects society's functions.

An important issue regarding young immigrants studying at schools is their lower educational outcome and higher dropout rates. In comparison with Swedish students, immigrants have lower grades and are less interested in continuing their studies. (SCB, 2008a) Furthermore, as a partial result of changes in Sweden's professional requirements, they are less likely to enter the labor market (Erwin, 2001).

According to the importance of social capital in building social networks, trust and shared norms and values, this research tries to explore the quality and quantity of social capital among youth in an immigrant-dense neighborhood. The research is done in Korksback area, a part of Hyllie district that has a high population of Afghan immigrants, most of whom have left their country as a result of continuous war and social unrest.

The research aims to explore and identify the type of social capital that second generation Afghan immigrants have access to, So that potential ways of help and support through social networks for them can be better understood.

1-4. Research questions:

Following section 1-3 the main research questions of this paper are:

1. *What is the quality and quantity of the social capital among young Afghan immigrants in Kroksback, Malmo?*

2. How does the current situation of social capital influence Afghan youth's education and other life chances?

3. What are the impacts of the current situation on society of Malmo as a whole?

The following sub questions are used and focused on in conducting the interviews to help achieve better knowledge regarding the main research questions.

1. What is the family background (i.e. financial, social and human capital) of the respondents?

2. Do young immigrants have social networks besides the ones provided through school?

3. What is the content of the networks they're involved in? In other words are they enclosed in their in-group activities or do they follow the general trend of the city activities?

4. Of whom do these social networks consist? (What type of Social capital do they provide?)

5. What are the attitudes of the respondent's parents about education, jobs and how does it influence the youth?

6. What is the dominant attitude in the youth's social networks towards education and job market?

2. Problem background:

2-1. City level; Malmö, the international city with many problems

Malmö is the third biggest city in Sweden. The city presents itself as an international city, a claim that is backed up by its 270,000 residents belonging to 164 nationalities who speak around 100 languages (Malmö Stad, 2008). Based on statistics from Malmö stadt, in the year 2007, 36% of Malmö's population consisted of people with a foreign background, 27% of which were born outside Sweden and 9% born in Sweden with both parents born outside the country.

Following the same trend as other Sweden metropolitan cities, in recent years Malmö has received higher numbers of asylum seekers from Asian countries, most of whom come from Middle Eastern countries (i.e. Iraq, Lebanon, Syria). A new wave of asylum seekers has been added to these groups since year 2000, these are people of Afghanistan who leave their country due to social instability and war. (SCB, 2007)

However city of Malmö (as well as other Swedish metropolitan cities) is facing problems of integration of its non-western immigrant population.

A quick look at the press and media shows a wide range of socio-economic problems related to immigrants. (Appendix2) Gathered under the main title of "non-integration", issues related to immigrants vary from high rates of unemployment and associated welfare dependency to violent actions and riots against the police in certain well known immigrant neighborhoods. (e.g. Rosengård in Malmö or Sodertalje /little Baghdad in suburbs of Stockholm.) Moreover, the articles show signs of existence of "us" versus "them" categorizations among the city residents (The Local, 2007, 2008, 2009).

Non-integration of a noticeable part of the society not only has negative consequences on an individual level but it also effects and gets effected by city's characteristics and goals.

In fact, the City of Malmö shows patterns of ethnic and socioeconomic segregation. As a consequence of the Million Homes programs in the 60s and 70s, large housing estates were built in peripheral parts of the city. Influenced by the Swedish housing policies, these big building blocks soon turned into neighborhoods with high populations of foreign born residents mainly immigrating as refugees.
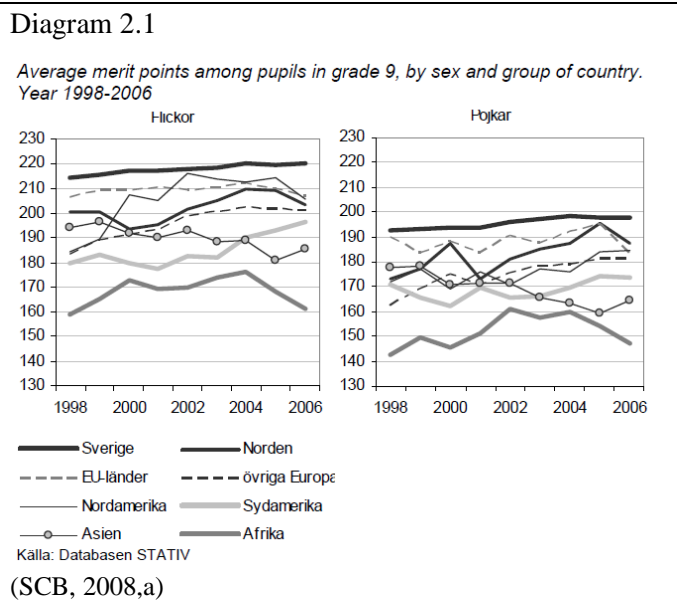
About 40% of the immigrant population of Malmö currently lives in two city districts of Rosengård and Fosie (NEHOM, 2002). Both these neighborhoods are characterized by negative social aspects related to exclusion, namely problems with long term unemployment and high dependency on welfare.(ibid) The same trend more or less applies to Sodra Innerstaden and Hyllie districts with 43% and 40% immigrant populations respectively.(Malmö Stad, 2008)

Entering the labor market is viewed as a means of improving one's personal and social development and a means of increasing social participation (Regeringskansliet, 2008 a) Many policies and plans (National action plans to prevent poverty and social exclusion, 2001, 2003 and 2006) target increased employment among non-native Swedish residents as a good tool for combating social exclusion. However, statistical data show that certain immigrants find it difficult to enter the labor market. In general, immigrant populations in Sweden have performed less well in labor market from the 1990s onward (Andersson, 2007) Based on a 2008 Swedish Labour force survey, unemployment rates among foreign-born residents of Sweden was 12.0%, which is more than double the rate of 5.2% for Swedish-born residents (SCB, 2008 b). People born abroad are also over-represented among the long-term unemployed .(Regeringskansliet, 2008) In her report, Ann-Katrin Bäcklund (2003) explains that the Swedish labor market has shifted from manufacturing jobs to service-oriented positions that increasingly require greater information and communication skill sets. (as cited in Erwin,2001) reduction of unskilled or semi skilled jobs as well as changed backgrounds of the newly arrived immigrants, i.e, language and education contribute to immigrants higher unemployment rates . (Andersson, 2007)

This case can be completely applied to Malmö. With the reputation of being the "Commercial center of southern Sweden" (Malmö stadt, 2008), Malmö has shifted from being an industrial city to a city of knowledge in the past decade. Currently the strongest sectors in Malmö are logistics, retail and wholesale trade, construction, and property. Other job options provided by the city include companies in the field of biotechnology and medical technology, environmental technology, IT, and digital media. (ibid) However the fact that Malmö's job market has only shown signs of improvement after development of the trans-Öresund commuting, is a good indicator that the jobs provided by the city are not taken by the city's population. (ibid) This evidence corresponds with Erwin's argument that changes in required professions have lead to less job options for unskilled immigrants (2001).

This means the residents of Malmö should find a way to cope with the new requirements in order to be able to enter the job market. One simple solution for this challenge seems to be achieving higher educational levels and therefore higher skills. Statistical data also support the fact that highly educated people are more gainfully employed in Sweden. (SCB, 2008c) Awareness about the new conditions of labour market and pre requisites for entrance to it therefore impose a challenge to the immigrants who come from countries with different backgrounds and developmental levels. And unlike the past, cannot easily get hired in low skilled labour sections such as factories

If the problem of non integration is partially due to being out of the labour market, then education can be a good means of achieving higher skill and overcoming the problem. However the 2008 report on integration by Swedish statistical database shows that in general Pupils born in Sweden achieve better academic results than foreign born pupils, with results measured as grades in compulsory school and grade average in upper secondary school.

Diagram 2.1

Average merit points among pupils in grade 9, by sex and group of country. Year 1998-2006

(SCB, 2008,a)

Also a comparison between the highest educational levels attained at the age of 30 shows significant differences between Swedish born residents and foreign borns. Secondary school is the highest educational level for 19 % - 25% of the foreign born residents (especially coming from Africa, Asia and non EU 27), and only for 7% of the Swedish born. Accordingly it is much more common for the Swedish born residents to have upper secondary school as their highest educational level. (SCB, 2008a)

Another problem in the city of Malmö that is mostly linked to immigrant dense neighborhoods is high levels of crime. In general the immigrant dense neighborhoods of "Rosengard" and "Kroksbäck" seem to be known as "unsafe" neighborhoods having many problems related to drug abuse and also with the police. The 2008 riots in Rosengard as well as the constant intentional fire incidents seem to support this belief. (The Local, 2008, 2009)

2-2. Sustainability context of the problem

2-2-1.Individual level- *view of justice*

A city with functional integration is a city where all citizens have the same rights, obligations and opportunities regardless of ethnic or cultural backgrounds. (Persson, 2008)

High levels of disintegration in socioeconomically segregated areas, is a potential threat to the view of justice among the city residents. In other words the current situation of Malmö might lead to unequal opportunities for people coming from different ethnicities who accordingly belong to different socio economic classes. An example is the current situation of schools that show high patterns of ethnic segregation. This is directly related to the hierarchical segregation of the neighborhoods that these

schools are located in. As the "immigrant schools" are known to have lower performance than other schools in Malmö (Stigendal, 2006), it can be said that segregation influences immigrants' educational options and accordingly possibility of future jobs. And consequently reduces the chances of immigrants for breaking through it. Eventually the problem of residential segregation gets reinforced. This by its own influences and contributes to more disintegration. So not only the immigrant residents do not enjoy the same opportunities as of other residents, but even their chances for changing and improving their situation gets more limited .thus their well being and sustainability gets threatened

2-2-2. city level - fulfillment of sustainability goals

Malmö has during several years focused on creating an urban sustainable development. Following local Agenda 21 initiatives, since 1997 the City tries to present itself as a model for sustainable development in both its day to day work and long-term planning. (Malmö Stad, 2008)An increasingly comprehensive effort surrounding environmental issues and Agenda 21 is ongoing in Malmö with the final goal of achieving sustainable development. Accordingly an emphasis is placed on informative and participatory action by the residents in order to improve the local environment and health of the population. (ibid) High levels of ethnic segregation and social exclusion therefore are an obvious threat to these goals. The current problematic situation is well realized by the Swedish government. Sweden's integration policy for achieving sustainable urban development aims at finding effective methods for overcoming exclusion in urban areas where there is high unemployment, a lack of security and ill health.(SCB,2008 a) Indeed in the Budget Bill for 2008, the Swedish Government has presented its direction and objectives for an urban development policy based on the principal to reduce the number of urban districts in Sweden that are characterized by exclusion, as well as to put cities in a better position to contribute to Sweden's competitiveness. (Regeringskansliet, 2008 b)

2-2-3. Country level- *Global view of increased future environmental refugees*

On a bigger national scale, Sweden has a long reputation as being a host country to immigrants and specially refugees. (Regerinskansliet, 2009)

The future trend of immigration predicts the possibility of new big waves of forced migration in the form of environmental refugees due to deterioration of environmental conditions resulted by Climate change. (Afifa, 2008) There are different forecasts on the number of environmental migrants worldwide. Myers (2005) expects the number of environmental refugees to reach around 50 million by the year 2010. (as cited in Afifa,2008) these would be people mostly coming from the African Southern Sahara, China, Central America and South Asia to developed countries. Having better and more effective integration policies becomes even of more importance keeping in mind the future possibility of new waves of immigrants moving to the country.

3- Theoretical Design:

3-1.Theoretical perspective; Social capital theory:

The concept of social capital has been used to show how social networks influence people's life chances. The importance of social structures have mainly been tested in four major fields: education (Coleman, 1998), economic development (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995; Narayan and Prichet, 1999; Porter, 2000), public health (Putnam 2000) and criminology (Jacobs, 1961; Putnam, 2000) (as cited in Field, 2003, pp75-102). The research results generally show positive relationships between higher levels of social capital and well performance in the mentioned areas. (ibid)

The concept of social capital is based on the idea that "relationships" matter (Fields, 2003, p1). People establish connections with each other that enable them to do things or achieve goals that they could not have achieved on their own, or at least not without difficulty. These connections give rise to shared values among the members of the relationship and increase levels of trust and mutual obligation among them (Fields, 2003, pp2-5). Different definitions of social capital more or less have some common factors. What make social structures valuable are certain aspects including norms and mutual obligations among the members of the network. Trust is also another aspect that is both required for effectiveness of the structures as well as a product of it. Ultimately, social capital facilitates action as well as coordination and cooperation for the mutual benefit of the people involved in a "relationship" or a social structure (Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 2000).

Besides the natural differences in language and cultural behaviors, a major challenge that the newly arrived [Afghan] immigrants face is a lack of familiarity with the visions and goals that Sweden as an EU member is following. Since 1992, Agenda 21 has been taken on by many European countries including Sweden. Therefore an action plan for sustainable development has been adopted. This plan takes into account environmental, social and economical dimensions of development (Formas, 2005). In Malmö, a lot of emphasis has been put on the environmental factors, leading to high levels of awareness about pro-environmental action among citizens (Malmö stadt, 2008). Examples of this can be seen in daily activities such as recycling, less usage of private cars or a tendency to purchase "eco" or organic food. On the other hand, in already unstable Afghanistan, changes in government were occurring in 1992 with the Mujahedin taking power and the formation of an Islamic state, followed by the birth of Taliban in 1994. This not only reinforced the already existing conditions of unrest, but also led to great oppression of women and massive violation of human rights in the following years. (Ghandahara, nd, Afghanistan online, nd)) The different conditions in the two countries naturally give rise to different attitudes towards priorities for a good life and future as well as values and responsibilities in the society. As integration is defined as the mutual acceptance of the host and immigrant society (UN, 2006), being in social networks and relationships with the host community can facilitate the process of awareness and acceptance of the values and norms of the new living environment for the new members. This occurs since these networks functions are based on the fact that people who have shared values are much more likely to cooperate for achieving mutual goals. In a broader perspective, networks of people can be viewed as a wider set of norms and relationships that enable people to achieve their goals. Being in the same networks as the host community also increases the chances of the host society members to acquire knowledge about values and cultural traits of the immigrant society. Therefore more than only enabling people to achieve their goals, social networks are important in binding the society together through relationships and shared values.

 Moreover, social networks have the potential to act as information channels even if they are primarily built for other purposes. They facilitate acquisition of information that otherwise would be more costly to achieve (Coleman, 1988). Since information is a basis to action, this aspect of social relations is of special importance to the newly arrived immigrants who usually are having difficulties in using formal channels of information like newspapers or other media due to language barriers. In short, following Putnam's optimistic view of the concept, in communities with higher rates of social capital, democracy and economy work better, children grow up healthier, safer and better educated and people live happier lives (Putnam, 2007).

Yet despite the potential ability of social structures to benefit members, some prerequisites are needed to turn them into actual resources. Based on Coleman's view, an important factor in achieving this is the "closure of the social network," by which he refers to creating networks where actions of a member can impose externalities (positive or negative) on other members. As long as there is no mutual ability of influencing each other, reciprocal obligations and effective norms that can promote co-operation are not produced. Moreover closure of social structures influences levels of trust among the members which finally allows the proliferation of obligations and expectations (Coleman, 1988). Closure of networks then stimulates creation of trust among immigrants who are the newcomers and the host society.

Even if all these pre-conditions exist, different types of social capital achieve different ends. In his 2000 book, Putnam makes a distinction between different types of social capital based on the types of people they tie together. In this way, he distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is an inward looking network that reinforces exclusive identities and homogenous groups. This type of social capital is frequently formed in ethnic enclaves where immigrants rely on their connections with "same" people who are their co-patriots or other immigrants facing more or less the same situation and conditions in the new society. Bridging social capital on the other hand acts as an outward looking network, encompassing different people across different social cleavages (Putnam, 2000, pp 22-24). In the case of immigrants, this type of social capital is created when both the immigrants and the host society build social relations with each other. These relations can be shaped through work places, schools without ethnic segregation or through membership in different organizations that follow the same goals but have ethnically diverse members.

These different types of social capital also have different implications: Bonding social capital is referred to as being "good for getting by" (ibid). It lays the structure for specific reciprocity and mobilizes solidarity. Putnam refers to networks in enclaves that act as sources for social and psychological support. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that bonding social capital can lead to strong in-group loyalty as well as strong out-group antagonism (ibid). So although bonding networks can help immigrants feel more comfortable in the new society, continuous reliance on them could lead to negative consequences. Conversely, bridging networks lead to the formation of a broader identity and reciprocity through making linkages to external assets and diffusion of information. Thus Putnam defines it as being "good for getting ahead" (ibid). These types of networks are the ones that can eventually facilitate the process of integration.

3-1-1. Social capital influencing life chances; Role of social capital in Education:

In his 1988 article, Coleman discusses "the role of social capital in creation of human capital." He argues that an important aspect of social capital is the role it plays in the creation of human capital in the next generation.

It is usually expected that children who come from families with better backgrounds perform better at school. Family background refers to financial, human and social capital. The family's wealth is important in providing the resources needed for education. Even in Sweden where education if free and out of cost, the financial situation of the family is still important in providing extra facilities such as the child's own study area rather than sharing the same area with other siblings or family members. The human capital on the other hand refers to educational level of the parents that is important in providing a "cognitive learning environment" (Coleman, 1988). However the family's social capital is

of special important since it can act as a substitute for low levels of the other two types of capital (Coleman, 1988, Field 2003, pp 45-50). In general, research shows that social capital is associated with higher levels of educational performance, especially for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds (Field, 2003, p 49). The non-western immigrants of Malmö who are often unemployed and depend on welfare do not have high financial capital. Moreover, they have populated families with higher numbers of children.(Stigendal,2006) On the other hand, rate of illiteracy or low educational level is high among Afghan parents in Malmö, especially mothers, due to the conditions of the country.(Sadayo,2009)Therefore social capital becomes even a more important factor for educational attainment of Afghan youth.

Coleman (1988) differs between social capital inside and outside of the family. Social capital inside the family consists of relations between children and parents, as well as relationships with other members of the family and is among the "bonding social capital." Inside family social capital is measured based on weakness or strength of the relationship between parents and children, which depends both on the presence of parents and the attention they give to the child. Accordingly, low levels of family social capital influence the dropout rates of the children. Indicators for this type of capital can be the number of siblings, which has a negative relationship with amount of attention a child receives from his/her parents, and the parents' attitudes and expectations of their children's education, which is positively correlated with educational performance. (ibid)

Social capital outside the family also influences educational outcomes. This type of social capital consists of social relations among parents. These relations can be both bonding or bridging. Relations with other parents for example are among bonding ties. These types of relations stimulate the parents' level of awareness and involvement with the educational performance of their children and their children's friends (students own bonding ties). Closure of these relations is of special importance since gives rise to mutual and effective obligations among the members of the network. Also the parents' bridging relations with the institutions of the community are important due to the influence they have on the parents' attitude towards their children's education as well as awareness of values and requirements of the bigger society. In short, social capital outside the school and in the adult community has an important role for educational outcomes. (Coleman, 1988)

3-1-2. Critiques of social capital:

As mentioned previously, social networks and relations increase the group members' cooperation and help them to achieve their common goals, and are thus beneficial for the members and lead to the creation of societal goods. A fact that should not be underestimated is that the "mutual cooperation" of the group members can as well be used to generate "societal bads".

The negative externalities of social capital can be better understood through Fukuyama's(2001) arguments. Increased in-group solidarity is usually a result of strong bonds within a group that in turn can decrease the ability of the members to trust and cooperate with outsiders. Eventually, members of the group might generate antagonistic behavior against out-group members. Furthermore, social networks and relations can also induce negative consequences for the in-group members. The same common norms and values that facilitate actions of the group members can prevent the (same or other) members from performing certain other actions. In short, Portes (1998) categorizes the externalities of social capital in four groups: exclusion of the outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms and downward leveling norms.

3-2. Study area:

3-2-1. General data

The research is done in Hyllie district, one of Malmö's 10 city districts with about 40% immigrant population. The main focus of the research then is on Kroksbäck area. Among the 52% of immigrant population of the area, Afghans are the second largest ethnic group. Other major ethnicities living there in include people from Yugoslavia (former), Lebanon, Poland and Iraq.

Malmö map of Hyllie
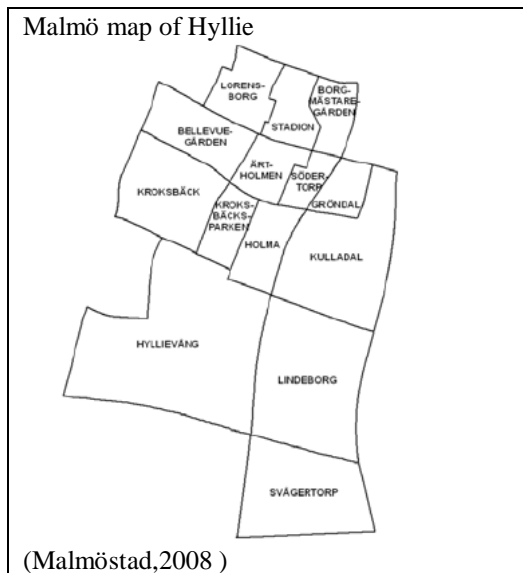
(Malmöstad,2008)

Kroksbäck area has an unemployment rate of about 5%. The share of people between ages 18-24 is also 5% of the whole unemployed population. (Malmö Stad, 2008) The Afghans are the third largest unemployed ethnicity after people from Iraq and Yugoslavia.(ibid) The majority of the population (43%) has Gymnasium as their highest educational level followed by 31% with tertiary and 22% with primary schooling as highest educational levels.(ibid)

3-2-2. Neighborhood description: An Excursion to Kroksbäck- Hyllie

Kroksbäck area is located in the western-central part of Malmö. A 30 minutes bus ride with bus number 5 from the central station of Malmö ends up there after going through Lorensborg and Bellevuegarden. By entering Hyllie through Lorensborg a distinct change in the physical appearance of the city attracts the attention. These areas mainly consist of large multi dweller estates representing the million housing program. Most these buildings have glass covered balconies, covered with shut curtains and mostly share a common factor; satellite dishes behind the windows.

In general besides a small center with some shops and restaurants in Lorensborg, the rest of the district till Kroksbäck lacks entertainment options such as gathering places, café's and activity centers. There are however a few supermarkets available around Kroksbäck area that provide the residents with their daily needs.

The area of Korksback itself is divided to Mellanbäck, Norrabäck and Sorrabäck; All having big apartment buildings mostly belonging to MKB housing company. It should be mentioned that Kroksbäck is a very green area. Besides the big Kroksbäcksparken and the beautiful hills of hyllie

(that have a great view of sunset), there are many little playgrounds among the apartments with benches to sit and places for grilling. However public places and facilities for social activities such as libraries, theaters or cultural centers are missing. The area is provided with a Vardcentral and a school; Kroksbäcksskolan. Kroksbäcksskolan seems to be the center of all the activities going on in the neighborhood. The school itself is divided to two parts. One is a school for young students, up to the 9th grade and the other part is a Folkshogskolan providing the adults with courses on Swedish language as well as courses on their mother tongue. This is especially targeting low educated or illiterate adults who for reasons such as war, natural disasters or social unrest have not been able to benefit from education in their own home country.(Habiba, teacher in Folkshogskolan) Moreover the school's "Fritidsgarden / Afterschool activity center" called "Flamman" is the only official gathering place according to the youth of the neighborhood. Flamman that is the place where many of the teenage boys spend their evenings is open daily from 4-9 PM. Its entertainment options include a big screen TV, some video games, a couple of pool tables and computers that are provided with internet connection. Next to Flamman there is a saloon that is used by girls for dancing in some evenings. (Interviews with teenagers in Flamman)The neighborhood also has a couple of small grocery shops and a pizzeria. The pizzeria and the small square in front of it called "ring square" seem to be a common gathering place for some of the youth. However the place also seems to be one of the reasons of Korksbäck's reputation as an "unsafe" neighborhood. Since many of the young people (who are almost all guys) gathering there tend to do rather illegal activities such as smoking Marijuana in the public without receiving much negative attention from the regular by passers.

3-3. *Methods for data collection and analysis:*

The data used for this research consists of secondary and primary data. Secondary data are mostly based on Statistics Sweden (SCB) as well as Malmo website and other Swedish governmental documents.

Primary data was conducted through deep semis structured interviews. The semi-structured approach to interviewing is defined by Bryman (2004) as an approach in which the "researcher has a list of questions of fairly specific topics to be covered, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply" (p. 321). Target groups were divided to three groups of young Afghan students between the ages of 15-20(main respondents), adult Afghan students studying in the Folkshogskola and informants who were Afghan activists and teachers linking the immigrant society to the bigger Swedish society through Malmö Kommun.My ability to communicate in Dari Farsi and the similarities between Persian and Afghan culture that could give me an special insight to the Afghan community were influential factors in selection of Afghans as target group.

3-3-1. Approaches for selection and contact with respondents:

The first group of the respondents consists of immigrants working in Malmö Kummon as "linkworkers/broggbygare", as well as Afghan teachers working with both adult and young immigrants. Linkworkers are basically high educated immigrants who link the individuals and immigrants (ethnic groups) to organizations and the different authorities of the Swedish society. By having a social position in both the ethnic group as well as the organizations, the linkworkers aim increasing integration through providing contact between the two different groups and therefore increasing mutual knowledge and information. Link workers started their network in Hyllie district 9 years ago. In general now there are 25 of them who work at schools, after school activities, meetings points, and at the employment and development canters. (Interview with Hussein Sadayo)These

respondents were mainly used for achieving general information on Afghan immigrants' situation in Malmö, their activities and problems and social networks as well as a source for getting in contact with other respondents. Contact with the first linkworker (Hussein Sadayo) who was also the main informant was done through Kroksbäcksskolan's principle "Per Andersson". The other two were introduced by Hussein Sadayo himself. Three deep interviews were constructed with three linkworkers, two of which worked in Kroksbäcksskolan and one in Lorensborgskolan. Through these interviews other informants who were teachers in Kroksbäcksskolan and also the Folkshogskolan were contacted. Using teachers as informants was done following two goals: acquiring information about general situation of Afghan students at schools and possibility of contacting students through them. Although the first goal was easily achieved by talking to both adult and young students' teachers, getting in touch with the young students through their teachers did not happen in practice. This might be due to lower amounts of trust between students and the teacher as an adult. Therefore another approach was taken and that was direct contact with students in the school area (Kroksbäcksskolan) and getting in touch with other Afghan students through their social networks and relations. This strategy however rolled out the possibility of having the respondents' educational records and grades through school authorities. The adult students as well were contacted directly in their study environment. Interviews with them also aimed getting more information about normal activities in the family, information about the activities of their children as well as possible contacts with their children as future respondents.

3-3-2. General data regarding respondents:

In general all the respondents regardless of their age were born outside Sweden and except the first informant (Hussein) who was an Iraqi, the rest came from Afghanistan. The three linkworkers were all men between ages of 40-60. Besides Hussein who spoke fluent English, the other interviews were done in Dari Farsi. Each interview took around 60-90 minutes regarding general data on afghan community and its problems as well as its social activities and networks.

The two teachers who were contacted were both Afghan women in their thirties. Again two deep interviews between 60-90 minutes were conducted in Dari Farsi regarding Afghan students' situation and possible problems as well as general data on the Afghan community.

The interviews with young students on the other hand were mainly in English, although at times mixed with Swedish and rare usages of Dari Farsi. Although most students acknowledged they knew their mother language, probably they felt more comfortable to speak in English in front of their other classmates. (in cases that the interviews were done at school and among other students).Another reason for preferring English seemed to be their interest in practicing the Language, since many of them made claims about how "they have never spoken English for such a long time". Despite this they all had enough knowledge of English language to handle 45 minute interviews and managed to convey what they were saying. The Adult student respondents consisted of three Afghan ladies between the ages of 35-57.All interviews were done in Dari Farsi, since it was basically the language they mastered (they were taking part in Swedish For Immigrant courses).Young student respondents were three Afghan girls in ages of 15,16 and 18 and two Afghan boys who were 18 and 20. Some of the interviews were done at Kroksbäcksskolan, one in the respondent's work place (a restaurant in Möllevån) and the rest through phone calls. The entire semi structured interviews with both adult and young students aimed data about their social networks and relations. (appendix 7-1)

Besides the semi structured interviews with Afghan students, informal interviews were done with other young immigrants in Kroksbäcksskolan, as well as "Flamman" and in the neighborhood (e.g in the ring square).This final group of respondents consisted mainly of people from Arab countries as well as Bosnia and Kosovo. These interviews were done in a mixture of English and Swedish and Farsi with the young people acting as interpreters for each other. As the main purpose of these interviews was just to gain a better understanding about the neighborhoods environment they are not reflected in the analysis.

3-4. Limitations:

Reliance on social networks was used as the main strategy for contacting the respondents. This means basically respondents are each other friends, relatives or friends of friends. Consequently they share the same social networks with each other. A major limitation to this study could be could be the possible risk of reliance on respondents who share the same values.

4. Analysis and discussions:

4 - 1. Analysis:

4-1-1. Group I: linkworkers and teachers

The linkworkers were Immigrants with higher levels of education that had been living in Sweden for rather a long time. They worked in schools in Hyllie district and had a very good understanding of situation of Afghans in the new society. According to them Afghan society of immigrants had a very special and distinct feature and that is active participation in the meetings as well as good response to social mobilization activities. Another important feature of Afghan community is their strong in group relations and networks that performs as a tool for social control of the youth. In other words due to strong inracommunity relations each Afghan parent acts as responsible for the behavior and actions of other Afghan children. These strong relations lead to high levels of awareness about the situation and behavior of other group members. According to the informants a result of this type of social control would reduce the chances of Afghan youth to be involved in socially inappropriate activities (e.g., smoking, spending their time aimlessly on the streets or committing crimes) and instead increase the time they would spend with their families. Moreover In this way successful Afghan youth turn into role model samples that parents would encourage their children to look up to. The Afghan teachers, who where women, however talked about another aspect of the Afghan community and that was tradition or culture related norms and beliefs that could impose limitations on the Afghan youth especially the young girls. Although not comparable to the situation in Afghanistan, the teachers mentioned existence of relative limitations on girls clothing, relationships and some activities. An example that was also mentioned by other respondents was the restriction on girls swimming in swimming pools with both sexes.

In case of problems with the community two categories were discussed. Problems related to the background and structure of Afghanistan itself and problems related to Sweden's plans and policies. Regarding the home country, informants emphasized on negative impacts and influences of war on the immigrant's mental and physical health. According to Hazrat, a linkworker in lorensborgskola parents' high unemployment and sick leave rates could possibly be an aftermath of living in a war stricken country. Problems regarding the host society on the other hand are mainly related to Sweden's housing policies and urban planning that has lead to creation of neighborhoods like

korksbäck that lack sites of social interaction as well as sufficient public services (post offices were an example given by two of the linkworkers). Another topic discussed with the informants was the problems with current integration strategies, As Habib (linkworker in Korksbäcksskolan and leader of Afghanska Acedemy community) argues, these plans focus mostly on uptake of Swedish norms and rules by the immigrants, however these policies do not give the immigrant the sense that they can rely for mutual help on the Swedish society.

4-1-2. Group II: Students:

This part of analysis is divided into 10 sections based on categorizations of the interview questions:

4-1-2-1. Family background

Young student respondents were between the ages of 15-20.In general they all shared some common factors ; They were mostly born in Afghanistan and had moved to Sweden in early ages .Regardless of their age when they moved here they had not been to school back in Afghanistan. They all lived in rather populated households with about 7-9 siblings. Besides one case the rest had unemployed parents with fathers who were usually on a sick leave and mothers attending the SFI School. However their parents used to have jobs back in Afghanistan. Interestingly the father's seemed to be often military people or teachers and in the few cases of mothers having jobs back in Afghanistan, they used to work as nurses. (However they were rather older people). Besides one case that was born in Sweden, the rest had all learnt Swedish language through school. Although the young immigrants were all fluent in Swedish neither of their parents knowledge of the language exceeded from normal day to day conversations if any.

The adult students were three Afghan ladies between ages of 35-60.They have been living in Sweden for around 7-11 years. Except of Delshad who was rather older (57 years old) and had managed to go to school in Afghanistan the rest were illiterate and were learning Swedish as well as Dari Farsi in the Folkshogskolan. Delshad and Fouzie (37 years old) had many children (6-8), while Shirin had only one daughter and a very old husband who was also attending school.

4-1-2-2. Family's social capital

All the respondents were in social networks with other immigrants (mostly Afghans) who were either their relatives or friends and neighbors. The exception to this situation was Fouzie who lived in a neighborhood with majority of Swedes and therefore had no social relations. She however saw that as a result of language barrier and hoped to change the situation. Neither of them was involved in relationships with Swedish people through their family if at all. Most of the respondents seemed to be member of one of the two afghan communities in Malmö. These communities conducted activities during Afghan special occasions such as "Eid"(the term used for New Year's festival and also other important happy occasion). The communities also have classes for Pashto and Dari language as well as classes for teaching the Quran .However besides the Afghan community neither the families nor the students themselves were members of other sorts of organizations or groups. Among entertainment options of the whole family eating out, grilling on the beach in summer time and watching TV together were the most mentioned. In case of watching TV, usually the parents were mostly interested in watching Afghan TV channels through the Satellite TV, whereas the younger students or the children of adult respondents watched Swedish TV channels too. Travelling was among some of the respondent's family entertainment options. Interestingly the destinations were more other countries were they had relatives rather than other Swedish cities. However going on trips

did not seem to be an option if there were no relatives to visit. ("*I have no relatives anywhere, where shall I travel to."Shirin*,(37)

4-1-2-3. Young immigrant's social networks

The interviewed students all confirmed at least having one or two best friends at school. These friends were in most cases Afghan classmates or classmates from Iran or Arab countries. Only one of the respondents (Aji) who had attended a private school through getting a soccer scholarship had Swedish friends. Also Delshad talked about having a Swedish neighbor (*"a nice old Swedish lady"*) who she greeted when she met. Among young students, Besides Aji, others were attending Gymmnasium schools with majority of immigrant students, most of which were people from Arabic countries. In case of pre Gymnasial education, they had mostly all attended Kroksbäcksskolan that is evidently dominated with immigrant students. Interesting factor here was the different interpretations of the term "immigrants". Most of the respondents by this term were basically referring to people from the Middle East, however Aji had a broader definition including European non Swedish residents of Sweden. "*I have 5-6 friends at school; my best friends however are 2 Swedish guys and an immigrant from Italy"*.

4-1-2-4. Young immigrant's social networks besides school

They all claimed that they spend their after school free time with their friends. Besides the sports centers and at times libraries none of the respondents were members of any group or teams. Aji however who was a rather professional football player was a member of his school's (the private school with many Swedes) soccer team and spent lots of time with his team members. The boys would mostly play soccer or go to the gym for training and the girls said they would "*go out" with their friends*."As there are not much entertainment options in the neighborhood it never got clear what they exactly did while going out. Best guess based on their explanations would be either actually "going in" to their friends houses or just walking around the neighborhood. Both girls and boys often went downtown to "Triangeln" or "varnham" for "*shopping*" with their friends. The girls also sometimes would form a big group and go to the movies, but "that *does not happen often* "Iman (20). The adult students did not seem to be having many entertainment options. Shirin would go out at times with her daughter, but they all emphasized on the fact that they had a lot of work to do and by attending school every day,not much time for doing other activities would remain. Nearly none of the young students (especially the girls) seemed to be actively involved in religious activities, although mostly their parents and especially fathers attended Friday prayers at mosque regularly. Interest in religion and religious activities however was observed more among male respondents (*"I am not a member (of a religious group) ,but I go to the mosque in Rosengard on Fridays." Aji*(20)) In general there did not seem to be any pressure on imposing religious activities to the children. The fact that they could not attend Friday prayers since they had to be at school could also be of importance in this case**.**

4-1-2-5. Young immigrant's families' attitudes towards job and education

Despite the fact that the parents knew the importance of education nearly neither of the parents were actively involved in their school activities and performance (mainly due to insufficient knowledge of the language). This was also the case for adult students, In fact they were highly aware of importance of schooling and thankful for having the opportunity for learning.(*In our homecountry we had not studied at all, I did not learn anything, I did not get out of the house at all, the only thing I did was house work, but here everything is available,there is electricity and heating,why shouldn't they (the*

children) study?In Afghanistan there are no cahirs but still students go to school.*Shirin(37) and Fozie*(37)).Except of one case (Shabane) who had only one older sister with 2 years of age difference, most of them received a lot of attention and also help towards their education and school work from their older siblings who had already finished school and in most cases were successfully continuing higher education in fields of Medicine, dentistry or engineering. Accordingly the older siblings who had higher education acted as role models for their younger siblings and motivated them to study more. In general the families seemed to have an encouraging approach towards their children's educations and in cases of failures would encourage them to study more."*I tell my children to try more, you are here for studying, and now it's the time of your life to study" Delashad(57)."my parents tell me, don't give up, you can always do it" Iman(18)* Interestingly nearly most of the respondents claimed to be very good students at school.(*" I do not usually get bad grades" Diva (15),"It(having bad grades) never happens to me, I usually get MVG's" Aji (20),* and argued that their families first reaction in case of "bad grades" would be being surprised followed by attempts for giving them mental support .Except for Shabane, who did not have a clear idea on her future, the rest of the respondents more or less shared the common plans. They all believed in importance of higher education nearly for whatever they wanted to do. Even if they didn't exactly know how. (*I don't exactly know how to get my dream future, but I have to study in college". Iman (18)*) and they argued in order to achieve higher education they need to study hard at school. (I *study much after school to be able to go to college, man(18), "Future studies are very difficult here in Sweden, you have to get MVG in all subjects" .Faisal (18))* **.**This type of attitude that values education for a better future also exists among the young students personal social networks ,as their friends usually think in the same way."*Sometimes my friends even compete with me, all of us want to have a good future and we are immigrants, we are here to study and we couldn't do that back in Afghanistan." Iman (18)*

4-1-2-6. Differences between Swedish and immigrant groups

In cases of having one or two Swedish classmates, neither of the respondents had close and friendly relationships with them. According to most of the respondents (*"they (Swedish students) are mostly for themselves". Diva (15)"Swedish students are more for themselves, I just say hi and bye to them." Iman (18)*). Moreover most of the students talked about existence of non friendly attitude and behavior on the side of the Swedish students towards them."*They (Swedish classmates) are not kind,they talk "shit" about us, they hate us" Iman*. Aji who had attended the private school did not follow the same trend, but added that the situation is different for other immigrants.*" Swedes don't like the immigrants and other Afghans don't like them, it's both ways"* In cases of problems and difficulties all the respondent's choice for help would be other Afghan immigrants. (*I will go to my own people, because nowadays you can't trsut strangers"Aji (18)*). The respondents all agreed on existence of behavioral differences among Swedish families and groups with Afghans or other immigrants. In cases of norms and permissions they referred to Swedish teenagers having more freedoms (*Swedish students are freer, they go to disco, us immigrants don't go, they have boyfriends and smoke and drink, but we don't." Iman (18)."They (Swedish students) can bring the girls to their houses, I can't" Faisal (18),"we (afghan women and girls) do not go swimming*". *Delshad (57).)* Regardless of the differences, besides Aji who claimed to be comfortable in both groups, neither of the respondents showed much interest in mixing with Swedish groups. (*Immigrant groups are better, we are loud, funny and joke a lot" Faisal (18).I feel more comfortable in immigrant groups, weds don't talk that much" Iman (18)."I don't want to be with them (Swedes),they are not talking or doing anything, I get bored when I am with them." Diva (15)*) However if they could choose, some of them would like to have a mixture of the Swedish-Afghan behavioral traits.

4-1-2-7. Young immigrant's awareness and information about their home country and Sweden

Although nearly all respondents had some idea about characteristics of their home country (Afghanistan) and Sweden, they did not that much of clear view of its culture. This however can be due to not knowing the exact definition of the word culture in general, although in order to prevent misunderstanding the Swedish term of "culture" was used. In general it seemed more that Afghanistan is related to some negative traits such as limitations especially for women, or lack of educational options and freedom. Opposing to that, nearly all the respondents referred to Swedish culture as "democratic" and free with opportunities for everyone. These views were even stronger among adult students who had actually experienced living conditions in Afghanistan."*Swede's have a good culture, they are "democratic". I like it when it is very "democratic". They (Swedes) have a lot of respect for women, man and women are equal here". Delshad (57),"Swedish culture is good, they see every one as equal, there is freedom". Fozie(37).* More follow up questions however brought up issues like:"*respecting the elderly in Afghan culture*" or "*paying attention to the family and friends versus the "Swedish style of thinking of oneself at first*" *Aji (18)*. Eventually it became clear they all knew Afghan food and cuisines, Afghan music (many of them only listened to Afghan music) and to some extent knowledge of Afghan literature. (Mostly thanks to the book "the kite runner"). All the respondents celebrated traditional "Eid"s of Afghans including Bayram (or Fetr, at the end of Ramadan),Eid e Ghorban and also Nowrooz (21th March). Accordingly they knew partly about Swedish history, Swedish national songs and clothes and knew about but not actively celebrated the Swedish Festivals and occasion.*"They celebrate things with Jesus" Iman (18)*. The most mentioned Swedish occasions however were Midsumer festival,Christmas,Santa Lucia's day and Valborg. In cases of relationships with other Swedes however, there seemed to be the tendency and interest in taking part in celebrating to occasion. (*On Jul ,I say "god Jul" to the Swedish lady who is my neighbor*".Delshad (57)," *I don't celebrate, but I go to parties for Valborg and New year's eve" Aji (20)* . In response to the question "what countries football team do you support?" different responses were given,however all the respondents agreed that in a match between Sweden and any other country's they would support Sweden, and in case of Aji "*Any team that Ibrahimovich plays in*".

4-1-2-8. Respondents information sources

The information and news were mainly obtained through Swedish television news for the youth. The parents mostly followed the news on Afghan TV. However most of the respondents claimed that they also read the "metro", same newspaper read by their parents. (metro is the free newspaper available on buses and trains).Other popular sources of news was Afton boladet .Internet was also a source of news for the youth, this however did not applied to the parents. When asked about an important issue going on in the world at the time, most of the respondents showed awareness about the important issues such as economic crisis or epidemic of Swine Flu. Regarding most required professions in Malmö, interestingly nearly all the respondents named Doctors and dentists even if they planned to have other occupations themselves. The adult students on the other hand believed in importance of having a job for a goof future; however they did not have a clear idea of the type of the job. (*"I like to have a job, whatever it might be is fine" Fozie (37)"There are no jobs available now, but it's important not to be dependent on Beedrag (social welfare)". Shirin (37). "Finding a job is difficult but it's important to have a job" Delshad (57)*

4-1-2-9. Awareness about environment; *an indicator of familiarity with city's trends*

The respondents had information to some extent about the environment. They mostly acknowledged that Environment is an important issue in Sweden (*Swedish people are taking care of the environment, they are so good in it, but they are rich people, they can drive cars in methanol and take good care of the environment" Faisal (18),*). They also argued that in neighborhoods with less immigrants the environmental conditions are better (*"other neighborhoods with Swedish families are nicer and cleaner" Iman (18)*). The adult students also had some information about "eco labeling" and importance of using organic fruits and food due to a lecture they had received recently their Course. (*"differences between natural and fertilized bananas ,the lady told us buy expensive bananas but just eat one instead of buying cheap ones and eating 10"Fuzie (37)*However nearly all the respondents confessed that they don't try to do much pro environmental action. (*Iman: "honestly.....I don't care, Aji: I know the cars are bad for environment but I still drive my car. Shirin: I know to tell my children not to waste electricity, but they don't listen.)*

4-1-2-10. Attitude towards living in Sweden

The final question of the interview: "do you like living in Sweden?" received positive responses from all respondents. Interesting factor here was the differences in the attitudes towards Sweden b between adult and young students. The adult students all mentioned their happiness about living in an environment that did not have the limitations of their home country (Afghanistan).That the new environment is providing them with facilities such as educational option and equal rights for men and women. At the same time they emphasized that living in a new country does not mean that they have to lose their Afghan identity and culture, but the optimal situation would be benefiting from positive aspects of the both societies. The young students acknowledged all the mentioned factors but their immediate response was "*YES OF COURSE, SWEDEN IS MY COUNTRY"*

4-2. Discussions

Based on the analysis of the field work and interviews, this section goes through the impacts of social networks and relations of the Afghan community in Hyllie district.The first part of the discussions gives a general idea of the consequences of the current situation and the second part has a more detailed focus on the impacts of social capital on respondent's life chances.

The analysis identifies the type of social networks of Malmö's afghan Community. As mentioned in Section 3 networks and relationships facilitate action through provision of norms and values that their members are obligated to follow. Moreover the people who are in a relationship are more likely to trust one another and have easier access to information.

4-2-1. General impacts

As can be seen the respondents networks consist of their relatives, neighbors and people who live in the same conditions with them as well as other Afghan/immigrant students in school who probably come from families with similar backgrounds. All these are examples of "bonding" ties, i.e. networks between "same" and "like" people. In other words they are networks that can help the immigrants to overcome the problems of living in a new country and provide them with a resource of their culture and language. Or as Putnam (2000) puts it, help them to "get by" in the new conditions of Sweden. On the other hand the educational ethnic segregation resulted by living in ethnic and socioeconomic

segregated neighborhoods, has reduced chances of making friends and relations with the Swedish community. The fact that the young immigrants do not participate in any group or organizational activity related to the host society also reinforces this situation. In short respondents lack any sort of "bridging ties", unless they have managed to exit their closed circle of immigrant community. An example can be Aji's case, who by studying in a private school with low immigrants and majority of Swedish students had managed to build bridging networks through his classmates. (e.g., he plays in the school football team, travels often with his team to other cities and also takes part in Swedish community's parties and celebrations for different occasions).As Putnam (2000) argues these bridging connections are the ones that help people to "get ahead". The main reason for this argument is that it is through the bridging networks that people acquire new information and get familiar with new norms and attitudes (Putnam, 2000:22-24). The Afghan community's needs to learn more about lifestyle trends, well being priorities and citizenship responsibilities are not likely to be fulfilled through sole relationships with other immigrants who in turn lack connections with the bigger society themselves. Based on the analysis it can be argued that the current situation is resulted by traits and characteristics related to both host and immigrant societies.

On the first place, the ethnic segregation in schools reduces the chances of social mix for the youth of the both societies to a very high extent. Indeed when some schools are dominated by immigrant students and only a few Swedish students, formation of groupings is inevitable. The present and dominant idea of immigrants being related to different sort of social issues intensifies the problem. So that eventually strong in group (bonding) ties form among Swedish students (who are the minority) and immigrant students (who are the majority). The other side of solidarity between members of these two groups is reflected as antagonism against members of the other group. (Fukuyama, 2001)The problem here is not only that the two groups do not mix, but moreover is that both groups find a new way for identifying themselves:"Us/Immigrants" and "Them/Swedes". Behavioral differences probably due to cultural traits act as another reinforcing factor and finally lead to lack of any sort of close relationships between the youth of the both societies. This is well reflected by respondents views on their Swedish classmates; ("*I just say hi and bye to my Swedish classmates", "I don't like to be in Swedish groups, they are boring").*In a long term perspective this type of attitude will be replaced from school to the bigger society where the group members are not having the role of students but are represented as citizens, and (based on the current populations) not the majority anymore, but the minority. This is accompanied with a shift in the type of identification to "Us/Swedes" versus "Them/Immigrants". Social exclusion here becomes a major threat to view of justice, since this minority group of "them/immigrants" is also the same group that lives in neighborhoods known by its low socio- economical conditions, where most households rely on welfare and parents do not have the financial or human capital that is needed to support their children for achieving a better future. The social researchers claim that relations and connections can substitute the lack of these resources, but the parents also lack any sort of bridging networks that are the prerequisites for acquiring these connections. In this way education seems to be the only option that can help the future immigrant members of Malmö. The impacts of Afghans communities social networks on educational attainment of their youth will be discussed in the next section. At this point it seems sufficient to mention that education is directly related to school environment. However schools in immigrant neighborhoods are known to be not as good as schools in other parts of the city, their students seem not to be performing as well as others, and accordingly the teachers who work there not as experienced and skilled as other parts (Stigendal,2006) All these factors can be seen as unequal opportunities for further progress and well being of the immigrant population of Malmö. This indeed is a deficit to the view of individual justice and equity for the immigrants (persson, 2008), a threat to

their personal life's wellbeing and thus sustainability and a major contradiction to sustainable urban development. (ICLEI, 1994)

On a collective level, the situation can be seen as a big challenge to Malmö's sustainability goals that put a lot of emphasis on increased participatory actions on the side of residents in order to increase the local environment and health of its residents on both day to day and long term basis. (Malmo Stad, 2008)

A good example can be seen as the attitude among respondents regarding pro environmental action. While they mostly acknowledge the importance of "environment" in Sweden, they find it to be something related to the Swedish society and don't feel any obligations to care or take action about it."*Sweden is very good in environments, the Neighborhoods with more Swedish families have better environments. e.g. are cleaner and nicer"* . While the respondents believed that pro environmental attitude among Swedes resulted in positive impacts, they did not feel that they should also follow the same trend.*"I honestly don't care (about harming or saving the environment).* An even more interesting issue here is that while the respondents see the non immigrant students as "Swedes" still see Sweden as their country and have emotional attitudes towards it. (*"In a soccer match between Argentina and Sweden, I want Sweden to win (Although I am a fan of Argentina's football team) because if Argentina wins it is good for Argentineans whereas if Sweden wins it is good for me!).*The immigrant population of Malmö already consists 36% of its population and based on Sweden's national statistics will keep on increasing due to higher birth rates among the (non western) immigrant population. (SCB,2008) The future image of Malmö as a city with increasing population of foreign born residents who although believe Sweden to be their country, tend to not act in the same way as "Swede's" do, seems to be very challenging for its sustainability goals.

4-2-2. Impacts on life chances

Social capital researchers argue that being in a relationship impacts life chances of the members (Fields,2003:44-50), the next part therefore discusses the effects and consequences of the current situation of Afghans social networks on their life chances. The discussions in this section focus on four functions of social capital; values, norms and attitudes, Information, trust and mutual obligations.

As observed among the respondents, It seems that the unstable situation of Afghanistan resulting in nearly no schooling facilities as well as long deprivation of women and even men from education has created an extra value for studying as well as appreciation of the easy to use educational facilities in Sweden. Therefore members of the Afghan community regard studying as an important benefit of living in Sweden that should not be taken for granted (*"try hard, you (the children) are here so that you can study", "everything is available here (in Sweden), why shouldn't we study", "We are immigrants, we came here (to Sweden) to study"*) and an essential factor for achieving a "good" future. The young Afghans who are part of these strong intracommunity networks accordingly share the same attitude. They see education as a door to a better future and a way to fulfill their dreams. (*"We (Afghan students) are young, we have a future and dreams.....I have to study to achieve my dreams)*).Social capital researchers (Coleman, 1988, Field, 2003, pp45-50) talk about positive role of social capital in students educational attainments. Although no actual educational outcomes in form of grades and marks were analyzed, the respondents own arguments and the emphasis they put on studying corresponds with the fact that the Afghan family's shortcomings in financial and human capital are indeed being replaced through their social networks. Coleman (1988) measures the amount of family social capital through two indicators. Parent's attitude and expectations towards schooling of

their children as well as their involvement in their children's learning process.(Coleman,1988) The impacts of the first indicator is well observed through the way that young immigrants themselves value higher education and find it "the" way for achieving a better future. The second indicator however faces challenges since Afghan parents involvement in their children's schoolwork is mainly limited to monthly reports they might receive from the school. Unfamiliarity with Swedish language as well as lack of any sort of closure between Afghan parents and the Swedish society prevents them from having a good knowledge and information about Swedish schooling system's requirements and functions. As can be seen in case of the respondents this lack is mainly fulfilled by the older siblings who have attended Swedish schools, are familiar with it and are mainly attending higher education. It is interesting to see in the afghan community, changes in family relations and responsibilities are taking place in a way that the role of parents is being taken over by the older siblings. As in the case of respondents they mostly receive help from their older brothers and sisters and look up to them and want to follow their path. (Diva, Iman, AJi). Whereas Shabane who only had one older sister with 2 years of age difference was lacking this kind of support and accordingly valued education less than the other immigrants. (*I don't know, I have no idea about the future. I don't know if I need or want to have higher education"*).The new role of parents taken by older siblings and the way it influences younger people's view corresponds with the fact that family's involvement has positive impacts on students educational outcomes, but contradicts with the fact that Coleman considers higher numbers of siblings as a negative for educational outcomes, since it divides the parents involvement among more number of children and thus reduces it. (ibid)

Social capital influencing young people's progress however is not only limited to family relations. An important part of it is achieved through relations of the parents with the bigger society and its organizations and institutions. (Coleman, 1988) Effective relationships with the bigger society provides the parents and accordingly their children with information and awareness about the values and norms of the bigger community as well as giving rise to obligations that correlate with the needs of the society. Moreover these relationships can finally be seen as "connections" that facilitate action in an informal way. The young immigrants' views mainly reflected their will for social mobilization as a means of achieving a better future in the Swedish society. ("*The more you study the more you can do, no one can cheat you or have a bad attitude towards you"*). Higher education indeed is a way for achieving this goal, especially when other facilitating factors such as financial capital or connection with the right people are lacking. The current situation of the Afghan social networks leads to a dilemma for their youth. They value education through their intracommunity ties, and based on their own ambitions they want to use it for having a better future. However as neither their parents nor they have any bridging ties with the Swedish society, little knowledge on the actual requirements for a successful professional life in Malmö is conveyed to them. As the analysis shows the young respondents ability to speak Swedish enables them to follow the news on newspapers and other sort of media. Respectively they have relative awareness about ongoing global issues. This is a very positive factor by itself, but due to special conditions of being a (second generation) immigrant in a new society, the young students lack information on topics related to adult life in Sweden. These are types of information that children usually acquire through normal conversations with their parents. What actually happens in case of Afghan youth with already excluded parents is that their bonding relations value education as an important trait. So far, although unintended, the values and attitudes of the Afghan inner community correspond with the host society's values. Lack of bridging ties would however prevent the respondents from obtaining information on different job options or other priorities of the city. The impacts of this lack of knowledge can be seen through their choice (of education) for what they regard useful for a successful future. According to Malmö's webpage the city

is performing best in knowledge and technology related sections such as IT, logistics, biotechnology and medical technology.(Malmöstadt,2008) However Regardless of age, nearly all the respondent's image of a suitable, good or important job is becoming a Doctor or a dentist . Admission to Medical studies in Sweden on the other hand requires Top grades in all subjects and yet still high levels of competition exist among top students. It is true that being a doctor or a dentist is a very good way for one's social mobility, but the overrated emphasize on only and only these two jobs can also be a sign of disfunctioning of social capital due to pure reliance on in group relations.

Another aspect of having strong in group relations deals with the future chances of social mix between young immigrants and youth of the host community. Being in a social network leads to increased levels of trust among the members. (Putnam,2000:134-136.Filed,2003:2-5) on the other hand strong relations within a group have the risk of decreasing levels of trust towards the people who are out of the group.(Fukuyama,2001) This case can be observed in case of Afghan community of Malmö where none of the respondents would trust the Swedish residents. Probably this is a mutual feeling since according to respondents their Swedish classmates also do not trust the foreign born resident population as a whole *("The Swedish students are not kind, when an immigrant student does something bad, they say we are all bad"*) and accordingly (*"I don't like to be in Swedish groups, they are boring, they never do anything fun"*).From what can be seen a distinct grouping of "us" and " them" already exists within the host and immigrant community. Lack of any bridging ties between young Afghans and young Swedes as well as existence of strong in group bonding decreases the levels of trust between these two groups and as Putnam (2000) mentions, has the risk to create strong out group antagonism. (Putnam,2000:22-24) .The reinforcing pattern that takes place has no other result than deepening the gap between these two groups and in a long term perspective reducing the well being of the whole residents of Malmö.

Another aspect important to mention is the obligations that a social structure imposes on its members. (Coleman, 1988) High levels of intracommunity relations lead to formation of specific roles and obligations for the young immigrants. In other words, the Afghan youth follow the norms and values that are dominant within their community. This of course can at times be based on their personal choice, however at other times it is just a result of the in group obligations, so that their behavior is perceived "socially appropriate" by the rest of the group members. In a glance this might mean that strong in group connections prevent young Afghans from doing criminal activities and actions that are not accepted by the society. A deeper look however shows that in the same way ,strong in group ties oblige the youth to also follow [socially appropriate] cultural and behavioral norms and values that mainly root in the traditional and religious society of Afghanistan. This is evident in behavioral differences between Afghan and Swedish teenagers mentioned by respondents.(*"The Swedish teenagers can have boyfriends, they go to discos or can take their girl friends back to their houses"*).It is not within the goals and scope of this research to discuss the ethical issues related to benefits and costs of traditional values. What is of importance here is that strong in group relations and the social control induced by it , can basically prevent the Afghan youth from sharing same activities with the Swedish youth and therefore acts as a reinforcing factor to creation of bridging networks.

These rules and obligations are also of special importance considering the fact that the immigrant Afghan women respondents repeatedly showed their happiness about living in Sweden. They believe Sweden to be a "democratic" country with equal rights for men and women and freedom for everyone. In reality however it appears that the equality and freedom they mention only exists in institutional level and activities such as ability of going to school or having a job. In normal day to day life on the

other hand, high reliance on in group relations and the social control resulted by that creates certain obligations for Afghan women. Indeed Afghan women and girls face limitations in terms of clothing, communicating and certain activities. (e.g. girls do not usually go swimming).In a way it could be argued that they are actually living in Sweden, but (although to a much lower degree) still following the same trends and values that would have more or less existed in an Afghanistan if there was no Taliban.

5. Intended contribution, conclusions and recommendations

Following the main focus of research, this study has tried to explore the quality and to some very limited extent quantity of social networks and relations of an Afghan community in Kroksbäck, an immigrant dense neighborhood in Hyllie district of Malmö. As social structures seem to be of special importance in well functioning of a society, the research tries to see how the stock of social capital influences the Afghan community that faces the problem of disintegration from the host society of Malmö. The research has tried to show the impacts of social networks on the Afghan community mainly through their attitudes towards priorities for a good life and future as well as responsibilities as citizens in the society.

Education is known to be an effective tool for overcoming social exclusion and also a priority for entering the labor market in the current situation of city of Malmö. Special focus of this research is therefore on the second generation Afghan immigrant's attitudes towards studying.

The findings of research show although Afghan community has very high and strong levels of bonding social capital (i.e. relations with similar people) it lacks any type of bridging ties to a very high extent.

While Strong in group relations give rise to some socially appropriate traits in the youth, lack of bridging networks with the bigger society of Malmö limits the optimization of their impacts. This could be further elaborated using education as an example. There seems to be a dominant positive attitude towards education within the Afghan community. This value is also taken by the Afghan youth. This is done mainly through the positive role of strong family social capital. As parents seem to put much emphasis on importance of benefiting from the available educational options in Sweden. Accordingly the youth also tend to regard education as an efficient means of social mobility and an important factor for their future. However lack of bridging relationships limits their sources of knowledge and information about different possibilities of different educational options for achieving their goal. So that they limit their choices to two high competitive educational options of medicine and dentistry, and take for granted the other options that are available due to special situation of Malmö as a city of knowledge.

A finding that requires further research regarding the impacts of social capital in educational outcomes of the Afghan youth is shift of the role of parents to older siblings. Usually research in the field of social capital and education finds a negative correlation between the number of siblings and well educational performance. In the Afghan community however, mothers are mostly illiterate as a

result of social conditions of Afghanistan. Moreover, often neither of the parents have sufficient knowledge of the Swedish language. The language barrier along with low human capital of mothers (if not also the fathers) then is replaced by the attention that younger children receive from their older siblings. The older siblings who have gone through Swedish schooling system and are at times attending higher education, turn to role models as well as supporters for their younger brothers and sisters. This is shown by the research, where the Young respondents who had older siblings cared more about future education than ones without older brothers or sisters. It should however be kept in mind that the better understanding of this shift requires a much more in-depth research with a bigger group of respondents.

Moreover lack of bridging networks as well as strong intracommunity ties decreases the chances of social mix between the two groups of Swedish and Afghan youth. This mainly happens due to the simple fact that strong in group solidarity usually results in lower levels of trust and at times antagonistic behavior regarding the out group. The traditional norms and values imposed to the Afghan youth that aim a socially appropriate behavior, on the other hand, limit their amount of common activities with the Swedish youth and therefore can act as an extra reinforcing factor in decreasing the chances of formation of bridging networks between the two youth communities.

Bridging networks are the ones that can give rise to new ideas and norms. In absence of these types of connections, it appears that the traditional and religious norms of Afghanistan that impose limitation on women are still (although to a very much lesser extent) present in Afghan communities. This can at a minimum level be seen as contradictory with Afghan women's appreciation of Sweden as a country that provides men and women with equal rights and opportunities.

The last but not the least important factor that needs mentioning is the mutual role of both groups of immigrant and host society in overcoming the current social gap. Therefore it would be of interest to conduct further research regarding the type of social networks within the Swedish youth and their implications on their attitudes towards the foreign born residents. This is especially important; regarding the fact the integration is a mutual process. Besides uptake of norms and values that are required in a new society by the immigrant community, the members of the host society should also get familiar and accustomed to the norms and values as well as cultural traits of the foreign born community. As the research showed neither the foreign born, nor the few Swedish born students studying in the same school showed much interest in breaking the distance and getting closer to each other. The continuation of the current situation has major challenges for future of Malmö as a sustainable city.

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7. Appendix

7-1 .Analyzed interview questions

The interview questions are based on sub research questions 1-5 and aim to help answer tha 3 main research questions of the study.

A. General questions regarding Family background and situation. (SRQ 1)
As Coleman shows family background i.e. physical, human and social capital influences educational outcomes of the children at school.
A.1. Basic general information about the respondent
A.1.1.How old are you?
A.1.2.Which grade are you at?
A.1.3.What is your nationality?
A.1.4.How many years have you been in Sweden?
A.1.5.What language do you know better? (Swedish vs. mother tongue)
A.1.6. When did you learn Swedish, before going to school or afterwards?
A.2. (General information on respondents' family)
 A.2.1.What is the educational level of your parents? (Family's human capital)
A.2.2. Can they speak Swedish or do they speak another language? (Ability of parents to enter the society's social capital)
A.2.3.What is your father's job? (Labor market as a means of integration into society, also being a part of a social structure)
A.2.4.What is your mother's job?
A.3. Importance of family''s social capital in impacting life chances of children.
A.3.1.Who does your family hang out with more? (Defines family's type of social capital through social relations between parents as well as networks of parents and the society)
A.3.2.How many people do your family hang out with? (Size of the social network)
A.3.3.What is their nationality? (Defines type of network i.e. bridging vs. bonding)
A.3.4.What is your family's relationship with them? (Are they friends or relatives? /bridging vs. bonding)
A.3.5. what clubs or organizations is your family a member of? (Social networks)
A.3.6. What do you do for entertainment?
- Cinema/theater
- Reading
- Travelling
- Watching TV (what channels-Swedish vs. satellite)

How do you get there? How long does it take?

B. Type of Young immigrant's social networks (of whom do they consist?) (SRQ.3)
Questions regarding respondents own social capital.
B.1.Who are your best friends at school? (Based on nationality could define bonding vs. bridging)
B.2.Where do most people of your school come from? How about your previous school. (Before 9th grade-in cases that they change schools)
B.3.How many Swedish students are in your school?

B.4.How many of the students in your school are immigrants (come from another country)?

B.5. Do you go to your friend's houses? Or do they come to your house? Where are the friends from?

C. Do the young immigrants have other social networks besides school? What are the difference among boys and girls in this regard? (SR Q 2)

C.1.what do you do after school?

C.2.What are your entertainment options after school?

- Sports?
- Going to the movie? (whats a good movie you saw recently?)
- Going shopping?
- Listening to music (who do you like?)
- Watching TV (what channels?)

C.3.How do you get there? How long does it take?

C.4.What groups, clubs, teams out of school are you a member of?

C.5. Are you a member of any religious groups?

C.6.What do you like you did after school?

D. Young immigrant's families attitudes towards job and education. (SRQ.4)

(Coleman, importance of family networks)

D.1. How much are your parents involved in your studies? (Inside family social capital, Relations between children and parents or other family members)

D.2. Do your parents (siblings) help you in doing homework?

Who helps? How?

D.3What is the reaction if you get bad grades? Do you receive help or punishment? (Parents attitude towards education is important in child's educational outcomes)

D.4. How do you see your future?

D.5. What do you want to do in future? Why, what do you know about it? who inspires you?

D.6.What is your idea about future studies? (Higher education)

E. Attitudes conveyed through social networks:

E.1.In what groups do you feel more comfortable, groups with more Swedes or more non Swedes?

E.2.Do you like the general way that Swedish people behave? Do your Swedish friends have different rules in their families?

E.3.Do you like to be like them?

E.4.Do you know your own countries culture? (Information is a byproduct of social cap. According to the respondents social capital, they should have gained some information on topics related to Sweden or own country)

E.5.Do you know Sweden's culture?

E.6.What is the most important festival /holiday you know? (Sharing norms can also be in the level of celebrating same holidays and festivals. This could be a suitable ground for emphasis on mutual acceptance required for integration.)

E.7.What is your favorite sports team?

E.8. What country's team do you support?

E.9.Do you read books and magazines? (Other information sources, however, these sources do not influence amount of social capital per se, since no relationship is being established through reading a

newspaper. Actually what social capital can do, is to be a substitute for lack of reading/having access to official information sources.)

E.10. What newspapers do you read? (Not related to social cap directly, but this question can show the type of information   respondents find important .for example if they want to read newspapers to be aware of the political situation, look for new job opportunities or just follow the advertisements.

In other words, although not influencing their social capital directly, the type of information they are seeking can be an indicator of "values" in their own social networks.)

E.11. What websites do you use more?

E.12.What is an important event that has happened recently (based on the news) How did you hear about it? (Shows the depth of their interest in different events as well as their attitude towards Values?)

E.13.How much do you know about new jobs that are important now? *(SRQ 6)*

E.14. What is a good future for a girl and a boy?

E.15. What do your friends think about future?

E.16. What do you know about the environment? /do you do activities in the nature? (Attitude towards environmental action as an indicator of familiarity with city's trends)

- Hiking
- Camping
- Outdoor sports
- Grilling

E.17. Do you do anything to save /not harm the environment?

7-2. Short overview of Afghan history

Short overview of Afghan History 1747-2005

1747-1773	Rule of Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani). Afghanistan becomes the greatest Muslim empire in the second half of the 18th century.
1773-1818	Constant internal revolts
1836	the British, invade Afghanistan.
1839-1842	First Anglo-Afghan War
1843	Annihilation of British troops- Afghanistan once again becomes independent,
1859	British take Baluchistan, and Afghanistan becomes completely landlocked.
1865	Russia takes Bukhara, Tashkent, and Samarkand.
1866-1868	Internal wars over the throne
1878	Start of second Anglo-Afghan War
1879	The British, withdraw from Afghanistan, although they retain the right to handle Afghanistan's foreign relations.
1885	Russian forces seize the Panjdeh Oasis, a piece of Afghan territory,Changes in borderlines of Afghanistan, splits Afghan tribal areas
1893	Afghanistan's northern border is fixed and guaranteed by Russia
1901	Habibullah succeeds as the new king. Slows steps toward modernization
1907	Russia and Great Britain sign the convention of St. Petersburg, in which Afghanistan is declared outside Russia's sphere of influence.
1918	Mahmud Tarzi (Afghan Intellectual) introduces modern Journalism into Afghanistan with the creation of several newspapers.
1919	Amanullah (The reform King) takes power.The first museum in Afghanistan is instituted at Baghe Bala.
1921	Third Anglo-Afghan war Amanullah Khan initiates a series of ambitious efforts at social and political modernization.
1929	Amanullah Khan is overthrown by Habibullah Kalakani.
1930	Abolishment of the reforms set forth by Amanullah Khan to modernize Afghanistan.
1934	The United States of America formally recognizes Afghanistan
1938	Da Afghanistan Bank (State Bank of Afghanistan) is incorporated.
1940	Zahir Shah proclaims Afghanistan as neutral during WW2
1947	Britain withdraws from India. Pakistan is carved out of Indian and Afghan lands.
1949	Problems with boundaries between Afghanisatn and Pakisatn.Internal riots by Pashtuns
1955	The Pashtunistan (occupied Afghan land) issue flares up.
1956	Close ties between Afghanistan and USSR.
1959	The Purdah is made optional, women begin to enroll in the University which has become co-educational.Women also begin to enter the workforce, and the government.
1961	Pakistan and Afghanistan come close to war over Pashtunistan.
1965	The Afghan Communist Party was secretly formed in January. Formation of the second government.
1969	Second nationwide elections.
1973	Abolishment of the monarchy, Republic of Afghanistan is established.
1974	UNESCO names Herat as one of the first cities to be designated as a part of the worlds cultural heritage.
1975-1977	New constitution is presented. Women's rights confirmed.
1978	. Bloody Communist coup.Mass arrests, tortures, and arrests takes place. · treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union is signed. · Afghan guerrilla (Mujahideen) movement is born.

1979	. Mass killings · Soviet Union (Russia) invade in December.
1984	UN sends investigators to Afghanistan to examine reported human rights violations.
1987	Mujahideen make great gains, defeat of Soviets eminent.
1988-1989	. total withdrawal by the Soviets on Feb.1989. · Mujahideen continue their fight .
1992	April 15--The Mujahideen take Kabul and form an Islamic State
1994	The Taliban militia are born, and advance rapidly against the government.as a result Kabul is reduced to rubble.
1995	Massive gains by the Taliban.
1996	September 27--Taliban militia capture Kabul; Massive human rights violations by the Taliban.Followed by oppression of women by the Taliban--women must be fully veiled, no longer allowed to work, go out alone or even wear white socks. Men are forced to grow beards. Buzkashi, the Afghan national sport is outlawed.
1997	Mass graves of Taliban soldiers
1998	. February--Earthquake strikes in northeastern Afghansitan, killing over 4,000 people, destroying villages and leaving thousands of people homeless. · August--Taliban capture Mazar-i-Sharif, and massacre thousands of innocent civilians afterwards, mostly Hazaras. · August 20th--United States launches cruise missles hitting Afghanistan's Khost region. In order to destroy so called terrorist bases/training facilities used by Osama bin Laden and his followers. Some Afghan civilians are also killed.
1999	. February--Earthquake hits eastern Afghanistan, affecting over 30,000 people, and killing at least 60 to 70 people. · October-- UN Security Council Resolution 1267 is adopted; sanctions against the Taliban on grounds that they offered sanctuary to Osama bin Ladin.
2000	May-Taliban torture and kill civilians in the Robatak Pass · December-- UN Security Council Resolution 1333 is adopted; additional sanctions against the Taliban for their continuing support of terrorism and cultivation of narcotics, etc.
2001	. January-Taliban torture and kill numerous civilians (Hazaras) in Yakaolang. · May-- Taliban order religious minorities to wear tags identifying themselves as non-Muslims. · September 11 -- suicide attacks on the U.S. kill more than 3,000 people and destroy the two towers of the World Trade Center and part of the Pentagon. · October-The United States and UK working with the forces of the United Front (UNIFSA) launch air strikes against the Taliban · November: Taliban lose control of Mazar-i Sharif. · December -- Bonn Agreement. Afghan political groups come together in Bonn, Germany and form an interim government. Hamid Karzai is chosen as Chairman.
2002	War continues against Al Qaeda and the Taliban.Hamid Karzai is elected as President of a Transitional Government.
2003	. War against Al Qaeda and the Taliban continue -- further weakened. · August - NATO takes control of security in Kabul.
2004	. January-- Afghanistan adopts a new constitution. The country is now a republic with 3 branches of government (Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary). · October/November - Presidential elections are finally held after being delayed twice. Hamid Karzai is declared the winner,
2005	Harsh winter leaves hundreds of people dead.

(Afghanistan online,nd)

7-3. Press and Immigrants

An overview of articles published in The Local 2007-2009

Segregation 'widespread' for Swedish immigrants
Published: 18 Dec 08 16:32 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/16452/20081218/
A study released on Thursday by Statistics Sweden (SCB) reports widespread segregation in the fields of education, housing, employment and politics.

'It's as if we immigrants stink of rotten fish'
Published: 30 Apr 08 16:42 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/11468/20080430/
When deciding where in the world to study and work, Nabeel Shehzad, an engineer from Pakistan, thought Sweden seemed like the perfect place. But that was before he began to encounter discrimination on a regular basis.

Immigrant children 'like visitors from the Middle Ages'
Published: 11 Jan 08 09:12 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/9624/20080111/
Children who come to Sweden from Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia can be likened to time travellers from the Middle Ages, according to a report commissioned by top education officials in Eskilstuna.

Rosengård: Integration in the eye of the storm
Published: 27 Mar 09 13:58 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/18506/20090327/
Malmö suburb Rosengård has come to symbolise Sweden's struggles with integration. AFP's Marc Preel examines a community grappling with its identity after a winter marred by rioting and clashes with the police.

Asylum seekers face greater opposition
Published: 10 May 08 08:44 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/11664/20080510/
Asylum seekers in Sweden face greater opposition from the public for the first time since 2004, a new SOM study by Gothenburg University has shown.

Tension following removal of Malmö mosque activists
Published: 15 Dec 08 13:30 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/16358/20081215/
Tempers flared in Malmö on Monday morning as riot police used dogs to clear three protesters out of a basement office which has served as a mosque for more than a 15 years, but had been ordered closed back on November 24th.

Rosengård riots abate after two violent nights
Published: 20 Dec 08 07:29 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/16488/20081220/
The streets of Malmö's Rosengård district were relatively calm on Friday evening, as the hundreds of youth who rioted earlier in the week refrained from engaging in renewed clashes with police.

New Rosengård fires 'revenge': police
Published: 20 Mar 09 14:54 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/18356/20090320/

Police in Malmö claim a recent wave of deliberately set fires in the city's heavily-immigrant Rosengård neighbourhood constitutes an act of retaliation for recent arrests.

Rosengård firefighters call it quits
Published: 28 Apr 09 15:31 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/19130/20090428/
After months of suffering through thrown rocks and threats directed at his squadron during numerous calls to the Rosengård neighbourhood in Malmö, local fire chief Henrik Persson said on Tuesday he is stepping down from his post.

Politicians call for Rosengård curfew
Published: 1 May 09 09:15 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/19184/20090501/
Politicians from the Moderate and Sweden Democrat parties in Malmö are calling for a nighttime curfew for youth in the Rosengård neighbourhood, claiming that the situation at the Herrgården housing area has become untenable.

More pupils fail to make the grade
Published: 14 Aug 07 16:58 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/8186/20070814/
A record number of teenagers has failed to meet the entry requirements for upper secondary school. Fewer pupils than at any time in the past ten years had good enough grades.

Fitting in: Swedish parties think anew on integration
Published: 14 Mar 08 16:02 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/10486/20080314/
David Landes looks at press reaction to the proposals for citizenship classes and an asylum policy which decides where refugees get to live.

Swedes cool towards ethnic diversity
Published: 24 Oct 08 12:19 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/15198/20081024/
Greater numbers of Swedes are expressing hostility towards ethnic diversity, according to a new study

High school drop-out rate raises concerns
Published: 17 Jun 08 10:24 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/12480/20080617/
Although more Swedish students are graduating from high school with their high school diploma, one in ten students drops out during the first two years

Hate crimes plague Södertälje refugees
Published: 18 Nov 08 06:33 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/15748/20081118/
Muslims and newly arrived refugees in Södertälje, just south of Stockholm, are being subjected to harassment and hate crimes, according to police.

Big trouble in 'Little Baghdad'
Published: 17 Feb 08 21:08 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/10014/20080217/
Part one of a three part series looking at the challenges posed by large scale immigration from Iraq to a relatively small Swedish town.

(The Local,2007,2008,2009)