Panncentralalen

- an Evaluation of a Meeting Place in

Växjö, Sweden

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Camilla Ayelet Reghev
Abstract

An evaluation has been done of a meeting place in Växjö, Sweden. This meeting place is called Panncentralen and is located in an area with many immigrants. The focus has been on what kind of effects - if any – Panncentralen has had on the integration process in the area but other issues, such as security, health, and employment, have also been covered. As an analytical framework, Sida’s five evaluation criteria were used to analyse the findings. The five criteria are: effectiveness, impact, relevance, sustainability and efficiency. The methods used have been qualitative and as a means to collect information, I have used interviews and participant observation. I found that Panncentralen has fulfilled its purpose to contribute to a positive development for both the area and the people there. Panncentralen is doing something to improve the integration such as having information meetings and employing immigrant as staff members to set an example for the visitors. However, the integration is limited due to the fact that few visitors and few of the staff members are Swedish which means that the immigrants mostly meet and interact with each other instead of with Swedes. The activities are very relevant to the visitors who feel they have much influence and some sense of ownership. A majority of both primary and secondary stakeholders are of the opinion that Panncentralen has contributed to a safer area. Some of the visitors got jobs because of a project funded by Växjö Kommun and a number of visitors participated in health activities.

Keywords: Evaluation, Integration, Qualitative Method, Växjö.
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1. Introduction

In this report, I will present my findings after doing an evaluation of Panncentralen which is a meeting place in Dalbo in the northern part of Växjö, Sweden. This area has a large population of immigrants and therefore, my main focus in the evaluation has been to investigate the effects Panncentralen has had on the integration process in the area but I have also covered other issues that I found relevant. The evaluation was carried out in cooperation with Hyresgästföreningen (Tenant’s Organisation) which will hopefully benefit from my results.

In the following, I will look into different aspects of integration to broaden my evaluation of Panncentralen and in the end of this chapter, I will present my objectives with this study.

1.1 Integration and assimilation

When an immigrant stays in a country for a number of years and becomes exactly like the natives, the process is called ‘assimilation’. This thesis has been supplemented with the idea that migration can have a more varied outcome (Andersen, 2004: 299). Now the term ‘integration’ is used as a name for different processes, goals and means. More precisely, integration can happen in the form of attribution of formal rights and in the form of participation in economic, social and cultural activities. Integration means that ethnic minorities gain equality with the majority culture but at the same time keep important parts of their culture. Gaining full political, legal and economical rights must be seen as a preconception for that ethnic minorities can be expected to participate on equal terms with the other part of the population in areas such as education, work and unions and hereby gain social integration. Assimilation, on the other hand, means that the ethnic minorities takeover the majority culture and that the ethnic minority culture therefore, with time, will disappear. A dominating line of thought, when dealing with integration, is that when immigrants are placed in areas with a limited number of other immigrants, their integration will improve. Hereby, the term of inte-
Migration is used about a process more similar to assimilation. Not only the ethnic minority prefers to be with others of the same kind, the majority population also prefers that (Andersen, 2004: 300).

Sociological theory has developed the two concepts of system integration and social integration. System integration is a result of anonymous functioning of organisations, mechanisms and institutions such as the state, markets, the legal system or corporate actors. In contrast, social integration refers to the inclusion of individuals into society and the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards society. This is the result of the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation between groups and individuals. Social integration has four different basic forms: 1. Acculturation – the process when an individual acquires the knowledge and cultural standards to interact in a society with success. 2. Placement - an individual gaining a position in a society (educational, economic or as a citizen). Acquisition of rights associated with positions is implied in placement and the opportunity to establish social relations and to win social, cultural and economic capital. Acculturation is seen as a precondition for placement. 3. Interaction – the formation of networks and relationships by individuals who share mutual orientation. This can be marriage, friendships or general memberships of social groups. 4. Identification – is an individual’s identification with a social system, the person sees himself as part of a collective body (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 3).

Migration research was founded in the US in the 1920s with the so called Chicago school where the inclusion of immigrants into the society was seen as a cycle. The goal was assimilation and since the dominant cultural group was the WASPs (White Anglo Saxon Protestants) all non-North European had to adapt completely to the WASPs. In Europe, the term assimilation has had a controversial past since the rise of nationalism in the 19th and 20th century. Policies of assimilation as applied to minorities came to mean trying to create culturally homogenous counties. Assimilation was associated with cultural suppression and use of violence to force minorities to conform and therefore became a taboo concept. (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 4). But now the taboo is being challenged. Some believe that the concept is still relevant and should not be dismissed so easily. In the American context, some argue that assimilation as conformity to WASP culture does not necessarily re-
reflect the American experience correctly – they believe that the degraded concept of assimilation has lost sight of two things: one is that the American society is far from homogenous, the other is that the immigrant ethnicity has affected American society just as much as the American society has affected it. This means that they do not see assimilation as a wholly one sided process. In Europe, cultural debate and social circumstances are lending support to positions critical of multiculturalism and minority formation by immigrants. There is a stronger awareness of that formation of ethnic minority identities is leading to ethno cultural conflict (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 5).

1.2 Swedish integration policy

The goal of the integration policy in Sweden is that all immigrants shall have equal opportunities and obligations (Regeringskansliet, 2009: 1). In September 2008, the Government created a strategy for integration in Sweden which ended in 2010. Among the features in this strategy were: a faster introduction for newly arrived immigrants, more jobs, better results in schools, improved language skills, efficient anti-discrimination measures and more development in urban areas with social exclusion (Ibid.). There are different actors in the Swedish integration policy. Since January 2011, the Ministry of Employment has had the overall responsibility for the coordination of integration of immigrants (Regeringskansliet, 2011: 4). The ministry is also responsible for helping newly arrived immigrants with establishing themselves on the labour market and in the social life. Each municipality (kommun) has a lot of responsibility for issues important for integration, for instance schools and housing. The regional county councils (landsting) have the responsibility for health and medical service (Regeringskansliet, 2009: 1).

For newly arrived immigrants, a so called ‘step-in job’ is offered. This job is partly financed by the state and is aimed at a faster entry into the job market and better language learning since the job is combined with Swedish courses. The government believes that more available jobs and better conditions for enterprise contribute to a better integration and therefore it has reduced the tax on earned income to make it more worthwhile both to work and to employ. While trying to create more jobs,
the government also focuses on assisting unemployed immigrants in finding their way back to the labour market. Entrepreneurs with an immigrant background often find it difficult to finance their business and therefore the government has set aside 20 million SEK per year from 2008 to 2010 for advisory services and opportunities to participate in mentoring networks (Regeringskansliet, 2009: 2).

In 2008, the government drew up guidelines for the education of newly arrived pupils. One feature of this was to give teachers a chance to learn to teach Swedish as a second language. An initiative to strengthen skills in reading, writing and mathematics was implemented in 2008 and 2009 where 900 million SEK was spent on measures for pupils who were at risk of not fulfilling their educational goals. Many of these pupils were from non-Swedish countries. Adult newly arrived immigrants are entitled to basic training in the Swedish language but the quality of these programmes vary too much. Therefore the government has decided to perform a test in the end of these programmes in order to assure that the quality is acceptable (Regeringskansliet, 2009: 3).

Many of the larger cities in Sweden have districts where the degree of exclusion is high and the majority of the inhabitants in these areas are often newly arrived immigrants. The government has therefore made partnerships with 21 municipalities in order to develop the districts. Also participating in the partnerships are: the Swedish Social Insurance Agency, the Swedish Public Employment Service and finally the police (Regeringskansliet, 2009: 4). The district of Araby in Växjö is one of the areas experiencing exclusion, as seen in the next chapter, and therefore a partnership was formed between the municipality and the state in order to achieve development and end the exclusion and segregation. The Government believes that segregation is as undesirable as enforced assimilation. (Regeringskansliet, 2011: 1). In an email correspondence, Annica Johansson from the Swedish Employment Ministry, responded that the Government’s integration policy is directed towards integration, not assimilation. She also mentions the overall goal which is equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background.
1.3 Integration debate in Sweden

In Sweden there have been four different discourses in the integration debate in recent years. The first discourse is *structural discrimination*. The main content of this discourse is that there is a deeply rooted discrimination in the Swedish society and the discrimination is causing inequality between native Swedes and immigrants. It is an institutional discrimination which is found on all levels in the society. The past ten years ‘integration’ policy has in reality been an assimilation policy and it has failed as such. In this discourse, the problem is defined as being that the integration policy has worked against its own goal and deepened the segregation in the society. A ‘we’ and ‘them’ has been created and the focus needs to be changed from the integration of ‘the others’ to the structural discrimination and the institutional level in the Swedish society (Severin, 2009: 10).

The second discourse is the *social liberal* discourse which has a strong position in today’s political landscape and in the academic world. We can see the consequences of this discourse in today’s integration policy after the liberal/conservative election victory in 2006 but elements of it can be tracked back to the 80’s and 90’s. The discourse’s advocates can be found inside the Alliance government and in the organisation Confederation of Swedish Enterprise. The failed integration policy causes segregation between the Swedes and the immigrants - a segregated society with low participation of the immigrants on the labour market results in lower tax income and higher costs for the state. The language in the social liberal discourse is mostly inspired by economics. The key terms are individual freedom and self governance and being critical towards the excessive care which is believed to characterize the past 20 years integration policy where newly arrived immigrants have been transformed into powerless individuals with no control over their own lives (Severin, 2009: 11).

The third discourse is the *social democratic* discourse which has dominated the field for the past 30 years. The consequences of this discourse are being criticised by those who believe that integration has failed. The social democratic discourse has passed through party political barriers because also conservative/liberal governments have practised it. Since the creation of the integration policy in the 70’s, this position has been backed up by a wide political and bureaucratic consensus. The key term
is labour market measures where the policy is coloured by the notion that the state ought to have a substantial role in the integration process. Multitude, in the form of national, cultural and religious pluralism, is seen as a positive thing that should be strived for. The social democratic integration policy focuses on equal rights, obligations and should be carried out in a society with multitude and tolerance (Severin, 2009: 12).

The forth discourse is the assimilation discourse. The views and aims of this discourse are first and foremost found at the right wing party Sverigedemokraterna who, in 2010, became members of Parliament. The key points in this discourse are that Sweden got too many immigrants from countries far away. The immigration has caused social problems in the form of alienation and crime which are seen as a threat to the Swedish national identity and unity. Opposed to today’s situation, where the society adapts to the immigrants, this discourse wants a one way adaptation, an assimilation of the immigrants. An important issue in the assimilation discourse is that Swedes do not have to be ashamed of their traditions, values and history (Severin, 2009: 13).

So far, none of the Swedish governments since the 70’s have practiced the assimilation discourse not even after Sverigedemokraterna were elected to the Parliament. During the election campaign all other parties, promised not to incorporate any of their views and aims into the Swedish integration policy if they became members. And this promise was kept. Sverigedemokraterna has had very little influence since the election. Actually, the Government’s migration and integration policy has become more left wing because they have cooperated much with Miljöpartiet (Riksdags & Departement).

1.4 Integration debate in Europe
The issue of integration of immigrants has become an important part of the national discourses in many countries since the 1990’s. The immigrants came to Europe in the 1970’s where they were needed as workers in different parts of the society. The discourses and policy styles differ between the countries due to different historical settings. One approach distinguishes between different poli-
cies and three policies have been detected, these being a multicultural policy, an assimilation policy and an exclusionist policy (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006: 21). The multicultural policy has been practised in Great Brittan and The Netherlands. The assimilation policy is practiced in France and is related to universalism. The exclusionist policy is related to ‘jus sanguinis’ which can be translated to right of blood and means that citizenship is acquired through the nationality of ones parents. This policy is practiced in Belgium, Germany and Switzerland.

A second approach distinguishes between to different models: the first one is an exclusive definition of the immigrant as an outsider which causes integrative or guest worker policies and more ad hoc solution to problems arising. The second model is an inclusive perspective which takes two forms – the republican French one that pursues naturalisation and does not accept immigrant communities as valid political actors, and the Anglo-American one which accepts the legitimate political struggle of ethnic, cultural, immigrant and disadvantaged groups (Ibid.).

A third approach dedifferentiates between a model with political assimilation as a means to national unity as seen in France, functional assimilation into an ethnically defined nation as practised in Germany and a multicultural model which in seen in Great Brittan, Holland and Sweden (Ibid.).

1.5 Objective with study

For me, a person is integrated when the person feels that it belongs to the society. And this is also the measurement I have used in my evaluation when interviewing immigrants. Since I was investigating Panncentralen’s impact on the integration process in Dalbo, I asked the visitors if they felt that Panncentralen made them feel like being a part of the Swedish society. My aim was not to investigate if the immigrants, in general, felt integrated but if Panncentralen was a positive factor in their integration process. Because if I had asked one of the visitors if he or she felt integrated, in general, then I could not be sure that the reason for this would be Panncentralen. The reason could have been a multitude of things; maybe the person went to another meeting place, like Tallgården,
regularly and therefore felt integrated. I have been focusing on Panncentralen and its impacts in Dalbo.

My objectives for this evaluation have been to:
- Investigate the impacts Panncentralen has had on the integration process in Dalbo
- Investigate which other impacts Panncentralen has had in Dalbo
- Investigate how Panncentralen has performed on the five evaluation criteria: effectiveness, relevance, impact, sustainability and efficiency

This investigation is important for Panncentralen’s stakeholders who have invested much money, effort and time into the project - they have to know if their intentions have paid off. And after this evaluation they can consider the recommendations I give them in order to improve Panncentralen. My investigation is also important as an inspiration for other kommun’er in Sweden that have a large population of immigrants – hopefully other housing companies will take the initiative to create meeting places like Panncentralen, like it happened in Växjö Kommun. The experiences from Växjö can also be used in other European countries where many immigrants live.

The structure of my report is as follows: first I will present some relevant background information about the evaluated project, then my method for doing the field work and then my findings. In the end of the report, I will make a discussion, a conclusion, give some of the lessons that have been learned from the evaluation, and finally, I will give my recommendations for improving Panncentralen.
2. Background

In this chapter I will present background information about Panncentralen’s objectives, location, history, organisation, stakeholders and activities. This is done in order to understand what Panncentralen is and which organizations that are involved with it.

2.1 Location and history

Panncentralen is located in Dalbo on Sommarvägen. Dalbo is a part of Araby which is located in the North-western corner of Växjö.

As can be seen from Fig. 1, Araby has a larger population of immigrants and a lower average income compared to the rest of Växjö. The area of Dalbo was built in 1970 and consists of 542 flats which have had a major renovation of kitchens and bathrooms in the recent years (Ideella Förening Dalbo (1), 2010). The housing company Hyresbostäder is the owner of the houses in Dalbo. After the physical renovation of the area of Dalbo, Hyresbostäder also
wanted a ‘social renovation’ and therefore made an investigation of the inhabitant’s current situation and needs. The result was called ‘Dalbolyftet’ and in the report it was clear that the people in Dalbo wanted to do certain activities that needed to take place at a permanent location. These activities were: lectures, films, help with homework, café for women, using computers and sports activities.

In 2003, Hyresbostäder founded Panncentralen and it became a permanent place for all of the activities the inhabitants had wished for. Tallgården, another meeting place located in Nydala in the Northern part of Araby, was also an inspiration for the foundation of Panncentralen and Hyresbostäder was also, for a period of time, stakeholder in it. However, Tallgården is different since it has more educational courses such as language lessons, computer courses and music and dancing lessons. Panncentralen is unique in Sweden as being the first of its kind that was initiated and created by a housing company.

**Fig. 1 Comparison of Araby and Växjö**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Araby 08</th>
<th>Växjö 08 (Kommun)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage born in foreign countries</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>11,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average income (20-64 years old)</td>
<td>102.100kr</td>
<td>221.800kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of inhabitants</td>
<td>5448</td>
<td>79.562</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Växjö Kommun and the Swedish state have made a local development agreement for urban development in Araby and this agreement ended in 2010. There is a common will to break Araby’s isolation from the rest of the city. The Kommun intends to build a local partnership for urban development with the state and it shall create preconditions for the inhabitant’s sense of ownership in the development process. The Kommun will also produce a strategic plan for the quarter of Araby and local goals will be formulated within the areas of work, education, safety and growth. This plan must be revised every year (Växjö Kommun (1), 2008: 2).
2.2 Objectives

The overall objective of Panncentralen is to create a meeting place which can contribute to a positive development, both for the living environment and for the people in the area. In 2010, the goals are the following: (the goals are revised every year)

- Panncentralen’s activities must be characterized by multitude and be for everybody disregarding sex, age, ethnicity, and religion.
- Panncentralen must make sure that all visitors feel ownership and have influence.
- Panncentralen shall work to increase the presence of adults in the lives of children and youths.
- Panncentralen shall work to improve the public health by offering different kinds of health improving activities (Ideella Förening Dalbo (2), 2010).

2.3 Organisation

Panncentralen is managed by the organisation Ideella Förening Dalbo which is a non profit organisation. In 2009 and 2010, the board of the organisation consisted of: Hyresbostäder, Hyresgästföreningen (tenant’s organisation), Växjö Kommun (Växjö Municipality) and Växjö Maria Församling (church). The members of Ideella Förening Dalbo contribute in different ways with resources to the organisation. There are 18 people in the staff and some are employed and others are volunteers (Ideella Förening Dalbo (1), 2010).

2.4 Secondary stakeholders

Ideella Förening Dalbo runs Panncentralen in cooperation with: Hyresbostäder, Hyresgästföreningen, Växjö Maria Församling (church), Missionskyrkan (church), Bokelundskolan (school), IOGT-NTO (soberness organisation) and UniC (youth organisation).
Hyresbostäder


Växjö Kommun


Växjö Maria Församling

**Missionskyrkan**

Missionskyrkan in Växjö is a reformed free church. It is a part of Svenska Missionskyrkan which is the second largest church in Sweden after Svenska Kyrkan. Missionskyrkan was formed in 1878 and became a free church. There are currently 697 parishes in seven geographical regions throughout Sweden (Missionskyrkan). Missionskyrkan in Växjö contributes to Panncentralen with staff members.

**Hyresgästföreningen**

Hyresgästföreningen is a nationwide organisation for tenants and it assists its members with a variety of issues. It supports its members’ social, economic and cultural interests. The most important task for Hyresgästföreningen is to negotiate rent with both private and public landlords. It also gives legal advice from judicial trained personnel when tenants are in conflicts with their landlords. Hyresgästföreningen is organized in four levels: the housing area, the municipality, the region and the whole of Sweden. There are currently 537,500 household members of Hyresgästföreningen in the country (Hyresgästföreningen, 2009). Hyresgästföreningen does not support Panncentralen financially but has a seat in the board of Ideella Förening Dalbo and is hereby a part of the management of Panncentralen.

**IOGT – NTO**

IOGT – NTO is the largest soberness organisation in Sweden with more than 47,000 members all over the country. The Swedish branch is a part of a world wide soberness organisation. Its vision is to have a world where alcohol and drugs do not hinder people to live a free and rich life. That is why it, in different ways, tries to minimize the use of drugs and alcohol. The effort is concentrated in three areas: Prevention, alcohol and drug policies and social work. The work is done on local, regional, national and international levels (IOGT – NTO, 2008). IOGT – NTO contributes with staff members to Panncentralen which is both alcohol and drug free.
UniC

UniC is an organisation that works to create meeting places for the youth in Växjö, to increase the presence of adults in young people’s lives and to make young people gain more influence. The main contributors are Växjö Kommun and Svenska Kyrkan. UniC began as a project in 1998 but became a permanent organisation in 2001 (Ungdomslotsen). UniC differs from the other secondary stakeholders because it does not fund Panncentralen and it does not contribute with staff members. Instead it takes part in Nattvandring, which is a walk in the night, departing from Panncentralen and the organisation also attends staff meetings once in a while.

Bokelundskolan

Bokelundskolan is a primary school for 1st to 6th grade and is located in Araby, close to Dalbo. The school has 250 students and 40 staff members and is a public school. There are many nationalities represented at the school and it therefore has an international class (Växjö Kommun). Bokelundskolan contributes with staff members to Panncentralen who do afternoon activities for children there.

2.5 Activities

Panncentralen has a café where it is possible to read newspapers and magazines, play games or use the internet for free. There is also a big screen television where sports events are often shown. In the basement there is a sauna, ping pong tables and a billiard table. It is a possibility to rent a conference room if anyone is in need of one. At Panncentralen people can get information about the Kommun, housing companies, organisations and churches.

Tjejer Emellan was created in 2009 and the purpose is to have a meeting place for girls at Panncentralen. The activities are planned after the needs of the girls and the activities are supposed to enhance the girls’ knowledge about the Swedish society and to improve the integration between the different ethnic groups (Ideella Förening Dalbo (1), 2010).
Kvinnor Emellan is a similar group for women and is run together with Missionskyrkan. Many of the women from Kvinnor Emellan have been active in Tjejer Emellan which has improved their skills of speaking Swedish and also made it possible for them to meet new people and make connections which have improved their chances of getting jobs (Ibid.).

Friskvård is a number of different sports activities like walks, bike cycling course, water gymnastics and walking with a stick (Ibid.).

Resurs Araby began in 2008 and the purpose is to cooperate together with job seekers to find a job for them. Resurs Araby has used Panncentralen as a base for its activities. Two job coaches have been present during the day time and have been available to assist the unemployed. First the job seekers have been counselled about the job market and their needs and wishes, secondly they have been given information about health and finally they have been counselled about how to form social networks. The project is funded by the Komunn and ended in August 2010 (Ibid).

Nattvandring is a collaboration between several organisations who take turn to walk from Panncentralen and out into the streets on all weekend nights in order to improve the security (Ibid.).

Trygghetsvandring is a collaboration between Hyresbostäder and Panncentralen where representatives from the municipality, the police, house owners and business people walk though the area and locate places with a high degree of security and places with a low degree of security. After this a plan is formed to improve the places which are in need of improvement (Ibid).

All of these activities seem to fit well with Panncentralen’s aim to contribute to a positive development in Dalbo. Problems such as loneliness, insecurity, unemployment, integration and bad health are being solved. Of course, the problems are only being solved for the people who attend the activities.
3. Method

In this chapter, I present the methods used in the evaluation of Panncentralen. I did my master’s thesis in cooperation with Hyresgästföreningen. We decided that I should do an evaluation of Panncentralen where I investigated if it had had any effects on the integration process in Dalbo. However, I would also look at other effects besides integration. The method used in the evaluation has been qualitative and I have used interviews and participant observation to get the information I needed.

In the following I will give a chronological account of how I carried out the evaluation/field work and after that I will begin a thematic method discussion.

3.1 The first week

I looked at Panncentralen’s homepage and found a list of names of both the regular staff and the people representing other organisations at Panncentralen and I decided I would interview them as secondary stakeholders. However, I had some problems with invalid contact information on the homepage but I eventually managed to get the correct information. On the homepage, UniC is not mentioned as part of Panncentralen but later I found out that it was. Some secondary stakeholders were interviewed because people told me they were important for Panncentralen.

In my first interviews, I tried to do the informal conversational interview (Mikkelsen, 2005: 171) but I was not satisfied with the result. I did not get the information that I needed and therefore I constructed two different interview guides – one for primary stakeholders and one for secondary stakeholders. Since Sida’s evaluation manual “Looking Back, Moving Forward” has been my analytical framework, the questions were constructed to fit into Sida’s main criteria for evaluation which are: effectiveness, impact, sustainability, relevance and efficiency. However, the interview guide has a weakness which is that “Important and salient topics may be inadvertently omitted”
(Ibid.). In my interviews, I have been aware of this and have discussed topics that were not in the interview guide if the occasion rose and the topic was relevant. Since I could not get any statistical information about how Dalbo was before Panncentralen was founded in 2003, I simply included a question in the interview guide where I asked both primary and secondary stakeholders about how it was before. So my base line study was done in this way which was perhaps not the ideal way to do but I did not see any other possibilities at the time.

The first week I also went to Panncentralen where I had an appointment to meet the staff (after their staff meeting) and present myself and my task. They were very welcoming to me and I interviewed Eva Linde and Peter Lundgren who is the manager and gave me a lot of information and names of people of importance he thought that I ought to meet. Some days later I went to Panncentralen again and met and interviewed the visitors for the first time. I also interviewed two other secondary stakeholders the first week: Kenneth Fåborg (Hyresbostäder) and Curt Thapper (IOTG-NTO). Kenneth Fåborg gave me the Ideella Förening Dalbo’s year report of 2009 which was very helpful in understanding the organization.

3.2 The second week
I interviewed Fredrik Hagblom (Hyresbostäder) and continued with my interviews of staff and visitors at Panncentralen. Most of the interviews with the visitors were done in Swedish, which is not my mother tongue, and when you talk to someone who does not have Swedish as his first language as well, some communication problems arise. This has been a limitation. Another limitation has been the fact that I interviewed all the visitors at Panncentralen and almost all of them were very positive and had nothing negative to say about Panncentralen. I began wondering about this and came to the conclusion that of course they would not come to Panncentralen at all if they did not like it. A way to solve this problem could be to get in contact with people outside of Panncentralen in the area of Dalbo and see if they have point of views that differs from the people who came to Panncentralen regularly.
The second week I also practised participatory observation when taking part in a game of bingo with the women who come to Panncentralen on Wednesdays. I find this role very schizophrenic because on one hand you are a regular participant in the game and on the other hand you are the researcher who has to observe the other participants. However, if I had just sat there and observed them without participating, they might have thought it was strange and got nervous and perhaps they would not have behaved in a ‘natural’ way.

3.3 The third week
I changed some of the questions in my interview guide because they were ‘yes or no’ questions and I wanted to get more information from the interviewees. I interviewed four secondary stakeholders: Cecylia Amanowska (Hyresgästföreningen), Maria Polback (Svenska Kyrken), Viveka Karlsson (Bokelundskolan) and Jan Johansson (UniC). This week I practiced participatory observation again when I took part in a barbeque at Panncentralen on the Wednesday only for women. I found the role less schizophrenic this time – maybe because I was getting used to it. At last week’s bingo night I did not get a chance to do any interviews with the visitors so this time I came very early and had enough time to do some interviews before the food was served. In the weekend I had planned to go to Panncentralen both Friday and Saturday but was very disappointed when I found out that it was closed due to holidays (Valborgsäften and 1st of May). Because of this, and because of the fact that Panncentralen is also closed on Wednesday the following week, I decided that I would postpone the last day of interviews till Wednesday the 12th of May. Originally the last day should have been Friday the 7th of May.

3.4 The fourth week
I met Peter Lundgren again because I had some additional questions about the organization of Panncentralen and he clarified it all for me. I interviewed two staff members and some visitors. The improved interview guide was much better than the previous version. There were more questions and most of the ‘closed’ ones were changed to ‘open’ questions. This resulted in more elaborate an-
answers from the interviewees. However, it became increasingly more difficult to find visitors who spoke either Swedish or English who I had not already interviewed. This meant that I was forced to use an interpreter on many occasions and it was hard to find someone who had both the time and the abilities to help me in this matter. The quality of the interviews I did with an interpreter was not high but it was still better than not doing them at all.

3.5 The fifth week

I interviewed Peter Estling from Växjö Kommun who is in the board of Ideella Förening Dalbo. I also had a phone conversation with Erik Hallonsten from Hyresbostäder who was one of the founders of Panncentralen. In order to find some people who did not go to Panncentralen, I went to Tallgården, which is also situated in Araby, but it was closed and therefore I talked to some random people in the streets in the area around Tallgården. The majority had never heard about Panncentralen but the ones that had, had nothing negative to say about it. After finishing my last day at Panncentralen, I had done 21 interviews with secondary stakeholders and 39 with primary stakeholders. I would like to have spoken with five to ten more visitors but there simply was not more time to do this. The field work was finished one week after my original deadline but I was content with having continued because I otherwise would have had fewer interviews and would not have been able to speak with neither Peter Estling nor Erik Hallonsten.

3.6 Statistics

Here follows the statistical background information about the 39 primary stakeholders/visitors which were interviewed:

*Country of origin*

Palestine: 15, Somalia: 11, Iraq: 4, Kosovo: 3, Macedonia: 2, Afghanistan: 1, Yemen: 1, China: 1, Sweden: 1

*Age*

Gender
Men: 30  Women: 9

From the statistics, it is visible that the majority of visitors were from Somalia and Palestine, a majority was young people and finally there was a majority of men.

In the following I will elaborate on the methodological choices I have made throughout the evaluation/field work

3.7 Qualitative method

The reason I chose to use qualitative method, is because it allowed me to get an in depth view at how the stakeholders experience Panncentralen. As a matter of fact, I did not see any other possibilities than using a qualitative method when my task was to do an evaluation of Panncentralen. It would have been very difficult to only use a quantitative method and look at statistics and figures. First of all, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to find these statistics and if I found something about f. ex. a declining unemployment rate, how was I supposed to know with certainty that it was declining because of Panncentralen? There could be 100 other factors or reasons why this happened. So I chose to go directly to the people who are involved with Panncentralen and get information about how it is run from the secondary stakeholders and ask the primary stakeholder how satisfied they are (qualitative method and quantitative method could have been used in combination but I have not found any relevant statistics about Dalbo). When the social world is so complex and dependent on circumstances, why should it be reduced to statistical simplifications? (Payne & Payne, 2004: 176). But qualitative methods, on the other hand, with “their detailed, flexible, sensitive and naturalistic characteristics, are suited to producing adequate sociological accounts” (Ibid.). To sum up: I could not have found out how Panncentralen is organized, how people interact, what the visitors think and feel by only using solely quantitative methods and that is the reason why I chose qualitative methods where all this is possible.
3.8 Interview

If I had chosen to only do observation, I might have had to do it every day for a year to get the information I needed because I would have to wait for them to say something about the topics I was interested in. It is much ‘easier’ and quicker to do interviews and ask people directly about their opinions. The primary stakeholders were interviewed at Panncentralen - sometimes the staff introduced me for someone and sometimes I introduced myself. The secondary stakeholders I interviewed were staff members and people from private or public organisations who were involved in the management of Panncentralen. I did the interviews with staff members at Panncentralen and the others I interviewed at either Panncentralen or at their offices around town. I chose to do semi-structured interviews which are done with a list of specific topics to be covered (an interview guide) but the interviewee has some freedom in how to answer the questions, the questions do not have to be answered in a certain order and questions that are not in the in the guide can be asked if the interviewee says something which the interviewer picks up on (Bryman, 2004: 321). I did this because I wanted them to answer certain things but at the same time I wanted them to have freedom to answer my questions in the way they felt was best and I wanted freedom for myself to not always follow the order of the questions if it seemed appropriate to do that at the time. In the beginning I had too many closed questions which gave me short answers but I changed most of them to open questions which resulted in longer and more elaborate answers from the interviewees. During the interviews, I tried to create a positive atmosphere so that the interviewees felt at ease and relaxed which I hope resulted in better answers and more information given to me.

3.9 Observation

In the field work I did both observation and participant observation. I did the observation at Panncentralen in between interviews for maybe 10-20 minutes. So I did not spend a whole day just with observation and this was not because I did not want to do that but my time limit forced me to do multitasking. With the men I did observation and interviews – with the women I did interviews and participant observation. This was due to the fact that the men always did different activities and the women always did the same activity and I could not interview the women when they did the com-
mon activity but had to interview before or after the activity. This meant that did not have anything else to do so I might as well participate and I got to know the women quite well in these activities. Participant observation is closely related to ethnography and the researcher “immerses him – or herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions” (Bryman, 2004: 292).

I practiced participant observation three times and all the times were with the group of women who only come to Panncentralen on Wednesdays where no men are allowed access. As seen in my weekly description, the first time I participated in a game of bingo, the second time it was a barbecue party and the last time it was an information meeting about bank accounts and pensions. In participant observation and ethnography, the researcher can have an either ‘covert’ or ‘overt’ role which means that you either tell the people you are investigating that you are a researcher (overt) or you do not (covert) (Bryman, 2004: 294). On my first Wednesday with the women, I was not introduced by the staff because I came when the bingo game had already begun. So I just sat down and participated without the women knowing that I was not just there to enjoy myself but the staff knew who I was. So at this time I had two roles at the same time – I had a covert role to the participators and an overt role to the staff. However, that changed when the staff introduced me when the bingo ended. There was a slight change in their behaviour when they found out that I was someone who wanted to study them - they seemed a little bit more reserved. But during three Wednesdays I got to know them better and they became more at ease.

3.10 Evaluation/monitoring

I have done both monitoring and evaluation (M&E) since Panncentralen is still active. According to Mikkelsen, “Monitoring is the continuous assessment of the progress and performance of a development intervention” while “Evaluation is the end or ex-post assessment of an intervention, its impact and lessons learned” (Mikkelsen, 2009: 263). The methods which are used for both evaluation and monitoring are quite similar and therefore it is difficult to separate them from each other. I used
the impact evaluation and monitoring type for Panncentralen, which is a type that uses the five evaluation criteria: Effectiveness, impact, relevance, sustainability and efficiency.

I choose to use Sida’s (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) evaluation manual, “Looking Back, Moving Forward” because I had already worked with it in a previous assignment and therefore knew the content quite well. It presents tools to do a thoroughly evaluation of an intervention and also explains key terms to the first time evaluator. I looked for other books about evaluation but did not find anything suitable.

The manual is divided into two parts, the first part deals with concepts and issues and the second part has a step by step guide to doing evaluations. I used the guide in the second part and in the first part I used chapter one, which explains what evaluation is, and chapter two about the evaluation criteria. I did not use the chapter about poverty reduction because it is not relevant to me in my evaluation of Panncentralen. The practical step-by-step guide was very useful to me since this was my first time doing an evaluation. The manual presents these four levels of monitoring:

**IMPACTS**
Effects on life chances and living standards (inter alia)

**OUTCOMES** Access, usage, and satisfaction of users

**OUTPUTS** Goods and services produced

**INPUTS** Financial and other resources – spending in primary health care

The monitoring of inputs and outputs, input-output monitoring keeps track of transformation of financial recourses and other inputs into goods and services. The monitoring of impacts and outcomes seeks to register the intended effects of delivered goods and services on target groups.
The only problem with the manual is that it is suited for Sida’s staff when they evaluate development projects in developing countries which meant that I could not use all of what was written in it. In other words, I had to adapt the manual to a Swedish setting. However, even though Sweden is not a developing country, the area of Dalbo/Araby is ‘underdeveloped’ compared to other areas in Växjö and therefore it still makes sense to use the manual. I tried to construct my interview questions so that I would get answers that fit into the five evaluation criteria from the manual. I focused equally on effectiveness, impact, sustainability and relevance. I focused less on efficiency because both I, and my supervisor, thought it was less relevant to my task when my main focus is the effects on integration. Below I will give a more detailed description of the five evaluation criteria:

Effectiveness is to judge if an intervention has fulfilled its goals and if it has not, why this is. Effectiveness is measured at the level of outputs as well as at the levels of outcome and impact. In the first case we look at the achievement of targets for the production of goods and services, in the second we look at achievement of the further effects which we intend to bring about through those goods and services. However, one must remember that effectiveness at the output level is not a guarantee for effectiveness in terms of the outcomes and impacts. An intervention can achieve all its targets with regard to goods and services and still not reach its goals at the outcome and impact levels. An intervention which is effective in terms of outputs can be ineffective with regard to outcomes and impact. An important implication of this is that every question about effectiveness in evaluations must be carefully specified in relation to the intended level of objectives. Effectiveness in general is empty concept. Assessing effectiveness is often more difficult at the levels of outcomes and impact than at the output level. At the output level, a job may be regarded as completed when we have measured the extent to which the goods and services, which is produced by the intervention, match pre-defined targets for quality and quantity.

Impact measures the different effects the intervention has had on the surrounding environment and the impacts can be both positive and negative and also both intended and non-intended. A study of impact in the wide sense covers almost the same ground as a study of effectiveness. But it differs from each other in two aspects. First, while assessment of effectiveness might deal with outputs as
well as effects, a study of impact is limited to effects only. Second, while a study of effectiveness often focuses on planned positive effects in the short or medium term, a study of impact deals with the entire range of effects, including those that were not foreseen, those on the longer term and those that affect persons outside the target group. Impact is not the same kind of criterion as effectiveness and efficiency - while the two latter are normative criteria (both are desirable), the impact criterion is first and foremost a recommendation that all significant consequences of an intervention, positive as well as negative, should be taken into account.

To be able to distinguish between negative and positive impacts, we have to employ additional normative criteria, those being increased well-being for primary stakeholders or utility for poverty reduction. The criterion of impact is an important corrective to what could otherwise be an overly narrow preoccupation with the intentions of those who plan or manage interventions and a corresponding neglect of the primary stakeholders. When applying the impact criterion, we turn to target groups and other stakeholders to find out how and if the activities have affected their situation, negatively or positively. In the planning of interventions, possible negative effects are easily overlooked. Truly unexpected negative effects are often caused by ignorance or wishful thinking. Normally, stakeholders and expertise are consulted when an intervention is planned but things can still go wrong and in some cases, the actual results may be the opposite of what was intended. Identifying unintended effects and analyzing the cause is one of the main tasks of an evaluator.

Relevance is concerned with whether the intervention has been relevant to the users. An intervention is considered relevant if it matches the needs of its target group and donor organizations. If an intervention does not help satisfy important needs, directly or indirectly, it cannot be regarded as relevant. But it is not enough that is satisfies important needs, it must also be consistent with policies and priorities of target groups. It should also be technically adequate to the problem at hand – an effective and efficient cure without unwanted side effects. If an intervention is out of tune with the stakeholders’ priorities or if it is technically inadequate in some way, it will probably not achieve its aims and will therefore not be relevant.
Sustainability is to judge if an intervention will have the means to exist for a long time. The criterion of sustainability refers to the result of cooperation interventions, not the cooperation intervention itself. In some cases, sustainability means that a particular facility constructed with external assistance will remain in use but in other cases, the facility built in the course of the intervention more resembles a temporary scaffolding which is only needed in the constructing phase. Sustainability must be specified in relation to the particular intervention. Different types of interventions have different time frames and serve different types of functions. An analysis of sustainability in evaluations is a forward-looking assessment made during the implementation process or after the intervention has been completed. The main question, which this analysis seeks to answer, is usually not whether intervention benefits have been sustained. The question is rather if the intention has the potential for being sustained and if it is likely that the positive impact will be a lasting one.

Efficiency is concerned with whether an intervention is worth its funding and if the same results can be gained with less funding. An intervention is efficient if its value is greater than any alternative use of the resources. If the same resources could have produced better results in another way, or if the same results could have been produced with less resource, the intervention is not fully efficient. There are different types of efficiency. One type is called technical efficiency and is the simplest type. When we say that an intervention is technically efficient, we mean that it produces as much as possible of a specified result, given the available resources. An intervention is also technically efficient when it produces a planned result with a minimum of resources. In both cases, it is a matter of avoiding waste and reducing costs. An intervention is technically efficient when its productive capacity is fully utilized. A more complex type of efficiency is allocative efficiency. To be efficient in this way, an intervention must first of all be technically efficient but this is not enough. Optimal allocative efficiency is not achieved unless the intervention produces the highest possible utility or value to the society. In an assessment of technically efficiency, the intervention is evaluated against other ways of achieving the same objective, regardless of the value of that objective. In an assessment of allocative efficiency, an intervention is evaluated against every alternative use of the same resources, at least in theory.
In the beginning of the evaluation, I had a problem with the first and most important evaluation criterion, namely effectiveness. I must have assumed that Panncentralen’s main objective was to improve the integration of their visitors but after reading the Årsredovisning, I found out that that was not the case. The main objective was to create a meeting place for the inhabitants of Dalbo; integration is only one of the sub goals. After that revelation, I had to focus mostly on whether Panncentralen had been successful in this endeavour when I looked at the criterion of effectiveness, meaning did many people come there to meet each other and was it an important meeting place for the inhabitants in Dalbo? The evaluation criterion of relevance is closely connected to the other criteria sustainability. The activities at Panncentralen are very relevant and therefore visitors are attracted which means that Panncentralen becomes more sustainable - if no visitors came, Panncentralen would be closed down. A high level of relevance may also lead to a higher level of participation and ownership which will increase the level of sustainability.

It was a little difficult to form questions to measure effectiveness because Panncentralen’s main objective is somewhat ‘weak’, namely: “to create a meeting place which can contribute to a positive development, both for the living environment and for the people in the area”. I simply asked the secondary stakeholders if Panncentralen had fulfilled its purpose. But when it came to the primary stakeholders it was not as simple to ask questions about effectiveness. I tried to ask them what they thought about Panncentralen and also if Panncentralen had changed them in any way. Regarding the sub goal of ownership, I asked the primary stakeholders if they felt they had any influence.

I measured impact by asking the secondary stakeholders about what kind of effects Panncentralen has had on the society in Dalbo. The impact on integration was measured by asking the primary stakeholders if Panncentralen made them feel like they were a part of the Swedish society and if Panncentralen had increased their knowledge about Sweden. I also asked them about the nationality of the people they socialize with. I asked the secondary stakeholders about what they do to improve the integration process and what they do to attract more Swedish people. The impact on security was measured by asking both primary and secondary stakeholders if Panncentralen made Dalbo safer. Relevance was measured by asking the primary stakeholders if Panncentralen and its activi-
ties were relevant to them. I measured sustainability by asking the secondary stakeholders if Panncentralen would exist for many years to come. Efficiency was measured by asking the secondary stakeholders if Panncentralen’s funding was sufficient and if the same results could have been reached with less funding.

3.11 Research approach to analysis

As an approach to my analysis, I have used a deductive approach where an abstract idea is firstly formed and then empirical material is collected to test if the idea was valid (Mikkelsen, 2009: 168). I first got the idea that Panncentralen had some effects on the integration process in Dalbo and then I carried out the interviews and observation and found out that it did which confirmed my initial idea. Because I did an evaluation, I also investigated other issues than the ones that were just related to integration such as health, security and employment. But integration was always my main focus. I assume it would have been possible to do my research the other way around (induction), meaning that I would have gone to Panncentralen to observe random things and then later form a theory about my observation. But this approach might have been more time consuming since it could take a long time to find out what my research topic would be. And another thing is, after my meeting with Hyregästföreningen we had already decided that the topic should be investigating Panncentralen’s impacts on the integration process in Dalbo so my choice was limited to doing a deductive research approach where I confirmed my idea by doing observation and interviews. I did my interviews from a deductive point of view - I got the theory and I wanted the people I interviewed to confirm or reject this theory. A majority confirmed that Panncentralen had a positive effect on the integration process. If my theory had been rejected, I would still have a valid study but then it would have been very different to what it is now. It happens that a researchers view of the theory changes as a result of the analysis of the empirical data (Bryman, 2004: 8). This happened in my research as I found out that Panncentralen had other effects in Dalbo than just on integration – those were security, employment and health. Had I known this from the beginning I could have had questions about this in my interview guide. Instead I found out about it along the way.
3.12 Validity
When doing research, the researcher must consider his or hers biases and the validity and reliability of the study (Mikkelsen, 2009: 195). I have a different culture, a different nationality and a different mother tongue compared to all the people I interviewed and observed and this must be considered when judging the validity of my findings. Of course, I tried to stay ‘neutral’ in my interview questions and while doing observation but there is always a filter that subjectifies the information you get. Instead of trying to hide your biases, it is also an option to be completely open about what your values are in an acknowledgement of the fact that perfect objectivity does not exist (Ibid.). It can also be an advantage to see a society with a foreigner’s eyes because you might notice things that a person who has lived in that same place their whole life might not notice.

3.13 Report
The report is structured after the guidelines in Sida’s evaluation manual where the suggested chapters are: Summary, introduction, background, findings, conclusions, lessons learned, recommendations and appendix. I added a method chapter because there is more emphasis on method in thesis writing compared to Sida evaluation reports where the method part is small. I also added a discussion chapter because I needed to discuss the subjects in this report and did not think it would fit in in any of the existing chapters. I did not use percentage when presenting my results and the reason is that this is a qualitative study and it is difficult to put an exact number on the results when both questions and answers are qualitative. If I, for instance, had used a multiple choice questionnaire, I could have used percentage when presenting the results.

3.14 Limitations
As mentioned above, language has been a problem when interviews have been conducted in Swedish and neither the interviewer nor the interviewee had Swedish as their mother tongue. It has also been a limitation that I interviewed too many young, immigrant, male visitors. I wanted speak with more women but they are very few, compared to the men, and they only come to Panncentralen
once a week. I only had one interview with a Swedish visitor since they were almost non-existent. I also wanted to speak with more people who did not come to Panncentralen but I did not have enough time. I wanted to ask them why they did not come to Panncentralen in order to improve the activities to attract more people as visitors. However, I found out that it was not important to attract more visitors since Panncentralen has enough visitors as it is now – sometimes it even has too many guests – which means that it does not need to change much about the activities. If Panncentralen had a problem with attracting visitors, it would have been extremely important that I spoke with more of the people who did not come to Panncentralen. And finally, it was a limitation that Panncentralen was closed for so many days when I had planned to go there which in the end delayed my investigation. As a foreigner in Sweden, I did not know the dates of the Swedish holidays.
4. Findings

In this chapter I will present the information I got after doing the interviews and observation at Panncentralen.

4.1 Baseline study

Before Panncentralen was founded in 2003, Dalbo was a different area. There were no meeting places to speak of and the young people went to Araby Ungdomsgård. There was a lot of graffiti and vandalism. The people who were not young stayed in their flats and did not go much out. The degree of people mowing in and out of Dalbo was high. After Panncentralen was founded, the vandalism and moving decreased and the older inhabitants also had a place to meet.

4.2 Effectiveness

A majority of both primary and secondary stakeholders believe that Panncentralen is making Dalbo into a better area. The area has become safer, some people got jobs, the integration has been improved and the inhabitants of Dalbo have a place to meet each other. This means that Panncentralen has achieved its overall goal which was to contribute to a positive development for Dalbo and the people living there. Panncentralen has been successful in attracting an impressive number of visitors who regard Panncentralen as their second home. It is very likely that Panncentralen is the course of the positive effects in society – and not some extraneous factor. Dalbo is a very small area and there are not any other meeting places like Panncentralen in this area.

4.3 Impact

In the following I will look at the different kinds of impacts, Panncentralen has on the surrounding society
4.3.1 Integration

The majority of the visitors coming to Panncentralen are immigrant men – there are few Swedes who come there and also few immigrant women (compared to the men). Panncentralen does some things to improve the integration of the visitors, they are told about Swedish traditions and customs and Panncentralen has information meetings about a variety of subjects where people from different parts of the Swedish society are invited. There have been politicians, policemen, bank employees and employees from Växjö Kommun. Panncentralen also employs a number of immigrants as staff members to set an example for the visitors to see that it is possible to make something of your self. All this is a positive intended impact.

However, there are some problems because not so many immigrants come to the information meetings as one could hope for. Most of the immigrants prefer to talk with their friends, play games and drink coffee instead of listening to someone talking about the Swedish society. Another problem is that there are so few Swedish people at Panncentralen that a proper integration is difficult when the immigrants cannot meet, interact and practice their Swedish language skills with ‘real’ Swedes. Panncentralen does not make a serious effort to attract more Swedes because there are already overloaded with visitors and cannot take more of them. The reason that so few Swedes come to Panncentralen, might be that they are afraid of immigrants and also that no alcohol is served there.

A small majority of the visitors feel that Panncentralen makes them feel that they are a part of the Swedish society. The people, who do not feel that, mentions that the reason for this is, that there are so few Swedes that Panncentralen does not feel like ‘Sweden’. A small minority thinks that Panncentralen has increased their knowledge about the Swedish society. A very small minority said that they attend the information meetings.

Recently a conflict has emerged at Panncentralen about its opening hours. Panncentralen is closed during the Swedish holidays and now some of the visitors want to it to stay open on these days. The visitors asked the staff to respect their traditions and stay open and this was discussed at a staff meeting where the staff and management decided to keep Panncentralen closed on the Swedish hol-
idays because, after all, this is Sweden and the visitors must respect that. Some of the visitors are not satisfied with this decision but cannot do anything about it. They feel that this is not coherent with the fact that Panncentralen wants them to have influence and feel they have ownership. Because of their tradition, the immigrant men and women at Panncentralen hardly ever mix with each other and that is the reason why Wednesdays are only for women. The rest of the week is open for everybody but almost only men come on these days. The women do different activities than the men and all the women do the same activity together where the men do different activities because they are usually a larger number than the women. The women also occasionally have information meetings about the Swedish society but most Wednesdays, they do activities such as bingo, cooking, running, barbeque and so on. The women really enjoy meeting together without the men because they are more relaxed and can speak freely with each other. Some of the women practise their Swedish because the staff encourages them to speak it when they are at Panncentralen. The men have more tendencies to speak their mother tongue when they met each other there. Some of the women would like to have more days at Panncentralen that are just for women or at least change the Wednesday to a day in the weekend. However, they do not think this is possible because the men will protest strongly against it.

4.3.2 Employment

Many inhabitants in Dalbo/Araby are unemployed and it is therefore convenient for the unemployed people to spend their time at Panncentralen while they look for a job. Resurs Araby has tried to improve the situation by counselling the job seekers to find jobs or begin to study. As we can see from the following statistics, 69% of the unemployed involved in the project, have found either one of these during the run of the project so far. Therefore this must be categorized as an intended positive impact.

- Number of participants since project’s start: 384
- Number of finished participants: 342
- Number of participants still in the project: 42
• Number of finished participants who got either job or studies: 235, ca 69% (job: 112, ca 33%, studies 123, ca 36%)

(Växjö Kommun (2), 2008)

4.3.3 Security
A majority of both primary and secondary stakeholders believe that Panncentralen makes the area of Dalbo safer than it was before Panncentralen was founded in 2003. This intended positive impact is believed to be due to the fact that the potentially criminal people are not on the streets but at Panncentralen where they are occupied with peaceful activities. At Panncentralen you form contacts and get to know people that you would not meet elsewhere. This creates a sense of feeling safe because you know each other and you rarely have fights with people you know. Two initiatives, which also improve the security in Dalbo, are Nattvandring and Trygghetsvandring.

4.3.4 Health
Panncentralen has many health activities to offer to the population of Dalbo. In 2009, 64 people participated in water gymnastics and 285 people participated in stick walking. The total number of participants in all health activities in 2009 was 487 (Ideella Förening Dalbo (2), 2010). This has been a positive intended impact. In 2010, the goal has been to work to improve the public health and 45 women from Kvinnor Emellan have participated in a 5 kilometre long run called Våruset around Växjö Lake. Most participants in health activities are women, the men prefer to talk and drink coffee in the café. Panncentralen also tries to improve the mental health by inviting lonely people in Dalbo to celebrate Christmas, the national day and other holidays.

4.3.5 Negative impacts
The only negative impact found in this evaluation is the fact that the visitors spend so much time at Panncentralen that they do not go to other places in Växjö, meaning that they hardly leave Dalbo.
This is an unintended negative impact. Nothing is being done to change this situation because naturally, Panncentralen do not want to send their visitors away.

4.4 Relevance

In general, Panncentralen is very much relevant to the visitors who appreciate coming there to meet their friends, to play games and to drink coffee. Since many people are unemployed, they need a place to spend their time and Panncentralen is that place which many of them regard as their second home. Panncentralen is so popular that the rooms are beginning to be too small.

4.4.1 Activities

Almost all the visitors are very satisfied with the activities at Panncentralen and think they are relevant to them. However, some visitors would like less young people to attend the activities. When the men attend Panncentralen, on all days except Wednesday, there are several different activities going on at the same time - this can be billiard, table tennis, chess and football on the large screen. But when the women come on Wednesdays, they do one activity together which can be an information meeting, bingo, running or a meal eaten together. The reason for this is that the men are so numerous that it would be difficult to gather everybody for the same activity. But the women are so few, compared with the men, that it is easy to do the same thing and also more social.

4.5 Sustainability

A large majority of the visitors feel they have influence at Panncentralen - about half of them feel ownership towards Panncentralen. It is obvious that the staff at Panncentralen is doing a lot to include the visitors in deciding what activities to do and this is probably also why so many visitors are satisfied with the activities. An example of this happened recently when a trip was being planned and the visitors were asked to vote for where they wanted to go and then they went to that place. This was apparently also done to introduce the visitors to democracy in function.
In most cases, influence causes people to feel ownership because they feel they are a ‘part owner’ of the establishment when they are asked what they think about different issues. This might also be the case at Panncentralen. When the visitors are involved in Panncentralen in this way, it means that it has potential for sustainability and will probably exist for many years to come, if the benefactors keep supporting it. Many are of the opinion that there will be an outcry in Dalbo if Panncentralen was to be shut down. This also means that Hyresbostäder has to keep up its funding of Panncentralen for as long as it is so popular with the visitors.

Even though the staff is doing a lot to include the visitors in the decision making, there is still a long way to achieve Panncentralen’s goal of all visitors having influence and feeling ownership.

4.6 Efficiency
All secondary stakeholders believe that Panncentralen is worth its resources and that it would be very difficult to cut the funding without the quality decreasing. If the funding is cut down, the staff would have to be fired and all the staff members are needed. And nobody believes that it would be possible to achieve the same result with less funding since Ideella Förening Dalbo is a non-profit organisation and then the whole organisation should have to be changed. Panncentralen does not need more funding - only larger rooms are needed. There is already a negotiation going on with Hyresbostäder about getting extra rooms.

4.7 Inputs
In 2009, Panncentralen was funded by four different institutions and organisations. Hyresbostäder was the main contributor and gave 783,229,00 SEK (this amount has been approximately the same since 2003), Landstinget gave 17,549,00 specifically to project Kvinnor Emellan, AMS (job market organisation) gave 110,274,00 specifically to staff members whose salary are paid in part by the organisation, Växjö Kommun gave 30,000,00 to Kvinnor Emellan and 15,000,00 to Tjejer Emellan. In 2009, Växjö Kommun, Växjö Maria Församling, Missionskyrkan, IOGT – NTO, Hyresbostäder,
Bokelundskolan and Ideella Förening Dalbo all contributed with staff members. (Ideella Förening Dalbo (1), 2010). Svenska Kyrkan began contributing with staff members to Panncentralen in 2005 and has had approximately the same number of working hours per week since then. Växjö Kommun’s contribution with staff members has increased over the years. Missionskyrkan’s contribution with staff members has been steady through the years.

4.8 Short term results
The short term results of Panncentralen have been to create a meeting place for the people in Dalbo and to offer a number of different activities for these people. To create jobs is another short term result.

4.9 Long term results
The longer term results have been that Dalbo has become a safer area compared to before Panncentralen was founded. The integration of immigrants has improved although there should be more Swedish people at Panncentralen to make the integration better.
5. Discussion

As we have seen in the introduction, integration is not just integration but has been categorized into different concepts. Social integration had four different basic forms: Acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. In my evaluation, I have used identification, meaning that the immigrant sees himself as a part of the society. I asked the immigrants if Panncentralen made them feel like they belonged to the society. But in hindsight, I could also have asked them if Panncentralen had helped them with acquiring the cultural standards and knowledge necessary to interact in a society with success (acculturation).

According to Andersen, “a domineering line of thought, when dealing with integration, is that when immigrants are placed in areas with a limited number of other immigrants, their integration will improve”. This was one of the major problems for the integration process in the area of Dalbo. Panncentralen does many things to improve the integration, such as information meetings about the Swedish society, employment projects to assist the immigrants with finding jobs which will help the immigrants with feeling they belong more to the society, but all these efforts are almost in vain, because of the simple fact, that there are not enough native Swedes attending Panncentralen.

In Sweden, no government has practised assimilation policy since the 70’s and this has not even happened now that Sverigedemokraterna are members of parliament. In the third approach in the European integration debate, Sweden is mentioned as an example of a country which is practising multiculturalism, meaning that a nation consist of many different cultures and that all cultures are seen as having the same value. As an example of an opposing view point, in this approach, France is mentioned because political assimilation is seen as a means to national unity. If this is true, Sweden must have a ‘weaker’ national unity compared to France. In France, it is forbidden to wear any religious symbols in school whereas no such regulation exits in Sweden where all people have the freedom to practice their religions as they please. This means that in the Swedish society in general, integration is preferred since a Muslim immigrant is free to wear religious symbols in public and
hereby keep the religious traditions of his home country. The Swedish integration policy also favours integration to assimilation.

However, in Sweden, Sverigedemokraterna wants assimilation so the immigrants become as close to being Swedish as possible but as mentioned, their voice is not the majority in the country and their point of views have not been practiced since the other parties refuse to cooperate with them. Like in France, national identity and unity is also an important factor for Sverigedemokraterna which they want to strengthen.

No matter what one thinks of Sverigedemokraterna, one could argue that it is a democratic problem that no parties in the parliament want to cooperate with them. Sverigedemokraterna were put there by the voters in a fair, democratic election. The views of the voters who are concerned with the different aspects of immigration should at least be discussed in the parliament.

According to Andersen, the term assimilation was the first term to describe an immigrant’s encounter with a new and alien society and the term integration was then invented later in order to underline that migration can have a more varied outcome:” Integration can happen in the form of attribution of formal rights and in the form of participation in economic, social and cultural activities”. At Panncentralen, the immigrants participated in social and cultural activities but not many native Swedes participated in these activities.

Panncentralen do not wish to assimilate the visiting immigrants but wants them to feel that they belong to the Swedish society while they still keep some of their traditions and culture

It seems to me that integration can happen in different ways. Migration begins with a person being 100% foreign, then three scenarios can happen: 1. He becomes integrated. 2. He becomes assimilated. 3. He keeps being 80-100% foreign. The last scenario can happen if the person lives in segregation and have very little contact with the new society.
The fact that the Swedish government prefers integration to assimilation is very understandable since it seems that a person is happier when not being forced to give up on his original culture. Another thing is, if an immigrant is assimilated, he will still look foreign and will therefore be perceived as foreign even though he feels Swedish inside. Even if he marries a Swedish person, it will take some generations before the children look like Swedes.

If one should invent an alternative meeting place to Panncentralen where the visitors would obtain a higher degree of integration, this place would first of all have to have an equal amount of native people and immigrants. The meeting place should therefore construct activities which should attract both groups and preferably both sexes. In order to make sure that people would attend these activities, an investigation to find out what people are interested in, should be carried out in the local area. The activities should be constructed in a way that would insure the highest degree of interaction between the immigrants and the Swedes. The activity should also be constructed in a way which made the immigrants use the language of their new homeland. Learning or improving a language is essential for the integration process. This would insure that the immigrants would have a larger chance of finding a job, begin studying or participate in social activities with the native population outside of the meeting place.

Has Sweden’s integration policy failed as claimed in some of the views in the Swedish integration debate? I cannot be the judge of that in the whole of Sweden but I have witnessed some of the problems with integration in Dalbo when doing my evaluation. The Swedish state made an urban development agreement with Växjö Kommun in order to break Arabys’ isolation from the rest of Växjö. That goal has not been entirely reached because, the immigrants visiting Panncentralen, rarely leave their local area – they prefer to stay at Panncentralen. And when it comes to integration, it is not even a main goal for Panncentralen although this could have helped breaking the isolation.
6. Conclusion

The first two objectives of this study have been reached since Panncentralen’s impacts on the society have been uncovered. Most focus and time has been devoted to the impact of integration but the impacts of security, employment and health were also discovered during the field work.

The final objective of the study has been reached since it was investigated how Panncentralen performed on the five evaluation criteria: Effectiveness, Relevance, Impact, Sustainability and Efficiency.

Regarding the evaluation criterion of effectiveness, Panncentralen has reached its goal which was to contribute to a positive development for Dalbo and its inhabitants. Therefore Panncentralen must be considered a success.

It is not Panncentralen’s main goal to improve the integration of their immigrant visitors but some things are done in this area, such as having information meetings and employing immigrants as staff members to set an example for other visitors. But not many immigrants come to the meetings and there are only a few Swedish people. The impact on integration is intended positive but it is not wholly successful.

The initiative to reduce unemployment, Resurs Araby, has been successful in getting a number of people jobs or places to study. This impact was a positive intended one.

A majority of both the primary and secondary stakeholders believe that Dalbo has become safer because of Panncentralen, the reason being that the potentially criminal inhabitants are not walking around in the streets of Dalbo. Panncentralen has been successful in attracting these people to its activities. This has been a positive intended impact.
A number of people have been going to Panncentralen’s health activities. A large majority of the participants are women. This is a positive intended impact

The one negative impact is that people do not want to leave Panncentralen because they are satisfied to be there.

Panncentralen is very relevant to the visitors who regard it as their second home. It has been successful in creating activities that the visitors enjoy, probably because it has let the visitors use their influence.

A large majority of the visitors feel they have influence at Panncentralen and less of them feel a sense of ownership. Panncentralen has been successful in including the visitors in the decision making. This makes Panncentralen sustainable.

All the secondary stakeholders believe that Panncentralen is worth all its funding and if it should obtain the same results with less money, then the whole structure of Ideella Förening Dalbo had to be changed.

Panncentralen’s founders, stakeholders, and staff can be very proud of their achievement. They created a meeting place in Dalbo at a time when such a place was much needed and many visitors have benefitted from their activities. However, not all is fine - especially concerning integration, as have been revealed in this study. I will give my recommendations for improving Panncentralen in the following chapter.
7. Lessons Learned

Panncentralen is an example to be followed in the whole of the Western world in cities where immigrants from developing countries dominate an area. The principle of including the visitors in deciding which activities to do, can certainly be used at other similar occasions because it makes the visitors happy to come there and the number of visitors is also likely to increase. A project similar to Resurs Araby can be used to get jobs for the visitors, health activities can used to improve the health of the visitors and projects like Nattvandring and Trygghetsvandring can be used to improve the security of the area. When it comes to the issue of integration, the lesson from Panncentralen is that more of the local ‘native’ citizens must come to interact with the immigrants otherwise a full integration is difficult.
8. Recommendations

If Panncentralen wants to achieve its goal about influence and ownership for all visitors, they should consider longer opening hours and keeping Panncentralen open on the Swedish holidays, as some visitors have expressed they would like. A possibility could be to let the staff members with an immigrant background work on these days.

The number of people who visit Panncentralen is too high for its capacity and therefore larger rooms are needed so more people can come. The negotiation with Hyresbostäder should continue and result in an enlargement soon.

More men should participate in health activities. The fact that the men prefer to drink coffee instead of exercising is probably not as much a cultural issue as it is a question of gender roles – women in most cultures are usually keener on doing exercise. The men could be asked what kind of health activities they would prefer and then they should be carried out. Of course, the men cannot be forced into doing anything but if they feel they have influence, the chance that they attend the health activities is higher.

The visitors at Panncentralen are likely to sit together with people of their own nationalities which is a perfectly natural thing to do. However, it would be better if the staff encouraged the different ethnic groups to mix with each other more as this would expand their universe.

Below follow some suggestions to what Panncentralen can do to improve the integration of immigrants:

- Try to attract more Swedish people to improve integration. This could be done by informing more about Panncentralen’s activities. A more controversial way to attract more Swedes could be to serve alcohol but of course this would be a problem with both IOGT-NTO and perhaps some muslims so
this should only be considered if all other options have been tried. However, it is hard to deny that most Swedish people enjoy drinking alcohol and therefore also enjoy going to places where they are able to buy it.

- It is, in theory, a good idea to hire immigrants as staff members so they can set an example for the immigrant visitors but at the same time it makes the integration process more difficult when there are few Swedish staff members. This would not be a problem if there were many Swedish people among the visitors but at the moment this is not the fact. The immigrants need to meet Swedes in order to be wholly integrated into the Swedish society; they need to learn about Swedish culture, traditions and language. This issue should be discussed.

- Try to attract more immigrants to information meetings to improve their integration and knowledge about the Swedish society. It is a very fine initiative to have these meetings but it is not enough if there are only a few immigrants attending the meetings. Panncentralen needs to let the immigrants know how important it is that they attend the meetings and what kind of benefits they will achieve if they gain more knowledge about the Swedish society.

- The immigrant men should be more encouraged to speak Swedish when they are at Panncentralen. It seems that the staff it good at encouraging the women who come to Panncentralen on Wednesdays to speaking Swedish with each other and the men should follow their example because it will improve their integration.

- Try to attract more immigrant women to improve their integration. Women, in general, are lacking at Panncentralen but it is especially important to have more immigrant women there so they can have contact with the Swedish society, get a social network and gain knowledge about Sweden. Many of the immigrant women are very busy with talking care of their children and therefore have difficulties with going out to any sort of activity. These women must be informed about Panncentralen’s activities and be convinced that it is good for them to come on Wednesdays. A way to inform them could be to encourage the women, who already come to Panncentralen on Wednesdays,
to talk to their friends and neighbors. Then they would be informed by some one they already know and trust which would improve the chance of them being convinced. Since their husbands are likely to be home on Wednesdays, because Panncentralen is closed for men, it would be obvious to ask them to take care of their children. However, in most cases this would probably not be possible due to the fact that in some cultures it is not the men’s job to take care of children. One solution could be to let older siblings baby-sit the younger siblings. Another way to get more women to come to Panncentralen might be to get one more weekly day only for women - perhaps a day in the weekend, as some women have expressed they would like. The staff should speak with the men about allowing the women to get an extra day during the week. If the men still protest about this, it should be considered to get extra rooms to be a permanent place for women so both sexes could be at Panncentralen at the same time.

- Even though a lot is being done, integration is not formulated as Panncentralen’s overall goal – maybe it should. This could result in more focus on integration issues which would hopefully benefit the immigrant visitors.

- Continue the Resurs Araby project. Getting into the job market is certainly good for the immigrant’s integration. This depends on the economy of Växjö Kommun but it would be worth the effort to try to convince them to continue the funding of the project.

- It must be considered what is most important – that Panncentralen is popular with the visitors or that the integration is being improved? The perfect scenario would be that Panncentralen could be both, of course, but that would take much effort and time.
9. Sources

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10. Appendix

A. Terms of reference

Purpose
The main evaluating purpose is to find out if Panncentralen (PC) has had any effects on the integration process in Dalbo/Araby. However, other effects, which are not related to integration, will also be covered.

Background
PC was founded in 2003 and the purpose was to create a meeting place for people in Dalbo. This place should contribute to a positive development for both the area and the habitants. PC has a café, computers with internet connection and different kinds of games to be played. Most of the people who visit PC are men but on Wednesdays, only women are allowed to come. There are 18 people in the staff and some are employed and others are volunteers. PC is run by a number of different organizations and these are: Hyresbostäder, Växjö Kommun, Svenska Missionskyrkan, Hyresgästföreningen, Växjö Maria Församling, IOGT – NTO, Bokelundskolan and UNIC.

Evaluation questions
The following questions will be covered and discussed in the evaluation:

- Has PC has it fulfilled its purpose?
- How was the situation in Dalbo before PC was founded?
- Has PC had any effects on the integration process in Dalbo/Araby?
- Has PC made the area more secure?
- Are the activities at PC relevant to the users?
- Do the users feel any sort of ownership towards PC?
- Do the users have influence?
- Will PC exist for many years to come?
- Does PC need more funding?
- Can PC achieve the same results with less funding?

**Methodology**

The evaluator will visit PC and conduct interviews with the primary stakeholders who are present at the location. The evaluator will also conduct interviews with the secondary stakeholders who consist of: the staff of PC, Hyresbostäder, Växjö Kommun, Svenska Missionskyrkan, Hyresgästföreningen, Växjö Maria Församling, IOGT – NTO, Bokelundskolan and UNIC.

**Time schedule**

The field work will take place from the 9th of April to the 7th of May 2010. After this the writing phase begins.

**Reporting**

The evaluation report will be written in English and a draft will be submitted to the Linnaeus University the 8th of June 2010. The final version will be handed in the 26th of August 2010.
B. List of people contacted

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