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Article

When Colour Matters: Policing and Hate Crime

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Abstract
Contrary to the image of Sweden as a tolerant, colour-blind and non-racial country, which is based on the narrative of a country for instance associated with solidarity with the so-called Third World; in this article we argue that racial attributes, e.g. visible differences, account for people's different life possibilities and circumstances in Swedish society. This article explores and discusses whether, and if so why, people who belong to the group that is categorised as "non-white", with an emphasis on Afroswedes, and depicted as racially different, experience being targets of diverse variations of bias-based policing, harassment and hate crime. Theories relating to colonial stereotypes, racism, doing difference, the geography of hate, race/ethnicity profiling and intersectionality are used to analyse our material. Based on individual and focus group interviews with "non-whites", this article discusses how visible differences are highlighted in different kinds of social contexts. The interview results show that people with dark skin are often targets of different kinds of private and public policing based on race- and ethnicity profiling that often occurs on or near borders/boundaries. When those who are targets of racial harassment and exclusion resist such treatment, e.g. by crossing borders/boundaries, they are at risk of becoming victims of hate crime.

Keywords
borders; hate crime; private policing; public policing; race and ethnicity profiling

Issue
This article is part of the regular issue of Social Inclusion, edited by Professor Ulf R. Hedetoft (University of Copenhagen, Denmark).

1. Introduction

Since 2003 a number of murders and attempted murders have been reported in Malmö, Sweden's third largest city with some 300,000 inhabitants. These offences have mainly been directed at people with dark skin/hair. In October 2010 the police indicated that they were looking for a suspected serial shooter who fired his gun at night at dark-skinned people in various parts of Malmö. In a city in which about 40 per cent of the population has some kind of migration background, many of them having dark phenotypical markers, this communiqué caused considerable fear among "non-whites". Finally, in November 2010, the police arrested 39-year-old Peter Mangs, who was later sentenced to life imprisonment. Despite their brutality, the murders and attempted murders for which Mangs was condemned are not unique to Sweden or to other countries. The serial shootings in Malmö can also be seen as part of an historical continuity, where racism has at different periods assumed differing expressions and intensities (Wigerfelt & Wigerfelt, 2014).

Mangs' actions exemplify the violent and extreme expressions of racist hate crime that are directed against "non-whites" in Sweden. In this article we refer to such actions as "private policing". Private policing can be carried out by private individuals or by groups of people, such as extreme right-wing groups. These

actions are usually unlawful and are condemned by the majority society. Perpetrators who carry out criminal acts where the motive is racial violation can be given stiffer sentences. Such actions are often called hate crimes (Wigerfelt & Wigerfelt, 2014). [1]

What we label "public policing" is a concept that in this context refers to individuals/groups that are sanctioned by society to legitimately exercise violence, most often the police. The police are supposed to protect the rights of individuals and groups and prevent them from being exposed to e.g. hate crimes. Despite this, numerous stories are told by people who have been subjected to police harassment. One common denominator is that many "non-whites" feel that the police use racial- and ethnicity profiling to target people with a "non-white" appearance. Narratives about how people have been subjected to police harassment raise questions about whether "non-whites" have the same rights as "whites" and are seen and treated as "real Swedes". They also raise questions about the kind of protection that hate crime legislation gives to victims in practical terms.

An important point of departure in this article is that different ethnic/racial groups have different prerequisites in Swedish society, with structurally different positions towards the majority population and towards each other. In this article we focus on people with dark phenotypical markers, especially Afroswedes, who are often referred to as "blacks" in Sweden, and their experiences of both "private" and "public" policing. This is a category that is exposed to different kinds of everyday harassment and policing based on race profiling.

Notions about blacks have deep historical roots and there are many indications that ideas and discourses about blacks being inferior to whites continue to dominate (Hübinette, Beshir, & Kawesa, 2014). These ideas are embedded in representations and structures and are often manifested as everyday insults, harassment and racial violence (Berg, 1997; Catomeris, 2004; Granqvist, 2001). However, 20th century Swedes largely regarded themselves as far-sighted, tolerant and non-racial—a self-image that was based on the narrative of a country associated with Social Democracy, the Welfare State, neutrality in World War II and solidarity with the so-called Third World (Pred, 2000; Sawyer, 2000). This self-image has resulted in the denial of the existence of racist structures in present-day Swedish society and an emphasis on racial categorisations (Hübinette, Hörnfeldt, Farahani, & Rosales, 2012; Pred, 2000). Ideas about Swedishness are closely connected to appearance. Despite this, using the word race in Sweden is almost taboo. This has led to difficulties in addressing problems such as racism and hate crime. As Goldberg (2006) states, there is an unwillingness in most countries in Europe to recognise that race matters—a form of colour-blindness that assumes that appearance is irrelevant (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). But as we will show in this article, phenotypical markers, or visible differences, are still important for explaining people's different life possibilities and circumstances in Swedish society.

According to official statistics, about 100,000 people in Sweden—the equivalent of one per cent of Sweden's total population of around 10 million—have been exposed to racial hate crime in recent years (Brå, 2013). In 2012 some 4,000 racial hate crimes were reported to the police, which amounted to about 72 per cent of the total number of hate crime notifications. Studies (Kalonaityté, Kawesa, & Tedros, 2007; Motsieloa, 2003; Pred, 2000; Sawyer, 2000; Schmauch, 2006) have also shown that in Sweden people with dark skin are often subjected to racial harassment, discrimination, stereotyped ideas and prejudices.

Listening to victims' stories is vital if we are to gain access to and understand openly manifested racism and more subtle expressions of racial prejudice and stereotypes. In this study this has led us to focus on the victims' experiences and to allow them to contribute to the discussion. Helen Ahn Lin (2009) draws attention to the fact that researchers seldom ask how racial minorities define, experience and deal with the exposure that follows in the wake of race profiling and racism. Against this background, the purpose of the study is to:

> Explore and discuss whether, and if so why, people who belong to the group that is categorised as "non-white", with an emphasis on Afroswedes, experience being the targets of different kinds of policing, harassment and hate crime.

2. Theory and Previous Research

Different historical events and processes have led to different interpretations of racism. Racism also occurs at different social levels and in different contexts (Brah, 1993). Harassment, exclusion and violence are expressed differently depending on how individuals are categorised. The expressions differ in terms of the practices and discourses that legitimise them. We can talk about a variant of a racist discourse which, according to van Dijk (1993), can be seen as an underlying collection of systematised notions about phenotypes, distinguishing features and power hierarchies. For example, racism as a discourse can create and preserve ideas about skin colour, and phenotypical markers can be linked to cultivation, intellectual development and cultural affiliation.

[1] The ruling about harsher sentences was introduced in Sweden in 1994 for crimes committed against a person, ethnic group or other groups of people on the grounds of race, skin colour, national or ethnic origin, faith, sexual orientation or other similar circumstances (The Swedish Penal Code Ch.29, 2 § 7 p.).

Representations of people who are perceived as "non-white" build on stereotypes that reduce people to a few simple, essential characteristics that are decided upon by nature. According to Hall (1997), stereotyping is a signifying practice that is central to the representation of racial difference. Another feature of stereotyping is that it symbolically fixes boundaries and excludes everything that does not belong. As Goldberg (2006, p. 358) writes, "…borders are often constituted through race…"

When borders/boundaries (Alvarez, 1995; Fassin, 2011; Lamont & Molnár, 2002) are threatened, and when subordinated groups seek to redefine their positions and manifest difference in a way that the perpetrators find unacceptable, the threat has to be suppressed by the perpetrators in order to confirm the hegemonic group's supremacy. The tensions between hegemonic and anti-hegemonic actors can culminate in violent exertions to restore the dominance of the former (Perry, 2003). It is in this context that exclusion, harassment and hate crime become resources for doing difference and punishing those who test the boundaries (Perry, 2001, pp. 60-61). Different categories like race, ethnicity, gender, class and sexuality can often form the basis for exclusion. In this context, the concept of intersectionality can be used to show how different kinds of subordination can be carried out at the same time and can influence and recreate each other (Crenshaw, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 2011).

Paradoxically, some perpetrators have construed themselves as victims by demarcating "Us" and "Them". From the perpetrators' perspective, violence is legitimate because they use it to protect themselves and "their" territory from the threat of outsiders (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998; McDevitt, Levin, & Bennett, 2003; Ray & Smith, 2001) by means of "private policing". Historical notions of race and belonging can thus be integrated with present-day apprehensions about the right to a certain territory. This is sometimes referred to as "the geography of hate" (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Gadd & Dixon, 2009, p. 80; Perry, 2009, p. 67). The effect of "private policing" is that the perpetrator, via the victim, sends a message (Sumartojo, 2004) to members of the target group that they are not welcome. There are sometimes grey zones between "private policing" and the official "public policing" that we think ought to be highlighted and problematized. Like "private policing", "public policing" also uses criteria based on race and ethnicity, for example in the form of race profiling. "Private policing" can often be linked to individuals and groups with more or less openly racist views that can also be reported and convicted as hate crime. However, those who engage in "public policing" as part of their duties, and to all intents and purposes have the law on their side, can also act in a bias-based way.

The concept of race profiling, which is sometimes called bias-based policing, is mostly used in British and American research and means that the police use race to stop and interrogate citizens (Rice & White, 2010; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002, p. 435). The research studies indicate that people who belong to minority groups, such as African Americans, are stopped, searched and given fines to a greater extent than white people (Hübinette, Hörnfeldt, Farahani, & Rosales, 2012; Jones-Brown & Maule, 2010; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003; Weitzer, 2010).

A concept that is often used in American research is "driving while black". This refers to the fact that black drivers are stopped by the police more often than other categories of people (Lambert, 2010). Although it is not always possible to transfer American research to another context, a report written by Lappalainen (2005) shows that in Sweden people with a foreign background run a greater risk of being stopped by the police, searched, arrested, detained and sentenced to prison than native Swedes in a similar situation. Such treatment of minority groups by the police is sometimes called "over-policing" (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). The report also shows that people with roots outside Europe have less confidence in the police and courts than native Swedes. Research shows that in many cases people are understood as belonging to minority groups to the extent that the police either do not care about them being exposed to different types of crime or give these crimes high priority, which is usually referred to as "under-policing" or "under-protection" (Hall, 2005).

3. Method and Material

This article is mostly based on interviews conducted within the project entitled Hate Crime—A Challenge to Democracy. This is a multidisciplinary study on hate crime in Skåne that focuses on the causes, consequences and support initiatives, and is financed by the Swedish Research Council. The project studies groups that are often exposed to hate crime, such as Jews, Muslims, Afroswedes, Romany/Travellers and the LBTG community, and this article is based on one of the project's sub-studies.

In this article, the focus is on those who are perceived as "non-white", with an emphasis on Afroswedes' experiences of different kinds of policing, racism, discrimination, everyday harassment and hate crime. In our study we have made use of legal records and transcripts and have also observed court cases. The study is primarily based on individual interviews (15). Some of the informants were interviewed several times. The informants—seven men and eight women aged between 20 and 61 years—mainly live in southern Sweden and are given fictitious names in the text. The informants have different nationality, class and religious backgrounds. We have come into contact with these people via The Pan African Movement for Justice (an inde-

pendent political and religious organisation for people with an African background), anti-discrimination offices and personal contacts that have led to other contacts through the snowball method. Café Pan Africa is a meeting place in Malmö where people meet once a week in order to discuss issues that concern Africans. One of the Café's leading members has served as gatekeeper (Bryman, 2012, p. 384-386) and has helped us to make contact with a variety of informants. On two separate occasions in 2012 and 2013 the authors were invited to meetings attended by a total of 37 people, where we were able to conduct focus group interviews. In the first focus group interview we learned how Afroswedes experienced the issues discussed in the article, and in the second we had an opportunity to test our preliminary results and conclusions. The focus groups also highlighted the experiences (Bryman, 2012, pp. 446-449) that Afroswedes encounter regularly in Swedish society. We are aware that our interviews may be somewhat biased, in that we looked for people who had been exposed to different kinds of policing, hate crime and incidents that could be interpreted as hate crime, which is the research study's expressed purpose. Those who volunteered to be interviewed regarded themselves as having been exposed to some kind of special treatment due to the colour of their skin and communicated representations of these experiences. We stopped collecting data when we considered that a "theoretical saturation" (Bryman, 2012, p. 394) point had been reached and when the results of the themes that were taken up in the interviews showed great similarities with each other. Although the results of the study do not claim to generalise or represent the experiences of all people with dark phenotypical markers in Sweden, they do indicate that people with dark skin and other phenotypical markers who are not considered to conform to white norms are all too often discriminated against and treated differently. In the article we have chosen to allow many of the informants to speak for themselves by making use of short yet representative quotations from the interviews we conducted. We have also used longer narratives that we think illustrate our conclusions and thereby create a greater understanding of the problems.

All the interviews except one were conducted in Swedish and lasted between one and two hours (the other was conducted in English in the same space of time). Each interview was tape-recorded and transcribed. The focus group interviews lasted for three hours. The authors have made minor revisions to the language used in the interview quotations when translating from Swedish to English, but in that process have tried to keep as close as possible to the original.

Data was collected and analyses were conducted throughout the research process. The interview guide was revised regularly to suit the varying circumstances; questions were added and some were omitted. The analysis began by listening to the taped interviews and reading the transcriptions and documentation. The interviews were coded according to the central themes that had been identified during the above process, and comparisons of the authors' various interpretations were made. The coding was revised in the light of the researchers' interpretations. Theoretical concepts were then applied in order to analyse the interpretations. This led to new questions, which were addressed by returning to the empirical material—an abductive process that was enhanced by alternating between theory and empirical material (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994). We analysed the date using various grounded theory techniques (Charmaz, 2006) and narrative analysis. Miller (2000) maintains that narrative interviews in studies based on life stories or biographical research are much more oriented towards eliciting the interviewee's perspective than objective facts. To a great extent the interviewer is part of the process in that he or she is included in the construction of the interviewee's story.

4. Result and Analysis

4.1. Does Race Matter in Sweden Today?

Claiming that race has a role to play in Sweden today is more or less taboo (Hübinette, Hörnfeldt, Farahani, & Rosales, 2012). Despite this, there is considerable evidence to suggest that in Sweden phenotypical markers are important in many people's daily lives. People with a skin colour other than white feel that these markers distinguish them from the white majority population in a negative way in certain situations.

Thomas, who originates from Gambia and has lived in Sweden for over 30 years, responded to the question of whether race/skin colour meant anything in present-day Sweden in the following way:

> Yes, it does. I inwardly feel that it is an obstacle. Very much so. As black in Sweden. Just because one is black people think that this black person cannot do much or know much…It means that certain things pass you by and go to someone with a lighter skin—white or whatever (Interview, 20-03-2013).

Thomas claims that he is branded on the basis of the colour of his skin and his cultural background, and that there are perceptions about him coming from a low-status culture. It is not just about him feeling vulnerable, but also that he is emotionally affected by others with an African background being harassed; something that he shares with others in the focus group (Focus group 28-11-2013).

Jennifer experiences that her work colleagues use racist language (nigger) and that when she protests the response is: "We've always said this" (Interview, 24-04-2012). Being continuously exposed to a kind of low-key

racism has a very damaging effect on many people (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013). As Eva said in an interview: "It's very draining…you really feel devastated..." (Interview, 10-12-2012).

Serial shooter Peter Mangs, named in the introduction to this article, is a violent example of "private policing". In the autumn of 2010 the police in Malmö publicly announced that a serial shooter was on the loose who appeared to select his victims on the basis of race. This warning created panic in Malmö, and narratives expressing caution and fear are manifold. Maria said in an interview that prior to Mangs being arrested the fear about what the serial shooter might do next was more or less the only thing that her friends and family talked about:

> One day when I was out with my mother and we were going to collect a friend we waited in the car outside her door. We saw a man who reached for his mobile phone in his jacket pocket and we all screamed. Everyone was on guard and on the lookout and suspected everyone. It was awful (Interview, 22-11-2012).

This fear was also very apparent in the focus group interviews. There, several of the participants talked about how afraid they were of being out of doors, and how they dimmed the lights when they were at home. For many their worst fear was that something might happen to their children. Some of the informants tried to disguise themselves by wearing voluminous garments when walking about outside (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013).

The perpetrator sent a message to members of the target group that they should not be in the country at all and risked death if they remained (Sumartojo, 2004). Skin colour and dark phenotypical markers became criteria for whether one felt safe or not in Malmö during the period when Peter Mangs was on the rampage.

Other actions that "non-whites" said that they experienced as racist were more mundane in nature (Essed, 1991), but were seldom regarded by the majority society as racist.

Colonial and stereotyped ideas about people with dark skins live on. They are embedded in representations and structures and can be expressed in the form of everyday insults, as well as in forms of racial violence and bias-based policing (Hall, 1997; Rice & White, 2010; Wigerfelt & Wigerfelt, 2014).

Two examples of notions of race associated with "public policing" are Tina's and Cecilia's stories of how they experience that the police harass them due to the colour of their skin. Tina, who is originally from Somalia but has grown up in Sweden, lives in Malmö. In 2013 the police knocked on the door and wanted to search her flat because they thought that they would find "paperless" refugees hiding there. Tina claims that this was due to the colour of her skin and says that some of her Afroswede friends have also been subjected to similar controls as a result of their dark phenotypical markers (Interview, 04-04-2013). Another example is Cecilia, an Afroswede, who was standing talking to a friend when a police car passed by and stopped when its occupants saw Cecilia's dark skin: "They demanded to see my identity card and said that if I didn't produce it they would take me to the police station…just because of the colour of my skin" (Interview, 10-03-2013).

4.2. Hate Crime as a Punishment for Those Who Cross Boundaries

Most of the people we interviewed did not accept their inferior position, vulnerability and exclusion, but in different ways wanted to change the views towards and treatment of people with dark skin. This can take different expressions, such as not remaining silent in the face of verbal abuse and by reporting incidents to the police or the Equality Ombudsman. Other ways include demonstrations and political struggle (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013).

Patric comes from an African country, but has lived in Malmö for many years. He is a person who does not think of himself as inferior and is active in associations that are trying to combat racism. An avalanche of hate was released when Patric reported a student association at Lund University—the largest university in southern Sweden. Some students had dressed up as slaves at a party. They had blacked their faces, put ropes around their necks and were sold as slaves to a white "slave dealer" in an auction. Patric, who got to know about this, reported the incident to the police as "incitement to racial hatred" and condemned the action in the media. Patric and many others regarded the slave auction and its connection to colonial stereotypes as racist, while the students claimed that it was an innocent prank and that Patric was over-sensitive.

Patric's reporting of the "slave auction" to the police triggered a chain of actions. Different actors tried to restore order by "private policing". One of these actors was Stan. He made a poster with the words "Our negro slave has escaped" and a picture of Patric, and displayed it in various places. The picture was created as a montage, with Patric's face mounted on the naked torso of Kunta Kinte, with a big chain and leash around his neck. Stan was caught pasting up some of the posters and was later prosecuted. Patric reacted strongly: "I am perceived as an enslaved African. It is a disparaging and offensive picture, I am depicted as an animal" (Interview, 20-03-2012).

The District Court in Lund, and later the Court of Appeal in Malmö, found Stan guilty of slander and incitement to racial hatred and gave him a suspended sentence (District Court in Lund Verdict 26-01-2012,

Case No. B 3156-11, 2012; Skåne and Blekinge Appeal Court Verdict 25-04-2013, Case No. 3468-12, 2013).

On racist Internet sites Patric is still taunted by numerous "jokes" associating blacks with slavery, criminality and apes and by direct threats: "We will shoot you and your little chimps. We know where you live". Even though no-one in the focus groups had received death threats, many had been subjected to insults on the Internet due to their African origins (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013).

According to Barbara Perry, it is in situations in which subordinated groups seek to redefine their placing in the hierarchy and carry out actions that no longer confirm the hegemonic group's supremacy that hate crime becomes a resource with which to punish those who test the boundaries (Perry, 2003).

Patric can be regarded as a person who does not accept insults. This makes him more of a target for hate crime. Violence and everyday offences against those considered as different, or aliens, have long been part of a repertoire to strengthen positions of social and political superiority, and are used to remind "Others" of their place. If they step outside the geographically and politically constructed borders/boundaries of permitted behaviour, they are confronted with reminders of their subordinate status. Regardless of whether this is in the form of everyday harassments or brutal violence, the message is the same: adapt to the standards determined by the white majority, or risk its wrath (Perry, 2001, p. 5).

4.3. The Crossing of Geographical Borders

As already indicated, the borders/boundaries that are "crossed" can be social, racial or geographical. For many with phenotypically dark markers it often means being challenged and subjected to "public policing" based on race and ethnicity profiling when crossing the border into Sweden. According to our informants this is a frequent occurrence, especially among men (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013). Thomas points to such frontiers as places and situations that he has experienced as most unpleasant:

> It is very delicate. One of the most sensitive moments. When you come back from Denmark or from abroad. How you are treated at the border. I have experienced this several times. I arrive with my [white] colleagues after having been in Denmark and I am singled out from the rest. My colleagues get angry and I feel belittled and sad. They ask me to produce identification. 'Do you live here?' 'Do you speak Swedish?' Lots of people experience the same thing. It's awful. You are stopped almost every time. It is humiliating (Interview, 20-03-2013).

Sara also had negative experiences of crossing borders when she travelled with her father as a teenager and they were always stopped:

> And my father's reaction was always to begin shouting, throw down his mobile phone and get really angry. It happened every time. Every time we planned to travel abroad we had to prepare ourselves mentally for it. He was always stopped. Always. And you saw lots of others, white Swedes and others, who were not stopped. Who just walked through. But he was stopped because he was black (Interview, 26-04-2012).

The border in question here is between the two EU countries of Sweden and Denmark. The idea is that EU citizens should have free mobility. Researchers Sophie Hydén and Anna Lundberg point out that as it is not possible to separate Swedish citizens from people regarded as "unauthorised" in a factual, objective or definitive way, there is a great danger of people being subjected to intervention as a result of their appearance or ethnic background (Hydén & Lundberg, 2004). For many "non-whites" the treatment they receive at geographical borders is often unpleasant, because skin colour and dark features mean that they are stopped so that "Swedishness" can be determined. According to our informants, if you are black you are not regarded as Swedish (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013).

On Peter's first encounter with Sweden some twenty years ago, something happened that he experienced as deeply insulting. Peter landed at Arlanda airport and was about to go through security control when he—the only person who was black—was stopped. His passport and other papers were in order, but he was nevertheless forced to remove his clothes and undergo a thorough search, which was carried out in a humiliating way in front of the staff without any explanation whatsoever.

> One of the police officers was a woman, and a man stood here with his pistol. I was really, really frightened. I took off all my clothes and felt so humiliated! And they told me to bend down and open my mouth and put a pen in my mouth and checked my tongue. And I was so humiliated and thought: Is this how they treat people? They didn't do this to anyone else. And it might have been a criminal who walked through, but they didn't think like that, but rather, a black, he must be a criminal, he must be carrying drugs. My first day in Sweden. I was there for an hour before they let me go (Interview, 22-03-2012).

As the case with Peter shows, "public policing" at border controls can involve violations based on prejudice and notions of race, visible difference, and in some cases violence towards those who are regarded as non-Swedes/non-whites. Another example is Michael, who

was involved in an incident at the bridge border crossing between Denmark and Sweden, which he experienced as so offensive that he reported the police to the Parliamentary Ombudsman. Michael was stopped by the police and breathalysed. Although the test was negative, the police asked Michael to get out of the car because they suspected drug- and unlawful driving. All his documentation was in order. Michael stumbled when he was pulled out of the car by a policeman who then tripped over him, which led to four more policemen rushing over to push Michael to the ground. He was sprayed with a pepper spray and handcuffed. Michael was driven off to hospital where he had to undergo two blood tests. He was finally held in custody overnight without any possibility of phoning his family. According to Michael, from the moment he was arrested the police acted violently and aggressively towards him, which caused him pain and was experienced as very abusive. This incident has resulted in Michael now feeling afraid and stressed whenever he sees a police officer. Michael is convinced that all this happened because he was black: "People just judge a person by his colour" (Interview, 18-12-2012). Similar incidents of black men being subjected to police violence have recently been reported in the media. Several people also talked about similar incidents in the focus group interviews (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013).

The police's duty is to protect people from crime, although our informants sometimes see the police as perpetrators of harassment and hate crime based on race and ethnicity. Experiencing that people in responsible positions, such as the police, violate and discriminate against those identified as "non-white" leads the victims to doubt the state and the system (Harries, 1999). Against this background, some of the informants regard the difference between "private and public policing" as negligible, because in both cases the consequences are often perceived as negative, and feel that reporting such incidents to the police is futile.

4.4. An Intersectional Dimension

Being black, a woman and a Muslim can mean several kinds of stigma. This is what Anna said in an interview:

> My mother wears a veil and when we are together, talking…we both have strong personalities and talk in loud voices and she doesn't care what anyone thinks and I sometimes think that she ought to calm down and not draw attention to herself. She often wears trousers and ordinary clothes with her veil, but when she can't be bothered to dress up she wears her abaya, the black cloak, and people spit at her and comment on her clothing (Interview, 22-03-2013).

Victoria was born in Somalia, but came to Sweden when she was a child. When she is travelling in Sweden for her work she is often questioned at hotels: "What is a black woman doing here?" (Interview, 23-05-2012). Victoria shudders at the thought of entering a hotel dining room and eating breakfast, because she is always stared at. This makes her feel very uncomfortable. In addition to challenging the notions about where black women can be seen, Victoria also questions class affinity. In her research, Philomena Essed (Essed, 1991, p. 151-152) shows how black women staying at hotels in Europe have been regarded as prostitutes by hotel staff.

There is a gender and sometimes a religious and class dimension in the experiences one has as "non-white"; something that is evident in the above example and is substantiated by others (Kalonaityté, Kawesa, & Tedros, 2007; Motsieloa, 2003; Pred, 2000; Sawyer, 2000; Schmauch, 2006). Men are more vulnerable in violent situations than women and appear to be more open to being challenged, whereas girls and young women experience that they are often regarded as being sexually available and/or have no right to refuse sexual invitations. This is often based on colonial notions and racist views, but can sometimes be combined with religious preconceptions, for example about Muslims. Different identities interact intersectionally.

As already indicated, many of the "non-white" men we interviewed said that they are often subjected to police controls at border crossings. This is also the case when driving—and especially if they are driving a "posh" car (Lambert, 2010). Mohammed is in his 40s and works in the building industry. He has been stopped by the police several times when driving, which can be interpreted as being connected with him having dark skin. When he told his "white" workmates about this they didn't believe him. However, after a company party Mohammed drove a couple of his workmates home and was stopped by the police who suspected him of driving an unregistered taxi. After a while he was able to continue his journey, but was soon stopped again by the police. This made Mohammed's friends so angry that they challenged the police officers about their behaviour. They now understand that Mohammed's experiences are quite different to theirs, and realise that the stories of everyday violations are true (Focus group 28-11-2013).

Other classic settings that are often referred to in the interviews, and where phenotypical markers and being male play an important role, are pubs and restaurants. Peter describes an incident outside a club in Malmö when he approached a security guard to ask which music was being played in the club, but was brusquely dismissed:

> He pushed me and said "go away". I said: 'Wait a minute, I asked a simple question so you could give me an answer rather than push me'. He produced his baton and said: 'Get out of here, otherwise'. So I said: 'Otherwise what?' He then started to hit me.

> Pang on the arm. Two other guards appeared and hit me all over my body. I started to bleed and then fell down. There were about 100 people there. Not one of them reacted. But two black guys came running over. I got up and they stopped. They left and I had blood all over me and I phoned the police. And I said: 'you must come because I've been assaulted'. They said: 'No, go away from there. The guards are right. If they say that you can't go in then you mustn't go in', I said: 'I don't want to go in, I've been assaulted, can you come?' 'No, we don't have a car, we're not able to. Just leave' (Interview, 22-03-2012).

Esmail described what happened when he tried to enter a club but was stopped by the security guards at the door who denied him access. "Unfortunately they often check for ethnicity", he said. He started a discussion with the guards about his rights, which irritated one of them to the extent that he pushed him and told him to go away. At about the same time a group of police officers arrived at the scene and followed Esmail. He said to the policemen: "Are you having me on"? One of the policemen answered: "What's it to you, shut your mouth". All of a sudden Esmail was pushed into a police van by a female police officer and inside the van another policeman boxed his ears. Esmail started to laugh, which resulted in further punishment. "Another put his knee in my face. They know what to do—it is an abuse of power that they use because they think they have the right to do what they like". Esmail was arrested: "They pulled my arms until they hurt and stripped me of my clothes. Another policeman said: Here you are now you bloody kanake". When Esmail asked why they had taken his clothes another policeman replied: "Shut up wog!" When he was released Esmail reported the event, but it was ignored (Interview, 29-11-2013).

Peter was beaten up by private security guards and Esmail by the police because they had challenged their authority and thereby tested the boundaries. These two incidents can be seen as examples of "public policing", when guards or doorkeepers assert their rights to determine who should cross or enter and the police assert their rights to exert force based on ethnicity/race. The people with an African background that we interviewed and their friends seldom reported hate crime incidents to the police, because they knew that nothing would be done about the problem (under-policing). The understanding was that the police did not prioritise this kind of crime. On the contrary, many are of the opinion that the police single people out as suspects depending on their different phenotypical markers (over-policing); something that is also evident in the above examples (Focus group 14-09-2012 and Focus group 28-11-2013).

The interviews show that there is interplay between different categories, such as race, ethnicity, gender, class and religion, and that an intersectional perspective is important when analysing the vulnerability that many of the informants expressed.

5. Conclusions

In the study, "non-whites", and in particular Afroswedes, are in the foreground. As the interviews show, prejudices about "non-whites" are sometimes combined with religious, class and gender-based fallacies. Different identity positions work intersectionally. According to Craig-Henderson & Sloan (2003), victims of racism are often characterised as belonging to extremely negative stereotyped groups and as part of a visible minority. Even though the Swedish self-image often leads to the denial of racist structures in society, and the fact that race is important, our material shows that these standpoints are incorrect. Race is done by for example using an abundance of words and expressions in more or less denigrating ways, such as when a "white" calls a "non-white" a "nigger"—a term that all the informants regard as insulting and racist—and by too many white Swedes asserting their rights to speak as they have "always done". As our interviews show, prejudices and stereotypes that are often based on colonial notions can lead to verbal harassment where power relations are of great importance. Racist expressions and harassment are not always counted as hate crime in a legal sense; the lines between them can be very thin (Felson & Boba, 2010; Iganski, 2008). Nevertheless, these racist expressions can be extremely offensive and painful for those who have been targeted, and can erode a victim's self-confidence and reduce his or her possibilities of living a good life.

Ideas about race also influence "private" and "public" policing. In other words, race cannot be disregarded in today's Swedish society. However, perceptions of difference, such as visible differences, are part of a relational process, in that differences are negotiated in society and are not static. This is why prevailing situations and relations can be changed (Osanami Törngren, 2011).

The case of Peter Mangs outlined at the beginning of the article shows that the victims were punished for geographically being in the "wrong" territory, which can be interpreted as "geographical hate". This indicates a kind of "private policing" of the "outsiders" who have crossed borders and "threatened" Swedishness. The perpetrators punish those who cross borders/boundaries—people with dark skin and are regarded as culturally and religiously different—in a variety of ways. Many scholars refer to hate crimes as message crimes that send clear warnings to all members of the victim's group to not cross borders/boundaries so that they too end up as victims (Ahn Lin, 2009). The individual fear that a person who has been victimised can feel is followed by a collective fear for the entire group or other minority groups (Ahn Lin, 2009; Iganski, 2008). The spatial influence of hate crime also expresses itself in a way that

perhaps makes people reluctant to go to specific places because they are afraid of being exposed to racist policing or hate crime (Iganski & Lagou, 2009). For example, in connection with the Peter Mangs' shootings, many with dark phenotypical markers were afraid to go out and thereby had their lives curtailed.

The denial of racist structures and the importance of notions about race can also lead to hate crime and other forms of racial harassment not being attended to in an appropriate way by the authorities. Hate crimes committed by private actors—"private policing" —are illegal, although in our empirical material there are numerous examples of how the police, as a government agency, "legally" carry out "public policing" in a way that the informants experience as hate crime or hate crime acts. These grey zones are important to highlight. The different empirical examples of "public policing" in our study deal with black people's experiences of abusive and offensive encounters with the police. The informants have all understood that they are singled out and treated harshly due to their phenotypical markers (race/ethnicity profiling); an action that has led them to doubt the state's ability to deal with them in a just and equitable way. The people that we interviewed seldom reported hate crime incidents to the police because they knew that the police would not do anything about them ("under-policing"). Rather, many of them said that the police singled out people as suspects due to their phenotypical markers ("over-policing"), which suggests that in many cases racist discourses and structural/institutional racism affect police work. One consequence of this is that hate crime legislation will be undermined if those who feel that they have been exposed to hate crime do not dare to or think that it is futile to report people who carry out "public policing". It is therefore very important that the Police priorities creating trust from different minority groups by educating police officers about hate crime, antidiscrimination work, and attitudes connected to minorities, as well as by establishing special hate crime units which specialize in hate crimes. These measures must also be a part of a public antidiscrimination policy.

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Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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Article

How Gender Conscious Pedagogy in Higher Education Can Stimulate Actions for Social Justice in Society

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Abstract
In order to reflect upon methods that can generate social justice and democratization, this article emphasises practical implementations connected to gender conscious pedagogy. Gender conscious pedagogy aims at overcoming the myth of objectivity by questioning, through teaching, what is considered as "common sense" and "normal". This endeavour entails acting and reflecting upon such breakthroughs as developing understanding of how gender codes influence everyday activities as well as working life. The starting point of the article initiates a norm-critic perspective for considering the effects of implementing a feminist perspective for teaching in both theory and practice. Our data was collected from alumni students who were asked to remember and reflect upon their gender studies classes and particularly upon the usefulness of this type of knowledge in connection with everyday and working life whether as a politician, lecturer, IT-manager, doctoral student, The study is grounded in a "critical hermeneutic" method. That is, the data is mirrored in and interpreted in light of the context in which the material was gathered. This article focuses on how teachers enable students to be gender confident and, as a consequence, to be gender actors outside the university in their working life. Some of the central questions asked in the study are: How are gender issues represented and integrated in the different areas of studies? What can teachers do in order to promote equality in the classroom? Are students given opportunities for understanding, internalizing and discussing gender issues and for describing and reflecting upon their experiences from gender studies courses?

Keywords
democracy; education; gender pedagogy; social justice; working life

Issue
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1. Introduction

> One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings' consciousness. Paulo Freire (1993, p. 33)

In recent years the authors of this article have become aware of many examples of how some of our former students have become gender-actors in the sense that they act confidently in their knowledge of how gender is constructed, reproduced and transformed when situations or questions of equality appear and democratic rights are on the agenda. Students have given us examples from their private lives and we have seen evidence of gender activism in their working lives. We have met our former students at conferences, read about them and seen them being interviewed in me-

dia, read their articles and followed their blogs. Sometimes we have even met them in the street and talked about their current lives and the times when they were students in gender classes. We were positively surprised to hear that after finishing their courses or receiving their diplomas some students that were rather reluctant during their formal education days, later, particularly in their professional lives, took decisions and acted from feminist perspectives. These informal contacts made us very curious and inspired us to this study based on reviewing the gender perspective university courses for which we[1] were responsible. The following is a critical reflection on how feminist perspectives,[2] implemented as gender conscious pedagogy, can impact social justice in society by stimulating consciousness about equality, diversity, social rights and democracy, inside and outside the university.

In our opinion, knowledge of feminist theory and gender issues are related to knowledge-production as part of structural and relational aspects inside and outside universities today. According to Kathleen Weiler (1988), critical research framed by feminist theory shows how the concept of emancipation can be understood in the light of feminist epistemology. We connect this framework to our pedagogical project by integrating feminist epistemology using the concept "gender conscious pedagogy" which includes both teaching feminist theory and integrating feminist perspectives in both gender courses and courses in other disciplines in the higher education setting. Teaching gender perspectives aims at overcoming the "myth of objectivity", by questioning all mechanisms that create social injustices related to ideas of gender differences and "intersectionality"[3]. Integrating feminist perspectives in higher education includes putting gender matters on the agenda, promoting reflections about and analysis of societal problems, as well as discussing the meaning and limits of "normality".

The aim of this article is to take examples from a study and reflect on how teaching with gender perspectives (gender conscious pedagogy) in higher education courses can support students to be more confident about gender matters and, as a consequence, become gender actors outside the university in their personal and working lives.

Over the following pages we will describe how gender conscious pedagogy was implemented in the various courses we gave. We argue that, by using a gender conscious pedagogy, teachers can inspire students to make gender-reflections, generate greater equality in the classroom, and stimulate students to become gender-actors in society at large. This article is composed of the following parts: *Theoretic standpoints*, *Collecting material on gender matters* (method and material), *Gender conscious pedagogy in practice* (including analysis of material and discussions) and *Conclusions*. The questions to be examined are: How do we define gender-conscious pedagogy? What within the courses inspired the students to develop raised consciousness and self-criticism from feminist perspectives? How do students describe and reflect on their experiences in the gender courses? How do students exemplify their use of gender-knowledge outside the university?

2. Theoretical Standpoints

The approach used in this article is a norm-critical perspective on higher education (Lundberg & Werner, 2012). Such a perspective entails criticism of traditional structures and discipline-cultures, which often obstruct, by dominance, real possibilities for consciousness-raising in education (MacKinnon, 1991; Weiler, 1988). Gender-structures are seldom questioned in traditional pedagogy and, at least in Sweden, are often invisible and absorbed without reflection by students whose lives have largely been shaped by social homogeneity norms.

In societies, inequalities can be identified in all social relationships as being temporary and fluctuating. Some inequalities last for a long time, over generations, and can be identified locally, nationally and globally. Long-lasting and systematic disparities, "durable inequalities", influence human beings' opportunities in life (Tilly, 2000). Structural distinctions affect us all -in our choice of education and study-subjects- as well as the choices we make in working life. Charles Tilly attributes the problem of "durable inequality" to socialization occurring from institutionalisations of the woman/man categories. This is done both deliberately and instinctively by inclusion, exclusion, adaptation and social control. The man/woman categories are causally related to dominance or subordination, which involves large and important differences in benefits related to gender (Tilly, 2000, pp. 19-26). Significant for understanding of gender relations is how power interrelates by structures and become norms that develop in processes of delegations (Young, 2000). This implies that "power relations" include mechanisms that are intimately integrated in social life. People, therefore, need knowledge in order to resist injustices (independent of whether the injustices are related to gender, ethnicity,

[1] We, the authors of this article, have extensive experience teaching many gender courses at all academic levels, over a period of 20 years, at universities in and outside Sweden. This includes plain gender courses as well as courses on criminology, victimology, care science, entrepreneurship, working life, media and democracy with gender perspectives.

[2] We the authors of this article stand for a feminist perspective against sexism, racism, homophobia and all forms of oppression.

[3] About an understanding of social complexity from a gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, nationality, etc. point of view, and connecting it to reflections on power or power relations, (Crenshaw, 2006)

sexuality, visible or/and invisible disability, etc.). Injustice can be defined as an act that aims at preventing freedom. The prevention of freedom occurs in different ways, for example restricting the individuals' own development and experiences as citizens or limiting the individual's or group's opportunity to participate, deliberate, and make decisions related to social issues. Resisting injustice requires a deeper understanding of gender knowledge and the implementing of feminist perspectives in teaching.

2.1. Gender Knowledge

Gender studies is closely connected to feminism, antiracism and sexual orientation activism and has, in common with these initiatives, a critique of discriminating structures. This (gender studies) approach deals with interpretations of discourses and their significance for human relationships, by analysing the effect of power structures (Connell, 2002). We define gender as a "social construction", within cultural and historical contexts, that is related to the social roles individuals are given or forced into in society. The perspective we apply in this study is not concerned with identity and, thus, as Connell (2002) puts it, has more to do with representation. We state that gender research has a political dimension in that it is related to liberation theory, social justice and democracy because it challenges patriarchal hegemonies and inequalities in society.[4] Such a perspective on knowledge is a form of "activism" in the sense that it confronts questions related to the foundations of teaching as well as which individuals or groups in education have interpretive precedence. This is the perspective on knowledge that we apply in this article.

Central for understanding this focus is bell hooks' work, *Teaching to Transgress* (1994). According to hooks "education has a potential to be a practice of freedom":

> When education is the practice of freedom, students are not the only ones who are asked to share, to confess. Engaged pedagogy does not seek simply to empower students. Any classroom that employs a holistic model of learning will also be a place where teachers grow, and are empowered by the process. (hooks, 1994, p. 21)

Activist knowledge necessitates a feminist perspective and promotes critical reflections on power as a central point of view. Reflection can be applied in the many situations that individuals (in this article, students) have to reflect upon using the terms of resistance against domination. A work of importance for our theoretical perspective is *Feminism without borders* (Mohanty, 2003), in which the author critically reflects on the role of a feministic hegemony and proposes a "pedagogy of resistance":

> Creating resistance-cultures is about viewing the academy as part of a larger socio-political arena where people from the third world are neutralised and dealt with in the name of liberal democracy. (Mohanty, 2003, p. 241).

When resistance-cultures are created they open up new possibilities and new social views that are of central importance in order to develop criticism against the forms of repression and abuse we see in abundance in society today. Mohanty (2003) states that questions of knowledge, power and experience must be raised and reflected on, as contributions for pedagogic improvements.

Teaching by implementing feminist perspectives in higher education, therefore, entails a vision aimed at integrating education as part of a knowledge project with focus on equality and democracy. The intention is not only to focus on the concept of gender in its cultural context, but also to strive to recognise gender's various integrated social practices in teaching situations and in working life[5].

2.2. Implementing Feminist Perspectives in Teaching

Subjects such as Gender Studies and Feminist Theory influence teaching; the didactic as well as the content of the education from a consciousness-raising standpoint. It would be contradictory to talk about democracy and injustice and simultaneously maintain a traditional, hierarchical teacher/student relationship in the lecture room. Such an arrangement would be hypocritical and unconvincing.

In consciousness-raising pedagogical processes, narratives, autobiographical presentations and memory-works must be analysed and reflected upon contextually. Such processes develop new experiences and create deeper awareness and understanding of the problems in question. From a feminist point of view there is always a direct connection between the structural context and people's actions. Teaching and implementing feminist perspective, by using gender conscious pedagogy, stimulates students to confront their acceptance of "false consciousness". This can be done by reflections on prejudgments, as well as, revaluate conceptions of each other.

[4] For reference see hooks (2000); Eduards (2004); Enns (2005).

[5] Concerning teaching situations see Lundberg & Werner (2012) *Genusvetenskapens pedagogic och didaktik* (Pedagogic and didactic in gender science); concerning gender in working-life se for example Gonäs, Lindgren and Bildt (2001) *Könssegregering i arbetslivet* (Gender segregation in Working-life).

Teachers must not forget that the students they meet in the classroom are also citizens with experiences of life and civil rights. In the classic work *Pedagogy of the oppressed* Paulo Freire (1993) states that when teachers and students proceed from their own experiences in dialogues, they contribute to an increased understanding, not only through their relationship to one another, but also to society in general. In other words, contexts are very seldom simplified but often deeply analysed and problematized.

> The important thing, from the point of view of libertarian education, is for the people to come to feel like masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades. Because this view of education starts with the conviction that it cannot present its own program, but must search for this program dialogically with the people, it serves to introduce the pedagogy of the oppressed, in elaborating what the oppressed must participate in (Freire, 1993, p. 105).

Generally, teaching in higher education (particularly in social sciences) has a critical reflective educational perspective. Therefore, it is an everyday challenge for teachers to develop pedagogic methods that interrelate "experiences" and "knowledge-seeking", that are not predetermined, states Sandra Harding (1991, p. 271). In relation to this idea, we argue that knowledge production involves various and different dimensions for many teachers. Essential to critical reflection is an epistemological perspective coupled with political awareness and knowledge of current praxis. These dimensions are closely related to "objective" ontological classifications such as structural oppression, discrimination, etc. But there is also a personal, more subjective, dimension required of one who makes choices of how to teach (for example, the feminist perspective). In other words, gender conscious pedagogy requires effort in order to inspire critical thinking and it entails a contribution to social justice, equality and democracy.

Our experience is that not all (students) are familiar with equality rights, conditions, and their implications and how this understanding relates to social distinctions. The concept gender conscious pedagogy involves, therefore, what we can call a "solidarity act", for example, helping students from minority groups to understand unjust situations in which they might be involved. By inspiring these students to explore and build understanding of their own situation and to analyse situations in terms of equal rights independent of social background, consciousness raising develops. Concretely, such experiences can be interpreted as "respectability" (Skeggs, 1999), but it often expands to a more open gender awareness. Feminist perspective implemented as gender conscious pedagogy in practice means acting and reflecting on breakthroughs, such as an understanding of how gender codes influence knowledge and education in general (not only humanities and social studies but also technology, entrepreneurship and care science, etc.) in everyday and working life.

2.3. *Gender Conscious Pedagogy*

What happens in a teaching situation is always unique because it is dependent on the communication between teacher and students. The situation specifically includes time/space situations. The purpose of using gender conscious pedagogy in the classroom is to inspire democratic dialogues and empower the students through this process. In general, classroom dialogues are based on the authoritarian role the teachers represent, but active gender pedagogy helps to break the silence in the lecture room and counteract the tradition of listening only to authorities. Thus, *knowledge is created in the classroom by a two-way communication between teachers and students*—the pedagogic tool is based upon the teaching and learning situation. Conversing through "emancipatory dialogues" aims at fulfilling, scientifically, deeper meanings of individual experiences as well as increased understanding of mutual experiences that develop in the teaching context. These are important elements for critically understanding what knowledge creation involves -at least in social science—in the sense that knowledge is intimately related to the experienced reality.

Implementing gender conscious pedagogy in the classroom can be described as a process related to socio-cultural-emotional context and, in practice, related to personal/relational contact. We cannot ignore the fact that what teachers communicate (at least within areas of social science) does affect the students as human beings. Critical dialogue involves difficult reflections in general because the interlocutors are students from different social classes, ethnicities, genders, sexual orientations, etc. Teaching embodies sensitive dimensions depending on how the subject matter is presented, especially when certain problem-formulations such as sexism and/or racism are treated. Some authors have concluded that, teaching based on a vision of consciousness-raising, (Cuesta, 2010) transforms "the classroom as democratic setting where everyone feels a responsibility to contribute is a central goal of transformative pedagogy" (hooks, 1994, p. 39).

3. Collecting Material on Gender Matters

This study includes a conceptualization of inequality regimes, connected to the production of gender knowledge. The starting point is a norm-critic perspective with reflections about the effects of implementing feminist perspectives in teaching which attempts a combination of theory and praxis. We highlight the im-

portance of matters about *gender awareness* and *gender conscious acting* intended to benefit societies in terms of social justice,[6] by situating people's experience and extending it to relational intersections.[7]

We have used a "critical hermeneutic" method in the sense that empirical material is mirrored and interpreted in light of the context in which the material is selected. "Hermeneutics is an approach to the analysis of texts that stresses how prior understandings and prejudices shape the interpretive process" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 27). Kincheloe and McLaren (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) recommend the use of *critical hermeneutics* as a method that combines a critical view and a pragmatic approach to texts and their connections to the informants lived experiences. Hence, according to criticism, the contemporary societies (such as the Swedish) would not be understood as static and democratically unproblematic, but places where gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality and disability play an important role and influence the individuals´ situation in terms of power relations.

When we interpret the students' answers and narratives about how they use knowledge from their education in their private and professional lives we have professional knowledge of education, society (as we are sociologists) and, in some cases, we have been able to follow some of the students and their professional careers (e.g. politics) using social media. We have also been able to follow a process of consciousness-raising with some of the participants.

The context in a classroom, using gender conscious pedagogy, includes a method for consciousness-raising aimed at making the classroom a democratic forum where responsibility, contribution to knowledge-development and transformations in society become possible.[8] We stimulated the students in our classrooms to reflections and discussions regarding ways in which power internalisation can be critically analysed; how emancipation can be achieved; and how individuals in society perform gender consciousness at large or by students in the classroom. Therefore, we define ourselves as a part of the study group in the classroom because, on one hand we represent a pedagogical view, while, on the other hand, we are open to be influenced by students. This influence may come from student statements that are particularly well focused, or, perhaps, situations related to equality and the experiences that students share. This method can be understood as a type of "knowledge- implied research" discovering, in particular, "the social as it extends beyond experience", and implementing various techniques of data collection.

The material in focus in our study is based on both formal and informal communications. We gathered and analysed course evaluations, teachers' diaries with day to day notes and reflections, questionnaires to alumni students, face to face dialogues with students, parts of blogs and articles by some former students and articles about them and their work for gender equality in the media. Particularly useful to the study were the data from questionnaires collected from alumni students who were asked to remember and reflect upon their gender studies and about how useful the knowledge was/is in connection to their everyday and working lives. Our own voices, roles and work as teachers in these courses are also part of this study.

We had access to all the names of our former students but, unfortunately, in many cases their student email addresses were out of date so we had difficulty reaching all. Eventually, after searching for about 200 former students, we came in contact with 45 and received answers from 30. The majority of the students who responded were female.[9] Only three male students answered our questionnaire and contributed to the most significant part of the data. The collected material will not be treated as statistics but as short narratives (i.e. qualitative empirical data).

The teaching situations (usually lectures and seminars) evaluated were from Gender Studies and other courses with gender perspective such as entrepreneurship, care science, etc.) The content of the lectures ranged from classic and contemporary feminist theories and gender science to different topics and questions the students raised, often based on personal experiences and preferences. The seminars focused on discussions, interpretations and analysis. The lectures were based on theoretical viewpoints and concepts but also developed dialogues over theoretic references and the empirical cases. Two-way communication was an essential part of the knowledge development in the courses. In the next section, the students' voices and experiences with gender studies are presented.

4. Gender Conscious Pedagogy in Praxis

The common aim of the evaluated gender courses was knowledge development with regard to feminist theories related to gender consciousness (which in many sit-

[6] See also Bartky (1990) and Acker (2006).

[7] See also Smith (2005).

[8] See hooks (1994) and Mohanty (2003), for further reflections connected to teaching in contexts of "colonisation/decolonisation".

[9] In Sweden 60,000 students gained 180 HE credits, 65% female and 35% male, in the academic year of 2010/2011. About 20% students had other background of origin than Swedish, the same amount as in the entire population (SCB, 2012; HSV, Report 2008:20R). Despite this, several fields and programs are heavily gender-dominated for example Technology (65% men), Care Science (82% women) and Teaching (78 % women). There are no official figures for Gender Studies but we have experienced that about 90% of the students in GS are female.

uations lead to reflections about power structures and resistance against dominance). Below we present how former students remember, talk about, and act according to gender consciousness in their private and working lives.

The lecturers worked hard to involve students in settings designed for analysing their stories and narratives of real situations and life experiences related to the courses specific subjects. Text and film analysis, media analysis and topics such as equality, care science, and women's entrepreneurship were connected to the courses' focus on gender equality, human rights and democracy. We worked consciously to avoid simplifying problems of homogenous distinctions by talking about diversity and intersectionality including such issues as social class, immigration and sexuality.[10]

4.1. Implementing Gender Conscious Pedagogy from Teachers' Notes

Below we present a lecture series concerning conscious-raising:

The lecture series described below was included as one part of a gender-course at the first level. A majority of the student group did not have much knowledge about gender issues in advance. They choose Gender Studies, in general, out of personal interests but also because gender knowledge is a good qualification for working life in Sweden as complementary to other subjects. The lecture series was based on the book *Feminism an Introduction* by Jane Freedman (2003). Teaching in the course was based on diving into the field by implementing feminist theory to help define and understand gender issues and emerging problems related to power, domination and resistance. This is one dimension of using gender conscious pedagogy in the classroom. Another aspect of the course involved establishing conversations about common situations connected to daily life and to support critical reflections on them based upon theories drawn from Freedman's book. We tried to support the students' consciousness development by encouraging them to move from subjective feelings to more objective and intellectual understandings. The lecture series integrated three parts and was a developing process during the ten year period that we gave the plain gender courses. The following schedule shows a form of all-embracing structure. This comprehensive model was then tailor-made and supplemented for the more specific courses such as entrepreneurship, care science, criminology and other subjects into which gender perspectives were integrated.

"Feminism I", from empiric to theory: a) Students and teacher discuss some common situations in which gender structures can be identified. b) The teacher helps to relate emerging questions and themes to central concepts in the literature, aiming to help the students to be more open-minded and confident about the impact of gender and how it influences daily life. The discussions often started by the students sharing personal experiences and their common-sense understanding the teachers coached the students and inspired them to go deeper, to theorize and enter the gender theoretical field. The teachers' role was to be a coach and to be open-minded and support flexible interpretations when it came to analysis of common situations well known to the students. In this way, the first step was taken to develop critical reflections about gender and power relationships based on feminist theories. The next step was to generalize about problems and use consciousness as a tool to stimulate students to reflect on good or bad societal changes. For such development to occur, a deeper knowledge of the history of the field of feminism is necessary as well as knowledge about convictions, gender structures and empowerment. c) The teacher can, for example, create a map on a white board to display central concepts and their relations to central theories. The map becomes a starting point for papers (empirical to theoretical) that students present later, and discuss in a seminar.

"Feminism II", deepening in theory: a) The teacher returns to the concept map from earlier lectures and reinforces the impact of central gender theories and concepts connected to the literature. The students are encouraged to be actors and to help develop the map and raise questions at any time. b) The object of this process is active student participation in order to develop a deeper understanding of the contributions of gender studies and social changes. It is intended that the students become conscious of societal influences on individuals. c) The work in seminars becomes the basis for more extensive theoretical papers, which are presented and discussed later, in another seminar.

"Feminism III", individual deepening: a) The teacher shows illustrations of different issues and matters from media, (daily newspapers, magazines, Internet, social media etc.) in order to visualise the impact of gender as a norm to be conscious of and critical about. b) The students reflect on and discuss the given examples and suggest theoretical angles to analyse them in small groups (for example about masculinity). c) A list of topics is created in order to help in the examination connected to this part of the course with focus on "from empirical to theoretical".

[10] An important detail to highlight is that one of us the teacher as a not Swedish origin.

4.2. Remembering Classroom Situations…from Students' Narratives

Below, some students describe different experiences concerning consciousness-raising in the classroom:

- The studies of hegemonic masculinity were very interesting and gave me many insights. It gave me an aha-reaction on how complicated the gender-system is and further problems. We had good discussions and analysis together with the teachers and the whole course equipped me with good basic knowledge on gender and with tools for my work as a professional politician (Ingrid, political science, politician in local government)
- Reading the book "Forbidden action" and taking part in the seminar gave a specific understanding of how provoking it obviously can be for some people that women (individually or as a collective) can manage on their own, without men. It was surprising, not necessarily because I did not know it before, but it was suddenly so clear to me after this item. (Martin doctoral student in Education)
- I remember when we analysed a television drama series and received some questions about colonization. One question was about status and power. I think about that now and then—how we value an immigrant differently based on which country he or she comes from. (Erica, master in Ethnology, research secretary)
- The discussions we had in class and in minor groups opened many doors to new ways of looking at gender equality, on the shape of the society and on how we can change it for the best. (Anna, student in social psychology and handcrafter)
- The studies gave me a wider understanding of the relation between the individual and the society and groups that are defined as outsiders in the norm-society (Carina, BA sociology, probation officer)
- Multi-culture was an important part of the course. (Fanny BA sociology, youth pedagogue)
- I started with an open mind and my eyes opened up, I learned new things all the time and came to look upon my environment with a new perspective. (Daniela student and local politician)

4.3. Interpreting Gender Conscious Pedagogy in Classrooms

Gender conscious pedagogy often results in eye-opening moments as we see in the above quoted, notes and narratives. Gender consciousness also stimulates emancipation and self-criticism, which, in the courses in focus, necessitated that we as teachers consciously acted to involve the more silent, sceptic or unsure students to take up a standpoint and dare to raise their voices. The purpose for stimulating and encouraging the quiet students to do this was to make sure that their understanding of theories and concepts like power-techniques, norms, roles, discrimination, injustice and democracy did not stay at an academic level but could be illustrated with and related to the students' personal experiences on descriptive as well as analytic levels. At the lectures, we, as teachers, often worked deductively because of the "atmosphere" in the classroom. In seminars we worked inductively because of the many experiences the students wanted to relate and try to understand. As most teachers are aware, students raise their voices in small groups better than in front of the whole class. The seminar leaders consciously enabled students to actively participate and tried to lead the discussions away from the mere relating of individual examples/problems toward expressions of deeper intellectual and theoretical understanding.

The students' narratives regarding courses they had taken 3–7 years ago reinforce the starting point of the pedagogy in focus. We are also encouraged that the students questioned tell us that they internalized and used the gender knowledge from the course in their everyday lives and working lives. We were pleased to see that many of these students, even if they could not point out a specific moment, wrote that the entire course gave them a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of gender structures and power strategies. We are aware that students with negative experiences in the courses might not have bothered to answer our questionnaire.[11] Some students pointed out that the discussions in seminar groups had been particularly valuable to them because they could go deeper and analyse what we call "false consciousness" about gender roles in society.

The narratives we gathered show that the respondents' experiences of raised consciousness, enabled them to use various gender-related concepts and norm-critical perspectives to interpret their social environment. One respondent, Ingrid, uses a lot of concepts related to gender theory from the lectures and also refers to theories like gender-system and hegemonic masculinity when she refers to discussions in and analyses of the course she took. Furthermore, she describes an aha-reaction to the gender-complexity of problems. Another respondent, Martin, also refers to a specific moment he had while reading literature that can be described as "consciousness raising", one of the aims of the course. Erica's reflections on how ethnicity

[11] In general terms we received very positive answers from the respondents, but what kind of information we missed from the ones that did not respond, is impossible to know. Nevertheless we find that the collected material is significant for our purpose—even a small sample can be rich in information—because it is representative in order to "raise their voices".

can play a role in everyday life while "valuing" people, started with an analysis of a television drama that was analysed as part of a seminar.

In general, the narratives express how a consciousness-raising process influenced the students' awareness of key perspectives of gender equality as well as how such awareness can help understanding and, possibility, change society. Fanny describes her experience as creating a wider understanding of alienating structures and norms in society. Other side the concept of multi-culture was interpreted and connected in a Swedish context. This is an example of how the gender conscious pedagogy can be related to a norm critic view on society.

4.4. Being Gender-Actors in Working Life...from the Students' Narratives

Below, some students describe their personal development and awareness concerning gender and equal rights as well as diversity and democracy issues:

- My self-confidence is much better since taking the course *Women's entrepreneurship.* Now I dare to say no to things I do not want to do and I have the courage to raise demands, for example, when talking to the bank. (Karin, small business manager, horse breeding)
- I am not "the nice little girl" anymore—I now know that it's much better to make my voice heard. People actually listen to me now. (Lisa, small business in health care)
- I work at a University where topics of gender, diversity and democracy are constantly on the agenda although I do not work with them explicitly. I developed a more analytical way of looking at things and have been able to decode certain behaviours at work, for example, when someone uses power techniques against me or someone else. (Erica, research secretary)
- I have developed knowledge and gender awareness that I try to use when interacting with children and, not least, with their parents in the gymnastic group I lead. (Anna, student in social psychology and handcrafter)
- I wish for and seek another perspective on social work in which I can use my knowledge from my education. Today, I appreciate the knowledge about power relationships, gender equality, etc. in my work with people and in relationships with my colleges. (Carina, BA sociology, probation officer)

4.5. Being Gender-Actors outside the University…from Students' Narratives

Below some students describe their experiences concerning gender acting.

- I use a lot of the knowledge in my life. For example, I have demanded that the Political Region uses gender-divided statistics to make the health and medical services more equal. I have also highlighted the question of violence in intimate relationships on the agenda. (Daniela, MA student and local politician)
- I am sure it (the course) has influenced how I look at my social environment. One example of when I use my gender knowledge is at salary negotiations, when it comes to my own salary as well as when it comes to me negotiating with my colleagues about their salary. (Greta, MA IT management, IT consultant)
- I have had a lot of use of my studies. As one of the leaders of the City Council I have a lot of power and meet power structures every day. I have been very much helped by understanding and knowing about power techniques, power structures and gender systems strata and its manifestations. Equality, democracy and diversity are often problematized and it is good to have theories to lean on, not only personal experiences. (Ingrid, politician, local government)
- I definitely received knowledge about gender, ethnicity and equality that set the tone for my dissertation and the topics that I teach today. I also have great use for the knowledge in private as well as in working life in order to discover, understand and tackle power structures of different kinds. (Berit, PhD, sociology)
- The course stimulated a "critical gaze" that has an essential importance for my picture of the world and perspective on society, groups and social relationships. Gender-consciousness is a natural part of my doctoral studies. As a dramatist within amateur-theatre I try to make "gender experiments" dealing with the fact that most of the members are female but most of the existing plays are dominated by male roles. You could continue to let girls play girls but let the female characters fill functions in the plot that are usually ascribed to male characters. Another way of dealing with this paradox is to make some of the characters more androgynous. (Martin, doctoral student)

4.6. Interpreting Gender-Actors in Society

To understand norms and power and their implications in terms of equality, justice and democracy is the aim of gender conscious pedagogy. The consciousness-raising process entails responsibility for both the teachers and the students interacting in classrooms. The classrooms can also be understood as working places and, relationally, as small societies. Classrooms present obvious opportunities, according to Freire (1993), hooks (1994) and Mohanty (2003) to reflect

about the meanings of power and situations when breaking norms contributes to more equality, justice and democracy.

The narratives from the students express that gender consciousness not only influences their private lives but also their professional lives. Karin and Lisa (both from a course on gender and entrepreneurship) talk about better self-confidence and daring to raise their voices now. They feel that they are actually listened to now. They show that they have gained respectability as women and entrepreneurs -a product of awareness and emancipation, we believe-. Erica (from an ordinary gender course) uses her knowledge of power techniques in her working life as a research secretary in a big city medical institution. Anna (from an ordinary gender course) shows that she can use gender knowledge when interacting with children and their parents as leader of a gymnastic group in a small village -questions of awareness and implementation of rights and equality-, we believe. Carina (from an ordinary gender course) has used gender knowledge when interacting with colleagues and former inmates at a probation office. Her job deals with power relations and equality and she hopes for "another" perspective on social work -acquiring a gender perspective-, we believe. Daniela, (a politician today) was a skeptical student from the beginning. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to see that she is such an engage person when it comes to her political actions. The example she illuminates (gender divided statistics) relates to a seminar connected to an ordinary gender course. Gender knowledge enabled her, to reach a power position in society -a question of breaking norms and moving up in power situations-, we believe. Greta exemplifies how gender knowledge can be used at salary negotiations in a rather early part of working life in the IT sector. She is aware of income differences between male and female professionals but she neglects to let that decide how she acts in such situations -a question of justice and equality-, we believe. Ingrid (politician) says that she meets power strategies every day and is aware that these strategies influences her even though she has a lot of power herself -a question of emancipation connected to democracy-, we believe. When major questions of equality and democracy are on the agenda it feels good to be able to use the theories from her education, she says. Berit took gender studies to a higher academic level as an integral part of her dissertation. She also uses gender knowledge in her own teaching at the university—acquiring a gender perspective—, we believe. Martin (doctoral student and dramatist) has developed a critical gaze, particular in his analysis of the world. He expresses that sometimes when he experiments with the actors' gender roles on stage where most of the actors of the group are female and most of the written roles are for males. He addresses this problem and sometimes makes the roles more androgynous —a question of breaking norms and equality—, we believe. When he does this, he plays with or extends the traditional limited gender roles that were problematized during the course he took.

4.7. Discussion

Reflecting on democracy and power issues and inspiring students to critical thinking demand pedagogical tasks involving the impact of gender knowledge on students' roles as actors in relation to structure, particularly in connection to working life. Being a gender conscious actor should not be understood as a consequence of a process but, rather, as a developing process in itself that includes teaching and learning, critical viewpoints, case methodology, self-reflection, raising one's voice and conscious action, particularly in connection to situations involving dominance and subordination. This implies that teachers and students integrate critical viewpoints into every social situation including personal development. In other words, the social construction of a given (gender) role often entails a positioning in terms of "changing values," and a contrast to existing norms.[12] Gender conscious teaching entails a social responsibility in terms, which highlight gender equality in practice. It is our interpretation that gender conscious pedagogy can stimulate students to a deeper understanding of the imperatives they have as citizens in a democratic society. Specifically, when lectures focus on gender issues, they undoubtedly open up opportunities for everybody involved to be more self-confident in their gender roles in society.

We believe that the pedagogical tools used in the courses that were the focus of this study stimulated the students to self-reflections and social interactions in line with the aims of critical gender studies. Gender conscious pedagogical perspectives, as well as pedagogical practices were tools used to help the students to reflect about their lives: a) with critical reflections on power relations—structural perspective; b) on how emancipation can be constructed—process perspective; c) on how gender is performed by individuals/students in society/classrooms—individual perspective. We believe that the possibility of becoming a gender-conscious actor must include awareness of all three perspectives and how they are interrelated, i.e. the context/the tools/the individual (Cuesta, 2010).

We also want to highlight the fact that the pedagogical tool we used in the courses is based on a *two-way communication between teachers and students* and that teaching in both large and small groups help students to be self-confident. The content and the teaching methods utilized opened up opportunities and allowed students to reflect on and comprehend the different social contexts from which they came and

[12] See also Scott (1999).

how social boundaries impact everyone. The inclusionary perspective (i.e. interacting and exchanging experiences) is based on included agreements as well as confrontations, in the sense that communication between students and between students and teachers can sometimes be defined as critical experiences when the communication concerns, for example, sexism or racism. One important point to highlight here is that meetings between students and teachers for exchanging experiences and knowledge become part of everyday life; hence the theoretical is implemented in daily life. In these meetings, strong feelings and emotions are involved and, in the long run, as we see in the quotes from the students, new experiences inspired them to gender conscious actions even outside the university. Both female and male students were supported when reflecting on their roles as parts of structural oppression, not only as part of a subordinated or a superior category, but also as passive or/and active participants. This is an important issue because not everyone was aware of gender issues when they started the courses. Sometimes students, as people, accept their given role based on gender, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, etc. in a fundamental way as a result of difficulties in adopting other roles. Such realizations are of central importance in the pedagogical process where the teacher must become an involved actor in discussions. In such cases, the students are often keen to discuss topics and personal examples resulting in more in-depth communication and increased understanding.

5. Conclusion

The pedagogy we focus on in this article, was inspired by emancipatory statements connected to knowledge production, according to Freire (1993), hooks (1994) and Mohanty (2003). This pedagogy requires an understanding of power relations in complex situations where gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, nationality, etc. interact in terms of a politic of identity. The students in the study were all Swedish students but some were connected to other countries of origin, which influenced discussions in class and individual consciousness about citizens' rights in the complexity of a democratic society.

The courses evaluated and analysed were based on gender lectures and seminars in which issues of gender and equality as well as social justice and democracy were in focus. Content spread from central theories to examples from everyday life that integrate personal experiences and preferences. Lectures were based on theoretical standpoints and concepts but also developed dialogues about theoretic references and empirical cases. Seminars attended to more specific empirical cases. Gender conscious pedagogy, according to the conceptual framework of this study, deals with a *consciousness-raising process* by breaking traditional "gender knowledge", by inspiring new "gender strategies" and by questioning the acceptance of hegemonic values.[13] Using "gender conscious pedagogy" in everyday teaching situations results in varying interactions and actions in which both teachers and students exchange shared experiences. Opening classrooms, on one hand, to processes dealing with democracy and social justice and, on the other hand, implementing gender consciousness by social interactions.

We want to emphasize that we cannot fully know to what extent we have influenced the students to become what we call gender actors. Our conclusions are inferences based on their narratives, their blogs and articles, and our own experiences as teachers. Students, like other categories of humans, are not a homogeneous group and we are quite aware that, when they come to a course, they are at different states of gender consciousness. The narratives we analyzed strongly suggested to us that the courses in question had stimulated influenced and involved various students in gender issues to one degree or another.

Finally, the focus of this article has been to illuminate that teaching from a feminist perspective opens up opportunities for all citizen-students, especially those from repressed groups, to be aware of and to be able to act against injustices in working life as well as in personal life. This kind of knowledge should not be understood as or limited to criticism about sexism and racism. It is a question of democracy.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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[13] See also Mohanty (2003).

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Appendix

Questions via e-mail to alumni students about their experiences of courses at Halmstad University that were based on gender and diversity-perspective.

Write your answers under the questions.

1. What course did you study?
2. What is your highest degree?
3. Describe your profession, your tasks, any political or non-profit assignments or anything else that you think may be of relevance for this study:
4. The courses included studies on gender, diversity, equality and democracy. Did you develop knowledge about this that you can use today in our professional life? Do you have any examples of this that you can describe shortly?
5. Do you remember any specific occasion or moment during your studies on the above-mentioned course that has been of a specific importance to you concerning your perspective on people and equality among people everywhere?
6. Would you like to tell us anything else that you think might be useful for our study?

Thank you for taking part in this study!

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Article

Social Inclusion and Integrative Practices

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Abstract
With the passage of time valuable lessons have been learnt about both effective practices for program and system integration and the sizable barriers, including the challenges in sustaining constructive integration. This paper is a reflection on sustainable integrative practices and is grounded in the direct experience of one of the authors, who held the post of the South Australian Social Inclusion Commissioner. We reflect upon the structure and mechanism of the South Australian Social Inclusion Initiative (2002–2011) as well as using a case study of a successful integrative program of the Social Inclusion Initiative, a program in South Australia's School Retention Action Plan 2004 *Making the Connections* (South Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2004) that was implemented to improve school retention. The case study draws out salient factors of clear rationale, coordination, collaboration, communication, team work and trust as skills and ingredients to bring about integration in policy and programs. While the integration literature affirms that these ingredients are primary skills for the development of an integrative framework, we also assert that they are not enough for successful and sustained integration. Absent from much of the literature is a discussion about the use of power and the manner in which horizontal integrative work occurs. We take up this theme to draw out some implications for analysis of sustainable integrative practices.

Keywords
education; integration; integrative practices; school retention; social inclusion

Issue
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1. Introduction

For at least three to four decades, institutions in many countries have implemented variants of policies to integrate systems and programs, using a range of models and nomenclature including 'social inclusion', 'joined up government' and 'post national integration' in reference to the European Union (Lynn, 1998; De Lombaerde & Iapadre, 2008; Eriksen & Fossum, 1999; Mulgan, 2005). The quest to join parts together -and this will look different depending on the context and players-is a reaction to institutional factors and external forces (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007). In broad terms there has been a convergence in perspectives that 'integration' will re-enable institutions to meet their agendas in times of quickening social change, and in the face of competing demands on resource use (Fine, Pancharatnam, & Thomson, 2000; Ragan, 2003; Martin & Austen, 1999). Our now complex systems and the case for integration, emerge from the historical course of legal/rational institutions and impacts of contemporary processes of global and technological change (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007; Corbett & Noyes, 2008).

Early in 2013 the United Kingdom Coalition Government's Secretary of State, Eric Pickles, gave a speech entitled "Uniting our Communities: Integration in 2013" (Pickles, 2013). Throughout his speech Pickles assigns to 'integration' a sizeable load; as the means to work

for tolerance, social cohesion and wellbeing. The message is that through locality level 'integration', or joining of the activities and plans of diverse organisations and communities, complex social issues are more able to be addressed. Of course, as the Blair Government's Social Exclusion and whole of government agenda shows, integration policies are not exclusively the province of the conservative side of politics, and the uptake has not been restricted to matters of migration and population change, or the constitution of social services (Mulgan, 2005, 2009). Integration discourses and practices are now firmly embedded in the fields of social welfare, psychotherapy, psychology, interdisciplinary education, regional planning, economics, organisational theory, management, business, public policy and peace keeping (Black, 2013; Corbett & Noyes, 2008; Martin & Austen, 1999; Rousseau, 2011; Wilber, 2000).

In the human services, integration has been pursued for multiple reasons; as a way to expand holistic and reflexive thinking about the contributors to social issues; tighten connections in complex multi-sector delivery systems; and strengthen collaborative capacity to generate approaches that transcend what currently exists (Corbett & Noyes, 2008; Fine, Pancharatnam, & Thomson, 2000; Jennings & Krane, 1994; Ragan, 2003). Integration as an outcome and integrative practices as a process, have mixed assessment. There is a view integrative practices have delivered valuable outcomes, in part, because they have challenged the status quo, both in thinking and in practice. For example Ragan (2003, p. 8) observes "the larger purpose is to improve outcomes for individuals and families through a more holistic approach to service delivery". More coherent, improved delivery systems are seen to be the result (Corbett & Noyes, 2008; Patterson, 2011a).

There is a robust and compelling critique that the use of the concept 'integration' can be hollow and little more than fashionable window dressing. This argument has a number of aspects. One is that integration can be pitched as progressive, but in practice, can be a policy tool limited in tackling substantive matters of inequity and social injustice. Just whose interests and values dominate in integrative processes is an important question (Davies, 2009; Fine, Pancharatnam, & Thomson, 2000). This critique of integration is evocative of Raymond Plant's (2009) analysis of the presentation of a consensual and unitary 'community' in public policy, where the ideological dimensions of a contested concept are under acknowledged (Bryson & Mowbray, 1981). Furthermore, integration is a response to the conditions created by the neo-liberal state itself through policies of outsourcing and privatisation (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007, p. 1059). For instance an increasing Australian not for profit sector (Australian Productivity Commission, 2010), together with the for-profit sector perform functions once undertaken by governments (Bryson & Verity, 2009). The ensuing challenges for 'system' coherence and inter-agency work are well documented (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007). Is sustainable integration a visionary way forward, a band aid, or simply unattainable?

Moreover integration consumes time, goodwill and economic resources and the phenomena of 'integration fatigue' and 'integration confusion' has been noted by many writers including Hartman and Squires (2009) on racial integration initiatives, and Boutellis (2013) in analyzing the United Nations, and this message is a recurring media commentary on the situation in the European Union. In short integration can have high transaction costs (Fine, Pancharatnam, & Thomson, 2000). There can be loss of identity for programmes in integrated structures which can be experienced as dispiriting, especially if the integration case is unconvincing and there has been little active participation in the change (Boutellis, 2013). Patterson (2011b, p. 83) for example, writes of the 'suspicion and trepidation' that can greet short term social inclusion pilot programmes when faced with expectations for substantial change, but no assurance about program stability.

Boutellis' (2013) analysis of the United Nations is especially instructive. His report entitled 'Driving the System Apart?' discusses the unintended consequences of twenty years of UN integration effort. He notes that in spite of the UN's institutional commitment and policy and programme framework for integration:

> …the UN integration agenda faces a number of obstacles that threaten to erase some of the hard-won gains. There are signs of integration fatigue from various corners of the organization, due in part to higher-than-expected transaction costs, the lack of incentives and rewards for integration, the difficulty of demonstrating and communicating the outcomes and impacts of integrated planning processes, and continuing structural impediments to fully realizing the "integration promise." (Boutellis, 2013, p. 1)

Is it possible to identify the essential aspects of sustainable integrative practices? A reading of the literature on integrative practices points to the need for clear definitions and case for integration, and moreover one that can be communicated. In addition, it would seem salient factors are a concerted effort over time to nurture institutional practices where holistic and integrative thinking becomes a cultural habit, and where there is engagement in dialogue and relational exchanges, both within and external to the organization (Corbett & Noyes, 2008; Fine, Pancharatnam, & Thomson, 2000; Ragan, 2003). Ragan (2003, p. 17) in his study of human service integration in North America, identified relevant variables or integration 'success factors' that he groups by the headings of employee and leadership qualities, organisational cultural varia-

bles, and a strengths-based, community orientated practice. He reflects on the need for rigorous evidence about the impacts of integration over time and for a period of time to 'bed down' change (Ragan, 2003). Managing the delicate balance of implementing administrative change with relationship engagement are key areas discussed by Corbett and Noyes (2008).

Against this background what we aim to do in this paper is explore the question of mechanisms for sustainable integrative practices. We do this through a focus on the Social Inclusion Initiative (2002–2011) in the sub national state of South Australia that used an integrative paradigm in its operation and in its development of programs. As a case study we will look specifically at the implementation of a program called Innovative Community Action Networks (ICANs) that was developed through the use of integrative practices. One of this paper's authors formerly held the role of the South Australian State Commissioner for Social Inclusion and chaired the Social Inclusion Board. He brings an insider perspective to this analysis. The South Australian Social Inclusion Initiative (2002–2011) is an example of integrative work. It is but one model, but a model deemed by writers such as Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson and Baum (2007) and Patterson (2011b) to be a successful one providing invaluable lessons about integration processes. It also was an initiative that had its critics, for example, that it did not go far enough in pursuing a social justice agenda (Horsell, 2010). It was brought to an end in 2011 by a political agenda with the change of the head of government.

The material used in this paper is drawn from academic literature and evaluation reports about the ICANs and the SA Social Inclusion Initiative, together with the recollections and assessment of the former South Australian State Commissioner for Social Inclusion. Although mindful of the criticisms of integrative work, we write based on the premise that it can produce benefits. Thinking in this way brings to the foreground the interdependency of variables that contribute to social good and constitute the determinants of social issues (Ward, Meyer, Verity, Gill, & Luong, 2011). We share with writers such as Corbett and Noyes (2008, p. 15) the position that integration is best seen as a 'dynamic' and 'relational change orientated' process, rather than the delivery of predetermined organisational or system structural change following a template, or in Martin and Austin's terms, an 'algorithm' (1999). Hence our emphasis on use of the term 'integrative practices'. We begin with a brief overview of the South Australian Social Inclusion Initiative.

2. The Social Inclusion Initiative

In 2002 the South Australian Labor Government headed by Premier Mike Rann (2002–2011) who also had the role of Minister for Social Inclusion (the first person to hold such a Ministerial position in Australia), established the Social Inclusion Initiative (SII) immediately upon coming to office, and gave it a mandate to develop integrated (joined up) policy and programs (South Australian Labor Party, 2002). At the urging of the South Australian Premier, the Federal Commonwealth Government, under the Prime Ministership of Kevin Rudd, also introduced a Social Inclusion Board, in 2007. However, this Federal Commonwealth Board's role was limited to that of an advisory board, while the SA Social Inclusion Board had executive power to form social inclusion policy for presentation to Cabinet, and to monitor and evaluate the implementation of social inclusion policy by government departments and community organisations.

The SII had two champions, namely, the Premier as head of government, and the Chair of the Social Inclusion Board and later Commissioner for Social Inclusion. The Social Inclusion Board was responsible only to the Premier, and had an executive body, the Social Inclusion Unit (a body of 20 staff at its strongest) to assist it develop policy and assist in implementation. This Unit, situated within the Department of Premier and Cabinet, was directly and independently supervised by the Chair of the Board, from outside the government's departmental system. This was a unique arrangement emphasising the authority and independence of both the Board and Unit. It was a clear signal that the power base established by the head of government and the Chair/Commissioner for Social Inclusion could bypass normal bureaucratic lines of authority, if needed, to achieve policy integration and effective implementation.

Why integrated policy and program? Because the head of government and the leaders of the SII determined that the SII needed to focus on people/communities who had complex and multi layered needs in their lives that were barriers to their social and economic participation (Cappo, 2002). This necessitated a strategy that understood that social issues were, in the main, joined up, therefore policy and program responses to those social issues also needed to be joined up and integrated if targets were to be achieved. As Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson and Baum, authors of a rapid appraisal case study of the SII, note:

> In the early days of the SII it was recognised that a significant constraint to tackling social exclusion would be the traditional public sector approach to addressing issues predominately by individual agencies or by Ministerial portfolio area. (2007, p. 59)

The Social Inclusion Board and Unit had the delegated power of the head of government to work independently (the SII used the expression 'providing independent advice while embedded in government') and developed policy as they saw fit to achieve outcomes for the community and government, on specific 'refer-

ences' given to it by government, from time to time. When approved of by Cabinet (all SII integrated policies presented to Cabinet in the nearly ten year life of the SII were approved by Cabinet) the role of the SII was to assist government departments in applying the integrated policies across the departmental lines of government and to initiate the removal of bureaucratic or programmatic barriers to policy and program delivery. The Board and Unit worked closely with Treasury officials in order to ensure that social inclusion plans were robust, able to be funded, and had well developed evaluation processes presented to Cabinet for approval. The 'references' given by the Government to the Social Inclusion Board e.g. reduce rough sleeper homelessness by 50% by 2010 (a reduction that was achieved a year ahead of schedule in the inner City of Adelaide, the Capital City of the State of South Australia), significantly increase the school retention rate, undertake a major reform the mental health system, to name but a few, were 'references' that all required joined up integrated work.

3. The Applied Understanding of 'Social Inclusion'

While the SA Labor Premier made the decision that the concept and policy 'filter' of social inclusion was to be used in South Australia to address specifically identified social problems, he left the process of unpacking the concept of social inclusion to the SII itself. The South Australian Social Inclusion Board reflected upon definitions already in the literature and focused on key concepts and words within the broad understanding of the definitions of social inclusion, such as participation, access to opportunity, building capability, increasing well-being. At an early meeting of the Social Inclusion Board the Chair stated, 'we could define social exclusion as the process of being shut out from the social, economic, political and cultural systems which contribute to the integration of a person into community' (Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson, & Baum, 2007, p. 11).

The Social Inclusion Board was mindful that the concepts of social inclusion/exclusion were contested with debates and questions about what constitutes exclusion; whether the social inclusion emphasis should be about paid employment or participation in a range of political processes, as well as questions about the relationship between poverty, employment and participation in society (Bevir, 2009). As Bevir writes: '…some critics argue that the very concept of social inclusion is profoundly flawed'…[placing]'…too much emphasis on who is excluded rather than who is doing the excluding' (2009, p. 195). At the heart of this assertion is the view that a social inclusion emphasis on increasing opportunity for citizens to 'participate' in society can shift the social policy focus away from fundamental issues of inequality and redistribution of wealth, particularly as no matter how much 'inclusion', class divides in a capitalist economy and social system maintain inequality (Levitas, 2005). Gray argues that 'Inclusion stands to social liberalism as distributive equality stands to social democracy' (2000, p. 21).

From another perspective Koikkalainen asserts that the shift of emphasis created by a social inclusion approach '…is not so much about securing an even distribution of material income as it is about achieving a tolerably even distribution of *opportunities* (emphasis in original)—equality in terms of agency, participation and memberships in beneficial networks' (2011, p. 455). Certainly in the South Australian application of the SII, social inclusion at the sub-national level had a focus on the provision of services and programs and was an addition to the ongoing work of wealth redistribution on a national level, where the Federal government has responsibility for major fiscal and monetary policy.

Cognisant of social inclusion's conceptual contestation, underpinning the Board's work was an understanding that groups of people within the broad community were excluded from an active and dignified participation in the economic and social life of the community. Barriers and obstacles existed both structurally and personally that prevented some people and groups of people from living out their active citizenship. The Social Inclusion Board saw as its primary task the removal of these barriers and to provide people in disadvantage with access to secure housing, learning and employment, health and other services, social support and connections, in order to participate as fully as possible. The wide range of these areas, coupled with the complex needs of the most disadvantaged, which were the focus of the SII, led necessarily to the Board centring its work in joined up, integrative policy development (Cappo, 2002; South Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2009).

4. Making the Connections: ICANs

Removing barriers which prevented groups of people from engaging in education was a specific agenda for the Social Inclusion Board (Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson, & Baum, 2007). The action strategy developed by the Social Inclusion Board was titled *Making the Connections* (2004). This included aiming to increase South Australia's poor school retention rate which had been trending lower than the Australian average, and had hovered around 67% for the years 1999–2003 (South Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2004). As Stehlik and Patterson say '…poorer educational outcomes can be a contributing factor to greater social exclusion as those with little education are consigned to low paying, unskilled and precarious jobs or no jobs, experience poorer health outcomes and struggle to make ends meet on minimum incomes' (2011, pp. 6-7).

Making the Connections was conceptualised and implemented as a whole of government integrated strategy; it brought together a range of government

departments (Education, Health, Families and Community Services, Aboriginal Affairs, Justice and Further Education and Training) in formulating one overall plan and implementing 41 action plan strategies (2004). Patterson notes:

> From the outset, the Social Inclusion Board stressed that 'school retention' had to be seen as a whole-of-government and community issue if there was to be real change to systems of lasting benefit for young people, rather than being a problem solely for the institution of education to address. The Board's approach was to ensure that other agencies and local communities became involved through 'joined up' working that recognised and supported young people's engagement in learning. (2011a, p. 10)

A 'paradigm shift' needed to occur that placed the responsibility for this group of vulnerable students not only with the school or the education department and its bureaucracy but with the broad community, and secondly, power and decision making about solving the school retention problem needed to be shifted to the students themselves and the community, away from the education bureaucracy. Besides the Education Department needing to work with the Social Inclusion Board and Unit, integrated policy development to respond to school retention rates, required non Education Departments dealing with such issues as housing or juvenile justice to see that they were an integral part of the school retention plan.

The Innovative Community Action Networks (ICANs) are one of the most successful of the 41 action plan initiatives (Patterson, 2011a). ICANS are designed to be regionally based local committees with power and resources to understand and respond to local school retention problems. The ICANs receive annual funding from the State Education Minister to produce innovative and integrative ways to reengage students with learning and each has a high degree of autonomy in the allocation of their funds. Normal reporting procedures are in place to account in a transparent manner for public funds. Each regional ICAN has a unique membership which comprises young people and families, community leaders, business leaders, and others with an interest in local issues, and who have capacity to give of their voluntary time to the ICAN work (Patterson, 2011a; Koen & Duigan, 2008, 2011).

The focus is young people who are disengaging from education and each regional ICAN addresses different local circumstances, with its own devised innovative approaches. The key is to establish reconnection of vulnerable young people with some type of suitable learning, as an opening to possibilities in future paid work, continued higher education and ongoing personal development. Besides individual learning plans for each ICAN student, this reconnection may be school based or outside of school structures (Koen & Duigan, 2008, 2011; Patterson, 2011a). As noted above, their reason for non-school attendance is multiple and interconnected and require a joined up and integrated approach if the young person is to be successfully reengaged with learning.

Community engagement was also an essential part of the SII integrated policy work and was crucial in the ICAN work (South Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2009). Community consultation is common place in contemporary times in most levels of policy development. However, the term 'community consultation' has also become a pejorative term, alluding to the perception of superficial consultation by bureaucrats doing little more than going through the motions and 'ticking boxes'. This is far removed for the type of community consultation used in the SII integral policy development. The term 'active listening' was used to more accurately convey the dynamic interaction of the consultation process. Such consultation had an important component of 'report back' to the community on the results of the consultation, the final report and recommendations, and feedback regarding implementation (South Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2009). This level of authentic consultation gave a level of community mandate to the work of the SII. The feedback to the community was also a briefing on the implicit value as well as the scope of integrated policy and program development.

Innovations that ICANs have produced to respond to the local needs of young people disengaged or disengaging from education, include partnerships between a local secondary host school, youth agencies, government social security department, public housing agency, local government council, and TAFE SA (Patterson, 2011a). A further ICAN program called Gawler 15 was the formation of an 'accredited hospitality training program for young people aged 16–18 years', who had disengaged from learning and earning (Koen & Duigan, 2008, 2011). This program was the idea of local businesses because of a skill shortage and so was embedded in local needs and the local context.

The ICAN integrated work received its mandate and empowerment from government, its integrated approach from the Social Inclusion Board and its innovative spirit through locally based public participation and the development of partnerships. The policy decision to adopt the ICAN model was made by Cabinet on the recommendation of the Social Inclusion Board. The use of SII mechanism in a consultation process, discussion and dialogue with the Education Department and a wide range of other Departments required the power and force of the SII 'clash' and 'tension' model of horizontal policy development, and the use of the important skills of collaboration and coordination with government departments. The Board through the Social Inclusion Unit maintained a monitoring and evalua-

tion role of the ICAN program. The ICAN concept is countercultural to the standard school paradigm. How was such a program embraced by government and ultimately by the Education system of the Government? How was it given status and priority?

5. Sustainable Integrative Practices

In the case example above of the ICANs, use of power, authority and mandate were essential qualities for the success of this integrated work. The movement from an issue that needed to be addressed, in this case school retention levels, and the effective implementation of the ICANs was an exercise in integrative practice. The components of this integrative mechanism were multiple. A clear need, positional power, administrative power, championing and active interest by the Premier, expert power through the composition of the Board and the Unit, structured administrative connectors through interdepartmental committees and a grounding in public participation, were all essential.

The authority had to come from the head of government, the Premier of South Australia, so that the level of delegated authority could cross departmental (silo) boundaries with legitimacy and power. A further important quality in producing integrated policy and programs was the level of independence given to the Social Inclusion Board and its Unit. There were no restrictions on policy innovation, other than their commitment to evidence based research, and the pragmatic realities that their policy recommendations needed the approval of Treasury and the Cabinet. The Premier changed the administrative arrangements so that Chief Executives of Government Departments were not only responsible to their (silo) Minister but were also directly responsible to him for Social Inclusion work. He also assumed the role as Minister for Social Inclusion as well as that of Premier. The Premier and the Chair of the Social Inclusion Board worked as a team in achieving social inclusion outcomes and would communicate during each week to monitor all social inclusion work and the cooperation or otherwise of Departments.

Inter-ministerial Committees for each SII mandated social issue were established and attended by the Chair and Director of the Social Inclusion Board where reports were given regarding the progress and performance of departments. These committees were a crucial part of the mechanism to ensure momentum for integrated policy development and program implementation was maintained, and were used to address barriers to integration. Membership of the Inter-ministerial Committee would be on a recommendation of the Chair of the Board and would encompass the range of departments who would be involved in the joined up and integrative policy development and implementation plan. In the final year of the operation of the SII, in order to streamline and create efficiencies, all Inter-ministerial Committees dealing with SII references were collapsed into one Social Inclusion Cabinet Committee with the Premier as Chair and the Chair of the Social Inclusion Board, as well as the Director of the Social Inclusion Unit in attendance.

In addition the Chair of the Social Inclusion Board/ Commissioner was a member of the Executive Committee of State Cabinet. One major role of this Cabinet sub-committee was the monitoring and evaluation of the performance of Chief Executives of Government Departments in relation to the South Australian Strategic Plan, including social inclusion targets. This gave the Chair of the Social Inclusion Board a significant role with direct impact on the management of government departments. The Social Inclusion Board, made up of approximately ten social policy experts and experts in the mechanism of government, was given independent authority to develop innovative, integrated social inclusion policy. The power and authority given to the Chair of the Board and Commissioner for Social Inclusion enabled action to use the delegated authority of the head of government and to bridge across departmental boundaries. The Social Inclusion Unit, with its independent policy development role, also had a monitoring and evaluation role of the implementation of integrated policy and programs. Blocks and obstacles to the successful implementation of integrated plans would be referred to the Chair of the Board/Commissioner who would dialogue with the Premier or particular Minister or Chief Executive, to remove the obstacle, usually bureaucratic or programmatic difficulties.

In the case of the mandate given to the Social Inclusion Board to increase school retention, the initial responses from some in the lead department, the Education Department, included resistance to the idea that non educationalists and non-education department staff would be put in charge of what was seen as an education issue and an initial lack of cooperation in the sharing of data upon request from the Social Inclusion Unit. The use of power and authority, as well as persuasion and the building of trusting relationships to work together, as instructed by government, were all necessary to overcome the above obstacles and to build commitment and momentum to achieve integrated policies.

Fundamental to integrative policy and program development was the use of a deliberate mechanism, with the above mentioned qualities. The head of government's words, as the SII was being established, give an indication of the expected dynamic.

> Both the Board and the Unit will ensure that plans of action are not watered down or bogged down in departments. That is why the published targets will be so important. There will be no alibis accepted for unnecessary delays and no excuses accepted for a lack of resolve in delivering results. (Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson, & Baum, 2007, p. 26)

Navigating tensions was an ongoing aspect of the work of the Social Inclusion Board and Unit, noted by commentators such as Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson and Baum (2007) and Patterson (2011a; 2011b). Patterson, for example, in analysis of the SII School Retention Action Plan, documents the challenges in gaining commitment from within government departments, and the repeated conflicts that arose which she attributes to different agency time rhythms and expectations about what should be achieved by when. Noteworthy is her point that tensions arise when there is a sense of 'disconnect' between those devising policy and those charged with implementing it (Patterson, 2011b, pp. 83-93). Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson and Baum (2007) describes a more fundamental tension between the SII and Departmental bureaucracy that developed early in the life of the SII. This tension was because the SII wanted to bring about '…*system change*, whereby government agencies would move from the traditional silo approach where they worked predominately alone, to a *joined up government* approach so that the complexities of the causes of social exclusion could be identified and joined up solutions could be formulated' (Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson, & Baum, 2007, p. 59, italics in original).

Yet tension is inevitable in integrative work. Martin and Austen capture this in writing:

> …choices inevitably involve tensions-what appears to be a trade-off in which the choosing of one option precludes another attractive option. Or using one resource renders that resource unavailable to others. Tension, by its very nature, compels leaders to make choices of some kind. Maintaining the status quo, typically is not an option. To move ahead, there's no choice but to choose. (1999, p. 2)

While not articulated at the time, a hindsight perspective of the mechanism of the SII could view it as a radical approach designed to create an inner tension within government in order to produce a 'clash' between the vertical role of the silos of government (based in Australia on the Westminster system of distinct Ministerial portfolio responsibility and hierarchical departmental authority and decision making) and the horizontal role of integrative policy work across government departments.

The work of the SII as such, was counter to the model of separate Ministerial led departmental authority, and chain of command and control, in each department. The underlying assumption for this approach of creating a system of 'tension' and 'clash' was that the hegemony of the vertical silo system would always dominate the policy agenda, because government departments were established in clear lineal authority structures under Ministerial authority. This had the weight of history behind it as the norm in the executive function of government bureaucracy throughout Australia. Unless the horizontal integrative work was given power, force and legitimacy to achieve its work and implement change it would fail to bring about integrative policy development.

Furthermore the competitive nature of Ministerial government centred on seeking funds for departmental programs through an annual budget process and competitive Cabinet meetings. This reinforced the hegemony of the vertical siloed structure of government; they would always dominate unless there was an alternative. Consequently, a further and perhaps underlying premise of the work of the SII was that calls for coordination, cooperation and integrative policy work are hollow without horizontal mechanisms which challenge vertical power. In Weberian terms the work of the SII was an exercise in the simultaneous use of charismatic authority and creation of counter forces to the historical exercise of legal/rational authority.

The role of the Social Inclusion Board and Unit was to ensure that departments delivered on targets that were publicly enunciated. Institutionally derived tensions occurred because the SII established their goals and targets within a political and electoral cycle whereas the bureaucracy of government departments were more focused on time frames within their own departmental capacity. Tensions also occurred because the work of the SII could be seen, in the words of interviewees reported in the Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson and Baum rapid appraisal study 'as an implicit criticism of previous action, with agencies feeling somewhat threatened by the existence of a separate unit responsible for certain key issues' (2007, p. 52). The duality of accountability was also a source of tension between departments and the SII because departments were required to produce regular reports on the social inclusion work they had been given as part of an integrated plan, as well as respond to their regular departmental responsibilities (Newman, Biedrzycki, Patterson, & Baum, 2007, p. 53).

It is within this broad context that the integrated policy work produced the ICAN concept and put it into structure and action. The Social Inclusion Board and the Social Inclusion Unit gave the ICANs political and bureaucratic protection. Monitoring the implementation of the ICANs meant that personnel problems, funding problems, communication difficulties, and any resistance to change could be quickly confronted and resolved. Within two years the ICANs had developed a status of their own and with positive evaluations of their work indicating high rates of success in re-engaging young people with learning and/or opportunities for paid employment, the ICANs were able to proceed without any further support necessary from the SII (Koen and Duigan, 2008, 2011). As importantly, the ICANs were one piece in the intervention jigsaw seeking to increase school retention rates, which fol-

lowing the national trend, have risen in SA from the 1999 figure of 67%, to 86.3% in 2011 (ABS, 2012).

6. Conclusion

While an inner tension is well recognised in the relationship between social inclusion and wealth redistribution, social inclusion as a concept and policy method can provide a powerful mode for the enhancement of the lives of citizens in participatory community, particularly the most disadvantaged with complex and multiple needs. The South Australian example is given as a case in point.

Collaboration, cooperation and coordination are essential strategies and skills to be used in the process of developing and implementing integrative policy and program. They are words that resonate well in the bureaucratic and policy development world. Yet, so much of 'whole of government' or integrative work seems to fall short of its goal. There is a missing component. A mechanism of horizontal power is necessary as the foundation on which the above skills need to operate. The ICAN programme is counter cultural. Delivered in a social inclusion context it placed the multiple needs of young people at the heart of its attention in reengaging them with learning. It did this outside the culture and power base of the education bureaucracy which initially refused to view the problem as needing integrative solutions. To do this it needed its own power base. The mechanism of 'tension' and 'clash' used by the South Australian Social Inclusion Board and Unit between 2002–2011 achieved goals and outcomes in reducing homelessness, a reform of the mental health system, increasing school retention, a major report on disability reform, and juvenile justice. While the SII ended in October 2011 when a new head of government was installed, ICANs have become embedded in South Australia's policy agenda and are now supported and promoted by the Education Department and the education system.

A further question to be considered is, apart from political contingencies, can a power mechanism such as the SII be sustainable? Can it become part of the system and continue to fulfil its mandate? This is a question for further debate. The need for the SII to respond to many barriers to its work, the regularity of bureaucratic obstacles, and the reality that in its political demise, it would seem that bureaucratic practice moved effortlessly back to pre SII operations does not bode well for a positive response to these questions. The latter comment is of course a perspective, and there will be multiple views about this.

The SII is a model worthy of further examination in the cause of producing better ways to integrate policy and program. But ultimately the choice of models is a matter of politics and power. As Rittel and Webber write: 'Whichever the tactic, though, it should be clear that the expert is also a player in a political game, seeking to promote his (sic) private vision of goodness over others'. Planning is a component of politics. There is no escaping that truism' (1973, p. 169). There is also no escaping the continued need for critical appraisal of the structural factors that impact on the success or failure of what is known as 'joined up policy and program', whole of government work, or integrated policy and program development.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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Article

Tracing the Arc: The Shifting Conceptualizations of Educational "Disadvantage" and "Diversity" at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

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Abstract
This article calls attention to the shifting conceptualizations of belonging and inclusion at universities in the U.S. through shifting framings of "educational disadvantage" and "diversity". Historically these concepts have been used in various and shifting ways to think about the "Other" and to determine the lines of inclusion and exclusion to access to higher education spaces. This article uses a leading public university, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, as a historical case study to examine the ways the university has responded to those who have historically been excluded from public higher education spaces and the ways inclusion has been expanded and redefined through struggle. This case study is an invitation to carefully consider the current discourses and policy debates about university "diversity" efforts and the inclusion of "disadvantaged" students. We raise questions about what inclusion means.

Keywords
diversity; disadvantage; higher education; student organizing

Issue
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1. Introduction

Currently, there are discussions on the international and national level about diversity efforts and "disadvantaged" students in higher education. In the United States two recent cases on affirmative action[1] brought to the U.S. Supreme Court have received substantial media attention (*Schuette v. Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action, 2013; Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin, 2013).* In Schuette the Court upheld the ban on using race as a factor for college admission. In addition, federal and state funding for "diversity initiatives" and scholarships for non-dominant students have been targeted and funds have been decreased (Nelson, 2012). We have also seen attempts to cut funding for, consolidate, or even eliminate ethnic studies in schools and colleges across the country (Arizona, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio, Texas) despite the struggles endured to create them (Cammarota & Romero, 2014; Okihiro, 2010; Indiana Daily Student, 2014; Pereira, 2014).

Given this context it is important to examine the current and historical discourses of both "diversity" (race and ethnicity) and "disadvantage" (socio-economic status) employed by many colleges and universities.[2]

[1] Affirmative action "refers to positive steps aimed at increasing the inclusion of historically excluded groups" to education (and employment). Affirmative action policies are designed to increase access for historically underrepresented groups through greater outreach and inclusion efforts (American Association for Affirmative Action, 2013).

[2] Because of the race and class histories and policies in the United States, issues of race and socioeconomic status (though

Such an analysis can help uncover the ways higher education institutions include and/or exclude the "Other". Also motivating this analysis is that current neoliberal policies and discourses do not take into account these histories and their complexities; instead neoliberal discourses ignore the structural and historical challenges and barriers to mobility and in doing so contend that personal responsibility and the market are solutions for creating equality and fairness. The increased enrollment of students of color in U.S. colleges and the election and reelection of the country's first Black president have caused many to argue that racism and the exclusion of minoritized students are no longer issues; therefore, measures such as affirmative action and funding for diversity initiatives are no longer necessary (Bonilla-Silva, 2013).

Such a belief was exercised when the University of Wisconsin's admission policies and diversity efforts came under attack in 2011 (University of Wisconsin-Madison News, 2011**)**. A conservative think tank, the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), claimed that the university's admission policies "discriminate against White applicants" (Selman, 2011). CEO argued that the University "unfairly" gave admission preferences to students of color. That said, the Education Optimists (2011) reported that CEO's report was composed using a series of "facts" and statistics that were proven to be incorrect. The report sparked a debate about campus diversity and climate. In addition, the recent call to consolidate ethnic studies departments and programs at UW-Madison has further sparked a number of discussions and meetings between students, faculty and administrators about the importance and histories of these academic spaces.

Across the country students of color have engaged in a variety of efforts to highlight the continued exclusion of their voices and their daily experiences with racism and discrimination on college campuses. While decades ago student protests drew on signs, marches and direct actions or negotiations, student protests of today have also employed social media in addition to these tools. At the University California Los Angeles a group of Black students, the Black Bruins, released a YouTube video condemning the underrepresentation (3.3 percent of undergraduates and graduates) of African Americans on campus (see Stokes, 2013). In addition, students at the UCLA Law School created an online petition with a series of recommendations for improving campus climate (see Change.org petition to Dean Moran, 2014). Students at the University of Michigan used a Twitter campaign (#BBUM) to document the experiences of Black students on the campus and make a list of seven demands to the university calling for greater diversity efforts and inclusion (Al-Jazeera America, 2014).

Furthermore, social media has been useful in helping student organizations at different campuses connect to one another. The students at UW-Madison have taken part in a movement on social media started by students at Harvard called "I, too, am Harvard." Students posted pictures of themselves with captions that represented their experiences—the UW campaign is called "I, too, am UW-Madison." The "I, too, am Harvard" Tumblr page states that the reason for the campaign is: "Our voices often go unheard on this campus, our experiences are devalued, our presence is questioned—this project is our way of speaking back, of claiming this campus, of standing up to say: We are here. This place is ours."

In order to understand these responses it is important to examine the histories and struggles out of which university diversity initiatives and policies developed, which we do in this paper through a historical case study. Many of the diversity initiatives and policies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison emerged out of student struggle and within the context of larger social movements. Such histories need to be documented and centered within debates about affirmative action, ethnic studies and other campus initiatives to address access, equity and inclusion. Not only is it important to critically explore a history of these struggles, but it is also important to examine the discourses and terms used. Thus, in this paper we provide a historical analysis of the defining terms of university inclusion policies and present an overview of their inception. Whereas space does not allow a complete historical account, we will point to key or transgressive moments in the university's history where notions of inclusion in the campus population are imagined, challenged, and reimagined. To do so, we draw on Anyon's conceptualization of social movements and student organizing to frame the way students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW-Madison) organized to facilitate greater inclusion and to highlight the work that still needs to be done. While these histories and experiences with "diversity" focus on the University of Wisconsin, they are also deeply connected with those of other universities across the country, especially large public universities (Robinson, Foster, & Ogilvie, 1969).

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said "the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice". This paper seeks to explore this arc at UW-Madison. We start by laying out our conceptual and theoretical frameworks and the position from which we, the authors, are writing. We then critically examine the term "disadvantage" through the ways it has been employed historically. This is followed by a discussion of histories of immigration to Wisconsin noting its diversity. Next we continue tracing this arc through a discussion of critical moments where notions of inclusion and exclusion were

distinct issues) often intersect; thus throughout this paper sometimes we will talk about these issues together, while other times will separate out to show distinction depending on the context and/or policy to which we are referring.

initially established during the founding days of the university and moments later in the university's history where these notions have been challenged and re-challenged. This historical exploration brings us to an analysis of where the university is at this present moment in terms of inclusion and explore if and how exclusion has been challenged. Whereas the setting of this paper is the UW-Madison campus, the goal is in part to reflect on histories of programs supporting non-dominant students to better understand the debates and organizing that are taking place across campuses today.

2. Social Movements, Organizing and Investments

We draw on Anyon's (2005) theoretical framework of social movements. Anyon builds on classical approaches to social movement theory that focused on resources and mobilization as well as the work of McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) who capture the "personal and social processes" (p. 131). Anyon argues that movements are not simply made of "discrete 'waves' of contention," but rather, as was the case for the struggle of civil rights in the U.S., movements are often long and continuous. She states, "while various time periods witness more legally contained than socially transgressive activity, both kinds are present in most decades" (p. 131). We see this in the struggles for inclusion at UW-Madison and student struggles at universities across the country; these have been continuous struggles that may appear to come in 'waves.' Some are open contestations, others are public but with less drama; however, whatever form they take the struggles for inclusion in higher education goes on. This paper in many ways is an example of Anyon's thesis. Significant is that Anyon tells us that organizations are often central to social movements and are not separate from them. Her framework allows us to examine how students organized themselves in the struggles at the university, but were also connected to larger social movements across the country, both in terms of student struggles as well as civil rights. Both Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)[3] and The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) of the 1960s are representative of groups that engaged in campus and national struggles in the U.S.

In conducting our literature review we were reminded of the importance of documenting the histories of these organizations and social movements for others involved in similar struggles as well as future scholars. Here we draw on document analyses and interviews with seven key university administrators who were involved in historical moments discussed in this paper. However, in the writing of this paper, we do not directly reference these interviews in order to maintain the confidentiality of people who are still employed at the university. In addition, we did not rely only on the interviews; we also examined documents and checked with others key actors to research the story we present here. Each of us came to this research from a different position and history with UW-Madison. Carl is an African American man and a Hoefs-Bascom professor of Curriculum and Instruction. He was a PhD student at UW-Madison and then assumed his current position and was present for a number of the key moments discussed in this paper. Alex is a White Jewish American woman and current PhD student at UW-Madison. She has been present for some of the more recent campus discussions about diversity and inclusion. We have brought each of our positions and experiences together in the writing of this paper through a shared commitment to social justice including a commitment to greater inclusion of all students at UW.

3. The Birth of the *Disadvantaged* as a People: 50 Years in the Making

Current discussions about access to higher education include two overlapping ideas: (1) student campus diversity as it relates to students from non-dominant groups and (2) the return to 1960s terminology of referring to low-income of students as "disadvantaged." Currently, UW-Madison admission policies, like many U.S. educational institutions, consider and measure diversity along two lines, M/D: "minority" or "multicultural" (according to race and ethnicity) and "disadvantaged" (according to educational opportunities and socioeconomic status). "Disadvantage" has recaptured international attention and the current purpose and meaning is much like it was in the 1960s—with a focus on "social and cultural deficits" (Martinez & Rury, 2012; Portes, 1996; Valencia, 1997). With such a negative lineage, "disadvantage" as the face of an idea to initiate and bring about current day campus diversity and inclusion demands scrutiny.

This paper grew out of an invitation to participate in a conference in Melbourne, Australia, from the International Alliance of Leading Education Institutes (IALEI). IALEI is an "alliance of 10 leading educational institutions[4] from around the world." The conference invitation we received read:

> Educational disadvantage takes many different forms, but globally is a major barrier to the well-being of individuals and communities and the pros-

[3] We have seen a reemergence of the SDS as of 2006. See http://www.newsds.org

[4] Members of IALEI Include: the University of Melbourne, Australia; University of Sao Paulo, Brazil; University of Toronto, Canada; Beijing Normal University, China; Aarhus University, Denmark; Nanyang Technological University, Singapore; University of Cape Town, South Africa; Seoul National University, South Korea; University of London, UK; and the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA.

> perity of nations. University schools of education are uniquely placed to contribute to the twin tasks of understanding and overcoming educational disadvantage (IALEI, 2012).

We were troubled by the way the word "disadvantage" reflected past deficit notions, but at the same time wanted to engage with it in order to shed light on its problematic framing and implicit othering. This was not an easy task, because we recognized the good intentions of the invitation.

The term "disadvantaged" has been a part of the social and political discourse in the U.S. for years and is popularly used as synonymous with "poor, uninsured, homeless, elderly and frail; and suffering from a range of chronic diseases, or special populations in need, such as Native Americans and low-income veterans…" (Mechanic & Tanner, 2007). To those descriptors and others one can add deficit-oriented terms related to conflations of cultural and racial identity and poverty that have historically been used in education literature and the media to highlight "disadvantage": culturally disadvantaged, culturally deprived, welfare queens, homeless, hobos and bums.

In the 1960s, "disadvantage" became a household word in the U.S. used in reference to groups of people rather than socio-economic conditions or structures (see Crow, 1966). This word took on meaning during the time of a major social conscious awareness brought on by President Johnson's address on poverty. In the 1964, Johnson spoke out forcefully and caringly for "the disadvantaged". He made poverty an official national and political concern and put in motion a series of legislative actions in health, education and welfare. Responding to the push from Civil Rights activists Johnson created programs such as Head Start, food stamps, work-study, Medicare and Medicaid that still exist today (Siegel, 2004). The "War on Poverty" legislation (as it was called) had a major impact in most places and on most people throughout the country. Not only did it help a number of people get jobs, but the War on Poverty also had an impact on education with two significant pieces of legislation: Head Start and Project Follow Through. Head Start is a preschool program designed to bring education, health and social services to low income children in order to prepare them for their kindergarten experience. And Project Follow Through is designed to extend the services started with Head Start and to plant poor students firmly on the road toward a successful K-12 experience with college as a future expectation (Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

Besides academic assistance, students' had experiences attending professional plays, visiting museums, art galleries, concerts and zoos. Artists and storytellers from different ethnic and racial backgrounds visited schools and engaged students in discussions about places and opportunities outside of their own milieu. However, fundamental to many of these "opportunities" was a White middle-class perspective; and absent from many of these "opportunities" was a perspective that acknowledged and showed appreciation for the histories and cultures of the students. The understandings of disadvantage in the U.S. proceeded from a deficit perspective that viewed the targeted students as socially and culturally deprived or not having the "right" culture to succeed (Riessman, 1962; Deutsch, 1967; Ornstein, 1970). These notions led to a blaming of the individual for failing to succeed and a framing of "disadvantaged" students within a deficit framework (Valencia, 1997). While the term and idea of "disadvantage" can be expanded to account for systemic and structural inequities, the way disadvantage is addressed in practice generally continues to focus on the individual and not the social structures that gave rise to it. Within this discourse and framing the label of "disadvantage" is potentially harmful as there is an implicit power for it to identify, explain and predict the futures of those labeled as members of "disadvantaged" groups. There is power in naming (Fairclough, 1989). As we continue through this paper, it is important to keep the histories of the terms used in mind, because they are generally employed by universities absent of their histories. Words matter, they carry meaning and situate action (Ryan, 2014).

4. Weaving the Social Fabric

To understand the current situation and how otherness has been constructed at UW-Madison through the "M/D" categories, we looked at the social history of the state the university serves. We looked at the "arrival" of different ethnic groups that formed the state to examine how "disadvantage" was constructed in order to complexify the way inclusion at the university continues to be imagined.

A review of documents from the Wisconsin Historical Society on Wisconsin's history gives information on the many racial and ethnic groups that came to Wisconsin and why they came: religious freedom, better life opportunities, and to escape persecution. For years many ethnic and racial groups have called Wisconsin "home." At times the various groups worked together to support one another through challenging times, but at other times there was violence between groups.

Native Americans from the Eastern United States were the first make Wisconsin their home; they include the Dakota Sioux, Ho-chunk (Winnebago), Menominee, Ojibwe, Potawatomi and Fox and Sauk tribes (Schereck, 1956). In 1634, as Frenchman Jean Nicolet was searching for the Northwest Passage, he happened upon land that would one day be Wisconsin. He was discovered by two large Indian tribes living in the area, the Menominee, and the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago). The French set up trading stations in the area. The first records of Black

people in Wisconsin are those who arrived with the French fur traders in the early 1700s both as enslaved and free people (Wisconsin Historical Society, n.d.).

The British arrived in the territory in 1763 almost a hundred years after the French and Blacks. They were followed by immigrants from Norway who were escaping poor harvests and famine that occurred during the 1830s (Slesinger & Parra, 1988). Immigrants from Western Europe, the Netherlands (1840–1850), Belgium (1853), and Luxembourg (1848) arrived between the 1840s and 1850s (Hale, 1984; Holmes 1990). In the 1840s, a great number of Irish fleeing the potato famine settled in Wisconsin and a number of immigrants from Wales also made their home there. Immigrants from Eastern Europe (Czechs and Poles) and Southern Europe (Italians and Greeks) also came to Wisconsin during the 19th Century (Holmes, 1990). Around this time, in 1848, the Oneida were pushed off their land and forced to live on a reservation near Green Bay.

Russians came during the first two decades of the 20th Century. The large majority of Latinos arrived in the 1950s—though there have been Spanish-speaking communities in the state since 1910 (Wisconsin Historical Society, 2006). After the Mexican Revolution, a number of people of Mexican heritage began to settle in communities throughout Wisconsin and others came to work for various manufacturing and agricultural contractors. Since then, Latinos have continued to come to Wisconsin for economic and political reasons. Large numbers of Asian immigrants did not settle in Wisconsin until the 1990s, though many Japanese Americans were interned in Wisconsin during World War II. In the 1990s a large number of Hmong people were forced to flee their country after U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam because they had supported the CIA in fighting the wars in Vietnam and Laos (Haines, 1989).

Many of the people who came to Wisconsin would have been framed as "disadvantaged" according to today's designation—many were trying to escape poverty, displacement and political or religious persecution and came looking for greater opportunities (Long & Veroff, 2007). Many, if not most, of the immigrants of each and every race and ethnicity saw Wisconsin as "the golden door!" to economic security and a flourishing life. Within this historical framing it is interesting to think about how otherness was constructed and which groups eventually came to be seen as "disadvantaged" and minoritized; and how certain groups, because of their racialized identities, shifted from a position of "disadvantage" and economic struggle to a position of privilege at the expense of groups that came to be seen as the "Other."

As a whole, the state has struggled to meet the needs of its diverse population in and out of schools. Recently, according to NAEP test scores, Wisconsin has the largest achievement gap between White students and students of color in all areas tested: math, science, and reading (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2013). In addition, a recent report showed Wisconsin, and particularly Dane County where UW-Madison is located, as having some of the largest racial disparities in important social and economic measures, such as poverty, incarceration and education rates, in the nation (Race to Equity, 2013). Also Milwaukee, the state's largest city, has been known as one of the most segregated cities in the nation since the 1960s (Wisconsin Historical Society, n.d.). Large numbers of African Americans had moved to Milwaukee during and after World War II, and by the 1960s they accounted for fifteen percent of the population. Most African Americans lived in the "Inner Core," which by the 1960s had become a site of increasing volatility due to limited job opportunities, poverty, and segregation (Wisconsin Historical Society "Turning Points," n.d.). Thus, meeting the needs of the state's diverse population has been and continues to be a challenge. This also influences UW campus life.

UW-Madison has sought to be a force in promoting greater equality across the state. This is highlighted by the Wisconsin Idea,[5] as stated by President Charles Van Hise in 1904 who declared "I shall never be content until the beneficent influence of the University reaches every home in the state." The Wisconsin Idea continues to guide the actions on the campus in most areas, including slowly but steadily those who have been othered.

5. Lessons from the Struggles of UW-Madison

5.1. 1800s: The Violence and Exclusion of the Beginning

UW-Madison's early history and the space the campus occupies complicate the meaning of the "Wisconsin Idea" and raise serious questions about *who* has been considered to belong (as part of the university). Ho-Chunk and other Native Americans call the Madison area where the university is located *Dejope* or "Four Lakes". Dejope hosts a number of archeological sites including effigy and burial mounds, "revealing the thousands of years that the Ho-Chunk and other American Indians have called this area home" (University Housing, n.d.). The 1825 Treaty of Peace recognized the land where the University now sits as Ho-Chunk land and promised it "would not be invaded by White settlers" (Greendeer, 2002, p. 3). However, beginning in 1829 the encroachment of immigrant settlers and a series of forced treaties pushed the Ho-Chunk to cede their territories. Thoughts of inclusion or ways to share the land were not part of the thinking of the government or the settlers. Greendeer states, "[A]fter many conflicts, land cessions and removals, the Ho-Chunk

[5] Now defined as "the principle that the university should improve people's lives beyond the classroom. It spans UW–Madison's teaching, research, outreach and public service" (Wisconsin Idea, n.d.).

were removed from their remaining aboriginal territories in Wisconsin via to the Treaty of 1837." The treaty was intentionally mistranslated to trick the Ho-Chunk into ceding their lands to the U.S. The territory was then brought under U.S. government control giving the government the ability to reallocate the lands and create the University of Wisconsin in 1848 (Greendeer, 2002).

Violence against Native Americans was significant to the creation of UW-Madison and battles and forced removals are a central part of the university's founding history and current landscape. In 1888, the graduating class presented the University with a gift known as the Black Hawk Commemorative Boulder. The Boulder is a testimony to how the U.S. army pushed Native Americans off the land. Also, the statue of President Abraham Lincoln, which sits in the middle of the campus mall, has served as a troubling and unwelcoming figure for Native peoples living in the area because of his participation in the Black Hawk War and presiding over the largest mass execution of Native Americans in U.S. history—the 1862 mass lynching of 38 Dakota men in Mankato, Minnesota (also home to a state university) (Brown, 1971; Meyer, 1993). In addition, the university has not until recently worked to preserve or respect historical monuments and burial mounds of the Native peoples.

It is meaningful that UW-Madison was initially established for White middle class men. This establishment solidified a violent divide between the university and the people whose land it occupied and made the university an exclusionary space. At the same time, UW-Madison early on began to admit some students from historically marginalized communities. The first White women were admitted in 1863 and the first African American was admitted to the law school in 1875; but it was many years before women of color were seen on the campus as students.

What comes to light here is that UW-Madison in its conception was imagined by its founders (White men) as a university for the citizens of the state of Wisconsin (imagined as White men). While at different points in time across the university's history the exclusion of Others has been challenged it has not been fundamentally ruptured. This paper now looks at moments of challenge and change and points out the spaces where a reimagining and full inclusion has failed to take hold.

5.2. 1960s: A Push for Change

When we interviewed former and current administrators responsible for the University's organized response to diversity (and disadvantage) all brought student protests and the *Holley Report* to our attention; and the Report was always discussed within the context of student protests. Student protests for greater inclusion and equity grew out of the 1960s demonstrations on the Madison campus against the Vietnam War, the Dow Chemical Company, the Army ROTC and the push for Civil Rights. Across the country, areas where students lived were the center of "counterculture" actions (Wells, 2014; Smith, 2012; Williams, 2010).

This was the time of the Black Power and Civil Rights Movements in the U.S. (Ture & Hamilton, 1992). Black students across the country organized hundreds of protests that ignited struggles and negotiations between students and university administration that slowly led to reforms that transformed college life for all students. Biondi (2012) states,

> At stake was the very mission of higher education. Black students demanded that public universities serve their communities; that private universities rethink the mission of elite education; and that black colleges embrace self-determination…Most crucially, black students demanded a role in the definition of scholarly knowledge (p. 27).

On the UW campus, students' organizing focused on the University itself, because officials were dragging their feet and stonewalling against the demands of students of color for a socially inclusive campus.

Ruth Doyle, the first woman elected to the Wisconsin Assembly and a key player in rebuilding the Wisconsin Democratic Party, developed a plan that drew favorable attention among White liberals as a way to deal with and support the changing demographics on the UW-Madison campus. Doyle was an outstanding public servant and a White integrationist who was respected and appreciated by both Blacks and Whites on the UW campus and throughout the Madison community. In 1965, in order to promote Black recruitment, retention and graduation from the university, Doyle spearheaded the development of a Five-Year Program. The program reached out to "disadvantaged" students (mostly students of color) who did not meet the established admission criteria, but demonstrated the potential to be academically successful at UW. Citing the Five Year Program, Gilbert (2011) explains,

> In sum, her Five-Year Program had two major objectives: (1) Provide the benefits of higher education to students who, because of difference of academic background, cultural heritage and financial status might never seek or have available the opportunities, which existed at the University of Wisconsin; (2) Add to the student body of the University an additional and important educational dimension through promotions of its own diversification (p. 7).

This was the one of the first racial recruitment efforts at a university. The program helped attract more students of color through an active system of recruitment and support.

The program was lauded as a leading program for di-

versity and inclusion. However, many students of color on the UW-Madison campus argued that the Five Year Program did not go far enough. Students began to push back against the structure and inherent limitations of the program. They demanded that the university go further to fully include all students within the campus mission and programming. They opposed the assimilationist goals of the program, such as the expectation that students enrolled in the program would take on a teaching role for White students. Also they criticized the program's mandatory five years (when White students could graduate in four). They were angered that they were required to take a lower than average course load, which sent a deficit message that the students in the program could not complete their degree in the same amount of time as other students. In addition to their pushback against the program, they wanted, as Biondi (2012) noted above, to see the scholarly knowledge and historical contributions of people of color articulated in all University courses and activities. Further they wanted the establishment of ethnic studies departments, such as Afro American Studies and the hiring of faculty and staff that would facilitate and lead this reform.

Doyle became a "central symbol of the administration's opposition to the demands Black students were campaigning for" (Gilbert, 2011). In an interview with Donna Hartshorne (1982) for the Wisconsin Historical Society, Doyle explained how she felt when all her hard work and well-meaning efforts came "smash" around her. She told Hartshorne that the pushback by the students was a personal affront, rather than understanding it as a challenge to the university structure. Talking about the leader of the Black Student Alliance, Will(ie) Edwards, Doyle stated, "Willie Edwards…was determined to do me in and he did." She went on to recount,

> The uprisings were beginning to occur in various places and here it began when I gave a speech to a luncheon group…about the program in which I said I was opposed and would always oppose anything that would segregate these people, that we didn't need to have a black enclave on this campus, we should have an integrated student body that's what the whole movement was about. And some students took great offense to that. That's when the students were establishing themselves…they wanted a black floor on the dorm, they wanted a black student center…And I must say I was quite firm about my own positions on that. And the students would argue with me…that was in the fall of 1968 and they apparently marched on the Chancellor's office…just a few days later.

Despite her good intentions, Doyle was unwilling to listen to the Black students. Her opposition to the students' demands was rooted in her firm beliefs in integration and that the establishment of a living space for Blacks, a student center, and/or academic programs would create "Black enclaves." Her belief that she knew what was best for the students, whose interests she claimed to be working for, prevented her from being able to fully listen to their needs and desires. Doyle wanted students of color to fit into the campus rather than seeing that the campus needed to be restructured to reflect a multicultural learning space. Her resistance was not malicious, but rather myopic and reflective of the university's administrative position. While students recognized Doyle's good intentions, they were unwilling to settle and her resistance led the Black students to adopt a position of solidarity and resistance. What is important here is that while we highlight the individual story of Doyle, the issues this story highlights are also systemic and were very much a part of the university discourse and view of underrepresented students.

When they realized that Doyle and other university administrators were unwilling to work with them to meet their needs and give them the spaces they requested, the Black Student Alliance made thirteen "non-negotiable" demands, including firing Doyle. After Chancellor Young also proved unwilling to meet the demands, the students went on strike for weeks. Throughout their activism Black students garnered much support for their cause, including support from many White students on the campus, who joined in during the protests and strikes.

In February of 1969, the National Guard descended on the Madison campus to "control" the protesters. Conservative members of the university administration and state legislators argued that the students were trying to disrupt teaching and bring down the institution (Gilbert, 2011). The call-up of the National Guard had the opposite affect the university administration hoped for; instead of stopping the strike, it helped to garner more support for the Black students' demands, as many students, Black and White, were opposed to the presence of the Guard on campus.

On February 13, 1969 an estimated seven to twelve thousand students came together for a march from the campus to the capital—about a mile (Gilbert, 2011). This mass organizing put pressure on the university administration to make changes. The Chancellor appointed a panel of faculty members and students to review the Special Five Year Program. The review panel's final report demanded that Doyle be fired. The Five-Year Program was brought under new leadership and restructured in an effort to be more sensitive to the students' needs and demands (Gilbert, 2011).

Additionally, the university's curriculum was retooled and the Department of Afro American studies was established in 1970. This Black activism also encouraged other groups on campus to push for the creation of their own departments. In 1968 Native American students began pushing for the university to better serve Wisconsin's Native communities and in 1972 the

Native American Studies program was established. In 1974, student activists started rallying for a Chicano Studies Department; they were never granted a department, but a Chicano Studies Program was established in 1976. And, in 1988, a group of community and university activists, known as the Asian Coalition, wrote a proposal for the Asian Studies Program, which was established in 1991.

5.3. 1980s: Student Struggle and the Creation of Ethnic Studies and Diversity Initiatives

After a number of racist incidents on the campus, which came to a head with racist caricatures depicted on 1987 invitations for a Frat Party, students went to the administration demanding action. The fraternity was banned from the campus, but students continued to push the administration to make more structural changes. A new chancellor, Donna Shalala, stated that she wanted to be more responsive to the students' demands. That summer a working committee was established to create recommendations for campus improvements in terms of its climate and diversity initiatives. The Steering Committee on Minority Affairs created the Holley Report, named after the committee's chair and head of the Black Student Union, Charles Holley.

The report was an outgrowth of the efforts of students of color and others who pushed for changes that would make the campus responsive academically and socially to all students and faculty. The Holley Report was released on December 1, 1987 and is cited as the seminal document that gave rise to formal efforts to deal with diversity and disadvantage across the university. The Report included several recommendations: the appointment of a Vice Chancellor of Ethnic Minority Affairs to ensure accountability and to be responsible for matters relating to affirmative action; actions to improve the recruitment and retention of minority students including centralized support programs and incentives for faculty and staff to be sensitive and committed to the needs of minority students; increased recruitment, hiring and retention of faculty of color; the creation of an "investigative body" of faculty, staff and students to address the concerns of minority staff members; the creation of a Multicultural Center on campus to house multicultural organizations; the implementation of an ethnic studies course requirement and various Ethnic Studies Programs; the establishment of an orientation program aimed at combating racism and increasing "the level of comfort of students of color" for all members of the University; and outreach to the minority communities in Madison (Holley et al., 1987).

The university administration created the Madison Plan of 1988 (also known as the *Design for Diversity*) in response to the Committee's recommendations. Taking some of the recommendations of the Holley report, the Plan sought to increase recruitment and retention of both students and faculty of color, established the Multicultural Center for students, and implemented a 3-credit ethnic studies requirement. While the Madison Plan marked the UW system's first system-wide strategic plan to foster diversity and "establish a culturally enriched academic Environment" (Final Report on Plan 2008, 2009), the Plan was disappointing to many involved with the Holley Report because it was seen to offer an "assimilationist perspective" and had reduced and/or eliminated many of the Committee's recommendations. The initiatives set forth by the Madison Plan have never achieved full inclusion or the depth and sensitivity of the Holley Report's recommendations.

The Plan 2008 was established in 1998 to continue the UW system's commitment to diversity. Both 10-year programs (the Madison Plan and the Plan 2008) were "based on the principle that increasing the participation of historically under-served populations would enhance the educational experience of all students, better preparing them to live and work in a multicultural society" (Final Report on Plan 2008, 2009). An evaluation of the overall success of *Plan 2008* shows that while the initiative has experienced some success in the increase in recruitment and retention of students, faculty and staff of color these increases have been minimal and many racial and ethnic groups remain underrepresented. Furthermore, the establishment of an inclusive and diverse academic environment has not been achieved (Final Report on Plan 2008, 2009). Currently, the University is in the process of creating a new diversity plan to address these shortcomings.

6. The Current Focus

UW-Madison was not the only place where struggles for greater inclusion and representation were taking place. Across the country students of color have demanded spaces in their institutions and have insisted that their voices and perspectives be heard and represented. They have argued for curricular changes, courses that represented their histories and perspectives, professors from non-dominant backgrounds, and departments that address their history and culture (see Stanford Historical Society, 2011). Many student struggles gained traction and continue to today. Current examples include the University of Michigan's Black Student Union demands for the university administration to create a more inclusive campus climate, (Al Jazeera America, 2014), Dartmouth's Afro-American Society's effort to "end oppression on campus" (Torres, 2014), and the University of California- Santa Barbara's Black Student Union's demands to change the "hostile racial climate throughout the UC system" (Torres, 2014). Also student are pushing for tuition equity for undocument-

ed students at state universities across the country (Lucha y Resiste, 2013). Equity has yet to be achieved and struggles continue at universities across the country.

When UW alumni look across the years, they will see that there has been an increase in the number of "minoritized" students (undergraduate, graduate and professional) on the campus. However, enrollment numbers for students of color remain low when compared to other AAU (Association of American Universities, which includes 61 leading research universities in the U.S. and Canada) and public universities. The 2011 Diversity Forum cited an increase to 9.9% for "Targeted Minority" or African American, Native American, Hispanic/Latino/a, and Southeast Asian (Cambodians, Laotians, Vietnamese, and Hmong) student enrollment (definition from Plan 2008, 1998).[6] Not only are student enrollment rates low, but graduation and retention rates for M/D targeted students remain well below all-campus averages. To combat these trends, there are a number of programs at UW-Madison that aim to increase access and success for underrepresented populations: precollege preparation, academic support services, and access to scholarships and financial supports.

As of the Fall 2011, the School of Education (SOE) has the largest percentage (16%) of "targeted minority" graduate students compared to other graduate and professional schools on campus. SOE has 10% of undergraduate students who are considered "targeted minorities" (Diversity Forum, 2011). Women, who were once considered an underrepresented group, now make up more than half of the undergraduate and graduate student population for the entire university. However, subject areas are still highly gendered as to this day women are considered underrepresented in areas such as Engineering and Mathematics.

The hiring and retention of faculty of color is also a particular concern of the University. As of 2010 there were 2,177 total faculty members and 17.6% (384) of faculty were "racial/ethnic minorities." This represents an 8% increase in minoritized faculty since 1996 (Diversity Forum, 2011). However, the increase has not been a consistent trend. Some years it has risen and other years it has fallen. Another concern is that the tenure rates of minoritized faculty remain below their White colleagues. There is a 70% tenure rate for White faculty and a 65% tenure rate for "minority" faculty (Diversity Forum, 2011). As former Vice-provost, Damon Williams, stated in a personal interview this is not a startling difference, but when considering the fact that minoritized faculty are underrepresented in the University, these low tenure rates can be decimating for the number of faculty of color on the campus.

Also Williams (2013) argues it is necessary to go beyond access and examine the campus climate and learning, research and scholarship; equality cannot be measured simply in terms of access and enrollment. As Unterhalter (2006) stated,

> The feminist novelist Angela Carter…suggested a generative metaphor. Once women were invited to the dinner party of higher education, she asked, could they complain about the food?…I want to take her question further. How do they ask questions about who cooked and washed up and under what work conditions? Can they consider how access to this dinner party does and does not support those who may never eat a meal on this lavish scale? And if they pose these questions are they really guests or only impostors barely tolerated, forever outsiders?

Carter's questions and considerations should be extended to all underrepresented and "targeted" groups at the University and educational institutions as a whole. They call for the need to evaluate "diversity" programs beyond the quantitative measures of number of individuals. Currently, the campus has experienced a climate of slow progress and avoidances of the recommendations of the Holley Report. Multicultural organizations and initiatives have come under attack with many losing funding. Across the campus and within University publications there has been a vocal attack or 'debate' about the university's affirmative action policies. These discussions make students of color feel like unwelcomed "guests". This is so because the attacks on affirmative action policies that would help some students of color achieve admission to the university implicitly, perhaps unintentionally, raise questions about any and all students of students of color on the campus. Many students of color have also commented (in personal communications, university publications and student-directed documentaries) about their lack of inclusiveness and reported on the daily micro- and macro-aggressions they face (see the "I, too, am UW-Madison" Tumblr).

A number of students experience exclusion and othering based on multiple identity markers (race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, etc.). And for a number of students this exclusion is felt from the moment they apply to the university. This is especially true for biracial or multiracial students, who like all students are asked to categorize themselves according to race and ethnicity. They are asked to select one of the options given and if they do not fit into one of the specified categories or if they fit into multiple categories they must mark "other". These students are solidified as "Other" upon their enrollment.

Once on campus students of color are met by a predominantly White student and faculty body as well as subtle racism from their peers and others around them. The experiences of students of color, who targeted through the multicultural diversity initiatives, are

[6] International students are not counted within these numbers and are categorized separately.

very different from White students, who may be targeted as "disadvantaged" for coming from low-income families or as first generation college students (Sisneros, 2011; Williams, 2013). While the representation of multiple underrepresented and historically marginalized groups in institutions of higher education is important, White students' experiences are different because of how they are generally able to blend in in their classes in ways students of color cannot at a predominantly White institution, such as UW-Madison (Sisneros, 2011; Williams, 2013). Additionally, the competitive disposition of the university that generally fosters individualism, more so than collective learning on the part of students, is antithetical to some students' whose world views and beliefs is in collective support and responsibility to their community.

In response, students create spaces of mutual support and gather with other like-mind students in order to address the problems and issues they face. Some of these more formal spaces, however, have been targeted and lost funding. For example, in 2013, the Multicultural Student Center (MSC), which arose out of the Holley Report and the Madison Plan, has received minimal funding from the student government's finance committee and in previous years (2011 for example) the MSC was denied any student government funding (Hintz, 2011; Larkins, 2013). Stronger support for students and a recognition of their historical struggles and value is needed to begin to facilitate greater inclusion of an increasingly more diverse student body.

In addition, and of major significance, the ethnic studies programs and the Afro American Studies Department, which emerged out of students' struggles, have come under attack. Many have been losing funding annually and there is currently a move to consolidate the programs into one department, thereby unraveling the tireless work and efforts of students and faculty of the university. The move to consolidate, however, is being met with organized resistances.

7. Conclusion

In this moment of conservative pushback against racial and ethnic progress in the US, UW-Madison must not relax efforts to promote greater inclusion of students of color, their voices and knowledge on this campus. The arc of justice that includes a climate of "campus diversity" has struggled forward because of students' persistence. Change in the U.S., is often born out of protest and struggle. Such was the case at UW-Madison. Greater access and representation of multiple groups on campus, the establishment of ethnic studies programs and departments and the Holley Report that paved the way, all came about because of students' persistence. When students consider their places at the educational "table", what if those seats were no longer seen as "disadvantaged", but instead hard fought for positions?

In sum, this historical case study shows how notions of diversity and "disadvantage" have operated differently in different contexts in the State of Wisconsin and at its flagship university. Many European immigrants in the 1800s would have been seen as "disadvantaged", but this condition was not continually held as a barrier to their personhood and belonging because of their race. However, marginalized students at UW were viewed, and continue to be viewed, as deficient and "disadvantaged" (through socially constructed notions of race, class, gender, sexuality, etc.). Because of this viewing of marginalized students, they have had to continually struggle for cultural recognition and social inclusion. This paper represents an exploration of the histories of students organizing and movements at UW-Madison to raise questions such as: how does the framing of people and the discourses around diversity initiatives (words such as disadvantage) affect what responses are possible? And how can we change universities' institutional framings, imaginaries, climate and culture in order to promote full inclusion of all those who make up this nation? Such "thick" inclusion calls for a deep engagement with histories of students' continued struggles and continued demands. However, due to constraints on space this represents only a partial exploration; there are gaps in years and a full depiction of the multiple and interconnected on-going struggles of students for full inclusion across the campus.

We hope that this paper will encourage others to explore and delve into the gaps and silences to open spaces for deeper discussions of campus histories, current policies and future directions. We do not seek to offer fixed "solutions" or a step-by-step guide for universities, instead we encourage administrators, faculty and students to explore the histories of struggle on their campus and listen to the voices of "othered" students whose voices are often silenced or de-centered during debates about the policies and futures of their university. Understanding the struggles that led to many current policies and initiatives will hopefully make it more challenging to their outcomes to be reversed or undermined through top-down policies without the full input of students.

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Article

Navigating Ethnic Stigmatisation in the Educational Setting: Coping Strategies of Young Immigrants and Descendants of Immigrants in Norway

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Abstract
Tolerance and equality are widespread norms in the official policy of many European countries. The educational system is an arena which even more than others is meant to foster equal opportunities by giving individuals the opportunity to strive for social mobility through their educational performance. Despite this, young people from ethnic minority backgrounds experience different forms of stigmatization in school and higher education, ranging from feeling marked as different to experiencing more explicit racism. This article analyses young people's coping strategies in order to combat or avoid such stigmatization. We will analyse the possible reasons why young people choose a particular strategy in a given situation, how successful that choice is, and changes in their choice of strategies over time. We will discuss how earlier experiences of support, encouragement and respect (or the lack thereof) inform the extent to which young people choose more approaching than avoiding strategies as a response to perceived ethnic stigmatisation in the educational setting. The empirical basis of the article is a sample of 50 biographical interviews with young people of ethnic minority backgrounds living in Norway.

Keywords
coping strategies; education; immigrants; navigation; Norway; social exclusion

Issue
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1. Introduction

In contemporary Europe, young immigrants and descendants of immigrants are trying to establish a sense of belonging in the country they live in at a time when multiculturalism is disputed and right-wing populism is increasing (Kundnani, 2002; Verkuyten, 2004; Wiggen, 2012). The everyday surroundings of young people of ethnic minority backgrounds are fluctuating between an atmosphere of tolerance and equal rights on the one hand, and scepticism and ethnic labelling on the other. Norway is an interesting case in this regard, since its official policy highlights integration and tolerance. However, there has been announced a possible change of conditions for immigrants since the new Conservative Party and Progress Party coalition government took power in 2013, with more restricted asylum policy as one possible consequence. On the other hand, there is not necessarily any consequences related to ethnic labelling. One could say that young immigrants

and their descendants have, for many years already, experienced a situation where ethnic background is given importance in situations, either positively or negatively, for example through ethnic labelling. The Scandinavian countries are marked by a high degree of gender and income equality (Borchorst, 2011). Yet, as pointed out by Gullestad (2006), there is also a norm of equality, which can be perceived to be repressive. Everyone being equal means that those who are visibly different either have to assimilate in order to be part of the same equality, or feel that they do not fit in. Especially in the case of young immigrants and children of immigrants it is striking that many define themselves as foreigners after many years living in Norway or even having been born in the country (Øia & Vestel, 2007).

School is an arena where ethnic stigmatisation can take many forms—from comments among peers to teachers' misrecognition of a pupil of ethnic minority background. More general experiences of stigmatisation at school or in higher education institutions are of course not something only young people with ethnic minority backgrounds experience. The whole educational system is based on hierarchies, between pupils who perform well and those who do not, and in the school yard and the university campus between those who are included in particular social circles and those who are not. This article has a more specific focus, however, by particularly focusing on those experiences of stigmatisation which might be related to ethnic prejudices. This is an issue which has not been tackled much in previous research (Wong, Ecless, & Sameroff, 2003, p. 1203).

As shown in this article, young people use different strategies in order to combat or avoid such stigmatisation. This article will focus on young people's experiences of ethnic prejudice from teachers or fellow pupils in school and in higher education institutions. How do they react when experiencing stigmatisation in such settings? What factors lead to changes in their reactions over time? Our focus is on the three responses to perceived ethnic stigmatisation in an educational setting which we found to be the most common when analysing a sample of 50 interviews with young people from ethnic minority backgrounds living in Norway.

2. Conceptual Frame

Coping strategies are an individual's conscious and volitional efforts to regulate behaviour, emotions, thoughts etc. in response to stressful events and circumstances (Compas et al., 2001). These strategies do not operate in a vacuum; we can say that an individual is navigating between the established rules of conduct in an institutional setting and his or her need to maintain a sense of autonomy and respect through the use of strategies ranging from avoidance to resistance (Goffman, 1967, pp. 15, 49).

Coping strategies can be related to how to handle emotions related to different stressors, whereas in this article, we will focus on more problem-oriented coping-strategies, which are employed in order to maximise future possibilities. These strategies fit well with Albert Bandura's notion of 'coping-efficacy' (or self-efficacy, which is a synonym for the same phenomenon) (Bandura, 1982, p. 37). According to Bandura,

> 'The likelihood that people will act on the outcomes they expect prospective performances to produce, depends on their beliefs about whether or not they can produce those performances. A strong sense of coping efficacy reduces vulnerability to stress and depression in taxing situations and strengthens resiliency to adversity' (Bandura, 2001, p. 52).

Even though coping-efficacy is something different than self-consciousness, it is relevant when speaking about stigmatisation and exclusion in the educational sector, since what we have in mind here is the individual's belief that they can overcome the barriers to their future possibilities produced by prejudice.

A strong sense of coping efficacy makes it more likely that individuals will choose pro-active responses when experiencing ethnic stigmatisation, and in the absence of such stigmatisation, it is more likely that they will choose more passive responses. As expressed by Bandura,

> 'Unless people believe that they can produce desired effects and forestall undesired ones by their actions, they have little incentive to act' (Bandura, 2000, p. 9).

According to Bandura, there are four sources of coping-efficacy: first, experiences of mastery; second, social models of people similar to oneself; third, social persuasion by others (for instance, support and encouragement regarding one's own ability to succeed) and; fourth, a person's mood and interpretation of physical stress reactions (Bandura, 1994).

In this article, we shall focus in particular on feelings of coping-efficacy related to having an ethnic minority background. What happens when one repeatedly experiences being stigmatised because of an ethnic minority background? Goffman (1967, p. 52) describes such a situation: 'In considering the individual's participation in social action, we must understand that in a sense he does not participate as a total person, but rather in terms of a special capacity or status…'. Ethnic minority background is not made relevant in all situations, and also by law it should not be treated as relevant—schools should strive to treat everyone as equals. However, based on the interviews carried out for the project, we can see that young people from ethnic minority backgrounds experience situations

where they are treated negatively and—which should not be ignored—some where they are treated positively, because of their ethnic minority background. Thus, their background is made relevant in situations where, according to official policy, it shouldn't be.

In general, there are three parties to a situation of stigmatisation, corresponding to the humiliation triangle, to use Donald Klein's (1991) terminology. These are: the person who stigmatises, the person experiencing the stigmatisation and those who witness the stigmatisation and agree that this was an instance of stigmatisation. This means that ethnic stigmatisation is acted out *in social relations*, and the same holds for resistance towards stigmatory practices. Here, we are using the concept of stigmatisation in the broad meaning of the term, thus including everything from belittling, discrediting, etc. in close social encounters to more severe cases like racism (Fangen, 2006).

This article is structured as follows: following a presentation of statistics from the Norwegian context regarding young adult immigrants and children of immigrants in the educational sector, we will explain the methodology. Then we will give a general introduction to stigmatisation on the basis of ethnicity, as well as factors that serve as a buffer against stigmatisation. In the main section, we will analyse three central strategies that young immigrants and descendants of immigrants use when they experience stigmatisation in the educational setting.

3. Ethnic Stigmatisation in Norway

The majority of the interviewees (or their parents) came from Africa, Asia or the Middle East, with a minority coming from Eastern Europe. Most of the informants have a visible ethnic minority status through skin colour, facial characteristics, and sometimes clothes and religious symbols (e.g. hijab). Whereas racism based on appearance is widely seen as unacceptable in today's Norway, a dark skin colour, or religious symbols like hijab, denote cultural difference and it is on this basis that more subtle forms of exclusion develop (Gullestad, 2006). Previous research indicates that there is no automatic link between belonging to a stigmatised ethnic minority and experiencing emotional distress (Miller & Major, 2000). Social vulnerability is connected to one's general life situation at a given point in time. Higher education, a stable and well-paid job, and a family of one's own, as well as a nice home and a good social network, are all factors that might serve as a buffer against experiences of humiliation and exclusion (Lindner, 2000). Furthermore, having a robust network consisting of both those from the ethnic majority and those with the same ethnic background as oneself can be a buffer against the negative impact of humiliating experiences (Fangen, 2006).

In the wider perspective, the extent to which immigrants and descendants experience barriers is associated with factors such as knowledge of the dominant language, ease with widespread cultural codes of the ethnic majority population, and their level of skill in relating to different institutions in the country of residence (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 46). Those interviewed as part of our project differed in migration categories (from labour migrants, refugees, to the descendants of immigrants), the length of residence in Norway, and in socioeconomic status. They ranged from those typically seen as multiply marginalised to 'success immigrants' in higher education and in highly skilled jobs. Most of the descendants had experienced exclusionary experiences due to the fact that they or their parents were immigrants. However, for those who have achieved a high position in the labour market, this had often taken place earlier in their careers, while they were working in the service sector (Fangen & Paasche, 2013) or during their school years; it is these experiences on which we will focus here.

Compared with other European countries, immigrants and their descendants in Norway have a relatively high participation rate in the educational sector (Fangen, Fossan, & Mohn, 2010). In 2010, 97 percent of descendants and 77 percent of immigrants made a direct transition from lower to upper secondary education. The average for all students is 96 per cent (SOPEMI, 2010). Many of those immigrants who do not enter upper secondary school do not do so because they are only resident in Norway for a short period of time. As for descendants of immigrants aged 19–24, their participation rate in higher education is somewhat higher than that of the ethnic majority population (Støren, 2010). Overall, the completion rates of immigrant and descendant youth are lower than those of the majority population, but research on subgroups indicates that the difference in completion rates can be traced back to the background (income and education) of the parents (Fekjær, 2007).

4. Methodology

There have been a number of previous studies of coping strategies related to stigma. Most of these studies are quantitative, using for example the "Ways of Coping Questionnaire" or the "Multidimensional Coping Inventory" (Puhl & Brownell, 2003, p. 72). Such studies have the advantage of being able to say something about the frequency of the use of certain coping strategies in certain categories of the population. Since we conducted a qualitative study, with a sample of 250 interviews in seven countries and 50 interviews in the national sample we will use here, we cannot generalise by drawing conclusions about the frequency of using certain coping strategies among young people from ethnic minority backgrounds in general. Also, the purpose of our study is different; it does not aim to say

which strategy is the most frequent, but rather to say what motivates different strategies and show changes in the strategies used over the course of an individual's life. We will discuss the merits and pitfalls of different strategies in given situations, and this is not easily done with a statistical study which gives results on an aggregated level.

The empirical basis of this article is a series of biographical interviews with young adult immigrants and children of immigrants conducted in Oslo for the research project EUMARGINS—On the Margins of the European Community. The EUMARGINS project explores the inclusion and exclusion of young adults between 18 and 25 in seven European countries. In this article, we analyse interviews from the Norwegian data sample. All interviews focused on experiences of inclusion and exclusion in different arenas, such as schools, neighbourhoods, work places, etc. The interviewees were told that the interviews were being collected for a European project that focused on exclusion and inclusion of young immigrants and descendants in Europe. They were informed that they could visit the web page of the project if they were interested in more information about it, and were also invited to ask if they wanted the project described in more detail. The importance of collecting the experiences of young immigrants and descendants in order to come up with advice as to how to make conditions more inclusive was stressed. The interviewees were also informed that their names, as well as any other recognisable criteria, would be changed in order to ensure anonymity.

The interviews were structured as biographical interviews, where the interviewees were asked quite open questions about their life in Norway from arrival (if they weren't born there) to the present day. They were prompted in particular about experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The interviewers tried to grasp the interviewees' own concepts and understandings of inclusion and exclusion, and they used mostly more everyday concepts, rather than more abstract ones (like inclusion/exclusion). All interviews for the project were structured around questions of experiences of inclusion and exclusion in various arenas, such as education, work, neighbourhood, family and peers. They took the form of semi-structured biographical interviews, where discussion of changes over time were particularly prompted. For the purpose of this article, we searched through the entire Norwegian data sample for narratives about school and education. Based on this search, we copied relevant interview excerpts, including the background information necessary in order to interpret each of them in a separate word document (Fangen, 2012). We combined the analysis of the interviews with intermittent reading of the interviews in their entirety, one at a time. Often, such an alternation between an overview and depth of insight gave the best analysis of the material. Also, when we were transcribing interviews, or just after the reading of an interview, we wrote memos about what was important in the interview and how to interpret it. In this way, we gradually got an overall picture of the material (Fangen, 2012). The quotes were edited true to content, but with the deletion of repetitions and reformulations to increase their clarity in written form.

As the length of the present article does not allow us to present each interviewee from the sample, we chose a selection of interviewees to use as examples for the purposes of this paper. Experiences of ethnic stigmatisation in school and/or higher education institutions (for those interviewees who have attended those) were present in all interviews. Our sub-sample was made strategically in order to reveal different methods of coping with stigmatisation in school. Since we wanted to include examples of stigmatisation in higher education institutions in addition to examples of exclusion in primary and secondary school, the sub-sample of ten informants is somewhat biased towards those who have succeeded in pursuing higher education. But in our national sample of 50 interviews, this bias was not so strong, since the purpose when recruiting interviewees was to gather 'a variety of experiences' (Fangen, 2012).

The interviews were conducted partly by the authors of this article (of whom one was the project leader and another was a research assistant), and partly by other research assistants or master's students (Finne, 2010; Kvittingen, 2011), and the interview sites included offices, cafés and in a few cases, the interviewees' homes.

As in all qualitative studies, it is hard to generalise with the findings because the sample is limited. However, we will argue that our findings are consistent with much earlier research, also of a quantitative nature, as is evident in the references we give.

5. Coping Strategies

Our main interest in this article lies in the interaction between young adults with ethnic minority backgrounds who have experienced exclusion in the educational setting and the people who stigmatise them. However, our focus is on the experiences of the young people themselves. We are not evaluating whether or not they really were stigmatised, but the way they perceived being stigmatised and the way they responded to it.

5.1. Avoiding

In the literature on coping strategies, a distinction is often made between approaching strategies and avoidance strategies (Goffman, 1967). This is similar to Miller and Major's (2000) distinction between primary control strategies and secondary control strategies. Approaching and primary control strategies aim at *changing* the stressful situation (by, for example, confronting it), whereas avoidance and secondary control

strategies aim at *adapting to* the stressful event (by, for example, withdrawing) (Miller & Major, 2000). From our interviewees, we heard many examples of avoidance strategies. For some, these were former habits, whereas following a changing environment, higher education or an increase in support, they had changed to more approaching strategies. We will illustrate such changes by using the same subjects as examples for several of the strategies described in the following sections.

Avoidance is the most defensive strategy young people use when experiencing exclusion. This strategy is closer related to emotional arousal and distress. Instead of trying to change the situation or the environment, this strategy implies that the young people avoid situations and settings where they can be negatively stereotyped. According to Miller and Major (2000), the most common avoidance strategy is not complete avoidance, but selective avoidance of some arenas of life, such as choosing who to socialise with. In our material, we found many examples of such selective avoidance. Often, there was a discrepancy between who the young people wanted to interact with, and who they ended up interacting with in order to avoid further exclusion.

Take the case of Isir, who is a 19 year old upper secondary school pupil and the only one in her class who is not ethnic Norwegian. She immigrated to Norway from Somalia as an asylum seeker when she was 11 years old. She sees a strong contrast between the way her classmates treat her and how they treat other classmates. After numerous experiences of being stereotyped, she stopped approaching ethnic Norwegian peers. It upsets her when her classmates approach ethnic Norwegians with casual conversations about spare time activities, whereas when they speak to her they seem preoccupied with her ethnic background and religion:

> Sometimes I just feel that they [ethnic Norwegians] regard us as if there is something wrong with us. (…) I speak Norwegian. We are doing the same assignments (…). The only difference is skin colour and the way one dresses. I have a head scarf and you don't. What's that got to do with it? (…) I feel as if they think that we are not the same, that we are not worth as much as them, that they regard us as if we still are asylum seekers, see? (…) I feel like they perceive me as the same girl as [I was] when I came to Norway.

Isir finds it mundane and upsetting being repeatedly asked the same questions about her background.

> When we talk, a conversation goes like 'Ok, where do you come from? How long have you been here?'(..) The conversation becomes very boring. I think, 'oh my God, is this an interview? I'm not in a reception centre for asylum seekers now. I've done that before, let's talk about something else.' Let's talk about boys or shopping, going to cafés! Because that's what you do when you're with that Norwegian girl over there, right? You talk about fun stuff, but with me you only talk about 'well, what do you believe in?' It's boring stuff like that.

The conversations Isir has with her class mates tend to be rare and brief, and because Isir finds the topics dull, she makes no attempt to lengthen the conversation herself either. '*When it's like that, you just shut up'.* Staying aloof in conversations could be seen as a first stage of avoidance. Isir wishes her classmates would invite her to come along with them:

> They think that 'she doesn't go to parties'. Kind of, like, prejudices, see? 'Do your parents allow you to go?', they ask. [I think:] Yes, yes, yes, don't ask! You don't ask your Norwegian friend 'do your parents allow you to go?' You just say 'Come on, let's go. Shall we go shopping tomorrow? Shall we go to a café on Saturday?'

Isir has tried asking others if they want to meet in their spare time, but so far no one has agreed. As a consequence of her strained encounters with ethnic Norwegians, Isir has started searching out peers with an ethnic minority background. With them, she can relax:

> I get upset by [experiencing] that [prejudice], right (…) Therefore, I am more interested in hanging out with Parveen or someone else, from the same or another foreign background.

We can see that the reason Isir ends up with withdrawing herself from one social circle and building an alternative network, is that her previous attempts at approaching others did not succeed. It is her negative experiences that have led her to change who she relates to.

Both social psychological researchers (Major & O'Brien, 2005) and social scientific researchers (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) have pointed out that experiencing stigmatisation can lead to increased identification and interaction with others who have a similar stigmatised background. Being with other people from similar backgrounds is linked to less depression and more to positive self-esteem (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Contact with other people from a similar background gives not only a 'sanctuary' from prejudice, but also leads to social, informational and instrumental support. Furthermore, one can experience mutual understanding, a sense of belonging and acceptance through such contact (Miller & Major, 2000; Major & O'Brien, 2005). Isir receives a sanctuary from prejudice by associating with others with an ethnic minority background. However, the most painful part of her experience seems to be that she does not accept being categorised as dif-

ferent from ethnic Norwegians, but ethnic Norwegians presume that a difference exists between them. This reveals the emotional distress related to avoidance, and illustrates that to withdraw from contact in order to avoid being stereotyped is not necessarily a strategy which leads to greater personal harmony.

For Azadi, however, increased interaction with others from the same background in order to avoid contexts where he was stigmatised by ethnic Norwegians, was a strategy that lead to an increased feeling of well-being. Azadi is 26 years old and has finished his master's degree at a Norwegian University. He immigrated to Norway from Iran via Iraq as a teenager. After several exclusionary experiences related to his background, Azadi has strengthened his Kurdish network.

> Azadi: Because (…) I was not allowed to talk my mother tongue at school…This means that you aren't very included. Then you feel that something is wrong. And this has actually made me more engaged in my background. (…) Politically, in Kurdish circles, and ethnically we have been suppressed in many countries. It makes me more conscious of my background. In Iraq I didn't give a s… about being a Kurd. But in Norway something forces you to carry it with you further, to strengthen it.

Isir and Azadi's withdrawal strategies differ in the sense that for Azadi it has been accompanied with a cognitive shift in who he identifies with, whereas for Isir it has not. But there can be a cost related to withdrawing like this, and emphasising one's ethnic identity as the main source of self-efficacy. Major and O'Brien (2005) state that people who perceive their stigmatised social identity as a central part of their self-identity are more likely to see themselves as targets of personal and group discrimination, especially when prejudice cues are attributionally ambiguous.

There are examples of young people from ethnic minority backgrounds who relate to successful others from the same ethnic background, ethnic identity can be a source of pride (Fangen, 2007a, 2007b). Within a self-efficacy framework, experiences of negative social interaction with ethnic Norwegians can be seen as a failure experience, however. Failure experiences can undermine self-efficacy. Disengagement from settings where one expects to experience failure can be seen as a way of moving one's energy elsewhere, to areas of life where one expects to be in greater control and at greater ease. Bandura (1994) notes that failure experiences can particularly negatively impact self-efficacy when failures occur before a sense of efficacy is firmly established.

5.2. Working Harder

One can assume that repeatedly experiencing exclusion may at some point lead to expecting exclusion and hence that the individual will tend to interpret ambiguous possible stigmatising situations to have a negative meaning. Conversely, someone with a high degree of self-efficacy may have a "robustness" which can open them up to different solutions than withdrawal when experiencing stigmatisation. A strategy that was seen in the narratives of several of our informants was a strategy equivalent to what Major and O'Brien (2005) describe as 'working harder'. Findings from quantitative studies show that many young people from ethnic minority backgrounds have an extra drive to perform well (Lauglo, 1999). Working harder can be based on past negative experiences, but also on encouragement and advice from others and general knowledge about how to achieve a high level of success in a particular society. According to Lauglo (1999, p. 79), the situation of being an immigrant can in itself contribute to an ethos of 'working harder'. He lists several possible reasons for this. One aspect of this is immigrants seeing themselves as

> outsiders who are not really entitled to be treated on equal terms with other citizens (…) The parents might stress that 'it is tough out there' and that their children therefore must learn to work harder than others in order to stand a chance. (1999, p. 79)

This was quite salitent in the examples we will cite in this section.

Jasmina is a 25-year-old master graduate who fled the war in Bosnia as a child. When she first came to Norway, she lived in a small town in the west of the country. She did well at school, but socially speaking she experienced some rough times, especially at primary school, but to some extent also during upper secondary school. She told us: 'I wouldn't say [I was] bullied, but rather I was excluded by the other girls in class. Because I wasn't cool enough, because I didn't have cool clothes while we lived in a reception centre for refugees.' Her response to this situation was 'I had to do everything to fit in, so that I wouldn't seem even more different from the others'. Jasmina believes the main reason she was excluded was that she was foreign and did well in school, and that presumably during her teenage years 'wanting to be cool and popular while you're not' may have been at the core. When Jasmina had experienced stigmatising comments during her school years, she had used strategies of trying harder in order to be liked and accepted, and had tried to adhere to the social norms of the surroundings.

Jasmina had experienced stigmatisation from a teacher during upper secondary school. The teacher was pleasant to all the girls in her class, except her. She told us that the teacher had paid the other girls compliments, and despite the fact that Jasmina always did her homework, the teacher gave her negative feedback. Jasmina was convinced the teacher had treated

her that way because she wasn't ethnic Norwegian. 'I did everything better, faster and [her attitude was] "No, this isn't good enough", whereas others got a pat on their shoulder for trying,' Jasmina states. The other girls in Jasmina's class had also noticed how the teacher 'tried to push [her] down a bit.' During that period, Jasmina often came home from school in tears. She had thought: 'It will probably pass, maybe it's like this in the beginning, I just have to work harder, maybe it's me.'

Working harder can be associated with a view that one requires something extra, since the starting point is not equal for people with an ethnic majority and ethnic minority background. For instance, there may be a view that more education or skills are needed in order to have the same opportunities as people with an ethnic majority background. The information one gains can be central to one's expectations about future exclusion, and hence one's long-term strategy to avoid exclusion. Azadi, mentioned in the previous section, is willing to increase his qualifications further in order to get employed in the sector he desires to work in. When the interviewer asked whether this had been necessary in order to get the executive officer position he was aiming at, he responded: "Yes, for an immigrant; unfortunately." Thus, we see that his strategy is not merely withdrawal (as in the previous section), but also working harder, by increasing his qualifications further. This is often the case; young people use a combination of different strategies in order to overcome stigmatisation and social exclusion. It is the total set of strategies that define their specific way of dealing with their stigmatised social status. For Azadi, the strategy of increasing his qualifications seemed to have worked, as he had eventually got a position that reflected his qualifications.

The experiences of others of our interviewees who have worked hard to increase their educational competences point in the same direction. 24-year-old Sahel, a descendant of Indian immigrants to Norway, had considered becoming an engineer, but chose medicine instead. An important factor influencing his decision had been his ethnic minority background.

> Interviewer: So you were thinking a bit about job opportunities as well? That when you were finished [with secondary upper school] you thought that as a doctor, there is high demand for doctors?
> Sahel: Yes, exactly. I thought about that as well and it is also related to being foreign and being a job applicant, like, that I think it's easier to get a job in the health sector because there are quite a lot of foreigners working there. Ehh…as opposed to job seeking in the business sector. I think it's worse being a foreign job applicant there.

When Sahel was asked whether education might be a means to gain respect and recognition, he responded "yes, absolutely", and told us about an incident when he was training for at a petrol station. Sahel said that the girl who trained him for the job initially was 'very, you can say, racist.' Before he started the job, she had made it clear that if he started, she would quit. However, the girl's offhand attitude towards Sahel had stopped when she had heard that he studied medicine.

A motivating force for working extra hard and aiming high can be a desire to stand out less in a stigmatised sense by trying to excel in a field and drawing attention to one's strengths. Gagan, a descendant of Indian immigrants and a PhD candidate in medicine, stated that pursuing higher education can be a strategy to counter exclusion and feel safer:

> Gagan: People who are children of first generation immigrants will always have a kind of insecurity inside, exactly because they are different, they are foreigners, and therefore they desire—just like everyone else, that their surroundings accept them, and think that they are good. To become a doctor is an easy way of gaining recognition. (…) When you are a second generation [immigrant], you are rootless and insecure and want recognition from your surroundings. And to become a doctor is one of the best ways to achieve it.

Similarly, 26-year-old Bashir, a pharmacy student and descendant of Indian immigrants, said that education can be a way of improving esteem from others and increasing a sense of belonging:

> Interviewer: What do you think influences you when it comes to [getting] a good education and a good job? (…)
> Bashir: It definitely helps your self-esteem. You grow up here and feels that you are not very much at home here. But you were born here, so it affects your self-esteem a lot and then it is very important—I feel that it has helped my self-confidence to have a good education.

In these cases, we can see that the young immigrants and descendants go into higher prestige education in order to increase their recognition in Norwegian society. Their strategy is an attempt to get a status position in a society where they feel like outsiders.

The strategy of working harder can be viewed as an attempt of conforming to the values of the country of residence. We saw how Jasmina had tried to combat a sense of exclusion by attempting to conform to what she thought were her teacher's expectations and her peers' social expectations. Similarly, several informants aimed at elite professions in order to gain recognition.

5.3. Confronting

'When they are empowered with sufficient social re-

sources, members of ethnic/racial groups are more likely to confront racial bias and discrimination, regardless of their cultural backgrounds', argue Noh and Kaspar (2003), based on a quantitative study of South-East Asian refugees in Canada. Also our sample shows that to deal with exclusionary experiences head-on requires an already established sense of coping-efficacy. An example is Bushra, the 24-year-old daughter of economic migrants from Pakistan who has a master's degree in natural sciences. Her strategy of confrontation had been consistent throughout the exclusionary experiences she shared from her childhood, youth, as a student and as an adult. Throughout primary and upper secondary school Bushra was, against her will, placed in a class for Norwegian as a second language, even though she spoke the language fluently. She said that she had been unfairly treated, and that she was placed in the wrong class merely due to her ethnic minority background. Bushra commented that in kindergarten she had in fact been the one correcting her peers' way of speaking Norwegian. She said that while languages were not her favourite subjects in school, the problem had been that she wasn't treated as an individual.

For much of her school years, Bushra's strategy to deal with her Norwegian class placement had been one of direct and repeated confrontation. She had approached her teachers numerous times requesting to be accepted into regular Norwegian classes. When the school staff had said that her parents had immigrated, she had replied: 'But I didn't immigrate. I was born here. I am Norwegian.' On some occasions, she had also walked out of the class room. Hence, her strategy had been one of protest, often taking place as confrontation and boycotting. In the end, her claims had reached the headmaster. The result of Bushra's claims was that she had been accepted into a regular Norwegian class, where she had worked her way up to passing her final Norwegian oral exam in upper secondary school with the top grade. For Bushra, getting accepted into the class for Norwegian as a first language could also be seen as a kind of encouragement that had triggered a heightened sense of self-efficacy.

At a later stage in life, Bushra had again used a confrontation strategy, when as a student she felt pigeonholed by a professor:

> We were [in the mountains on an excursion]. He said to me: 'You don't know much about this, do you? Because you immigrants don't spend as much time in the forest as we Norwegians do.' And I looked around and said: 'You know what? All the Norwegians I know, those who are born and raised in the city, not many of them spend time in the forest.' I stood there feeling that he meant that I'd be less skilled than the others because of my background. (…) I got like: 'No, I am Norwegian actually and I'm as Norwegian as anyone else. I was born and raised in the city, so it's not natural for me to be in the forest and climb in trees and do that kind of stuff.

Spending time in nature is often seen as a central symbol of Norwegian national identity (Witoszek, 2011), and the professor had stereotypical expectations of Bushra because she was the daughter of immigrants. After having gone through various identity stages during youth—defining herself as Pakistani at one stage and Pakistani-Norwegian at a later stage, the experience with the university professor had elicited a Norwegian period. Later in the semester, when Bushra had been the only one in her class to obtain an A grade in the exam, she had approached the professor, once more underlining her 'Norwegianess':

> I said to him: 'Do you know who got that A?' He looks at me. [I said] 'It was me! Because I'm Norwegian' I don't think he meant to be personal. But I took it [the event in the excursion] very personally.

Confronting prejudices can come with a cost. Miller and Major (2000) point out that: 'successful adaptation of stigmatized persons is typically not achieved without a price'. They point out that trying to influence the prejudice of others 'demand[s] commitments of time, money, energy and other resources', and thus it is not a strategy available to everyone. Some young people from ethnic minority backgrounds who use direct confrontation as a strategy seem particularly 'resource-privileged.' Confronting school staff repeatedly during many years the way Bushra did, demands persistence and confidence that perhaps not everyone has, and the cost of such actions may differ for different individuals. Compared to many of the other interviewees, Bushra comes off as an exceptionally confident individual who tends to take an assertive approach to challenges. One example of this was her job-seeking strategy before graduating, where she had been unusually forward when approaching the prospective employer she wanted to work for. She had reached her employment goals with the job she wanted. Bushra believes that one's own individual job-seeking strategy, as opposed to ethnic background, is the decisive factor in obtaining employment. Some of her friends from an ethnic minority background had aimed low when applying for jobs following graduation, whereas she had been determined to only apply to jobs she was qualified for. For Bushra, the support of her father had had an impact on her degree of self-efficacy in relating to ethnic Norwegians. Bushra said that her father had always given her strong support, encouraging her and standing up for her.

Jasmina had also used confrontational strategies when she had experienced prejudice, albeit with a less consistent strategy than was the case for Bushra. Jasmina explained that it was 'only' in the beginning that

she had experienced exclusion and that she had had a lot of friends in secondary school. Things had changed when she learned Norwegian: 'When I knew more Norwegian, I could defend myself. If anyone blamed me, I could stand up for myself,' she said. Jasmina also felt a turning point had been when her mother had had a serious talk with her, telling her that she had to stand up for herself and that the way the other kids were treating her was wrong.

Generally speaking, Jasmina had felt more confident in upper secondary school, a time during which she said she generally 'toughened up' after she started to play handball. It had also helped to start a new class with 'new people who brought positive traits to the class room.' Hence, there were both changes in Jasmina's environment and personal changes within herself. Jasmina had started positioning herself differently when she experienced exclusion. Whereas in the beginning she had done everything she could to be liked, she said that after a while she had started to be able to read people better and determine who was genuine. Her attention changed from focusing on who liked her, to who *she* liked and sensed she could trust.

The story of Ping, a 27-year-old master graduate and the daughter of Chinese immigrants, also illustrates how self-perceptions can have an impact on strategies in facing exclusion. Ping had been teased as a child, but had felt increasingly included as she had become older. Ping's process towards experiencing less exclusion was linked to experiencing a more and more ethnically diverse environment—first when moving to a school with more diversity for upper secondary school and later when she moved to Oslo. Ping had already noticed the impact of a diverse setting when she started at upper secondary school. 'People had seen a bit more;' she explained, and added that in Oslo 'it was even better, because it is even more mixed.' Ping stated that today the older you are the more confident you feel about yourself. When Ping was younger, her need for being affirmed by others had been greater. When she was younger, she had wondered whether there was something wrong with her because she didn't have friends. Ping said that those who act in discriminatory ways today are the ones 'who have a problem,' not being able to deal with the way she looks. She explained that today,

> If people act badly, ok, I answer back and don't care about them. I don't walk around thinking 'oh, he treated me so badly'. I just think: ok, such people aren't worth bothering about.

Another side of her being less socially vulnerable than before, is that she does not feel humiliated by such experiences, but instead says ' [I] don't care about them.' Ping's case illustrates close links between experiencing inclusion, self-confidence and a strategy of answering back when she experiences ethnic labelling. Positive experiences of inclusion has led to her quickly bouncing back when she experiences exclusion.

For some, a change of environment might be the setting that triggers more positive experiences, since the people from the past who discredited them are no longer there. Both Ping and Jasmina had changed environments and thus had experienced increased 'mastery' of being different as time passed. Someone who generally feels included in different areas of their life may choose to confront those who act exclusionarily or shrug it off as an insignificant event that they deem unrepresentative of their life or of Norwegian society (Fangen, 2006).

6. Discussion

In this section, we will analyse possible reasons why the young people interviewed use a particular strategy in a given situation, how successful that choice has been and changes in their choice of strategies over time. We will also discuss the structural barriers and other barriers that limit the possibilities of proactive responses that young people from ethnic minority backgrounds have in situations where they are met with ethnicity-based prejudices or racism. Moreover, we will discuss how earlier experiences of support, encouragement and respect (or the lack thereof) inform the extent to which the young people chose more approaching, rather than avoiding strategies

Bandura (1994) states that that the most effective way to develop self-efficacy is 'through mastery experiences. Successes build a robust belief in one's personal efficacy' whereas 'failures undermine it, especially if failures occur before a sense of efficacy is firmly established. (…) A resilient sense of efficacy requires experience in overcoming obstacles through perseverant effort.' Mastery experiences can take the form of having confronted the prejudiced person, and having experienced a successful result after doing so. This is the first source of self-efficacy, according to Bandura. In the case of Bushra, we see that she chose to confront her teachers and later on the headmaster because she had not been allowed to join the class for Norwegian as first language. By doing so, she not only stood up for herself, but aimed at influencing her environment. This can be seen as an example of 'overcoming obstacles through perseverant effort' (Bandura, 1994). Her current strong sense of control in tackling situations could partly stem from these mastery experiences, where she repeatedly confronted the teachers over time, and in the end succeeded in achieving the result she aimed at. In her case, we see that she faced some barriers, but that she chose not to give up because of them. Why did she have the courage to do so? We can see two possible reasons for this. One of them resembles the third source of self-efficacy, according to Bandura, namely social persuasion by others, for in-

stance support and encouragement regarding one's own ability to succeed. This condition was present in Bushra's case, since she received continuously support from her father, who taught her to stand up for herself. Her father probably was also a role model for her, this being the second source of self-efficacy (see description of these in the introduction). Furthermore, we cannot rule out possible inborn personality traits, which might contribute to Bushra's mood and her personal interpretation of stress situations. This corresponds to the fourth source of self-efficacy according to Bandura's theory. Bushra's general approach to life appears to be facing challenges head-on and not expecting less than she feels she deserves. It seems plausible that with her general style of dealing with challenges, such as approaching authorities like her school headmaster when she felt unfairly treated, could have come more naturally for her, and hence with a lower cost than for many others.

Personality can be a trait which is genetically predetermined. However, structural and social/environmental factors also have an influence on which strategy one chooses in a given situation. In particular, a change of environment can imply that an individual enters a social environment where people are more inclusive (social support) or where there are more people similar to him- or herself (referring to the second and third source of self-efficacy according to Bandura). This was the case with Ping, who had moved to an area where more immigrants lived, and where she no longer felt as different as she had previously felt from other pupils. This boosted her self-esteem. A change of environment can also possibly lead to more experiences of mastery, which again can impact the person's mood and interpretation of situations. This illustrates that all the four sources of self-efficacy as defined by Bandura (1994) seem somehow related to each other, rather than operating in a vacuum.

In this article, we have discussed three strategies young immigrants and descendants use when experiencing exclusion: avoiding, working harder, and confronting. These are three of many possible coping strategies in stressful situations, or, in this case, a response to ethnic stigmatisation (in the methodological section we mentioned some of the many coping strategies found in previous research on this topic). In our sample, other coping strategies, such as emotionally focused strategies, talking with others, turning to religion, etc., were not as often mentioned. However, the interviewer did not explicitly ask for other strategies either, since the overall theme of the interviews was experiences of inclusion and exclusion in different areas of the participants' lives. In particular, the interviews focused heavily on arenas such as school and labour market, and these are arenas where mastery experiences are of great importance. This might explain the fact that the interviews revealed mainly problem oriented strategies, rather than emotional or psychological ones. Nevertheless, withdrawal or avoiding specific networks of people, might be seen as less problem oriented; it is more about avoiding situations where problems (i.e. ethnic labelling) occur. The consequence of avoidance can be sanctuary from prejudices, but at the same time emotional distress, and consequently a lack of available social capital related to contact with people from the ethnic majority population. Thus, this strategy has psychological and potentially socio-economic consequences. When Isir wanted to be an equal participant in her peer group with pupils who had ethnic Norwegian background but was unsuccessful, she became distressed. However, it was a relief for her to make other friends who also had an immigrant background, even though this was not what she originally aimed for. By contrast, Azadi did not have the same desire to feel included with ethnic Norwegians, and was happy after he joined a social circle with other Kurds. Earlier research has shown that to withdraw from social networks with people of the majority ethnic group can give a sanctuary from prejudice, but as a consequence one might feel less included in the country of residence (Fangen, 2006a, 2006b). In addition, minority networks do not give the same access to jobs and future possibilities in general (Fangen, 2010). Another strategy of withdrawal that we haven't discussed in this article is the strategy of leaving school entirely. In some cases, in particular among young ethnic minority men, this can be related to a 'street wise' and even a partly criminal career (Fangen & Frønes, 2013). (Self-)evidently, this is not beneficial for maximising a person's chances in the education system or the labour market, but it can give them access to certain kinds of low skill jobs.

By contrast, the strategy of working harder can be more successful. We can see that in the cases of Sahel and Gagan; aiming for high status professions provided them with the respect of others, which they formerly lacked of in some situations. According to Lauglo, the strategy of working harder could be partly motivated by the fact that youth from immigrant backgrounds think that they need more competence than others in order to compete on the labour market on a level footing, but it can also be motivated by the fact that due to language difficulties and other obstacles, they simply have to work harder in order to achieve the same results as their friends who do not have an immigrant background. In either case, this is, according to Lauglo, simply a 'basic human trait. They respond to perceived necessity' (Lauglo, 1999, p. 97). Finally, the consequence of confrontation can be that prejudices are fought and that environments are changed for the better, although in some cases, confrontation might also lead to conflict or to further exclusion because the individual will be marked as 'difficult'. However, in Bushra's case, we can see that her confrontational strategy was more related to showing what she was good at, ra-

ther than entering into conflict. Our informants use confrontation in situations where they sense that they risk a loss of respect (cf. Folkman et al., 1986).

7. Conclusion

Quantitative research on different coping strategies shows that so-called emotion-focused strategies, related to dealing with the negative emotions that stressful encounters trigger, are less effective than problem-oriented strategies that deal more directly with what has happened (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). This is similar to Millar and Major's distinction between primary and secondary coping strategies, as discussed earlier. Problem-oriented strategies resemble primary control strategies in that they aim at changing the situation. Emotion-oriented strategies resemble secondary strategies in that they aim at adapting to the stressful situation. The latter is more passive than the former. Withdrawal can be a wise strategy when the environment is marked by strong ethnic prejudice, but when it is not, confrontation - in a positive sense that is highlighting one's own competences - is possibly more beneficial.

When having experienced prejudice many times in the past a person can start expecting prejudice in situations where they do not occur. In other words, there will be an increase in 'false alarms' (Barrett & Swim, 1998). The positive thing about a generalised 'cultural mistrust' is that the individual can detect prejudice and immediately react to it, for example by saying that he/she will not accept being treated badly. However, the cost is that he/she will live in a state of heightened alarm, which in itself is stressful. We believe that there are factors which can tell us which individuals will choose confrontation when faced with ethic stigmatisation and which will react with withdrawal. To be able to confront others successfully requires social support of people who can encourage the person to stand up for him or herself and to negotiate his/her individual qualities in order not to be discriminated against. It also requires some degree of resilience, which means not being deterred by structural and social barriers, but rather choosing to fight back and stand up for oneself in the face of stressful situations. As noted by Bandura, this can be related to previous mastery experiences, but also, we would argue, personality and genetic factors play a role here; this is supported in research on so-called 'resilience' (see Fangen & Frønes, 2013).

To have a broad repertoire of strategies, and being able to alter between them seem to be the most beneficial competences. Such competences develop more easily if the person has both experience of being met with prejudices in the past and experiences of social support. Also, his or her own mastery experiences play a positive role in making the individual competent at finding the best coping strategy in new situations where prejudice occurs.

In the examples in this article, we have seen that the young people we interviewed had often reflected considerably on why they acted as they did when they experienced exclusion, and whilst the actions were not always planned, there seems to often be a conscious and willed dimension to it. Within what can be felt to be a limited setting, they tried to *navigate* through their environment to lessen the impact or occurrence of exclusion through their immediate actions or future plans. An implication of the study is that young immigrants and descendants of immigrants who are encouraged to use their background as a positive asset can learn how to find their way through the educational system. Often, young immigrants are advised to aim low in the educational system, since their background is seen as an obstacle, whereas our informants underline that aiming high (that is, if one has the capacity to do so), can be a buffer against future stigmatisation. Another finding is that individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds can benefit from building up strong networks, including those from both ethnic minority and ethnic majority backgrounds.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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