Pass or Fail in the Swedish school?
A historical perspective on citizenship, diversity and social justice

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Abstract

The article aims to discuss the school's education for citizenship and democracy in light of the economic crisis in the early 1990s and the subsequent depletion of the Swedish welfare state. Increased economic inequality, exclusion and marginalization of the school as well as in society in general raise the question about the school equivalency. The discussion sets out from a theoretical approach and a historical perspective to visualize how the meaning and policies of citizenship and democracy have changed and further to make comparisons between the experiences from the Swedish popular movement, the welfare state social engineering and the current challenges in multicultural Sweden. The article concludes with a discussion of need to (re) introduce a class perspective on democracy and education for citizenship in Swedish schools.

Introduction

1. Equal opportunities in education have deteriorated

On 1 July 2011 the new upper secondary reform *GY2011* began to apply in Sweden. One important change was that previously gave both theoretical upper secondary and vocational programs permissions to continue studying at University. In the new upper secondary school only the theoretical programs provide entry to university. The background to the government's decision on GY2011 was that the Swedish upper secondary school was facing several major challenges:

- Too many students discontinued their studies or completed their studies without passing grades,
- In some cases, the principals used the local space of authority to lower standards,
- Upper secondary school students were not prepared well enough for either further studies or for careers.
  (Department of Education, *Utbildningsdepartementet*, 2009)

In recent years it has emerged that a growing number of students are leaving elementary school without permission for secondary schools. This negative trend has been particularly evident in schools with many students of foreign origin. In eastern

Gothenburg in 2011 as much as 60% of students finished ninth grade without complete final grades, 42% was not competent to search for upper secondary school programs (Skolinspektionen, 2012). In 2003, the Government instructed the National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) to deepen the analysis of the reasons why students with foreign background have lower educational outcomes than Swedish students. In the Agency's final report the differences between native students and students with foreign background to the natives' advantages were confirmed. It was also found a number of socioeconomic factors that correlated with school results. These are above all parental education, labour market attachment, and if the student lives with both their parents or with a single parent. It was also found that students from families with immigrant background on average had less disposable income than was the case for native students (Skolverket, 2004).

The Agency's report on "Equal opportunity in education in Swedish primary school*?*" (*Likvärdig utbildning i svensk grundskola?* Skolverket, 2012) presented in 2012 showed that students' socioeconomic background had a continued importance in recent years. The report also showed that the differences between schools' results have increased, partly due to the schools being segregated on the basis of socioeconomic and foreign origin. The increased segregation has multiple interacting causes, but is partly a consequence of the 1990s municipalization of schools, freedom of choice and reforms of free schools (i.e. allow private schools to compete with public schools). The decision to decentralize/municipalize schools aimed inter alia to create a clearer employer responsibility for the school. The decentralization means that the school's general objectives such as school law and the curriculum are established by the state, whereas the responsibility of the concrete implementation is imposed on municipalities. The criticism on municipalization has mainly been that the quality of schools clearly varies when the previous government regulations and requirements was taken away. These concerned e.g. limits on class sizes, review of teaching materials and clarity of curricula which together previously represented a common minimum level of education. Instead, it is the municipalities varying conditions and interpretations of description of objectives that with varying results had to take over responsibility for the school (see, among others, Larsson, Hans Albin, 2013, pp. 80-81; Dahlstedt, Magnus, 2007, pp. 23-25). The purpose of the 1990s school reforms included the wider freedom of choice more efficient use of resources, greater diversity and better quality teaching (Prop. 1991/92:95 *Om valfrihet och fristående skolor* och prop. 1992/93:230 *Valfrihet i skolan*). The increased diversity and freedom of choice has been partially met. Students generally have greater opportunities to choose between several school options, but the real choices differ among students. The differences are partly geographical and partly due to students socio-economic and/or ethnic background. For the same reasons that these student groups show lower learning outcomes, they also have limited ability to orient themselves in the Swedish education system (Skolverket, *En bild av skolmarknaden,* 2012, pp 12-14). Another explanation of the segregation is that motivated students (regardless of socioeconomic background) to a larger extent use the so-called "free school choice" to apply for schools with other motivated students. Because students' results is affected both by others students' results and by the teachers' expectations, the differences between schools' is further reinforced. The report concluded that equity in the Swedish elementary school has deteriorated (Skolverket, 2012).

Lastly, the Swedish school has also deteriorated in an international comparison. According to PISA[1] 2009 Swedish 15-year-olds reading and math skills have deteriorated in the 2000s. Similarly, the Swedish school system has become less equal in comparison with other OECD countries. In 2000, Sweden was in the top position regarding equity, but is now in an average position (PISA, 2009, Skolverkets rapport). A recent OECD report shows that Sweden is the country out of the 34 OECD countries where income inequality is increasing most rapidly (OECD-report, 15 May 2013).

In summary, the changed conditions and new challenges for the Swedish school is identified as an increased exclusion of students who do not pass the Swedish school; these students belong to a great extent to a growing underclass where foreign origin and poorer socioeconomic conditions coincide; this segregation has reinforced by the free school choice, municipalisation and privatization of school. These are issues that are vital not only for the marginalized groups in society. It is also a question of knowledge and democracy that is of great importance for the education of future citizens.

2. Necessary requirements for Citizenship

In order to clarify the conditions necessary for citizenship in real meaning (as opposed to merely formal), it is interesting to briefly refer to the British sociologist Thomas Marshalls' lecture in 1949 and the Indian economist Amartya Sen's theories of Development as Freedom (1999). To begin with Marshalls' theory where the main thesis is that citizenship in Western industrialized countries may be divided into three forms:

- Civil citizenship
  - o Equality before the law, freedom of speech and freedom of religion and other personal liberties
- Political citizenship
  - o Universal and equal suffrage
- Social citizenship
  - o The right to education, health care and other conditions for social welfare

  (Marshall, Thomas Humphrey, 1950/1991)

Feminist scholars have criticized Marshall's essay; they claim that he fails to discuss the issue of second-class citizen and that 'he takes for granted the gender and racial hierarchies' within society (Fraser & Gordon, 1992, pp 45–65). These aspects of gender and ethnic diversity are together with class central to the meaning of real citizenship as used in this article and will accordingly be discussed further below. The three forms of citizenship have equality as a common principle. That means (also) that social citizenship is a right that involve benefits that will come all citizens to part (Hansson, 1991, p. 17).

The assumption that several conditions are necessary for a real citizenship/democracy applies also to Sen's theories of 'Development as Freedom', which may contribute to

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[1] PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment – is an OECD programme that aims to evaluate education systems worldwide every three years.

develop Marshall's three citizenship. One of Sen's main theses is to consider development as a process of human expanded freedoms or capabilities. In this approach,

> expansion of freedom is viewed as both (I) the *primary end* and (2) the *principal means* of development. They can be called respectively the "constitutive role" and the "instrumental role" of freedom in development. (Sen, 1999, p 36)

The different types of freedoms include political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security (Sen, 1999, p 10). A common raised question is whether for instance democracy is conducive to development or not. In Sen's approach the constitutive role of freedom means that political participation are constitutive parts of development in itself. At the same time, seen in an instrumental role of development, political freedoms may *also* contribute to economic progress (Sen, 1999, pp 36-37). Sen's approach to development as freedoms is also relevant to the specific conditions of real citizenship and democracy and may be complementary to develop Marshalls' theories about the three citizenships. Marshall's civil and political citizenship coincides with the Sens' definition of political freedom, which includes both free elections, freedom of expression and advocacy. Sen's transparency guarantees aim at citizens' right to openness in order to for example prevent corruption. Social opportunities include the arrangements that society makes to ensure public health and education, and, protective security is needed to prevent people's social exclusion. Both social opportunities and protective security are essential aspects of Marshall's social citizenship. Finally, Sen refers to economic opportunities as peoples' opportunities to utilize economic resources for consumption, production or exchange. This is obviously linked to economic growth and the distribution of surplus. These various freedoms or capabilities, also contribute effectively to the development and strengthening of citizenship in that they are interconnected and complementary. For example, people's ability to participate in the democratic process will be improved if they also have access to social opportunities through education and health, a relationship that has great significance for the development of a real citizenship. Conversely, it has been shown that people who do not have access to social opportunities often are marginalized by limited access to jobs, housing, and again, real citizenship. From a societal perspective, it also brings increased social spending and a democratic deficit (Sen, 1999, pp 38-41). In summary, Marshalls 'and Sens' theories in combination clarify some necessary conditions for a genuine citizenship and may be applied to analyse the development of citizenship in a Swedish context historically and today including all members of society regardless of class, gender and ethnicity.

The concept of citizenship belongs to the concepts referred to as "Essentially contested," referring to a constant need of being reinterpreted, developed and reformulated. To constantly define this type of concept has it's particular importance for how the concepts are used to interpret and understand the world both politically and scientifically (Strandbrink & Åkerström, 2010, pp 34-36), and perhaps most importantly, for how this analysis and understanding may be the basis for action and changing of the world.

3. A historical development of citizenship in relation to class, gender and ethnicity

In the 1800s Sweden, and even after the Parliament Act of 1866, i.e. a parliament of two chambers was introduced, citizenship was limited to wealthy men. The mandatory public school charter in 1842 was shaped in a society where Christianity in a Lutheran spirit was the obvious basis. Expressed differently, the succeeding period of eighty years, and before the introduction of universal and equal suffrage, it was not the school's task or goal to educate engaged citizens in a democracy. The limitations of democracy were a significant factor in the extensive extra-parliamentary social movements that emerged in the late 1800s. Popular movements was in itself not unique for Sweden, but have become characteristic for Sweden because of the great influence which popular movements have had to the development of the Swedish society. Some of the characteristics usually attributed to the popular movements is that they are voluntary, open to all, democratically organized and aims at social change. With regard to the development of democracy and citizenship, the labour movement and the women's movement had a particular importance in their struggle for equal rights based on class and gender.

One of the largest and most influential social movements was the labour movement that represented major groups of landless with low incomes. Since voting right under the Parliament Act 1866 was limited by economic conditions these groups were excluded from the democratic process: Only 21% of adult males qualified for suffrage, a percentage that increased with the workers' income in the late 1890s, when economic conditions were better. During the same period a suffrage movement grew, which primarily demanded universal suffrage for men. After several negotiations in 1909 it was legislated that all men had the right to vote in the second chamber (Norborg, 1993, pp 88-94). Concurrent with the suffrage battle the contradictions between reformists and revolutionaries in the labour movement intensified, which led to a split of the Social Democratic Party in 1917. The same year the Social Democrats and the Liberals formed the first parliamentary majority government in Sweden and by 1932 and onwards the Social Democratic reform policies dominated societal development in Sweden.

With political support from the Liberals it was the Social Democrats that in parliament introduced a number of school reforms that improved the access to education for all children regardless of class and gender. Until 1927, Sweden had a parallel school system based on social segregation: A six-year elementary school for the common people's children and a grammar school that prepared the children of the more prosperous for skilled occupations. Moreover, girls had no access to the state grammar schools. The so-called *bottenskolereform* (bottom school reform), introduced in 1927, meant that basic education in elementary school was the same for all children regardless of class. However, because some private schools survived the reform, parts of the division into the parallel school system remained. The same year, girls also got access to secondary schools and special girls' grammar schools established in a few major cities. It would take until the 1962s primary school reform before Sweden got an equivalent primary school system. At the same time the special schools for girls began to be phased out and a few years later a uniform upper secondary school was established. The school reforms meant that the system of basic education became uniform and aimed at social inclusion

by expanding educational opportunities both socially and geographically (Hedenborg & Kvarnström, 2009, pp 336-339).

Along with social class, gender had also a vital importance for the early development of citizenship and democracy. After the introduction of universal suffrage for both men and women in 1919, women's economic and social rights in other areas expanded, and women's access to the political arena increased gradually (Hedenborg & Kvarnström, 2009, pp 210-212). It is interesting to compare this change of citizenship, based on gender, with the current debate on citizenship and democracy in multicultural Sweden. In a similar way as today's new citizens of non-Swedish origin represents an "otherness" in relation to Swedish traditions of citizenship, the women's newfound citizenship in 1919 was also an offense against the prevailing male norm of citizenship. In the young democracy the status of women were primarily as mothers and housewives, while citizenship was practiced in public life where career indirectly formed the basis. This was true to a lesser extent for working class women; in order to make a living, they often had work outside the home. But even among the workers, men had greater income opportunities than women. On the basis of their gender, men had better opportunities for education, more jobs to choose from and higher pay (Göransson, 2003, p 119). In other words, working class women's real citizen status were limited by both their gender and social class. However, women's influence was also limited in political life in different ways: Women's representation in parliament was between 1.3 to 2.6 percent during the interwar period. An imbalance that seriously changed first in the late 1900s (Hirdman, 2003, p 206). Instead, a political segregation was introduced; partly by organizing women in special female federations and partly because women were given political responsibility for issues that were perceived as specifically female: "So became everyday issues women's issues, particularly those relating to mothers and children, from maternity benefit to dental insurance" (Hirdman, 2003, p 206, my translation). In a similar way, today's societal activity among non-Swedish citizens are often organised in immigrant federations with demands for immigrants' rights.

When the emergence of the 1900s democratic institutions has been studied, women's struggle for work and political influence has often been ignored. Nonetheless, with the increased participation of women in the political arena, gender has come to be regarded as political significant for societal structuring. This also shows how the social sciences have developed parallel to the image of Swedish democracy (Eduard, 2002). A few decades later and in a similar way, ethnicity received a growing importance for the meaning of democracy and citizenship. Sweden's modern history as a country of immigration became obvious after 1945 when more people moved to than moved from the country. The period 1950-74, GDP growth in Sweden increased with an average of 4% each year. The Swedish industry's need for labour force during the period proved above all in that 530 000 people working immigrated during the years 1950-67. During the period 1975-97, however, the average of GDP / year declined to 1.5%, and the socio-economic situation of immigrated groups became increasingly complicated. As seen above, the sharp increase in refugee immigration along with the economic crisis of the early 1990s resulted in increased income inequality and marginalization, above all among groups with non-Swedish background (Lund & Ohlsson, 1999). It is in line with the growing problems among immigrant groups that interest in the importance of ethnicity for Swedish democracy and citizenship has increased. For example, the

growing interest showed itself in several government investigations over the years. Although Sweden have had formal political equality for quite a long time, it became increasingly clear that the Swedish democracy and citizenship was and is based on well-established ideal of a culturally homogeneous population and on the Swedish democratic traditions. The emergence of the multicultural Sweden has meant that the importance of democratic diversity is a recurring theme in both the public debate and various policy documents. Here emerges a classic paradox that with Maud Eduard words means: "Citizens should both be able to feel cultural belonging and the right to formulate different interests. How these conflicts between national belonging and democratic diversity are handled by the country's political leadership is of a vital interest ... "(Eduard, 2007, p. 23, my translation). An indicator of the degree of integration in Swedish democracy is voter turnout. The differences in voter turnout has a clear pattern in which the percentage of voters are lower for young, single, less educated and unemployed than among the middle-aged, cohabiting, highly educated and employed. Another difference emerges between foreign-and native-born. Although voter turnout among foreign-born had increased in 2010, remains a difference of 14 percentage points (Government Offices, *Valdeltagandet,* voter turnout, 2010, 2012).

From people's communal to benefit of the individual
If citizenship in the young democracy developed by social movements with the intention to find political ways to improve the living conditions of the masses, so characterized the interwar political efforts of the Swedish welfare state - *Folkhemmet* - an ambition to provide for their citizens. The utopia of the good welfare state was in 1928 described by the Social Democratic Party leader Per Albin Hansson:

> In the good home there is equality, compassion, cooperation, helpfulness. Applied to the large folk and citizen home it would mean breaking down all social and economic barriers that now separate the citizens of the privileged and deprived, in ruling and dependent, in rich and poor, wealthy and impoverished, plunderers and plundered. (AK protokoll 1928, taken from Hirdman, 1989, p 89, my translation)

The ideas behind and the implementation of the Swedish welfare state needed no independent active citizens who took the fight for social justice. Rather, it was the society's leading politicians and scientific experts in collaboration - "the social engineers" - that would foster the population to good citizens. Yvonne Hirdman (1989) describes it as 'science, rationality and objectivity, willingness to do and trust in both the good welfare state as the technical potency - so could you briefly summarize the essential content of the social engineers.' (Hirdman, 1989, p 100, my translation). With a continued belief in the planning of society, the 1940s social engineering was also defined in relation to the goal of democracy and the democratic citizen. However, Hirdman emphasize, that the post-war democratic citizen in the first place was 'a person who cooperated, who was able to live with others and adapt to them, rather than an individual independent person.' (Hirdman, 1989, p 177, my translation). During the 1950s - and 1960s economic upturns, it was incumbent to school, from a strong trust in science, educate citizens to the bearer of democracy. Teaching Democracy would under the Education Commission report (SOU 1948:27) rest on 'objective scientific basis and among the disciples promote respect for the truth.' (Englund, 2000, p 8, my translation).

The political mission lay with the elected politicians and democracy was primarily a means and a form for making decisions. Tomas Englund (1999) calls this idea of democracy functionalistic where democracy in the school context is an area of knowledge among other areas of knowledge that includes facts (Englund, 1999, p 17).

This blind faith in science's ability to deliver the right answers to all questions was questioned in the 1970s. Starting with the new curriculum in 1980 - *Lgr 80* - advocated instead scientific pluralism and there is a more pronounced educational policy interest for the school to educate for democracy. Unlike previous belief in scientific objectivity school would now 'be open to that differing values and opinions are heard and assert the importance of a personal commitment.' (From the Lgr 80, taken from Englund, 2000, p 9, my translation). The view of democracy that characterized Lgr 80 was normative and was above all based on a participatory perspective, the mere participation in democracy was in focus. Unlike the functional view of democracy with its limitations to elected politicians' responsibility, the normative approach advocated a way of living where all citizens in different ways would be engaged in democracy (Englund, 1999, 2000). This view has similarities to the popular movements' view of democracy and a left-winged ideology in which participation and the common interests have priority over the individual and its self-interests. This approach has been criticized for giving lower priority to the importance of knowledge in the democratic process (Strandbrink & Åkerström, 2010, p 51-52) and that the school advocates certain democratic values as the only right, which could not be questioned (Englund, 1999, p 18).

On behalf of the Government, during the period 1985-90, an extensive study on power relations in the Swedish society was conducted: '*maktutredningen*'. As an alternative to the former society-oriented vision of democracy, and as a reflection of the 1980s liberal political winds, the investigation advocated rather an individual-oriented democracy where the starting point is the individual's responsibility for their own destiny. The investigation's alternative and individual-oriented view on democracy can be seen as part of a shift in the approach to education from 'public good' to 'private good' (Englund, 1999, p 2). When vision of democracy was formulated in the core values of the curriculum in 1994, it is the following values that the school should convey 'sanctity of human life, individual freedom and integrity, all people have equal value, equality between women and men and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable.' These values were specified further: 'In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this by fostering in the individual a sense of justice, generosity, tolerance and responsibility.' (Lpo94, Lpf94). Hereby, the civic values were given a specific meaning, which also are the current definition of the core values in Swedish school.

4. Contemporary perspectives on education, democracy and citizenship

From the 'public good' to 'private good'
It has emerged that one of the most obvious changes that have taken place regarding the perception of education as well as the school's mission to educate future democratic citizen is a shift in approach from the 'public good' to 'private good'. In short, the aim of "public good" came from a long tradition of education where post-war reforms aimed at equality by an equal education and citizen education in a elementary school that was

common to all. This has been one of the Swedish model's main characteristics (Englund, 1999, p 30). 'Private good' can be seen as an expression of the social and political changes with liberal overtones that took off in the 1980s, both in Sweden and in other Western countries. Here is the individual's needs in focus and choice of education is not equal in its former meaning, but rather the individual's / family's choice for the children's future is central. From this perspective, private school alternatives, school capitation allowance and the free school choice have been reforms that have fundamentally changed the conditions for school activities. Englund (1999) describes the change as a shift from the big to the small democracy There, the great democracy basically means that citizens via institutions, voting rights and democratic freedoms and rights, etc., indirectly makes decisions through elected officials on matters of common concern. In the small democracy, it is a smaller group of people which in cooperation directly decide on their common terms. In the small democracy, it is a smaller group of people who in cooperation directly decide on their common terms. In the school context, an example is parents' decision over their children's education (Englund, 1999, p 31-32).

Bengt-Ove Boström (2001) discusses in an article 'The governance of the Swedish school system's values in critical lighting'. He asks for and justifies a review of the school's core values based upon three current social changes and trends. Firstly, he points at how anti-democratic movements have attracted more and more followers. These movements represent values that are contrary to the values in the national curriculum. The second contemporary problem is the youth's increased skepticism regarding political activities as well as distrust of the political establishment. This trend clearly goes against the intentions of the curriculum to engage citizens. Finally, Boström (also) points at the importance of an increased individualism in the 1980s - and the 1990s (Boström, 2001, pp 42-45). Set in relation to the national curriculum, he calls for a greater clarity with regard to 'distinguish between individual responsibility for their own situation and participation in collective decision-making.' (Bostrom, 2001, p 50, my translation). If the school fails to implement democratic forms of government Bostrom expresses concern that:

> 'Democracy will mean that citizens can choose between different options (in various markets) and to think freely - but what is beyond that has not to do with democracy. What kind of citizens are people with such beliefs?'(Bostrom, 2001, p. 51, my translation).

The changing meaning of democracy and its consequences in the school context describes Dahlstedt (2009) as an intensification of democratic education both on and in democracy. He argues that 'not since the 1940s has the school's role in fostering democratic values been highlighted with such frenzy as in the 1990s, [...]' (Dahlstedt, 2009, p 81, my translation). A dominant feature in this intensification is the idea of lifelong learning, where learning does not end with the school-based studies, but is a lifelong project, and where the responsibility is primarily the individual's own. With the words from the National Agency for Education (2000a: 25), the lifelong learners has 'the desire to learn, self-confidence, the ability to master and feel safe in the uncertainty.' Dahlstedt describes the image of an 'entrepreneurial subject as the symbol of an ideal citizen, a self-conscious individual who creates himself, his own vision and life opportunities and which sets out its own life path.' (Dahlstedt, 2009, pp 79-80, my

translation). He describes it as the focus of school's education of future citizens is to 'give individuals the best possible position to find their way on a changing labor market.' (Dahlstedt, 2009, p 84, my translation).

Finally, Hans Albin Larsson (2013) also discusses democracy education and its changing conditions. In a similar way as Dahlstedt, Larsson points at how democracy education was guided by the modern democratic society's needs in the post-war years. This was also when the subject of history was shrinking in favour of an ahistorical teaching in social sciences. The subsequent development additionally decreased the space for the three school subjects of history, religion and social science when democracy education became a responsibility of the school as a whole and foremost headmaster's responsibility. A change that Larsson does not consider to favoured democracy education. However, new teachers training program that started in 2011, more clearly highlighted the democratic elements in the parts of the program that is mandatory for all teacher students (Larsson, 2013, pp 59-68). Although Larsson welcome the clearer governance of democracy education in policy documents during the recent decades, he also points at the difficulties that have accompanied the changing conditions as the school's municipalization, the free school reform and the introduction of school capitation allowance (Larsson, 2013, pp 79-84).

5. Concluding remarks

The article began with a summary of how the Swedish school system has been affected by the early 1990s economic crisis and subsequent years of school policy. The meaning of the deteriorating equity the school has gone through may be understood from both a historical and contemporary societal perspective. Historically, development has been from a school that offered the children different educational opportunities depending on class and with the aim to raise obedient citizens with Christian and nationalist values to the 1900s later part a strive for an equal education of active citizens and in order to prevent class divisions and discrimination. The Swedish school managed quite well with the task of providing an equal education, which placed Sweden in a top position in international comparisons. As it has clearly emerged, equity of the Swedish school has deteriorated and today children and youths are offered different educational opportunities due to a combination of class and ethnic belonging, which is also clearly reflected in increasing differences between students' school results.

The school's failure regarding equal education should also be considered in relation to the economic crisis in the early 1990s and the subsequent growing inequalities in the Swedish society. These are examples of social problem that requires political will and ability to act in areas that are beyond what the Swedish school and school policies may influence. At the same time, as Englund and others have shown, there has also been a shift in the Swedish school policy from "public good" to "private good". "Private good" has meant school reforms with liberal overtones that profoundly have changed the conditions for school activities. Several reports and initiated researchers show how implemented school policies have contributed to what can be summarized as deteriorating school equivalency. The students who are affected by the deteriorating equity and don't pass in school may also experience a great risk to, without sufficient training, also fail in the future labour and housing markets.

This increasing marginalization of student groups is in the long run also an important issue for both the school's democracy education as for democratic development of society at large. To begin with the school's democracy education, which rests on the societal view of democracy, there have been several changes: There has been a shift from the large societal democracy to individuals' increased choice and discretion as for example regarding children's education. There has been an increasing individualisation since 1980 - and 1990's where an 'entrepreneurial subject' has become the symbol of an ideal citizen. To summarize the picture of the changing perception of democracy which is based on liberal values, which, seen from Marshall's theory (1950) about the three forms of citizenship, well meet the two kinds of civil and political citizenship. These include rights such as equality before the law, freedom of speech and belief and universal suffrage, which have long been, and still is, obvious elements of Swedish democracy. However, the above-described deterioration of equal opportunities in education can only be interpreted as a depletion of what Marshall describes as the social citizenship, which include the right to education and other social rights, available to all citizens and with the object to meet the conditions for a real democracy. Sen's theories on the five freedoms for Development (1999) also reveals the importance of how a real development - here democratic development - requires not only formal political rights and freedoms, but also the social opportunities and security guarantees that give people real opportunities to actually make use of their political freedoms. In Sweden, the social citizenship developed seriously after the Second World War and with the rise of the welfare state that became known as the Swedish model or the Swedish welfare state. The last decades of deterioration of social citizenship has now given a clear impact on children and young people's limited opportunities for an equal education and full citizenship.

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