KAPITTEL 8

Case Study: The Simrishamn *Sommarkulturskola* and Society at Large

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Abstract: This chapter focuses on the *Sommarkulturskola*, or Summer School of Culture, in Simrishamn, Sweden as a case study for how Sweden's municipal music-and-arts schools, or *kulturskolor* (s. *kulturskola*), can facilitate connections between young refugees and their host communities. Simrishamn's kulturskola created its Sommarkulturskola program in 2016, and it has since gained national and international attention for its efforts to reach newly arrived, refugee children and young people in its municipality. Drawing upon Benjamin Brinner's network theory concept (Brinner, 2009) and more than twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork in Simrishamn, I map the social interactions and networks that formed and help sustain the Sommarkulturskola. In doing so, I examine how the program's "networking approach" to inclusion might serve as a model for other institutions looking for ways to adapt to new sociocultural contexts through music and the arts, highlighting Simrishamn's kulturskola as an inclusive force in its local community and offering a framework for thinking about the kulturskola's role in society at large.

Keywords: kulturskolor, network theory, refugee children, ethnomusicology

Introduction

> Did you hear the story about the boy with the sticks? It's so beautiful. There was an eight-year-old boy from Syria, and he was always so silent. He didn't talk the first two weeks [of the Sommarkulturskola] at all. The only thing he said was in Arabic: "yes" or "no." But then he started to get involved with [the circus

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> teacher] Isak, who had all these diablo sticks. So this kid—he started to put the sticks into different patterns on the floor, and you could see by his body language that he was suddenly concentrating. Something was happening. Then, suddenly, he ran over to Isaak and started talking really loud in Arabic. He was talking so fast, and everyone—the teachers, the kids—they were like, "WHAT? He TALKS!" The translators had a hard time keeping up, but we learned that he remembered a memory from Syria from when he was little. Because of his age, he's been a refugee (he had been [living] for maybe three years in camps in other countries) for most of his childhood. But just then he remembered in the forest when he and his mom in Syria were playing with sticks from the tree making patterns and pictures on the ground, and he was so happy. When we talked about doing the Sommarkulturskola (Summer School of Culture), we talked about wanting the kids to make new memories for childhood, but we also realized that we opened up old memories from childhood, and that was really big.[1]

The above story was told to me in July 2018 during an interview with Sylvia Carlsdotter, head of the municipal music-and-arts-school, or *kulturskola*, in Simrishamn, Sweden. The "boy with the sticks" has since left Simrishamn, yet his story speaks to one way that kulturskola leaders have worked to meet the social, cultural, and psychological needs of children and young people in and outside of the municipality.

Following Sweden's refugee influx in 2015 and 2016, Simrishamn's kulturskola introduced its *Sommarkulturskola* (Summer Kulturskola) program with the guiding principle of devising new ways for children and young people of all economic, cultural, ethnic, and racial backgrounds to meet. Now an annual program, the Sommarkulturskola is free for all participants between the ages of 6–19 (4–19 beginning in summer 2019), and activities range from learning Arabic dances such as *dabke* and singing Swedish folk songs, to spinning plates, juggling, songwriting, and painting. Young people who attend the program—refugee and otherwise—have the choice between music, art, circus, and dance classes each day, and they can attend as many or as few classes as they would like during the summer months. The inaugural summer program welcomed over 285 children and young people, approximately 100 of whom were newly

1 Sylvia Carlsdotter, excerpt from interview with the author, July 18, 2018.

arrived from Syria and Afghanistan. The program's overall numbers have continued to grow each year, with over 400 people participating in the summer 2019 program.

The Sommarkulturskola departs from other local integration and inclusion initiatives in that it is derived, in part, from children's perspectives. In the Fall of 2015, Simrishamn's *barnombudsmann* (children's ombudsman) conducted an official "Children's Impact Assessment" to better understand the needs and perspectives of young people in the municipality. She found that a major priority for young Syrian and Afghan refugees and asylum seekers living in Simrishamn was to meet other children in the community. Swedish-born children and young people similarly asked for adults to create spaces to learn more from and about the newly arrived and unaccompanied children.

In response to the results of this assessment, Simrishamn's Culture and Leisure (*kultur och fritid*), social services (*socialförvaltning*), and children and education (*barn och utbildning*) administrations, under the direction of the barnombudsmann, drew up an integration action plan[2] to describe how the municipality would "work around the newly arrived" (Simrishamns kommun, 2016). Representatives from the aforementioned administrations divided the plan into seven parts: reception, accommodation, finances, preschool, school, health, and leisure, the latter of which identified Simrishamn's kulturskola as an institution that "enables and creates natural effects such as strengthened language learning, individual self-esteem, good group dynamics, and the inclusion of all children" (ibid.). Specifically, the document cited the kulturskola's *Kulturgarantin*[3] (Culture guarantee) program, which has brought kulturskola teachers and activities directly to children in Simrishamn's compulsory schools (primary and secondary schools) since 2005. The municipal administration later distributed the plan in order to provide information about

2 At the time of writing, this action plan can be accessed at: https://www.boiu.se/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Handlingsplan_flyktingbarn-Simrishamn.pdf.

3 Kulturgarantin is one of three components in Simrishamn's "Cultural Education Unit" (the others being the Kulturskola, and Sommarkulturskola) and gives children the right to access arts and culture through workshops and performances in the compulsory schools. More information about Kulturgarantin and the Kulturskola can be found at https://www.simrishamn.se/barn-och-utbildning/kompletterande-verksamheter

Simrishamn's programs and services to residents new to Sweden, as well as to create an incentive for the municipality to find new ways of including and welcoming refugees and asylum seekers at a systematic level. Therefore, when the kulturskola administrators reached out to the municipality to ask about their biggest needs, there was already a precedent for the kulturskola's involvement. Anna-Carin, one of the kulturskola's administrators, explained:

> The kulturskola is part of the municipality's Children and Education Unit, so we were part of working with the impact assessment and that plan. Along with the children's interests, the assessment showed how important the structure of the school was for children's integration. So when we asked the barnombudsmann what the biggest issue would be, she said directly 'the summer holiday' … The Sommarkulturskola is something we have wanted to do for a while. A lot of social workers have come to us over the years wondering if there could be something for the kids to do in the summer, but we didn't have the funds. And then we had all of these new kids [in Simrishamn], and we knew that we could reach not just them, but all children.[4]

"Reaching all children" thus became the Sommarkulturskola's main priority. With assistance from state integration funds, the municipality set up the Sommarkulturskola as a way to create a structured and deliberate space for all children in the community to meet.

This study situates the kulturskola as an inclusive force in its local community through examination of the numerous social and institutional networks that enabled Simrishamn's kulturskola to respond to the needs and interests of young people in the municipality vis-à-vis the Sommarkulturskola. Using Benjamin Brinner's network theory (2009), I create series of three network maps to explore how the Sommarkulturskola facilitated new connections between youn refugees and asylum seekrs and their local community. This work is based on more than twelve months of ethnographic research conducted between April 2017 and May 2020, and suggests the importance of strong municipal networks and

4 Anna-Carin Uggla, excerpt from interview with the author, July 21, 2018.

interpersonal relationships for kulturskolor working towards goals of equity and inclusion in their programs.

Methodological Considerations

The present chapter is part of a larger ethnomusicological project focusing on the experiences of children and young people from Syria and Afghanistan at the Simrishamn kulturskola (Danielson, 2021). Proceeding from a definition of ethnomusicology as "the study of how people make and experience music, and of why it matters to them that they do" (Bakan, 2015, p. 116), my work focuses on how this particular group of young people make and experience music (and other art forms) at the kulturskola, and why it matters to them that they do. Children's voices are thus at the center of this research, with special attention given to how they understand larger concepts of cultural inclusion, integration, and belonging relative to their participation in the local kulturskola. Accordingly, I have adapted the methodologies of other ethnomusicologists working in the area of children's musical expressions in this work (Bickford, 2017; Campbell, 2010; Emberly, 2014; Gaunt, 2006; Minks, 2013). Andrea Emberly writes:

> A fundamental process of my research has become allowing children to dictate the research agenda, to film events they deem important, to ask the questions they are interested in asking each other and to tell me all about it from their own perspectives. By asking children to document and analyze the role of music in their own lives, the children have become an integral and central part of the project—as filmmakers, collaborators, and investigators. (Emberly, 2014, n.p.)

My work similarly asks children to document and analyze the role of music and the arts in their own lives. At various points throughout my ethnographic fieldwork, I have distributed Flip camcorders among the kulturskola's participants so that they could capture the program from their own perspectives. The summer 2018 period of this project yielded over 700 short video clips, which, along with the participants' explanations about what they captured, were meant to serve as my primary form of documentation of the school's activities. As my fieldwork progressed, however, I realized that additional data would be necessary to "fill in the

gaps" between the children's documentation of the school and my own observations of their participation. I have therefore conducted over sixty additional interviews with participants, administrators, parents, and teachers in Simrishamn in order to gather additional information about the program's background, pedagogical strategies, and other information not captured through the Flip camcorders. These interviews, accompanied by the children's research contributions, inform the network maps outlined later in this chapter.

A Note on Ethics

Any case study involving children, and particularly children with refugee backgrounds, poses a series of ethical challenges. Filming, photography, and other forms of documentation followed the guidelines of the Sommarkulturskola, in which participants and their legal guardians could "opt in" or "opt out" of having their likenesses recorded for research or publicity purposes at the beginning of each Sommarkulturskola session. Those who did not wish to be recorded in any way had green dots on their name badges, so that the other participants and I knew not to film their activities. All of the young people involved in this study were instructed in informed consent practices.

Due to their age and the often sensitive nature of our discussions, I use pseudonyms for all children and young people under the age of 18 in this study. Any interviews originally conducted in Swedish have been translated into English by the author, sometimes with additional assistance from kulturskola teachers and staff members. No participants or parents in the present study elected to be interviewed in Arabic or Dari. Interviews conducted in English remain, for the most part, unedited in order to retain their original meaning and sentiment.

Finally, I should point out that it is impossible to be a full participant-observer as an adult researcher studying young people. Though my intention with the Flip cameras was to give additional opportunities for children to capture the kulturskola on their own terms, the final interpretations are still ultimately mine. This speaks to larger issues surrounding the power dynamics between adult researchers and child participants,

which I have addressed in previous projects (Danielson, 2016). However, I believe that the benefits of this approach, which strives for a dialogical relationship with my younger research participants, ultimately outweigh its limitations. It is by no means perfect, but I hope that this work might encourage further discussion of how to better include children's perspectives in ethnographic research.

Integration, Inclusion, and Networks

Music and arts initiatives working with refugees and asylum seekers often highlight the integration or inclusion benefits of their programs in order to garner support from their communities and funding organizations (Lenette, 2019; McGregor and Ragab, 2016). While some studies demonstrate that "the process of integration is closely linked to inclusion in social structures and developing strong relationships with others in the community" (Sonn, Grossman, and Utomo, 2013, p. 97), recent literature critiques integration discourse as either perpetuating ideas about migrant and refugee populations as "others" who are not yet full members of society, as overly ethnocentric, or as exclusionary and ignoring larger societal issues not having to do with the presence of migrant populations (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018; Korteweg, 2017; Spencer and Charsley, 2016). In other words, programs that promote themselves through the lens of integration or inclusion can potentially lead to further *exclusion* of their target groups by constructing them as a "problem" to be solved or as not adhering to the cultural norms of the "dominant" society (Marston, 2004). This is one reason that kulturskola administrators Sylvia and Anna-Carin have deliberately avoided labeling the Sommarkulturskola as an "integration" or "refugee" program. As Anna-Carin remarked:

> Integration means a lot of things. Everything was about integration [in 2015 and 2016], and really, integration could be between the kids in [the local villages] Kivik and St. Olof or it could be between refugees and other areas of society … but that's not really the point. These kinds of initiatives are about mutual respect.[5]

5 Anna-Carin Uggla, excerpt from interview with the author, March 5, 2020.

Throughout this chapter, I use the terms "integration" and "inclusion" in the emic sense—that is, in the way my informants use and understand these terms. This is not meant to undermine the vast literature on this terminology, but rather to better understand how these ideas manifest in practice and apply to the present case study. According to dance teacher and Sommarkulturskola project leader Hanna Thorstenson, for example, "inclusion is not necessarily that all children come to the kulturskola or join the kulturskola, but that everyone knows that this exists and is an option for them. That's why we focus so much on building relationships. Relationships are how you reach people."[6]

Kulturskola leaders in Simrishamn regularly stress how building relationships is central to their goal of helping young people "know that [the kulturskola] exists." Interestingly, the underlying ideas behind this relational or "networked" approach to inclusion align rather closely with ethnomusicologist Benjamin Brinner's network theory concept (2009). I therefore apply this framework, outlined in the following section, to articulate how practitioners conceptualized the program-building aspect of the Sommarkulturskola, and as a tool to evaluate the outcomes of their relationship-oriented approach.

Network Theory

In his monograph *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters*, Benjamin Brinner examines the complex network of relationships that outline the Israeli ethnic music scene. He writes:

> Professional musicians are always enmeshed in larger sets of relationships as they join, create, and reshape networks relevant to their musical work. At all stages of their careers they navigate the links that bind them to others with related interests and needs … The network concept can usefully be extended

6 Hanna Thorstenson, excerpt from interview with the author, February 21, 2020.

> further to include institutions such as schools, events such as festivals, venues such as particular clubs or concert halls, and artifacts such as recordings. (Brinner, 2009, p. 163)

Brinner uses ethnographic analysis to map the relationships between Israeli and Palestinian musicians playing together, paying particular attention to the *strength* and *direction* of these relationships. This approach departs from more traditional quantitative approaches to network analysis by recognizing the "dynamic nature of links" in a fluid, sociocultural environment (ibid., p. 176). Ethnomusicologists have thus employed Brinner's network theory approach to demonstrate the multitude of ways people navigate musical and artistic environments, building new or stronger personal and institutional relationships through their interactions (Salois, 2013; Storhoff, 2014; Wiebe, 2017).

Here, I extend Brinner's network concept to include one institution—the Sommarkulturskola—and how it functions as a hub for creating social relationships between newly arrived children and their receiving communities. It outlines the dynamics of three overlapping and interrelated networks that contextualize the Sommarkulturskola within the Simrishamn municipality: 1) the municipal network, which includes the actors and community organizations that initially conceptualized and worked to create the Sommarkulturskola, 2) the internal network, which includes the people, and particularly children, within the walls of the Sommarkulturskola, working together towards goals of artistic expression and inclusion, and 3) the resulting network, which represents the new relationships that form between Sommarkulturskola participants and their local environments as a result of the program. I present each network map in this chapter alongside ethnographic data that further elaborates its structure and significance, creating a visual template that other institutions might adapt when considering their own collaborative inclusion initiatives. The maps show that the Sommarkulturskola did, in fact, accomplish its larger goals of creating spaces of encounter between young people in the community through their network-building approach. However, the strength and dynamics of these relationships are complicated and constantly in flux.

Network 1: The Municipal Network

The first network presented in this chapter outlines the circumstances that led to the Sommarkulturskola's formation. It reflects: 1) how the municipality looked towards the kulturskola as a solution when tasked with finding ways to meet the social, psychological, and cultural needs of young refugees in the community, and 2) how the kulturskola leaders ultimately reached these children once they decided to create the program.

Figure 1 outlines this network, which includes the municipal units (indicated by a diamond shape), institutions (squares), and other important links (circular nodes) involved in the community's widespread inclusion efforts. At the heart of this network are three key administrations: culture and leisure, social services, and children and education, which were active in creating the municipal "integration" plan outlined in this chapter's introduction.

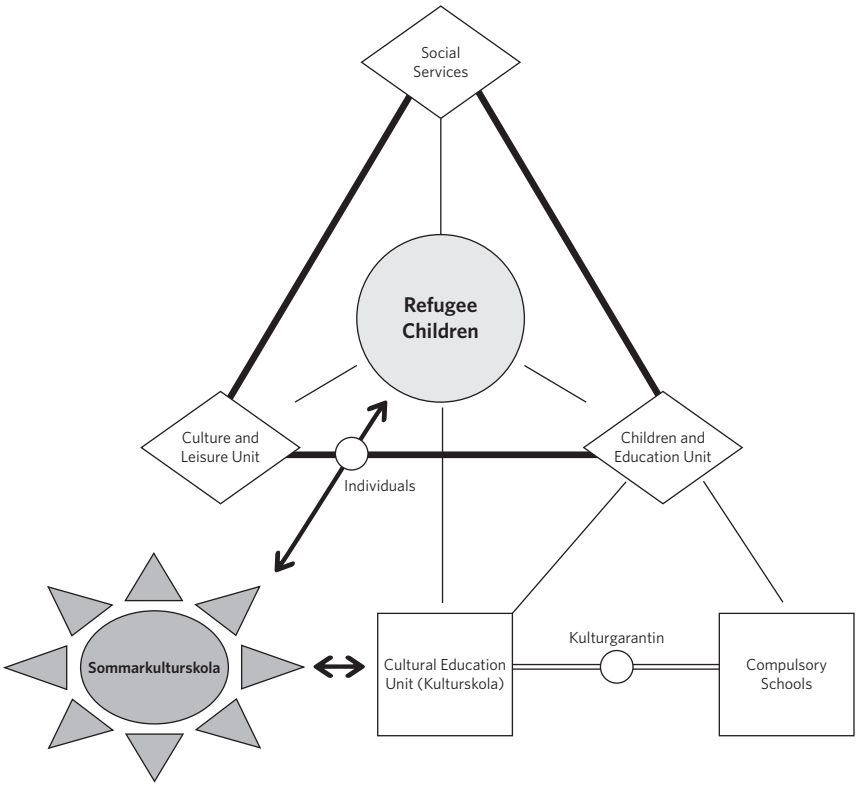

Figure 1. A simplified map of the Sommarkulturskola's initial municipal network.

A major contributing factor in connecting the Sommarkulturskola with its future participants was the kulturskola's existing collaborations with the local compulsory schools. In one of our interviews, Hanna recalled how the headmaster of one of the local compulsory schools asked her and another kulturskola teacher to teach circus and dance to newly arrived children before the Sommarkulturskola was established. She felt that the ongoing relationship with this headmaster eventually led to new partnerships between the schools, children, and kulturskola and cited kulturgarantin as a primary reason for why the headmaster reached out to them in the first place. The kulturgarantin program in the network is thefore an important node connecting the kulturskola and compulsory schools.

The kulturskola's established connections to various people and institutions in the municipality were a key part of the Sommarkulturskola's development. Sylvia reflected on the importance of these connections when describing program leaders' strategies for creating a space of safety and trust among participants:

> We made sure to include teachers and staff—people the kids would recognize—from the compulsory schools [in this process]. For example, we had Åsa, who is [a student coordinator] at one of the schools working at the registration desk, so that the students and parents would start connecting these things together. She was one of the first people you would see…and [the kids]—you would see them recognize her. She helped a lot in getting people here. Hanna, of course, has been to Syria and teaches Arabic dance, and that was important for connecting people together.[7]

Hanna added, in the same interview:

> [The Sommarkulturskola] took a lot of organizing. We went to the camps and places where [the refugees] lived, speaking Arabic—I speak the language—with the kids and parents… It was important for us that we built trust. They had to know that it was safe to bring their kids [to the Sommarkulturskola]… so having people who could speak with them and assure them was really key to making it possible.[8]

7 Sylvia Carlsdotter, excerpt from interview with the author, June 18, 2018.
8 Hanna Thorstenson, excerpt from interview with the author, June 18, 2018.

Organizers employed several "ambassadors" or "cultural mediators" as a way to: 1) ensure that the children had access to culturally knowledgeable adults who spoke Arabic and Dari, 2) build trusting relationships between the kulturskola, refugee children, and their caregivers, and 3) garner interest and spread the word about the program. The school already had Hanna on staff, as well as Lina, a young Syrian woman who had started an internship at the kulturskola in Spring 2016. Lina played an important role in the Sommarkulturskola's initial outreach and recruitment process. Towards the end of the school year, she visited the camps and other areas where refugees lived to hand out information and talk to families about the Sommarkulturskola. "Lina came to the camp and handed out leaflets. I got a leaflet and I started in the Sommarkulturskola," explained one participant.[9]

The kulturskola also hired Firas—a former bus driver and Arabic translator who had been working at a nearby compulsory school—to help with the Sommarkulturskola. A native of Iraq, Firas had already worked with Sweden's Syrian and Afghan populations in several capacities, including driving families from Malmö to Simrishamn when they first arrived in Sweden and teaching state-sponsored Swedish for Immigrants (SfI) language courses. Sylvia and Anna-Carin felt that his connections to these groups would be beneficial to the program's outreach and day-to-day operations.

These "cultural mediators" are an essential part of the larger network that makes a program such as the Sommarkulturskola work. Existing relationships between the institutions and other areas of the municipality ensure that organizations such as the kulturskola have access to culturally informed individuals such as Lina and Firas for projects such as the Sommarkulturskola. Similarly, these individuals build and strengthen the relationship between the kulturskola and the children who are part of the refugee community. These actors become especially important when shifting from a program-building frame of thinking to a program-sustainability frame, where participants must choose whether or not they wish to invest (or continue to invest) their

9 Excerpt from anonymous interview with the author, October 24, 2019.

time in such programs. The following section speaks more to these internal dynamics through conversations with some of the program's participants.

Network 2: The Internal Network(s)

While the municipal network demonstrates the larger structures through which the Sommarkulturskola's inclusion efforts were derived, the Sommarkulturskola's internal networks give insight into whether these efforts effectively created spaces of encounter between newly arrived and non-newly arrived participants. *Figure 2* depicts one group of participants' relationships within the Sommarkulturskola based on an interview I conducted in June 2018 (which was subsequently filmed by one of the participants). Here, participants tell me about several important actors—teachers, friends, parents, and the children themselves—involved in the program.

Researcher:	What do you think other kids should know about the Sommarkulturskola?
Zach (13, Swedish):	It's fun. There are so many things that you can do. I am creating a soccer pitch in art. In circus, I did the tightrope. In dance, even if you think you can't you can just, you know, do it. Music is fun because it's so easy to learn.
Sam (9, Syrian):	(Nodding in agreement) I think other children should come to Sommarkulturskola … There is so much you can learn, and the teachers are nice.
John (10, Syrian):	I think [the Sommarkulturskola] is good because you can do things that you like. I like to draw. I like art. I like to be with my friends or by myself. You can show other people about yourself and who you are [here].
Researcher:	That's great! Can you tell me about a time you were able to "show other people about yourself" at the Sommarkulturskola?
Zach:	Like when you meet other people you didn't know before?
Researcher:	Sure!

Zach: Well, last week I was in art and walked into the room to get materials. I saw two kids and I asked them what they were building. They were building a car, so I asked what they were going to do, and they asked if I had any ideas, so we started talking.

Amara (7, Egyptian): Yesterday, I brought a friend [Sara] here. My mom knows her mom and we went to dance [class].

Zach: Yeah, and sometimes you can help out with the younger kids, too. Like these two girls—Jessica and Laura—help with dance and circus, and sometimes I help the younger kids with art or music in the first part of the day. I tell them, "oh, you can fix the eyes like this" or "can I get you more water?" and things [like that]. It's nice.

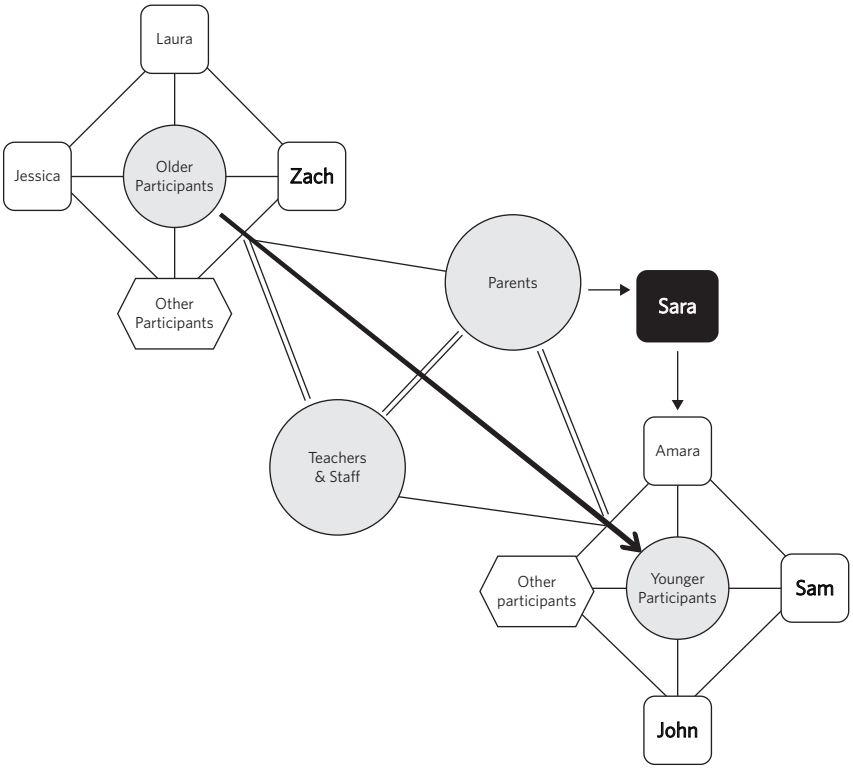

Figure 2. An internal network map based on an interview with participants about the Sommarkulturskola.

In the above conversation, the participants described the Sommarkulturskola as "fun," a place for meeting new people, and a place for learning and mentorship. Participants such as Zach, Jessica, and Laura take on unofficial mentorship roles (which, for Jessica, turned into an official role when she was hired as an assistant in 2019), and children such as Sam, Muhammad, and Amara encourage others to become a part of the program. I have divided the network structures in *Figure 2* by chronological age to reflect the mentorship aspect of the participants' relationships. However, this diagram could easily be reorganized to highlight newly arrived/non-newly arrived participants or other distinguishing characteristics.

The complicated dynamics of this network become even clearer when one considers the impact of the Sommarkulturskola on individual participants. Amara's friend Sara, for example, arrived in Sweden only a few weeks prior to her first visit to the Sommarkulturskola. Amara's mother, who was born in Syria and moved to Sweden in 2015, met Sara's mother at an Arabic-language event in town. There, she told Sara's mother about the Sommarkulturskola and how Amara decided to join the kulturskola's ballet and piano lessons as a result of her encounters with Hanna and some of the other dance participants there. Sara's mother wanted Sara to meet other children in the area so she sent her to the Sommarkulturskola, where Amara introduced her to some of the other participants. Sara came back to the Sommarkulturskola the following week and brought along her mother, who then met other families with children participating in the program.

When asked about their participation, Sara's mother said that she felt that the Sommarkulturskola was a "welcoming place" and that "it gave [her] daughter something to look forward to when [they] first came to Sweden." She did, however, wish that she had maintained more contact with more of the Swedish families involved in the program. "When we were at the Sommarkulturskola, all of the families were together. Now [that there is no Sommarkulturskola], I mostly talk to the other Syrian mothers. It is hard with the language sometimes," she said.[10]

10 Excerpt from anonymous interview with the author, October 8, 2019.

Amara and Sara's case study demonstrates one of several instances where participants and their families see the Sommarkulturskola as an opportunity for network building. Through her participation in the Sommarkulturskola, Amara became aware of other kulturskola activities and decided, based on her relationship with Hanna and the other girls in dance, to enroll in other kulturskola classes. Her involvement strengthened her mother's relationship with the kulturskola's larger network of teachers, parents, and participants, which they then extended to Sara and her mother when they arrived in Simrishamn. This created more multidirectional networks for Sara, which, though perhaps not as strong as Amara's, did strengthen her relationships with other participating families overall. That being said, Sara's network lost some of this strength and became more static when the Sommarkulturskola finished for the season and she did not have the same contact with families and participants. Here, then, might be one limitation of the Sommarkulturskola program—that for some participants, these relationships do not extend to other areas of their lives in the same way that they do for others. More research is needed to better contextualize why this might be the case. Sara's case study, however, provides one example of the dynamic nature of kulturskola networks and how participants implement relationship-building into their larger inclusion efforts.

Network 3: The Sommarkulturskola and Society at Large

The networks presented in this chapter have so far captured specific moments in the Sommarkulturskola's history and development. The first focused on its creation, while the second considered relationships formed during the program itself. Sara's case study showed, however, that these networks are not static. As Benjamin Brinner writes in *Playing Across a Divide*:

> Networks are rarely static. They expand or contract as new members join and links are formed or people leave or break off connections. Networks change not only due to these internal dynamics, but also in relation to their sociocultural environments. (2009, p. 206)

The final network presented in this chapter illustrates some of these dynamic changes. It integrates the Sommarkulturskola's "internal dynamics" (Figure 2) into the larger sociocultural and sociopolitical environments from which the program was originally conceived (Figure 1). Particularly relevant are the new connections that have formed as a result of children's participation in the Sommarkulturskola. If these connections are a direct result of the Sommarkulturskola, I have marked them with a star on the map. If their impact is correlative, I represent them with a circular node (see Figure 3).

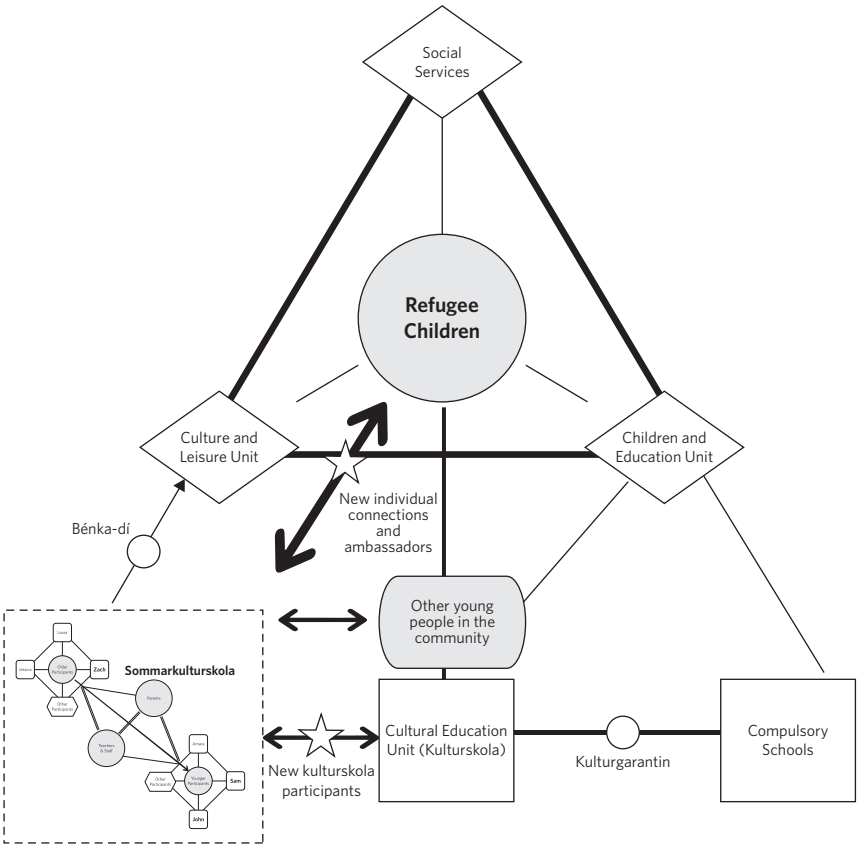

Figure 3. The Sommarkulturskola becomes part of a larger municipal network with strengthened connections between individual actors, groups, and organizations.

There is a noticeably positive impact on relationships between the kulturskola and other areas of society among participants who remain involved

in the Sommarkulturskola. Some participants have become active in the year-long kulturskola, strengthening its ties to children who might not have otherwise participated in their programs. Two teenage participants from Syria, for example, chose to participate in the kulturskola's dance show group after their first year at Sommarkulturskola. One of these boys, now 17, noted how his participation helped him adapt to a new sociocultural environment:

> If I could go back to 2015 and talk to myself, I would say that things are better. I would tell myself to do [the Sommarkulturskola]—it's exciting. It would have been harder to integrate into society if the Sommarkulturskola wasn't there the first year. I mean, I still had friends and things to do—I could have watched movies or whatever, but it helped me to understand Swedish people and their customs.

Other participants have joined the kulturskola's guitar groups, art club, or circus classes. Those who return to the Sommarkulturskola each year often invite other children and young people to the program and, in the process, replace Lina, Hanna, and other adult leaders as Sommarkulturskola "ambassadors." These new types of connections expand the Sommarkulturskola's network and, by extension, its potential for bringing together new people through its program.

Not all of the participants from the Sommarkulturskola participate in the year-long kulturskola, but several I have interviewed report "hanging out" with people they met at the program during school or at places such as *Benka-dí*, the Culture and Leisure Unit's youth club where many of Simrishamn's teenagers meet after school to play games or listen to music, chat, or work on homework. One 14-year-old boy from Syria noted how the Sommarkulturskola was a stepping-stone to other aspects of Swedish life. "I felt more comfortable coming going to places like [Benka-dí] once I knew there were people from Sommarkulturskola there," he proclaimed.[11] Other participants stated that the Sommarkulturskola helped them learn more about the municipality, its services, and the people who live there.

11 Anonymous interview with the author, September 24, 2019.

The network map in Figure 3 reflects some of the interactions highlighted in the above paragraphs. While it is by no means comprehensive, it does demonstrate some of the ways that the Sommarkulturskola has facilitated connections between the kulturskola, newly arrived children and young people, and other areas of society. Although the Sommarkulturskola's original role was to create a hub for the municipality to reach young refugees, examples from fieldwork reveal that it also became a hub for participants to access the municipality as well. In other words, the directional nature of the kulturskola's original network has shifted as a result of the Sommarkulturskola program.

I should point out that there are several limitations to this network map. First, it only documents places where relationships became stronger or remained relatively consistent (for example, between the kulturskola and the Sommarkulturskola, or between the kulturskola and the refugee children). It is currently unknown, for instance, whether Sommarkulturskola participation might weaken participants' links to other nodes in their individual networks. Moreover, the network does not address the hundreds of children who have not returned to the Sommarkulturskola since the first year. While the primary reason for children's departures was a mass relocation by the Swedish Migration Agency at the end of 2016, more data is needed to understand cases where the Sommarkulturskola did *not* contribute to children's feelings of inclusion in the community.

Summary

The networks diagramed in this chapter offer a visual representation of the Sommarkulturskola's complex dynamics and relationships. The first showed the municipality's view of the kulturskola as a force of inclusion for Simrishamn's integration efforts, while the second addressed these themes from the perspective of children and young people. The final network considered the Sommarkulturskola within society at large and demonstrated how it strengthened some young refugees' connections to Simrishamn, the kulturskola, and Sweden more broadly. Although these networks are specific to Simrishamn, my hope is that they might provide

a template for future development of inclusivity-driven kulturskola and arts education programs.

Key to the Sommarkulturskola's approach are culturally informed teachers and individuals who create deliberate spaces of safety and trust, close relationships with compulsory schools and other municipal units, and a strong emphasis on children's perspectives in the community. These factors helped to create a welcoming and sustainable program by building relationships that carry over into other areas of participants' lives. Particularly noteworthy is how the Sommarkulturskola led to new types of participants in the year-long kulturskola, thus contributing to its larger inclusion efforts. However, not all participants navigated the kulturskola's networks in the same way. Therefore, in order to strengthen its role as an inclusive force in the community, the kulturskola must continue to broaden its network-building capacities, drawing once again upon the municipality's children, administrators, and culturally informed individuals to guide them.

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