Constructing the Boundaries of the Nation
Canada and Sweden Compared

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The identity of any state, its values, beliefs and norms are difficult to ascertain. This paper argues that the boundaries of the nation become most visible at the borders. In other words, the values and beliefs of the state are most apparent through the determination of who can belong, what one must do to belong, and the values conveyed to the new members through state literature. A comparative analysis of immigration policies in Canada and Sweden, combined with a critical discourse analysis of state literature produced for new arrivals, forms the basis of this paper. In particular, this paper points to the differences between Canada and Sweden in their promotion of their respective 'state cultures,' as well as the contradictions arising between the existing policy goals and the values put forward in the state literature.

Nationalism, Nation-Building and State Culture
The existing literature on nationalism provides a framework for understanding how states build nations and attempt to construct identity within their borders. Much of the literature gives primacy to the state, arguing that state and nation are social constructions that use nationalism and nation-building in order to provide political legitimacy. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, argues that "nations do not make states and nationalisms, but the other way around" (1990: 10). Ernest Gellner suggests that nationalism is not a natural process, but a "theory of political legitimacy" (1983: 1). Benedict Anderson restates this point in terms of imagined communities based on imagined commonalities (1991). Overall, modern nations are viewed as rational, unifying and beneficial constructions of states. States use nationalism to create an idea of 'a people' and to unify them by stating who belongs to the nation and what it means to belong.

Historically, states have constructed nations through a variety of different mechanisms and processes. Gellner focuses on the national school system as the transmitter of not only skills, but also language and culture (1997: 66-67). In other words, it is the primary agent of political socialization. Anderson points to the importance of the printing press and mass media. He argues that historically these developments gave political elites the ability to reach the masses through a common language and medium, creating uniformity and a sense of community (Anderson, 1991: 83-7). Michael Billig (1995) refers to 'banal nationalism' or the banal flagging of nationhood. His argument points to the unnoticed acts of nation-building and nationalism put forward by states to remind citizens of their membership in a political community. Billig makes a distinction between the waved and the unwaved flag, stating "the reproduction of the nation-state depends upon a dialectic of collective remembering and forgetting, and on imagination and unimaginative repetition. The unwaved flag, which is so forgettable, is at least as important as the memorable moments of flag waving" (Billig, 1995: 10). All of these authors point to the different methods and levels at which states create a sense of community and remind residents of their membership in the political community.

In these ways, the existing literature on nationalism tells us something about how states attempt to construct an imagined community within their borders. The literature, however, does not provide many tools for understanding or discovering the actual values around which individual states choose to build a nation. The model of state culture proposed here provides an alternative entry point and method into understanding the values of the state and the culture the state is trying to convey to its members. State culture is different from national identity in that it does not necessarily reflect what individuals consider important about belonging to a specific state or

the basis upon which they identify with a particular nation. Rather, state culture encompasses the values that the state tells its members are important. It is rooted in citizenship and democracy and, while it shares many characteristics with nationalism, it is not a movement. Ideally, state culture has the potential to construct identity and meaning in different and more inclusive ways of belonging than nationalism. Ultimately, by understanding state culture – the culture put forward by the state – we can better understand how the state constructs the boundaries of the nation and distinguishes between 'us' and 'them.'

Searching for State Culture
This paper proposes to explore the boundaries of the nation at the borders of the nation – by investigating the state immigration policies and literature produced for new arrivals in Canada and Sweden. The study of immigration in relation to state nation-building activities is one of the best areas in which to identify the values of the state culture. It is through immigration policy that states determine who can and who can't belong to the political community. Immigration policies reinforce national borders and provide a selection process and set of criteria upon which applicants for membership are evaluated. These policies are designed to choose the applicants that best fit the needs, goals and values of the specific state. Through the literature that the state produces for its new members, the state reveals the key values which it is trying to promote. This literature tells new immigrants what they need to know about their new home, what to expect, how to behave, what their rights and responsibilities are, and what role the state will play in their individual lives. This literature tells the reader what it means to be Canadian or Swedish.

These two countries were chosen for both their similarities and differences. Both countries have multicultural policies (although multiculturalism arguably dominates the Canada political discourse to a much greater extent). Both countries have historically strong welfare states and have attempted to construct a national identity around the welfare state as opposed to around ethnicity (e.g. Brodie 2002, Jenson 1989, Oakes 2001, Ålund 1991). Both countries receive a large number of new members every year and are, in fact, diverse, multicultural societies. As well, both Canada and Sweden have experienced dissent in recent years over the issue of immigration and both are trying to construct a national identity that is inclusive of difference and can still unite the country (Wilton 2004). At the same time, however, Canada (as a relatively 'new' state) has a fragmented national identity, challenged by regional and sub-national identities, such as Quebecois nationalism, Aboriginal nationalism, and western regionalism. Sweden, on the other hand, has a long history of nation-building. Also, until fairly recently, Sweden was a relatively ethnically and culturally homogenous state. For these reasons, it is interesting to compare the values these two states attempt to transmit through immigration politics and literature.

Immigration in Canada
According to the 2001 Census, 5.448 million Canadians were born outside of the country (Statistics Canada, 2003). In the 1990s, 1.8 million people immigrated to Canada, compared with 745,560 immigrants in the 1960s. Also, since the 1960s, the origin of immigrants to Canada has changed dramatically. In the 1960s, the largest groups of immigrants came from the United Kingdom (160,000), Southern Europe (232, 555) and Northern and Western Europe (86, 820) (ibid.). In the 1990s, the largest groups of immigrants arrived from Eastern Asia (423, 235), Southern Asia (295,100), Eastern Europe (164,465) and Africa (139,770) (ibid.). The recent

waves of immigration have greatly increased the cultural and ethnic diversity of Canada, as well as creating a large visible minority population.

When we look at immigration policy in Canada, it reveals certain things about the values of the Canadian state when choosing new members. Historically, the Canadian state has shifted over the past century from a fairly racist immigration policy to on based more on merit, education and job skills. Overall, Canadian policy focuses on the individual and his/her ability to fulfill responsibilities and contribute to the Canadian economy.

In 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King made a statement on immigration, where he said:

> … With regard to the selection of immigrants, much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her right in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. ... …There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. (quoted in Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002: 40).

Mackenzie King's justification of the racialization of Canadian immigration policy reflects prevailing attitudes and beliefs at the time. It also points to the historic importance of ethnicity to Canadian identity and state culture.

The *Immigration Act of 1952*, allowed for applications to be rejected on the basis of nationality, citizenship, ethnicity, occupation, class, peculiar customs, habits or methods of holding property, as well as, among other things, unsuitability with regards to the climate, economy or society (Abu-Laban, 1998b: 73). This was very obviously a policy designed to protect the primarily British (and West European to an extent) character of Canada and to exclude people from other groups. It is a policy that was obviously racist and discriminatory, but as Mackenzie King's statement shows - this was considered acceptable at that point in time by many among the political elite. These early policies reveal certain values of the Canadian state as well - the desire to build a 'better British Canada', a combination of a need for workers and a concern about ethnic and racial diversity among the population.

It was not until 1967, under Prime Minister Pearson, that Canada shifted to the point system designed to remove racism from the selection process and use skills and occupations to evaluate new immigrants instead. In other words, newcomers would be evaluated on their ability to contribute to the Canadian economy - this was the primary characteristic sought in new applicants. They are still evaluated using a somewhat modified version of this, in which certain points are allocated based on their education levels, job experience, language skills, age and so on. The number of points has steadily risen over the years, until last fall when it was discovered that the threshold had become too high and was excluding highly skilled applicants.

This system of evaluating new immigrants applies to independent immigrants only, not to refugees or family class immigrants. However, as independent immigrants are the largest class of immigrants to Canada, this system can be seen as reflecting the values or characteristics that the state seeks in its new members. First, it suggests that the state views us primarily as workers. It

measures our contribution to society in terms of participation in the formal economy. Second, it measures skills that can be easily measured and equated with workforce needs; it does not, for example, work as well for women in primarily care-giving roles, nor for producers of cultural products. The current assumption within the current immigration policy is that newcomers (in all categories) should be able to find employment and support themselves and their families without depending on the state for assistance. This is true for independent immigrants as mentioned above; but also for family-class where sponsors take responsibility for providing for their families' members and ensuring that they have the language skills, for example, necessary to participate. With refugees, the goal is to develop their language skills and work skills and make them independent as soon as possible.

In 1971, a national policy of multiculturalism was adopted by Prime Minister Trudeau which aimed to meet the grievances of non-English/French Canadians who had grown from just over 10% of the population in 1900 to one-quarter of the population in 1961. Trudeau outlined the policy as having a number of aims, including: providing financial assistance of cultural groups; assisting members of cultural groups to overcome barriers in society; promoting exchanges between members of different groups to promote national unity; and assisting immigrants to acquire one of the official languages in order to participate in society (McRoberts, 1997: 125). Initially the policy appeared to be individualistic and to promote cultural preservation. In the 1980s, however, the aim shifted to focus more on racism and social issues (McRoberts, 1997: 127).

Abu-Laban notes that Canada's multicultural policy is seen as a model for other countries and the management of ethnic diversity (Abu-Laban 1998a, 86). However, it is not without its critics. Neil Bissoondath is one of the most vocal critics of multicultural policy arguing that it has often been understood as an encouragement to globalization and an excess of cultural relativism, and discourages immigrants from identifying with Canada and identifying themselves as Canadians (Bissoondath, 1994). Himani Bannerji also provides a compelling critique of the idea of multiculturalism. According to Bannerji, the problem is that the ideology of multiculturalism places 'others' in a strange position where they are both central to this construction of Canada and at the same time required to maintain their difference and 'otherness' in order to maintain the construction (Bannerji, 1996: 109). Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) argue that today the areas of immigration and multiculturalism are guided by the principles of business with an emphasis on markets, efficiency, competitiveness and individualism. This has resulted in the Canadian government 'selling diversity' in order to enhance Canada's competitiveness in the global market (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002: 12).

In the 1990s, we saw a backlash against immigration and refugees in Canada influenced by the rise of the Reform party and neo-liberalism (Anderson and Black, 1998). Opinion polls showed that by the mid-90s, over half of Canadians felt that there were "too many immigrants in the country" (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002: 46). Under Chretien, immigration policies became more restrictionist and have emphasized tighter controls and enforcement, as well as the downloading of the costs of immigration and integration to individuals and families (Anderson and Black, 1998). For example, the $975 landing fee for immigrants (often called a head tax) aims to put the cost of the process on newcomers, but also makes the process very expensive and denies immigration to those who cannot afford it. After September 11, the federal government quickly made some changes to immigration policy under the *Immigrant and Refugee Protection*

Act (effective July 2002). While the policy speaks to the importance of immigration and diversity in Canada, it focuses on increasing security and decreasing abuse of the system. There are tighter regulations to ensure that refugees are people in 'genuine need' of refuge and a large part of the new act attempts to address international criminal organizations as well as threats of terrorism (CIC 2003a). While arguably tighter security is a necessary fact in the post-9/11 period, the implication that the threat to Canada is primarily external and stems from immigration and immigrants is problematic. Overall, recent immigration changes appear to be a response to criticisms coming from the New Right and the fear of immigrants and immigration as seen in the media.

Overall, the recent trend within immigration policy is to emphasise security and the selection of self-sufficient immigrants - all of which is in tune with the current dominance of neo-liberalism in Canadian politics. Ultimately, Canada's immigration policies and politics suggest a number of things about the values of the Canadian state. First, the values of multiculturalism, tolerance and diversity continue to be reiterated by the State in its policy statements. However, when we look at policies and funding for multiculturalism, we see a decreased commitment to the ideals of multiculturalism, and a focus on anti-racism programs as opposed to funding for cultural preservation and the idea of 'selling diversity' as opposed to investing in it. The state's concern with multiculturalism and tolerance, as well as Canada's international and humanitarian obligations, are definitely taking a back seat to the other values - primarily, individualism, self-sufficiency and, most of all, an ability to contribute to the Canadian economy. One thing becomes clear through the policy analysis - there is a contradiction within the state culture of Canada between the values of tolerance and equality and the values of neo-liberalism. This contradiction carries through to the analysis of the literature that the state creates for new immigrants. It is also a contradiction that appears in the Swedish literature, suggesting that this is not just a problem for Canada, or for more neo-liberal states.

Immigration in Sweden
Since the Second World War, 2.1 million people have immigrated to Sweden (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001: 19). Immigration has increased dramatically in recent decades and the nature of immigration has changed from imported workers to primarily refugees and family class immigrants (ibid.). In general, Sweden is viewed as a desirable place to seek refuge because of the high standard of living, the welfare state benefits, high wages, and low unemployment (Ohlsson, 1995: 86). However, immigration is literally changing the face of Sweden and, today, one in five residents of Sweden has some non-Swedish background (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001: 30). These changes in immigration present a serious challenge to Swedish identity. The Swedish state has tried to address these challenges by embracing policies that aim to balance diversity with the promotion and retention of key Swedish values, such as democracy, equality and the welfare state.

Large scale immigration began in Sweden in the post-war period when Sweden experienced a great demand for labour. In the early 1970s, immigration in Sweden shifted towards more refugees and family-class immigrants as labour-force needs had been met. Refugee flows reflected current conflicts around the world and Swedish immigrants became less likely to be western or northern European. In 1986, for the first time in Swedish history, more than half of the immigrants to Sweden were non-European (Blanck and Tyden, 1994: 60). The non-European

background of many applicants was a new challenge for Sweden and one with which the state is still attempting to come to terms. Sweden currently receives approximately 50,000 immigrants and refugees per year and is one of the larger receiving countries in Europe on a per capita basis (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000: 25-28).

In 1975, in response to changing immigration patterns and the rising cultural diversity of the Swedish population, the Swedish state introduced a multicultural policy, which was built around the framework of three concepts: equality, freedom of choice, and 'partnership' (jämlikhet, valfrihet, och samverkan). Tomas Hammar summarizes the original intent of these three overarching principles (which are a bold paraphrase of the French Revolution's liberté, egalité et fraternité), in the following way:

> The goal of *equality* implies the continued efforts to give immigrants the same living standard as the rest of the population. The goal of *freedom of choice* implies that public initiatives are to be taken to assure members of ethnic and linguistic minorities domiciled in Sweden a genuine choice between retaining and developing their cultural identity and assuming a Swedish cultural identity. The goal of *partnership* implies that the different immigrant and minority groups on the one hand and the native population on the other both benefit from working together. (Quoted in Ålund and Schierup, 1991: 2)

These goals implied that not only would foreigners enjoy the same legal privileges as Swedish citizens, but also that the general public would accept these multicultural aims (Ålund and Schierup, 1991: 3). The emphasis on sameness and similar treatment is problematic, however, as it assumes that equality is achieved by treating everyone the same as opposed to recognizing that difference may require different treatment and policies in order to achieve substantive equality.

The period characterized by a generous refugee policy and well-designed immigration policy came to an end in 1989/90 when the Swedish government launched a more restrictive refugee policy following a peak of 30,000 asylum applicants in one year. Up until this time Sweden had accepted de facto refugees and conscientious objectors. At this time, however, the Swedish Social Democrat government ruled that only Geneva Convention class refugees would be accepted (Migrationsverket, 2000: 7). In the 1990s the rate of rejected applications for asylum increased, along with the number of asylum seekers going underground. Currently, approximately 90% of applications for asylum are rejected, compared with 10-15% in the mid-1980s (Hammar, 1999: 196-97). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2001) argues that Sweden's immigration policy has the following goals:

> (1) to ensure that migration to and from Sweden occurs in an orderly fashion;
> (2) to safeguard the right to asylum;
> (3) to maintain regulated immigration; and
> (4) to ensure that the policy measures are characterized by the rule of law, humanity and respects for the human rights of the individual (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001: 34).

It is interesting to note that orderly migration receives primacy in these goals, whereas respect for human rights, while still prioritized, comes last. These goals are all understandable. However,

there is a potential conflict between maintaining control and order, and respect for human rights and the needs of refugees for asylum. According to Hammar, however, control is currently more often emphasized potentially leading to more severe judgments and actions from the controlling agencies (1999: 199-200).

While overall Sweden continues to have one of the most generous and welcoming policies in Europe for immigrants and refugees, there is a trend towards tightening the borders. In some ways, this trend is due to changing public opinion and the changing nature of immigration to Sweden, as well as Sweden's participation in the European Union and international Agreements, such as Schengen, which aim to tighten control over European borders. The recent implementation of third country agreements within the EU will also have effects on the reception of refugees in Sweden. Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund argue that:

> the restrictive immigration policies that are now being enforced in Sweden and other parts of Western Europe are primarily directed at Third World immigration. The concept of Fortress Europe is currently in vogue with analysts of international migration. One outcome of Maastricht is the opening up of Western Europe for internal migration but at the same time the closing of its gates to immigration from Eastern Europe and non-European countries. (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund, 1995: 7).

The rising diversity of Swedish society, as well as the breakdown of the political consensus on immigration, combined with rising unemployment rates for immigrants, racism and discrimination, have led to a re-evaluation of Swedish integration and immigration policy. While this had led to a tightening of immigration and greater rejection rates of applications for asylum (see above), the pressure has also come to bear on Swedish integration policy. In particular, the policy of multiculturalism has been questioned with regards to how much diversity Swedish society and culture can accommodate while retaining distinctive Swedish characteristics and how much integration is necessary for Swedish society to work.

In response to these challenges, the Swedish Integration Board conducted a report of its work and the challenges it faced. This report, released in 2001, gathered statistics from the past 10 years and outlined the problems facing integration as well as outlining a new strategy for addressing these problems and achieving integration. With the goal of creating the same rights, obligations and possibilities for all people in Sweden, the new strategy attempts to individualize the process and framework of integration by bringing the "individual into focus" (Integrationsverket, 2001b: 10). The challenges for integration policy and politics include:

- Long waiting lists for Swedish language training and the length of time before immigrants are able and ready to enter the workforce;
- A higher probability of being unemployed if one has foreign background;
- Long term social dependency resulting in marginalisation within Swedish society;
- The difficulty foreigners have finding employment corresponding to their knowledge and skill levels;
- Poor relationships with school authorities and low levels of attention for foreign students; and

- Housing in major cities is strongly segregated. (Integrationsverket 2001b)

The strategy for combating these challenges is outlined in the chapter entitled "A strategy for Integration and Diversity," which states that the time has come for the Integration Board to take a "leap forward". They state a need to develop a common and long-term vision and plan for integration and diversity based on cooperation with all different sectors of society and the creation of coordinated policies – in particular, through private sector partnerships (Integrationsverket, 2001b: 17). The primary goal of the strategy is to create the conditions for immigrants to be "self-sufficient" and "self-reliant" (Integrationsverket, 2001b: 17). This will be done by placing the "individual in focus" with language training aimed at obtaining specific jobs and the rapid placement of individuals in the workforce.

While this approach may represent a positive shift from the previous method under which all immigrants received the same introduction to Swedish society, the language used and the individualistic approach strongly suggest a shift towards a neo-liberal agenda. This is reinforced by the emphasis on getting immigrants into the workforce (as though employment will solve all the integration problems) and the recurring use of words such as self-sufficient and self-reliant. The emphasis is on the individual to get a job and therefore contribute to and be a part of Swedish society. Also, while the report notes that immigrants face barriers to employment, there are few concrete suggestions for how these barriers can be overcome (Integrationsverket, 2001b: 18). Overall, the emphasis is placed on the immigrant to adapt and on the Swedish state to help them, but no attention is given to the broader issues of racism and discrimination in Swedish society.

In conclusion, Swedish immigration and integration policies have attempted to balance several different values, which are not necessarily complementary – the desire for order, a feeling of moral responsibility to those in need, and a strong belief in equality. However, in recent years the emphasis appears to be on promoting order and integration in Sweden, as opposed to promoting a multicultural and diverse society. The recent report from the Integration Board also suggests a shift towards the values of neo-liberalism in integration policy that is reminiscent of the changes in Canada. The most significant trend within Swedish state culture is the shift towards neo-liberalism, with an increased focus on the individual, and individual responsibility, and a diminished role for the state. This is supported by the emphasis on the workforce as the site of integration and the shifting of responsibility for integration to the Department of Industry.

At the same time, these policies do reveal several key values within Swedish state culture. For example, the emphasis on solidarity and equality in the multiculturalism policy, and the importance of ensuring an orderly society where everyone is treated the same. The problem is that as there is more difference in Swedish society, it becomes more difficult to achieve equality by treating everyone the same. The homogeneity of Swedish society and state culture presents a very real barrier to the creation of an inclusive and diverse state culture. It is very difficult to incorporate 'difference' into a state culture built on the idea of promoting 'sameness'.

Literature for Newcomers in Canada and Sweden
While the above analysis of immigration trends and policies in Canada and Sweden reveals some aspects of the state culture put forward by the respective states, these values become much more explicit in the literature produced by the states for newcomers. The three texts analyzed were created by the Canadian and Swedish states respectively. *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada*

(CIC, 2002) is published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada for new immigrants. *A Look at Canada* (CIC, 2001) is also published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, but for permanent residents preparing to take the citizenship examination. *Sweden: A pocket guide* (Integrationsversket, 2001a) is published by the Swedish Integration Board for all new arrivals. These are the primary texts created to introduce immigrants to their new home in each respective country.

Both *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* and *A Look at Canada* are booklets available in English or French from immigration offices or over the internet on the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website. *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* is thirty-eight pages in length and targets individuals and families who are preparing to move to Canada or who have recently arrived. The target audience is family class and independent immigrants. *A Look at Canada* is thirty-nine pages in length. It provides the information necessary for permanent residents to pass the citizenship examination. *Sweden: A pocket guide* offers a comprehensive guide to Swedish and life in Sweden. The book is 280 pages in length and is in colour. Although the English edition of the book was used for this analysis, it is available in numerous languages reflecting the primary linguistic groups of new arrivals in Sweden. The book is intended for all new arrivals, including family class immigrants, individuals on work permits and refugees, and reflects the understanding that many new arrivals will not have a working knowledge of Swedish.

The analysis of these texts was conducted through two main criteria and is loosely based on critical discourse analysis done of the media (e.g van Dijk, 1991; 1995). The analysis first explores images present in the text and how they reflect the ways in which the state chooses to present itself and its society visually. In particular, the focus in on images or symbols of the nation, reinforcing Billig's idea of banal nationalism (1995), on the representation of men and women, and on the representation of visible minorities. This is followed by an analysis of the content of the text and how that content is presented to the reader. This includes the ordering of the text and images, what is included in the text (or not included), what do the actual words say about the state culture of Canada, and what text is bolded or boxed. In proceeding with the content analysis a number of questions were asked of the texts, which aimed to draw out the primary values of the state presented to the reader. The main conclusions of this analysis, including some examples, are presented below.

Images of the Nation
Images are important because they help the reader to interpret the text. They also provide an overall image of the country for new arrivals. In order to conduct the analysis of images, a brief description of the all the images present in the three texts was compiled. In some cases, the descriptions were more detailed based on the information given in the captions alongside them, which help the reader to understand and interpret what they are looking at. For example, in the Swedish book, the captions sometimes stated that it was a picture of immigrants when this would otherwise not be obvious to the reader. These descriptions were then analyzed based on a number of characteristics. In particular, the analysis looks at the presence of national symbols in the texts, the proportion of visible minorities to white subjects, and the roles in which they are portrayed, and the portrayal of female subjects in comparison with male subjects. It is important to note that while not all immigrants of refugees are obviously visible minorities, this category was used to assess the presence of 'the other' in the eyes of the state.

Symbolic representations of the nation were present in all of the three texts. In the Canadian texts, the images in *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* (CIC 2002) contained a total of five symbols within thirty-eight images. In other words, 13% of the images contained symbolic representations of the Canadian state. These included visual representations of the Canadian flag, the national anthem, the Parliament Buildings and two maps. The occurrence of symbols in images was much greater in *A Look at Canada* (CIC 2001), where fifteen of the forty-seven images (32%) contained symbols of the nation including: governmental buildings, the image of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, four images of the Canadian flag, another of a maple leaf, and images of animals seen as Canadian symbols such as the loon and the beaver. The Swedish text contained twenty symbolic images out of a total of one hundred and seventeen images (17%). These included the cover in the Swedish colours of yellow and blue, the symbols of political parties, government buildings, the three crowns, and two images of flags (Integrationsverket 2001a).

While these symbols are often almost invisible or unnoticed in our daily encounters with them, they serve the purpose of binding the nation together. The much higher use of symbols in *A Look at Canada*, suggests that banal nationalism is very present in Canada and that the Canadian state does use these symbols to foster national feeling. The images of the Parliament buildings in the Canadian and Swedish texts remind newcomers of the role of government. The three crowns in the Swedish flag are a reminder of Sweden's past as part of the Kingdom of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The presence of symbols in all of the texts, however, reflects the common practice of using symbolic representations of the nation to remind members of the community of the nation's role and history.

The presence of visible minority individuals in the images representing the nation, such as those used to introduce newcomers to the country, are noteworthy. The presence of people who are identifiably immigrants to the country reflects the role of such individuals within the country. An image of Canada or Sweden that is presented through faces that are not all white conveys the impression that immigrants can and do integrate, and play a role in the national community. If these are supposed to be images of the Canadian and Swedish people, then what they look like and who is included in that definition is important. Also, the visual representation of different ethnic groups in positions of power suggests that there is an absence of an ethnic hierarchy within the state (or at least that the state aims to remove such hierarchies).

Visible minorities appear in over half of the images in *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* (twenty out of thirty-eight). As well, people of colour are represented in positions associated with prestige and power, including health care workers, teachers and business people. Among these images of visible minorities, women are also presented as obtaining positions of power in Canadian society; for example, the image of a black female doctor (CIC 2002, Cover) and the image of a black female teacher (8). However, the images of individuals associated with the law and the state are all of white individuals; for example a white female customs and immigration officer (9), white police officers (34), and a white woman presiding over the taking of the oath at a citizenship ceremony (37).

In *A Look at Canada* (CIC 2001) there is only one image that contains only visible minority people – the image of two women of colour examining their new citizenship papers (CIC 2001,

30). However, there are three images of groups of mixed of mixed ethnicity and four images of Aboriginals, three of which present Aboriginals in traditional dress. This compares with five images that only contain white individuals. In other images containing people, the ethnicity or skin colour of the individuals is not clear. Thus, in over half of the images of individuals, people of colour are present. The majority of pictures of people in *A Look at Canada* are of people engaged in culture activities that can be seen to reflect the cultural diversity of Canada; for example, Ukrainian dancers (20), Aboriginals in traditional dress (11, 19, and 22), a cowboy on a horse (20), and a young woman playing the bagpipes (14).

In both Canadian texts, the images display a conscious effort on the part of the state to represent Canada as diverse and welcoming of immigrants. Overall, immigrants are seen as blending into the images of the nation. This reflects the Canadian state's emphasis on multiculturalism, diversity and tolerance within the texts. It also provides an interesting contrast to the representation of visible minority people in the Swedish text.

The Swedish text, *Sweden: A pocket guide* (Integrationsverket 2001a) is much longer and contains many more pictures. Also, as mentioned above, some of the pictures are accompanied by captions that state that the picture is of immigrants, even though they are not visible minorities. Out of a total of 117 images in the Swedish text, three were of immigrants (as defined by the caption), and seventeen contained visible minority individuals. This compares with sixty-four images that only contained white people, or fifty-five percent of all the images. If this number if combined with the images that contained both categories, then white people were present in seventy-one out of the ninety-six images of people, or seventy-four percent; whereas visible minorities and immigrants were present in only twenty-one percent of the images containing people and seventeen percent of all the images contained in the text. These figures convey the image of Sweden as a very white country, despite the fact that many immigrants to Sweden in recent years are visible minorities.

The Swedish text contains more images of people in their everyday lives and at particular events associated with Swedish culture. In the pictures of couples and families, for example at church (199) or together at home (85, 120, 134, 126), the individuals portrayed tend to be white and heterosexual suggesting that this is the normal family unit. As well, there are numerous images of white people engaged in Swedish cultural activities – for example, dancing around the maypole (50), dressed as St. Lucia (53) or preparing "semlor" a traditional, seasonal dessert (60) – that suggests that there is a distinct Swedish culture and that this culture is white.

This impression is reinforced by an analysis of the ways in which white individuals are portrayed in the images as compared to visible minority individuals. Visible minorities are generally portrayed as workers (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 79), as students (146, 148, 150), or at home (221, 223). On the other hand, white people tend to be portrayed in jobs that are associated with greater prestige and power; for example, as civil servants (34), teachers, nurses and doctors (177, 179, 182, 186). Also, most of the individuals in the pictures associated with the state are white. This includes not only historical figures, but also more recent politicians (25, 29), police officers (213), and immigration officials (231, 232) and even people engaged in political activity such as voting or protesting (39, 67). By comparison, there is only one image of a visible minority engaging in political activity – the image of women in hajib protesting outside the Iranian embassy (194). These images convey to the reader the impression that Sweden has a vertical

mosaic, where the top of the social and economic pyramid is occupied primarily by white individuals. There is a potential conflict between the message that these images are sending and the message that the state is diverse and multicultural. At the same time, the racial division present in these images does reflect the reality of Swedish society.

Content Analysis
This section explores what the texts actually say and, in some cases, what is omitted. By applying a series of questions developed as a model for understanding how the state portrays its own culture, the state culture of Canada and Sweden becomes apparent. The following questions were applied to the three texts:

- What is the historical and economic context presented in the text?
- How are the processes of immigration and integration presented?
- How is the democratic process represented?
- How is the relationship between individuals and the state represented?
- How are citizen rights and responsibilities represented?
- How are males, females and children represented?
- How is the society of the country represented?
- Which aspect of citizenship is emphasized – liberty, equality or solidarity?

As part of the content analysis, the ordering of the text was considered, as well as the proportion of the text devoted to specific topics, the inclusion of bolded or boxed text, and the language used. The main findings of the analysis are presented below.

The primary focus of *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* (CIC 2002) is on preparing to move to Canada and settling once they have arrived. The first five chapters of the text all deal with related issues, reflecting the focus of this text on those preparing to immigrate or who have just arrived. These chapters reflect a chronological approach to immigration, beginning with preparing to move, then the first day in Canada and what to expect from officials, contact information and services provided by immigrant serving organizations, the first few days in Canada, and how to find a job and build a future. This type of information comprises over half of the booklet (twenty-two out of thirty-eight pages) and suggests that the impetus is on the individual to be prepared and responsible for adjusting once he or she arrives. Information on Canada is provided in the final three chapters of the booklet entitled: "General Information on Canada," "The Canadian Way of Life," and "Your Rights and Obligations."

A Look at Canada (CIC 2001) is provided to permanent residents who wish to become Canadian citizens. In this sense, it is the sequel to *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* and the focus is somewhat different. This book targets individuals who wish to become full and permanent members of the Canadian community, and the transmission of Canadian state culture and values is much more apparent. The book begins with a message to the readers on the requirements for becoming a Canadian citizen and the values of Canadian citizenship. The values of Canadian state culture mentioned include: knowledge of Canadian values, participation in all aspects of life in Canada, and accepting responsibility for Canada's future. Canada is described as peaceful, respecting difference and equality, and based on negotiation and compromise. (CIC 2001, 1) The

inclusion of these values on the first page of the booklet suggests that these are the primary values that the state is trying to convey.

The order of the text for the remainder of the booklet reinforces these ideas. The reader is introduced to Canada (with an emphasis on multiculturalism and bilingualism), the country's history, and the Aboriginal people of Canada. This is followed by a number of sections on each of the different *regions* of Canada and their respective geographies, histories, populations, and economies. Overall, these sections comprise nineteen out of the thirty-nine pages (3-22) in the booklet, again reinforcing the importance of Canada's regions, the diversity of the population and the importance of the economy as a Canadian value. The importance of territory is also emphasized with the presence of a large map (12-13) and the described relationship between the land and the different regions.

The description of the way government works, the electoral system and the justice system follows the regional and historical descriptions of Canada. The final section once again deals with rights and responsibilities. Overall, the ordering of the text in *A Look at Canada* suggests that the most important values to be conveyed by the state in the construction of state culture are those mentioned at the beginning: equality, tolerance, peace and law and order. The actual functioning of the system is portrayed as secondary to the importance of having new citizens recognize and adopt the key values. Awareness of individual rights and responsibilities is presented last in the book suggesting that, of the three key issues presented, this is the least important for new citizens.

The first line of the Swedish guide for new residents reads: "Welcome to Sweden. In our society, everyone is entitled to equal rights and opportunities. That includes you too." (Integrationsverket 2001, 3) By beginning the book with a statement on equality of individuals in Sweden, the importance of the idea of equality for Swedish culture is emphasized. The first line of the first chapter, "The New Country," continues to address the issue of equality, stating that "Until just a decade ago, Sweden was a society that assumed all its residents were the same … It is possible that the similarities seemed greater than they really were" (7). In this manner, the book emphasizes the importance of equality but attempts to differentiate this from previous ideas of sameness and assimilation. By placing this information, and this recognition of where Sweden has gone wrong in the past, at the beginning of the book, it conveys an important message to new arrivals about the type of society that Sweden is trying to build. "A society based on ethnic and cultural diversity is actually a revolutionary commitment for a country like Sweden … which more of less explicitly based their community of welfare on ideas of historical and cultural affinity" (9). However, the chapter attempts to qualify this 'revolutionary' commitment by stating that a democracy requires that it "must seek to unite culturally distinct values with culturally blind societal institutions, to bridge cultural differences with cross-cultural justice" (10). By the time the first ten pages have been read, the reader is already potentially confused. Arguably, this confusion reflects the current confusion and debate in Swedish society over the level of integration necessary for immigrants. Perhaps it could be said to present a "lagom" approach to difference – some recognition of difference is necessary, but not too much. Within the book, the ordering of the text makes it apparent which information the Swedish state considers it most important to convey to new residents – conveying the values and history of the country is more important than getting a job, which in turn is more important than, for instance, the regulations regarding driver's licenses or the renewal of a residence permit.

When the ordering of the text within the Canadian and Swedish books are compared, a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn. First, for new arrivals, the emphasis in the Canadian book (*A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada*) is on getting settled, whereas the emphasis in the Swedish guide is on introducing the person to Sweden and Swedish culture. This is perhaps a reflection of the level of assistance provided for new arrivals and the level of independence expected of them in each country. Canada expects a greater amount of independence with assistance more likely to come from family and the community, whereas Sweden provides a high level of state assistance. The fact that most new arrivals in Canada are independent immigrants, whereas most new arrivals in Sweden are refugees also contributes to this understanding of the role of individuals and the state.

In the case of Canada, the texts give an impression of Canada as divided, but without any of the problems associated with the lack of a strong national identity. First, Canada as presented in a regionally fragmented manner. Both texts pay particular attention to Canada's different regions (CIC, 2002: 23; CIC, 2001: 14-22). In *A Look at Canada,* the history, development, population and economy are all presented in regionalized terms. Canada is represented as divided along geographic lines and the geography of the different regions is portrayed as influencing other types of growth and development. Both texts also refer to federalism and the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments (CIC, 2002: 28; CIC, 2001: 23). This again reinforces the impression of regionalism and of a divided identity and culture within Canada.

Additionally, both texts refer to Canada's linguistic divide. *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* discusses Canada's Francophone population, stating that although Francophones are concentrated in Quebec almost one million French speakers live in other parts of the country (26). The text goes on to provide web sites that offer additional information on Francophone communities outside of Quebec (26). This is interesting because it creates a distance between Quebec nationalism and their ownership of French language and culture in Canada. Also, it conveys the impression that Canada is a bilingual and linguistically diverse country. The text later refers to official bilingualism and the *Official Languages Act*; in particular, the availability of federal services in either official language in emphasized (29). Canada is represented as bilingual and diverse, while the politics of identity, Quebec nationalism, and the politics of language are ignored.

Bilingualism is introduced early in *A Look at Canada*: "English- and French-speaking people have lived together in Canada for more than 300 years" (5). The sentence, the first in the section on Canada's official languages, presents the French/English relationship in Canada in a manner that, while it does not suggest the relationship has historically been harmonious, does not reflect the history of conflict between the two dominant linguistic groups. Further, the text states that "linguistic duality in an important aspect of our Canadian identity – over 98% of Canadians speak either English or French or both" (5). This quotation presents Canada as bilingual and proud of it, despite the fact that the national levels of bilingualism are low, not increasing, and that the policy itself remains contentious. This section does, however, reflect the position of the federal government as a promoter of bilingualism in Canada and suggests that the federal state does see this as an important component of state culture.

Not surprisingly, Canada is also presented in the state literature as ethnically and culturally diverse. Tolerance and multiculturalism are presented as important Canadian values. In *A*

Newcomer's Introduction to Canada, ethnic diversity appears in the discussion of Canada's history, which begins by stating that "Canada is a land of many cultures and many peoples" (26) and proceeds to describe the history of Canada's peoples in terms of waves of immigration (26). Formal multiculturalism receives brief attention in one paragraph at the end of Chapter Six. The text states that "Through the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the government encourages Canadians to take pride in their language, religion and heritage, and to keep their customs and traditions, as long as they don't break Canadian laws" (29). This sentence is interesting because in provides definite limits on tolerance and multiculturalism in Canada.

A Look at Canada, aimed at residents wishing to become Canadian citizens, goes much further in its efforts to define what it means to be Canadian and, in particular, a Canadian citizen. The second paragraph of the text states "Canadians work hard to nourish a peaceful society in which respect for cultural differences, equality, liberty and freedom of expression is a fundamental value. Canada was created through discussion, negotiation and compromise. These characteristics are as important today as in the past" (CIC, 2001: 1). This ties Canada's current values (as defined by the state) to our history, pointing to the roots of Canadian culture. This is restated a few pages later under the heading, "What does Canadian Citizenship Mean?" (4). The following quotation appears in bold text at the top of the page, reinforcing its importance: "Canadian history and traditions have created a country where our values include tolerance and respect for cultural differences, and a commitment to social justice" (4). This section then proceeds to identify four key Canadian values (also in bolded text): equality, tolerance, peace, and law and order. The next section, entitled "Introducing Canada" again reinforces the theme of tolerance and diversity. Two key terms appear in boxed text aimed at pointing the reader to the important information. These two terms are official languages and multiculturalism. The section begins with the following bolded text: "Through Canada's history, millions of immigrants have helped to build this country. Today, Canada, a country with two official languages, welcomes people from more than 150 countries each year" (5). Again, for the fourth time in almost as many pages, the state presents its message: Canada is diverse, multicultural and tolerant or 'welcoming' of difference. The importance of multiculturalism is reinforced by the images in both texts (discussed above) that portray Canada as comprised of culturally diverse peoples engaged in a wide variety of activities.

An interesting issue that appears in both Canadian texts in sustainable development. While this is perhaps not one of the first characteristics of Canadian society that would come to mind, the texts both present this as an important characteristic defining the relationship between Canadians and the land, and reinforcing the connection between the land, culture and economy. In *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada*, the primary discussion of sustainable development follows the sections on bilingualism and multiculturalism, suggesting that this is an important aspect of Canadian culture and politics. The section states that "Canadians are very concerned about environmental issues" (29). The text points to the key role of the federal government in promoting sustainable development, as well as the responsibility of everyone living in Canada to "act in a responsible way" (29).

The section on sustainable development in *A Look at Canada* appears early in the text, bringing the issue quickly to the readers' attention and reinforcing its importance in the eyes of the state. While the message is similar to that in *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada*, the second text also provides information of how individuals can help the environment. Interestingly, this

section also refers to "environmental citizenship," which will lead to "responsible environmental action" (7). The relatively large emphasis on sustainable development in both texts (receiving more attention and space than either bilingualism or multiculturalism) suggests that this is an important issue for the state. By bringing this issue forward in the literature for new arrivals and citizens, the government can be seen as trying to promote these values within Canadian state culture. According to the federal government, a good citizen is apparently one who recycles.

Overall, the society of Canada is presented as diverse and relatively disunited. While the texts do present certain key "Canadian traits" – such as official bilingualism, tolerance, multiculturalism, and sustainable development – the way in which the information on the country is presented gives the impression of disunity. Furthermore, the lack of unity or a homogenous national culture in Canada is presented as a positive trait. The omission of the conflict and politics of identity, language and region in Canada is noteworthy. The representation of Canadian society in the two texts provides an interesting contrast to the Swedish literature, which does manage to convey a qualified sense of what it means to be "Swedish" and in which Swedish society in portrayed as a community united by the values of equality and the welfare state.

The emphasis in the Swedish text is on equality and democracy in Sweden, the importance of the welfare state in ensuring equality, and the corresponding large role of the state in the lives of residents of Sweden. The images in the text, as well as the written text, convey the idea that there is something uniquely "Swedish" about Swedish society. Much of the written text discusses diversity and the importance of equality, tying Swedish identity to the history of nation-building, the development of the welfare state and the Swedish model of doing things. In doing so, the text attempts to remove Swedish identity from a concept of ethnicity or blood belonging, creating room for new members. The images in the text, however, contradict this message as they are overwhelmingly white and portray Sweden as a very white society, with ethnic Swedes dominating the political and economic elite, as well as the cultural life of the society. While the beginning of the text stresses the current diversity of Swedish society, it also reflects the problems and ambivalence with which the Swedish state and society faces this growing diversity.

While limited attention was given to the welfare state in the Canadian texts, the Swedish text revolves around the welfare state and the building of a welfare society. The high point of Swedish history is presented in Chapter Three as the creation of the People's Home and social welfare. The text states that social democrats "wanted to help those who were worst off. They spoke of creating a society that would be a home for the people, folkhem, without great social and economic differences (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 25). In doing so, the text reinforces the importance of equality through the welfare state. The welfare state is mentioned in virtually every chapter of the book. Overall, the Swedish state is portrayed as being very involved in the everyday lives of the people. This contrasts the Canadian texts, which give the impression of the Canadian state as distant, placing the impetus on the individual.

This is further reinforced in the discussion of democracy in the three texts. The issue of democracy is absent from *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* and portrayed solely in terms of voting and federalism in *A Look at Canada.* The Swedish text, in comparison, discusses the political system in detail and also includes ways of participating in politics and influencing decision making outside of the electoral process (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 29-42). As well, the Swedish text provides information on what to do if an individual experiences discrimination or

unfair treatment at the hands of governments, employers, or society (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 41).

While Swedish society is portrayed as democratic and based on the principles of equality, the text still suggests that there is a Swedish culture and way of doing things. This is particularly apparent in Chapter Five, appropriately entitled "How we usually do things … traditions and popular customs in modern Sweden." The chapter proceeds to discuss the importance of language, the Swedish love of nature, and traditional Swedish foods (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 44-5). The majority of the chapter is devoted to outlining the various Swedish traditions, holidays and festivals that occur throughout the year, many of which are Christian in origin (Easter, Lent, Christmas), historical and political (the National Day, Labour Day), and pagan (Midsummer and Walpurgis night – which welcomes spring) (46-56). Following the calendar of events is a section entitled "Traditions Change" which contains an image depicting a woman (the only person of colour shown in this section) jitterbugging with a white man at the annual jitterbug training camp in Roslagen (57). This section briefly discusses non-Swedish traditions that are increasing in importance in Sweden (in two sentences), specifically the "Iranian New Year" and Ramadan (57).

Following this chapter is a short article written by an immigrant woman describing her frustration while learning the Swedish social code. She writes, "Now, after 25 years, I feel I have a fairly good understanding of things Swedish. I know the unspoken rules well enough to break them. Because now I know what they are: never just tell it like it is; never contradict anyone, even in a debate; never try to show that you are better than anyone else" (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 62). This quotation gives the impression that there is a Swedish 'way of doing things' and that the idea of equality appears to be strongly related to the idea of sameness and not standing out.

While the Canadian texts portray Canadian society as diverse and fragmented, is appears to be more welcoming of diversity than the Swedish text's presentation of Swedish society. In some ways, this is attributable to the very lack of distinctly 'Canadian' traditions, customs and behaviour. While the Swedish text recognizes the changing nature of Swedish culture and society, and the barriers that new arrivals face, the very presentation of centuries old traditions and customs reveals the relatively unchanging nature of Swedish society. The entrenchment of the Swedish model and 'way of doing things' is so strong, that this becomes an additional barrier to becoming part of a modern and diverse Swedish society.

Both Sweden and Canada refer in their literature to the liberties or freedoms enjoyed by members of the society and protecting by law. In the Canadian literature, these are discussed through the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. In the Swedish text, they are presented primarily in the chapters on the democratic process and the judicial system and discussed in broader terms. In both cases, rights are primarily held by individuals and protected through the constitution and state legislation.

Equality is emphasized in both the Canadian and Swedish literature produced for new arrivals. However, the idea of equality is presented in different ways. *A Look at Canada* presents equality as one of the key characteristics of Canadian citizenship, stating "We respect everyone's rights, including the right to speak out and express ideas that others might disagree with" (CIC, 2001: 4). This quotation ties the Canadian idea of equality to individuals holding the same liberties or basic

individual rights and freedoms. This idea of equality also resonates in two of the other defining characteristics of Canadian citizenship presented in this text: tolerance, which suggests that one culture is not better than another; and the rule of law, which insists on the equality of all individuals under law and in dealings with state authorities (4). While equality is emphasized in the Canadian literature, it is a formal type of equality held primarily by individual. It is the equality of individuals in law, protected by the *Charter*; elements of social, economic, or group equality are not mentioned. This, in turn, reflects an emphasis in the Canadian literature on liberty above substantive equality and on the individual, as opposed to the community.

The Swedish text, emphasizes equality from the first paragraph: "In our society, everyone is entitled to equal rights and benefits" (Integrationsverket, 2001a: 1). While the Swedish text also presents equality in terms of rights and legislation (e.g. 39; 205-7), as this quotation suggests, equality is also defined in terms of benefits via the welfare state. In other words, although there is an emphasis on gender equality and on promoting ethnic diversity, the emphasis on social rights is much greater than in the Canadian texts. Not only does the Swedish text present a different and deeper understanding of equality than the Canadian texts, the social rights associated with community membership also place more weight on the ideal of solidarity and community versus the individual.

While the Canadian texts emphasize the individual and their responsibility to take care of themselves and their dependents, the Swedish text has a better balance between individual rights and responsibilities and the caring, sharing welfare society. In some ways, this reflects the immigration patterns of each country and the different target audiences of the respective texts. In Canada, the majority of new arrivals are independent immigrants, followed by family class immigrants, who are required by law to take care of themselves and not depend on the state for assistance. In Sweden, on the other hand, the majority of new arrivals are refugees who arguably need more state support. If one of the principles of citizenship is a feeling of loyalty and common possession of the society and a sense of sharing it with others (Marshall 1950), then a sense of solidarity arguably builds greater feelings of responsibility to the community and other members than rampant individualism. In this study, the feelings of solidarity appear greater in the Swedish texts, where more emphasis is placed on the community through the People's Home and the welfare state, than in the Canadian texts, where new arrivals are told from the beginning that they must fend for themselves and that equality is something written into law but not necessarily guaranteed by the state.

Conclusion
The boundaries of the nation become more apparent at the borders of the nation. The above discussion of immigration policy and the literature for immigrants reveals some of the values that these policies and documents contain. These values comprise the basis of Canadian and Swedish state culture and show the values that the state is attempting to promote among newcomers. In the Canadian case, the central values of Canadian state culture in both the policies and the literature appear as tolerance and multiculturalism, underpinned by a strong emphasis on the individual and his/her responsibility to be self-reliant and to contribute to Canada. These findings suggest that Canada is more interested in selling diversity than in ensuring equality in diversity. In the Swedish case, the primary value is equality and the role of the state and welfare society in ensuring this equality. However, the message of equality is contradicted within the policies,

which are becoming more restrictive and individualistic, and within the literature, which still presents an image of Swedish as segregated along ethnic and cultural lines.

The analysis of state culture contributes to our understanding of how states construct the boundaries of the nation and strive to promote certain values to bind the community together. It also provides a method for understanding which values are being promoted by specific states. In doing so, state culture not only allows us to understand what values the state promotes, but also how to challenge those values in order to build a state culture, reflected in policy and state actions, that is more inclusive.

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