

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Amy Nastrom Nordlander for the degree of Master of Arts in Applied

Anthropology presented September 18, 2000.

Title: Rhetoric versus Practice: Strategic Language Education and Socialization of
Immigrant Children in Sweden, the Preschool Years.

Abstract approved: **Redacted for privacy**
Joan E. Gross

Sweden's changing demographics, due to recent migrations in the last fifty years, have affected the Swedish educational system and Sweden's language policy. Funding for special education in Sweden regarding its minority populations is on the decline. Previous forced linguistic assimilation has occurred in Sweden among the Finnish population to the proven detriment of Finnish children. Today, Sweden faces similar value assessments regarding its immigrant language programs, bilingual education, and immigrant rights.

The theoretical framework behind a "new" form of preschool education being implemented within Sweden will be explored. As the children in the Botkyrka språkförskola undergo an immersion foreign language program, they are denied access to bilingual education. The språkförskola's strategy, to assimilate the children into Swedish society through language training, is met with resistance among individual children, stemming from certain cultural groups, who actively determine their own language shift or language maintenance. Final recommendations in the conclusion stress the valuing of individual and cultural choice.

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Rhetoric versus Practice:
Strategic Language Education and Socialization of Immigrant Children in Sweden,
the Preschool Years.

by
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A THESIS
submitted to
Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of
Master of Arts

Completed September 18, 2000

Commencement June 2001

Master of Arts thesis of Amy Nastrom Nordlander presented on September 18, 2000

APPROVED:

Redacted for privacy

Major Professor, representing Applied Anthropology

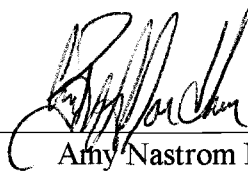
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Amy Nastrom Nordlander

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For the opportunity and encouragement to venture to Sweden as an intern I gratefully thank Dr. Joan Gross, Dr. Mark Graham, and Dr. Dwaine Plaza. I thank Dr. Gross for exposing me to the world of sociolinguistics through a mutual interest in folklore. I also thank Joan for being an example of a challenging role model in academia as well as a kind and involved mother of two growing boys. Dr. Graham deserves my abundant gratitude for his generosity and guidance. My sincere thanks goes to Dr. Plaza who was diligent and responsive in helping me through this thesis process. My committee members were an insightful and appreciated aspect of the thesis writing process, thank you Dr. Nancy Rosenberger and Dr. Juan Trujillo. To the Social Anthropology Department at Stockholm University, I give my sincere thanks for their hospitality and resources throughout the course of my internship. I would not have set foot into the language kindergarten in Botkyrka without the trust and support of a nurturing person, Dr. Annick Sjögren. I value the teachers at the språkförskola as dedicated educators and I thank them for allowing me to observe their school. Armelle Denis has been a helpful source of intellectual precision and honest opinion regarding my thesis. I would like to thank the folks at Global Graduates for believing in my proposed internship to Sweden through scholarship funds. I give recognition to my Swedish relatives who housed me during the course of this study in Sweden and my Swedish American relatives who kept the communication going all these years. Thank you, mom and dad, for instilling a zest for learning in your children. And to Rikard, thanks gubben, for your love and feisty "y"okes.

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Rhetoric versus Practice:

Strategic Language Education and Socialization of Immigrant Children in Sweden, the Preschool Years.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to illuminate the social and linguistic condition of the immigrant and refugee children in a language kindergarten in Botkyrka, Sweden. I spent a month studying this language kindergarten during the fall of 1999 when I was a research intern at Stockholm University in the Social Anthropology Department. In this introduction, I would like to briefly explain personal experiences that led to this particular case study and familiarize the reader with my motivations. Secondly, I will provide a general outline of this thesis and the purpose of my study.

The topic of immigrants and their condition in Sweden is a subject I can empathize with considering my time residing in Sweden between 1995-1997. For six months in 1997, I also participated in the adult Swedish language training *Svenska för Invandrare*¹ (SFI/Swedish for minorities). At the time I was living in the northern village of Gränsingebruk. During the adult Swedish language class I interacted with refugees and

1. "The term "utlanning" (foreigner), earlier used to denote non-Swedish citizens living in Sweden, was officially replaced by "invandrare" (immigrant)--a term thought to be more friendly, connoting that someone has arrived rather than someone is from abroad" (Engelbrektsson 1995:47).

immigrants on a daily basis. These individuals came from all over the world: Bosnia, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. Most of my fellow classmates found life in Sweden isolating and the Swedish language class a complete drudgery. The adult language class was taught exclusively in Swedish with a few prompting words and catch phrases in English. Prior to living in Sweden, I also studied the Swedish language at the University of Minnesota for two years (1993-1995).

When I started the adult Swedish language class in January of 1997, I was still employed with the company, TELiT Galesi Telecom International AB, in Sollefteå, Sweden. I studied at SFI in the morning and taught ESL to adult employees at TELiT in the afternoons. However, during my first three months at TELiT it had been my job to "participate" in an extensive employee training program taught exclusively in Swedish covering subjects of economics, computers, business psychology/teamwork, marketing, communications, and Swedish educational approaches to on-the-job learning. This training lasted eight hours a day, five days a week. There were about 20 adults in this class and I was the only non-Swede. From time to time, an instructor would point at me and say in English, "So you're the American, are you understanding this? Who is translating for you?" and then he or she would simply continue with the lecture. On occasion, I was dismissed from the class during group projects to aimlessly wander the halls of the office building. The technical Swedish used in this training was too advanced for me. One day a Swedish relative stopped by our home in Gräningsbruk and after glancing at my course readings he said, "What are they thinking? I would even have difficulty reading through these books!"

My interest in studying a language kindergarten also stems from my personal experience. Since March of 1998, I have been employed as a teacher at the Corvallis Montessori School. At CMS, I often work with the primary children, ranging between ages 3 to 6. I have learned a great deal from the caring and concerned teachers at Montessori. In many ways, the Montessori staff have nurtured my belief in human kindness. The skills I gained at CMS also helped me as a researcher in the language kindergarten in Botkyrka.

In my thesis, I will first give an overview in Chapter One of the migration patterns Sweden has experienced in the last fifty years. In Chapter Two, I will provide a literature review concentrating on language and minority education in Sweden. In particular, I will focus on the impact of immigration on the educational system and language for Finnish and Turkish minority groups in Sweden. In Chapter Two, I will offer examples of preschool references regarding foreign language acquisition. Chapter Three will offer an analysis of my case study of the language kindergarten in Botkyrka. In the conclusion, I will revisit earlier themes and provide recommendations regarding the theory and practice of minority education in Sweden.

I hope this thesis reaches educators and administrators in Sweden. I suggest a movement both in theory and practice toward cultural pluralism and the inclusiveness of minority children. I ask that Swedish educators continue to work toward omitting racist opinions and practices within classrooms in Sweden. For change to occur, the racist actions--however subtle--need to be identified and understood. Due to the low population in Sweden and the collectivist spirit of the country, blind nationalism can be replaced with an appreciation for multiculturalism. Celebrating multiculturalism is not obtained by

viewing immigrants and refugees to Sweden as an imported underclass. Rather, multiculturalism assumes the encouragement of equal opportunity between different cultures and ethnic groups. Embracing multiculturalism allows minority groups in Sweden to learn the Swedish language while remaining linguistically and culturally distinct. Sweden can implement productive and healthy solutions in response to the effects of globalization over time and this begins in the school system.

As an American, I am aware of the shortcomings of my own country and I do not suggest that America offers a strong example for Sweden regarding effective "racial"² solidarity. But by being a person who has lived in Sweden and experienced life as a foreigner, I can offer as evidence, my subjective personal narrative as well as the findings of my ethnographic research at the språkförskola in Botkryka, Sweden.

2. The word *racial* appears in parentheses to address the ambiguity in its definition.

Overview of Migration to Sweden with a Focus on Language

CHAPTER ONE

"Internationalization and globalization are paving the way for reawakened forms of nationalism and chauvinism. Multiculturalism and globalization are bringing out fundamentalism."

Charles Westin

World migration post-WWII

During the second half of the twentieth century, tremendous migration took place throughout the world. Between 1975 and 1990, over 2.5 million refugees from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East moved to the First World (Hein 1993:45). People from war-torn nations, impoverished countries, and people with little choice but flight migrated and were "received" by fellow humans in foreign lands. This phenomenon of mass migration increased social and cultural tensions and challenged the migrating groups as well as the receiving countries to cope with their new neighbors. Questions of housing, education, language, employment, political rights, repatriation, and the like were asked by each country's native citizens regarding their new immigrant and refugee populations.

Sweden, similar to many other countries, was heavily involved with this new migration phenomenon after WWII. In 1990, immigrants comprised 10% of the Swedish population (Beverlander and Nielsen 1999). Today, for its country size, with a population of 8.8 million, Sweden has an immigrant population of 1 million. The rapidity by which Sweden became a multicultural environment transpired in only a few short decades.

Refugees were not even noted in Swedish immigration statistics until the Second World War (Appleqvist 1999:180). By increasing the amount of immigrants and refugees allowed admittance since the 1940s, Sweden faces challenges of social adaptation along with the rest of the world's host countries. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the recent demographic changes in Sweden due to migration. In the following chapters, I discuss how this migration has impacted the educational system within Sweden.

Migration to Sweden, an overview

The United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) is responsible to determine the admittance of those seeking asylum within Sweden. Today, the UNHCR in Sweden still follows the rules dictated by the 1951 Geneva conference in regard to its asylum seekers. According to the United Nations definition during the 1951 Geneva conference, a *refugee* is a person:

"owing to a well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of that country" (Hein 1993:44).

Meanwhile, an *immigrant* is a more ambiguous definition of an individual seeking residency. The motivation for an immigrant can be political, economic, religious, or simply for adventure. Subsequently, the motivation for migration of a refugee and immigrant are defined differently.

In the past, a clear cut definition was imposed upon the push/pull factors associated with an *immigrant* (moving for economic reasons) and a *refugee* (moving for political reasons). For those individuals who came to Sweden as refugees but stay in

Sweden for economical reasons (such as the Chileans, Kurds, Iranians, etc.) the definition is blurred. However, the end result is the same. Both immigrants and refugees end up residing in Sweden and eventually must support themselves, gain access to the culture, and decide whether to stay in Sweden or move on.

Sweden's immigration patterns can be summarized in four overlapping waves. The first wave existed in the form of refugees from neighboring countries. This migration took place during and after the Second World War (1940-48). Sweden remained neutral during the war and for humanitarian reasons, Sweden accepted a substantial number of refugees from the surrounding countries of war affected Europe. Namely, "34,000 refugees from Hitler's concentration camps, 70,000 children from Finland and 30,000 refugees from the Baltic States" (Narrowe 1998:29). Many of the children from Finland came over in 1939 when the city of Helsinki was evacuated during the Soviet attack. Thousands of these Finnish children were later adopted by their Swedish foster families and remained in Sweden (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:4).

The second wave of immigration to Sweden (1949-71) existed in the form of guest workers¹. The growth of industrialization, the need for labor, and the obvious shortage of Swedish workers created a mutually beneficial situation for both non-Swedes in search of employment and Swedish companies. Between the late 1940s to the early 1970s Sweden

1. "In the 1940s, the number of immigrants to Sweden exceeded the number of emigrants from Sweden. This new influx was in contrast to Sweden's former migration patterns. Between 1880 and 1930, 1.2 million Swedes emigrated, most of them migrated to America" (Narrowe 1998:29).

actively recruited foreign labor from Southern and Eastern Europe to satisfy the labor needs of the growing economy, "Immigration was essential to Swedish economic planning and labor market policies" (Schierup 1990:261). Guest workers first arrived from Finland. The Finns comprised the largest group of guest workers in Sweden. Turks (from the rural district around Kulu in central Anatolia), Greeks, and Yugoslavs also comprised a significant portion of the guest workers.

To increase the availability of workers within the Nordic countries, the Nordic Union of 1954 allowed easy admittance and freed the borders between the countries of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, (and later Greenland and Iceland) (Engelbrektsson 1995:47). The treaty abolished restrictions of labor workers migrating between any of the Nordic countries. During this time, Sweden did not have any legal establishment of resident or work permits. Rather, in a highly practical fashion, Sweden relied on spontaneous immigration for its labor needs (Webber 1991:12). The ramifications of spontaneous migration in Sweden were only an afterthought.

It was not until 1969 that Sweden formally organized a commission related to immigrant and minority policy. This organization was the National Board of Immigration (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:5). However, in 1967 there were certain restrictions that had begun to take place. For example, work permits consisting of a formal offer of employment were required before entering Sweden. To a large extent, this put an end to the free immigration patterns of guest workers. By 1972, labor from non-Nordic countries ceased due to the objection of further labor by Swedish governmental officials (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:5).

Migration to Sweden then took a shift to a new group of immigrants: asylum-seekers from Third World countries and family reunification. The third wave of migration (1972-89) produced a completely new culture contact within Sweden. Unlike the refugee groups from neighboring European countries, the Third World asylum seekers were phenotypically, religiously, and culturally different. The first significant refugee group came from Uganda and consisted of several different minority groups. Following the Ugandans, people from Chile, Brazil, Peru and other South American countries sought political refuge in Sweden. Several of these refugees later repatriated (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:5).

In the 1970s and 1980s refugees from the Middle East arrived in Sweden. Syrians, Kurds (emigrating from Eastern Turkey), Iranians, Iraqis, and Lebanese came to Sweden during this third wave. In the early 1990s asylum-seekers from Africa to Sweden gained considerable numbers from Ethiopia, Eritria, and Somalia. At the same time, a steady flow of asylum seekers came from the Eastern European countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Once the refugees established themselves in Sweden, chain migration continued to include family reunification (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:6). Between the late-1970s and into the early 1990s, Sweden was in the top 1% of countries hosting refugees.

As can be seen in the following Table 1, immigration between 1983 and 1989 continued to be on the rise. The conservative movement in the early 1990s affected the number of resident permits awarded to immigrants and refugees as can be seen in the

decrease of surplus numbers. However, due to the wars in the former-Yugoslavia, the sheer number of immigrant populations began to significantly rise in the mid-to-late 1990s.

Table 1. Migration to and from Sweden, 1983-1994. Source: Appleqvist 1999: Appendices (Source: Statistic from The Swedish National Board of Immigration).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Immigration</u>	<u>Emigration</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
1983	22,291	17,386	4,905
1984	26,060	14,610	11,450
1985	27,889	14,014	13,857
1986	34,042	15,350	18,692
1987	37,116	11,629	25,487
1988	44,470	11,847	32,623
1989	58,888	13,142	45,746
1990	53,332	16,245	37,087
1991	43,931	15,006	28,925
1992	39,554	13,153	26,401
1993	54,857	14,844	40,013
1994	74,758	15,750	59,008

Finally, the fourth significant wave of migration to Sweden began in the early 1990s. In an era of high modernity, professionals from European Union countries were allowed admittance into Sweden. Also during this final wave, due to the unrest and wars in the former-Yugoslavia, Bosnia, and Kosovo over 40,000 refugee visas were granted to incoming groups from these countries. It is estimated that the 40,000 refugees who came to Sweden will double in size as a result of family reunification² (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:7).

From Table 2 we can see the cultural representation of immigrants and refugees in Sweden according to their country of origin and their first or second generation status.

2. The estimated 40,000 asylum seekers from the former-Yugoslavia, Bosnia, and Kosovo are from 1997, these numbers have undoubtedly risen from the 1999 conflict in Kosovo.

Table 2. First and second generation immigrants. December 1995. Source: Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund 1997:24 (Source: Statistics Sweden).

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>First generation</u>	<u>Second generation</u>	<u>Total</u>
Denmark	40506	53101	93607
Finland	205710	237241	442950
Iceland	4338	2123	6461
Norway	44852	62873	107725
Bosnia-Hercegovina	45602	2300	47902
Estonia	11182	15286	26468
Germany	35731	50186	85917
Greece	12098	11207	23305
Hungary	14692	12937	27629
Poland	39373	24095	63499
UK	12738	12379	25117
Yugoslavia	70516	36725	107241
Chile	26979	11139	38118
Ethiopia	13436	4696	18132
Iran	49040	11576	60616
Iraq	23361	7253	33614
Lebanon	21555	10911	32466
Somalia	10377	2521	12898
Turkey	29761	22103	51864
NORDIC STATES	295406	352124	647530
REST OF EUROPE	306509	219414	534396
REST OF WORLD	332107	122498	448128
GRAND TOTAL	936022	694036	1630054

The overwhelming amount of immigrants residing in Sweden have originated from other Scandinavian countries, with Finland providing the highest number of immigrants to Sweden. Most of the refugee and immigrant groups have reorganized themselves in the larger metropolitan areas of Stockholm, Malmö, and Göteborg. Their housing is referred to by native Swedes as "immigrant ghettos," in segregated neighborhoods, and their presence is felt throughout Sweden today.

Youth attitudes toward immigration and language

Recent surveys have tried to access the attitudes and atmosphere in Sweden toward the immigrant and refugee populations. Charles Westin has carefully studied the "racial" atmosphere in Sweden for decades. Based on a factor analysis performed in 1993 by Lange and Westin, Westin suggests that it is within the working-class male category that racist sentiment prevails (1998a:6; 1998b:235). The data also suggest young people in Sweden are considerably more tolerant toward "racial" diversity than the elderly, but less tolerant to diversity than middle-aged individuals (1998b:234).

According to Westin's comparative 1987 and 1993 youth survey, over 50% of Swedish youths aged 18 to 23 supported cultural pluralism, and yet: over 40% *disagreed* that immigrants to Sweden *should* maintain their language and teach it to their children, over 50% *agreed* that immigrant children *should* be taught that Swedish is their mother tongue, and over 60% *agreed* that immigrants who want to stay in Sweden "should in their own interest become as Swedish as possible" (1998b:232-4). These attitudes are clearly contrary to cultural pluralism.

Why are the young people in Westin's survey forming these attitudes, where are they getting their ideas, and how is this going to affect the future of the Swedish society? I refer to Knud Knudsen's comments regarding cause and effect between attitudes toward recent migration trends in Sweden. Knudsen explains, "there exists a connection between national sentiments and the way newcomers are treated, meaning that individuals with strong national feelings are likely to show more negative reactions toward immigrants or display stronger ethnocentrism" (1997:224). As Knudsen suggests, if nationalism is on the increase, so is national chauvinism. Consequently, the nationalistic attitude apparent

through Westin's youth survey will affect the treatment of immigrants in Sweden.

Inevitably, the children of today will become the policy makers of the future.

Language kindergarten and its emphasis on language shift and assimilation

The data for this thesis were collected through a month of participant observation of a *språkförskola*, a language kindergarten, in Botkyrka, a southern suburb of Stockholm³. At present, Botkyrka contains a 99% minority population. Due to the high volume of minority groups in the area the new *språkförskola* was a perfect location to witness ethnic relations within Sweden. The added twist to this participant observation involved witnessing the interactions of not only the ethnic minority children within the classroom, but also the interactions between the two Swedish teachers and their Swedish and non-Swedish students. What was noticeable in the case study involved the dynamics of a "racially" mixed classroom, taught exclusively in Swedish, and the reactions to this type of environment from the children and the teachers. The information gleaned in the fieldwork gave subtle insights into "race" relations, language education, and the methods of socialization employed within the *språkförskola*.

This thesis will explore each facet of the case study in detail by focusing on language education and socialization methods observed within the *språkförskola*. Recent

3. Sjögren describes Botkyrka's recent transformation from an agrarian area to a multicultural epicenter, "Botkyrka, formerly a prosperous semi-industrial, semi-agrarian community outside Stockholm, became the municipality in Sweden with the highest percentage of immigrants as a result of the very quick and efficient building of housing units for 35,000 inhabitants within five years, 1969-1974" (Sjögren 1997:44-45).

and historic studies will also be utilized to situate the case study findings with past analysis. The exciting allure of the språkförskola is its assumed novelty; it is only the second one like it in Stockholm using this particular pedagogical style. The avant garde form of preschool education advertised in the språkförskola will be analyzed in an historical context. This thesis will ask: How are the immigrant and refugee children in the språkförskola learning the Swedish language and culture and how are their cultural backgrounds being valued?

To answer this question, the thesis will also put into context minority relations and language policy in Sweden as they have been analyzed in empirical studies and research over the last thirty years. In this study, the language kindergarten represents a microcosm of the issues evolving at large in Swedish society. This qualitative study does not make sweeping generalizations but it informs the reader about specific observations that serve as examples of larger issues. Happenings in this language kindergarten can be related to other classrooms in other countries and this study serves as a valuable tool for comparative research. How Sweden is treating minority education is informative to other host countries throughout the world dealing with similar issues.

Language Policy and Education in Sweden

CHAPTER TWO

"Basically two strategies may be identified by which 'nation states' can achieve cultural and linguistic uniformity. One is to alter people, the other is to alter territory."

Charles Westin

Swedish language policy

Historically, Sweden's language policy not only encouraged literacy but it integrated the languages from other countries. Beginning at the end of the 17th century, a law was passed requiring all adults in the kingdom of Sweden to be able to read Luther's Small Catechism (Sjögren 1997:51). In addition to the high literacy rate, in former centuries Sweden was involved with other languages and cultures. Earlier attitudes toward Germans in the Middle Ages and the Walloons in the seventeenth century, appears to have been positive, "Then speaking another language was associated with high socioeconomic status. At one point a third of the inhabitants of Stockholm were Germans" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983:131).

Following the early language contact with migrating groups from neighboring European countries, Sweden experienced a significant two-hundred-year lull in migration. Until the mid-twentieth century, Sweden's language had been somewhat sheltered, "A country with two centuries of sheltered history is now being dragged into the whirlpool of globalization" (Sjögren 1997:43). In Sweden's language policy we can see an attempt to react to the globalization faced in the second half of the 1900s. However, quickly

adjusting the language policy in Sweden has been a struggle amid, "150 years of western public school system, based on the ideology of one people, one nation, and the supremacy of one national language" (Sjögren 1997:43).

Charles Westin suggests that Sweden's nationalism has also taken the form of a nationalist myth. This myth implies that, "Sweden used to be an ethnically homogenous nation" (Westin 1998a:6-7). Outlining Sweden's centuries of history with other cultures (Walloons, Finns, and Germans) Westin goes on to address the importance of the German language upon the development of the Swedish language. Westin claims that the "conception of a lost cultural homogeneity is mistaken" (1998a:8). He sees the myth of a lost cultural homogeneity as a tool for national propagandists who would use it to promote a strong centralized power in order to crush "provincial or ethnic opposition" (1998a:8). The nationalism that is sweeping Sweden aims to sell an image of a nation state united by one dominant language, culture, people, and political system (Westin 1998a:8).

Benedict Anderson (1991) defines a nation as, "an imagined political community--and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). Nations are imagined as inherently limited (geographically) and sovereign (this replaces earlier concepts of a dynastic realm) (1991:7). In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson traces the birth of nationality and cites as influencing factors Latin's decline in Europe, printed material in the vernacular (the novel and the newspaper), and the condition of *simultaneity* which transformed social groups into nationalities (1991:25). The cultural systems which preceeded nationalism were: 1.) the religious community, and 2.) the dynastic realm (Anderson 1991:12). Prior to the concept of the nation, classical communities thought they were central in the universe; this harkened to the concepts in the dynastic realms.

Before nationalism, social groups were hierarchical instead of boundary-oriented (Anderson 1991:15). The myth of an ethnically homogenous Swedish national identity as referred to by Westin (1998a:6-7) is an example of the modern evolution of "nationalism" as described by Anderson, "Nationalism is the pathology of modern developmental history" (1991:5).

Jarmo Lainio (1997) pinpoints how common rhetoric in Sweden now describes Sweden as a historically monolingual society which should remain linguistically and culturally homogenous. This rhetorical debate ignores that Sweden has a diverse history and a linguistically heterogeneous background. Lainio claims that Sweden's current linguistic quandry--what to do with its linguistic minorities--was at one time simply believed to be a temporary issue. The situation with Sweden's linguistic minorities was seen as temporary because it was the general assumption that guest workers and earlier groups of refugees would repatriate and return to their countries eventually. But in the late-1960s, it was evident that the linguistic situation of the immigrants needed to be handled with special attention. The migrant children's linguistic abilities brought alarming reports of "mutistic" Finnish children, for example (Lainio 1997:31). The Swedish children were also uncomfortable with the migrant children receiving so much extra attention and detracting from regular class sessions.

The initiation of the Swedification program, which started ca. 1870, created a type of "subculture of silence" for the Finns in Sweden (Jaakkola 1976:73). Finnish schools were eliminated in the 1920s when there was a spread of nationalism and forced assimilation; the Swedish language was the guarantor of national homogeneity. With the Finnish language being repressed, the Finns in Sweden began to develop significant

feelings of inferiority and isolation. The forced assimilation had devastating effects on Finnish children in schools.

With the influx of immigrants to Sweden in the 1960s, decisions had to be made about how to incorporate them into a society which, by European standards, "had been unusually homogenous both culturally and linguistically" for a period of time (McNab 1989:68). Adjustments were needed in Sweden regarding the treatment of its minorities, "The first era [of Sweden's official language policy and treatment toward minorities], directly after the war to the middle of the 1960s, can perhaps best be described as one of neglect. Problems such as housing and language instruction [were] handled and settled by the immigrants themselves, perhaps with the help of their employers" (Engelbrektsson 1995:47-48). To work toward positive change, a large-scale program for free Swedish-language instruction was started in 1965; at this time, forced linguistic assimilation was still implemented. In 1966, resources were allocated for auxiliary teaching of foreign or stateless students. However, in this reform, the national minorities were not specifically mentioned (McNab 1989:70). Parliament adopted a bill providing for special tuition in Swedish and other subjects for immigrant school children in 1968 (Swedish Institute 1997:3).

During the 1960s, "the main emphasis of Swedish taboos moved from sexuality to "race," skin color, criminality, and illnesses" (Dahlstedt 1976:31). Sweden faced a significant social adaptation with increased linguistic and ethnic diversity in the 1960s. To a large extent, the taboo of referring to "race" and skin color coincided with Sweden's inability to constructively manage diversity in the first decade of refugee influx in the 1960s, "The Swedish people and government had very little experience to draw on when

deciding how to treat the new immigrants from such diverse cultural backgrounds" (McNab 1989:69).

As noted by Lainio (1997), the 1970s still marked a time when Sweden experienced an assimilationist ideology toward immigrant languages. In the late 1970s, this softened into an "integrationist policy" (Lainio 1997:29). However, beginning in the 1980s, the turn back to assimilationism was evident and by the early 1990s a negative, regressive position toward bilingual education and cultural pluralism prevailed, "when severe cutbacks were launched at both mother tongue and second language instruction" (Lainio 1997:29).

In the 1970s, the ideology of "active bilingualism" took shape which, according to Lainio was, "based on a right to choose limited home language instruction" (1997:31). The concept of the minority was at the forefront of the 1970s language policy agenda as well. However, as Lainio suggests, the concept of minority, "was almost banned from public documentation in the early 1980s" (1997:31). This is particularly the case for Sweden's largest minority population, the Finns. According to Lainio, the political and educational denial of Sweden having any group of minority status left the Finns in a "no man's land" (1997:31). The regression experienced in Sweden's conservative nationalistic movement which began in the 1980s has been felt in Sweden's Finnish population, in particular, with the Tornedalians (the Finnish-speaking population between the border of Finland and Sweden) (Lainio 1997:32).

In 1974, a study was conducted to assess the education of immigrants in Sweden (McNab 1989:70). The results of this study as well as experience during the 1960s and early 1970s made it clear that special programs were necessary for immigrant children in

order to provide them with equal educational opportunity. In Sweden, four language models sprang up in schools across the nation: 1) home language classes, 2) preparatory classes for students not having a common foreign language, 3) mixed classes (Swedes and one other language minority), and 4) combined classes (Swedes and various other language minorities) (Linde 1986:284).

The positive effects of the 1975 language and social reform were evident throughout Sweden. The policy in Sweden aimed, "to support cultural ties, at the same time it stresses that every child [and adult] should be given the opportunity to learn Swedish well and to feel part of Swedish society. This means that Sweden has changed its official policy completely from what it was in the late 1960s" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983:133). The official policy toward the immigrants in Sweden was first characterized by the melting pot philosophy, but this gradually gave way to a more pluralistic view and emphasized the immigrant's rights to maintain their native culture and language. But the progress in the 1970s regarding immigrant linguistic education was not easily sustained, "This objective has brought the problems of bilingual education to the fore" (Nordberg 1976:10).

The study of 1974 also led to the reform of 1975, "which made it obligatory for local authorities to arrange home language training (preschool) and home language instruction (school) for immigrant children and young persons desiring such amenities" (McNab 1989:70). The bill passed by Parliament in 1975 provided new guidelines for policy in general toward immigrants and ethnic minorities with three objectives, "*equality* between immigrants and Swedes, *freedom of cultural choice* for immigrants, and

cooperation and solidarity between the native Swedish majority and ethnic minorities" (Swedish Institute 1997:3).

Presently, there are 32 national immigrant organizations and Sweden continues to support minority languages through allocated funds. Special programs have been developed to foster minority languages, for example, public libraries have funds available to purchase foreign literature (Swedish Institute 1997:3). In theory, the language policy in Sweden stresses pluralism, supports multicultural issues, and emphasizes equality. An example of the attempt at equality in Sweden is the right to vote for non-natives who have resided in Sweden for three years (Swedish Institute 1997:4).

Yet, despite the strides taken to promote equality for Sweden's linguistic minorities, Sweden's language policy is caught at an impasse between theory and practice. Today, Sweden still suffers from an unwillingness to openly research and discuss problems related with diversification. The universities are a good marker of this slow coming to grips with the real issues faced with rapid diversification, "Although efforts are being made to establish migration and ethnicity studies as a field of academic inquiry, the old universities in particular are slow, almost to the extent of being unwilling, to accept this development and to reserve economic means" (Westin 1997:3).

Segregated minorities

Ann Runfors suggests that Sweden's present perplexity over the fears and tendencies toward exclusion of linguistic minorities is similar to many other countries who house new immigrant populations. One strategy used by Sweden, however, has been to make a clear distinction between Swedish nationals and others, "In popular discourse

people are grouped mainly into two categories: Swedes or immigrants (*invandrare*)" (Runfors 1997:105). Runfors admits that the distinction *invandrare* (minorities) is a problematic category which in itself has exclusive connotations. Everyone not Swedish is lumped into the "other" classification (Runfors 1997:105).

In analyzing segregation, Runfors (1997) surveyed Swedish teachers' perspectives within Sweden regarding the immigrant situation. According to the study, Runfors found that teachers were concerned about two significant aspects of their immigrant students: the children's living environment and their low proficiency in Swedish (Runfors 1997:108). Runfors found that for the teachers, having their students learn Swedish was an explicit and common goal. In her final analysis, Runfors found the teachers vehemently advocating Swedish language acquisition, "Swedish and Swedishness are regarded by the teachers, not only as goals in themselves, but as weapons in a struggle against inequality and injustice" (1997:108). To give their students an "equal" opportunity in society, mastering the Swedish language was the key factor expressed by Swedish teachers¹. However, where does this leave bilingual education, cultural pluralism, and multiculturalism?

Bilingual education and the semilingualism debate

An earlier study by Britt Ingrid Stockfelt-Hoatson (1977) advocated bilingual teaching to preschool children in Sweden. Stockfelt-Hoatson supported the linguistic rights of immigrants, who, according to her argument, suffered from inadequate schooling

1. As Runfors writes, "During the 1990s a very powerful discourse has been established in Sweden concerning the overriding importance of mastering "proper" Swedish. In this discourse the Swedish language has been elected as the key to inclusion in Swedish society" (Runfors 1997:12).

within the Swedish educational system (1977:119). The following is a definition by Stockfelt-Hoatson of the consequences of linguistic assimilation of immigrant children in Sweden:

"The immigrant child becomes, under such conditions, easily isolated from the community of peers. Thereby the basis is laid for lasting difficulties at school. The strain of learning Swedish, alongside everything else that is new when starting school, often becomes overwhelming. The child cannot show its proper capacity as regards knowledge and ability. As time goes by it may become increasingly difficult to catch up with one's Swedish-speaking schoolmates. The fateful result can be weak self-respect, mistrust of one's own ability or of one's group with its language and cultural characteristics" (1978:28).

According to Stockfelt-Hoatson, her research with preschool immigrant children in Norrköping led her to conclude that children must be allowed to develop their mother tongue before reasonable development of a second language. In her longitudinal analysis, she found that children who developed their mother tongue first scored higher scholastically than others (1977:124). In her writings, Stockfelt-Hoatson was a visionary for what type of bilingual education could take place within Sweden and the optimistic tone of her writing was a reflection of this hope. Stockfelt-Hoatson advocated for early language maintenance among the immigrant children's groups and she supported linguistic pluralism during the teaching of the child's first language.

Stockfelt-Hoatson's earlier findings were in agreement with the 1970s language policy ideology toward immigrant education in Sweden. At the time, Sweden sought to politically and economically support cultural pluralism amid its immigrant groups. The mother tongue programs and the home school programs are a reflection of this ideology. The Swedish government also invested resources into training the teachers who could work as home school instructors to the rapidly growing ethnically diverse student

populations. Likewise, it was Stockfelt-Hoatson's final recommendation that the teachers should be trained to see the needs of each immigrant group, that teachers should be competent in the immigrant languages, and that the students should be taught in small groups. This ideological dream of language maintenance existed in Sweden from the 1970s into the mid-1980s. The linguistic utopian society was supported by the centralized Swedish government and its existence continued until the era of decentralization in the early 1990s when the municipalities gained control of the funds and direction of special education.

The basic assumption of the mother tongue ideology is that the program is key to the total cognitive, social, and affective development of the child. Some Swedish researchers believe that the mother tongue program needs to be performed prior to integration into the Swedish classroom, "The mother tongue must be established before another language can be introduced without harm. Because of the assumed harmfulness of early bilingualism, children must be protected from exposure to another language" (Ekstrand 1983:143). However valid this attitude toward second language learning is, it has been an issue in Sweden since the 1960s. The debate developed in 1968 with the use of the term semilingualism, "the term semilingualism means imperfect learning of two languages, a defective bilingualism into which the child is trapped by too early exposure to more than one language" (McNab 1989:80). McNab and other researchers viewed the semilingualism debate as particularly relevant to the situation concerning language acquisition in Sweden among immigrant children.

The semilingualism debate gave rise to anxiety about possible negative effects of bilingualism and influenced the development of the various styles of home language

education. The debate lost credibility for Swedish researchers in the 1980s while, ironically, it was promoted through mass media, "At the same time that semilingualism was being discredited as a linguistic or social phenomena, it was being popularized in the mass media. Some parents, worried about their children's intellectual, linguistic and psychological development, demanded monolingual education for their children. Other parents responded by not using their mother tongue at home so that their children would not become confused" (McNab 1989:81). The semilingualism debate led researchers and policy makers to, "neglect the educational problems of the majority of home language pupils, that is, those who are enrolled in ordinary Swedish classes" (McNab 1989:83).

Jarmo Lainio (1997) also calls attention to the debate over semilingualism in Sweden in the 1980s. The fear in semilingualism was that the children learning Swedish would be unable to learn Swedish as well as their mother tongue. The debate was first used to push for bilingual education, but it was soon used against the mother tongue program. The home language programs in Sweden began receiving cutbacks in the 1980s. Sweden's Immigrant Committee opted for a reworking of the entire immigrant educational system. The result was a cut by one-third of financing to the home-language teaching in several communities. Lainio states, "Many teachers lost their jobs and some languages lost all of their teachers" (1997:34). Continuing into the 1990s, the debate still attacked the home language programs and the question as to whether the municipalities should fund free schools often surfaced.

In summary, the pluralistic ideology that affected language policy in Sweden in the 1970s to mid-1980s took a conservative turn in the mid-1980s. The semilingualism debate used a fear tactic to reduce the support of bilingual education. Swedish policy makers

skeptically viewed home language instruction of immigrant groups in Sweden. Doubts were planted in the minds of Swedish educators and administrators regarding bilingual education when budget cuts and Swedish-assimilationist approaches became active in the 1990s. The teachers argued that they were trying to give the immigrant children an "equal" opportunity in Swedish society by forcing Swedish language acquisition. The semilingualism debate assumed that minority children would be disadvantaged by learning their own language as well as Swedish.

Stockfelt-Hoatson's findings in the 1970s promote the acquisition of an immigrant child's mother tongue before Swedish language training. The current practice of early childhood education in the language kindergarten in Botkyrka does not support Stockfelt-Hoatson's recommendations nor does the pedagogic practice encourage bilingualism. The arguments against bilingualism in Sweden intertwine these themes: too little money in the educational system; not enough qualified teachers; immigrants are threats to the national homogeneity of the Swedish empire; immigrant children are subject to cognitive deformity if they are overwhelmed by the training in two or more languages; and learning only Swedish will give the immigrant children an "equal" footing with Swedish nationals. The overlapping contradictions in these themes reveal a struggle in the Swedish educational system between human rights and the advancement of the state.

Minority education in Sweden

Minority education in Sweden includes three facets of special education provisions for home language pupils: home language instruction, tutorial, and Swedish as a second language. The term 'Swedish as a second language' has been officially used since 1985

(McNab 1989:67). Specifically, to promote home language learning, Sweden has developed the mother tongue program, "The mother tongue program carried out by the schools aims to encourage the children to retain and develop their mother tongue while learning Swedish--60,000 pupils have been helped in 60 different languages from pre-K to upper secondary" (Swedish Institute 1997:4).

In Stockholm as in the rest of Sweden, the majority of home language students are placed in regular Swedish classrooms. Home language students then miss certain hours to receive special training, "They are absent for one or two hours a week in order to have lessons with their home language teacher and may also be absent for home language [instruction] in their other subjects and for Swedish as a second language lessons" (McNab 1989:75). Swedish as a second language coupled with home language instruction is important. In some areas of Sweden (e.g. northern Stockholm) 65% of the population are non-native Swedish speakers (Arnberg 1990:231).

An earlier study by Sally Boyd (1985) investigated the situation and future prospects of immigrant minority languages in Sweden by investigating immigrant youth between the ages of 14-16 (29). Boyd conducted interviews with the immigrant children and found the most salient environment to observe the competition between the minority language and Swedish to be within the home, "it is primarily within the home that Swedish and the minority language compete with one another for domination" (1985:69). Boyd hypothesized that the future use of minority languages could be predicted within Sweden based upon the utilization of the minority languages by second-generation immigrant youth. The language shift that Boyd described, is also referred to as linguistic assimilation (1985:1). The linguistic assimilation of Sweden's minority groups, according to Boyd's

argument, results in active bilingualism disappearing after the second generation of immigrants.

Boyd crafted her argument of language shift and maintenance with the use of socioeconomic factors. Boyd correlated the immigrants' educational background with the outcome of language contact (1985:8). On a socioeconomic scale, Boyd claimed higher status occupations will lead the way for language shift (1985:14). Another factor contributing to language shift or maintenance is the situation in the immigrants' homeland. Boyd cited Joshua Fishman's (1966:ch 1) contribution to the theory of attitudes toward the homeland affecting language shift or maintenance. According to this argument, the more poor and rural homeland the immigrant comes from, the less ethnic consciousness they possess, resulting in a more probable language shift (Boyd 1985:8). However, if the linguistic minority is consisting of large numbers, isolated, and living out of reach from the majority language community, this will help solidify language maintenance (1985:30). In addition, the social factors of the language majority's attitudes toward the minority language will also affect the language contact (1985:9). When language contact is established between the majority and minority language groups, the result is either language maintenance or language shift. A central factor, according to Boyd, in language maintenance or shift in many contexts is, "the power relationship between the language groups" (1985:13).

Problems with minority education have developed in Sweden, specifically, in regard to the home language learning program. There are problems with recruitment, training and conditions of service of the teachers, the provision of suitable instructional materials and classrooms, and the enrollment of students, "When home language

instruction became compulsory, the most immediate problem was recruitment of teachers" (McNab 1989:78). Also, there are funding issues for home language programs. With only 8.8 million people in Sweden, the pool of regional Swedish applicants to teach 60+ different languages is limited. The availability of good material imported from abroad is also an issue. The language material in the native language may not be in accordance with Swedish standards, or, "with the stated aims of the Swedish curriculum nor with the values of the immigrants to Sweden" (McNab 1989:78).

The way that the bilingual primary school teachers are taught in Sweden has been in response to the 1987-88 bilingual education reform. Lainio suggests that the new method of practice encourages "Perfect Swedish" and this has, "resulted in an almost total extinction of the whole mother tongue teacher training" (1997:36). As we can see, Sweden has undergone several phases in its approach to bilingual education: assimilationist prior to the 1970s, a brief integration period, and later a conservative approach beginning in the mid-1980s.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1988), a leading scholar and somewhat controversial activist for minority language rights in Sweden has been actively illuminating the issue of minority linguistic asymmetry in Sweden through the use of the term **linguicism**: *ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (on the basis of their mother tongues)* (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988:13). Skutnabb-Kangas' term *linguicism* is an obvious calque of the word "racism." Though Sweden has taken strides at becoming a multicultural society, Skutnabb-Kangas attributes the school failings of Sweden's minority students to be caused

by Sweden's nationalistic approach to language learning: 80% of Sweden's immigrants are taught Swedish through submersion programs (1988:26). The bottom line for Skutnabb-Kangas is that minority languages in Sweden are not receiving equal treatment to that of the Swedish language. The language shift that is taking place in Sweden among its minority populations is not merely a result of economic practicalities or budget cuts--it is a result and a sign of increased nationalism.

John Ogbu (1997) addresses the impact of power relations between linguistic minorities and the majority group. His work, "is a warning for Sweden, showing that the motivation essential to a proper acquisition of the majority language is dependent on the patterns of power relations in the wider society" (Ogbu 1997:17). It is the power relations between Sweden's linguistic minorities and the dominant Swedish culture that are central to the argument of bilingual education. For immigrant children to want to acquire the Swedish language, the power dynamic within the school must be favorably conducive to inclusively train the children.

In 1994, the Swedish Immigration Board placed the learning responsibility of the Swedish language on each individual immigrant. According to this report, the learning of the Swedish language is to be seen as a lifelong duty and it is the responsibility of each individual immigrant child and adult. The following is taken from the 1994 Swedish Immigration Board report:

"Instruction in Swedish for young people and adults with another mother-tongue must be so organized as to make it possible to learn the language step-by-step until full control is achieved. At the same time participation in courses and/or learning by oneself must be considered as an obligation for everyone who resides in this country and is self-responsible. A sort of lifelong "duty" to learn Swedish needs to be asserted for all people living here" (Sjögren 1997:52).

The implications within the board's report place learning the Swedish language at the forefront of an immigrant's responsibility. Where does this position bilingual education in Sweden? Sjögren suggests that a "gloomy atmosphere" is invading the home-language teachers in Sweden due to budget cuts imposed upon mother tongue programs (1997:62). Meanwhile, the number of minority students is on the increase. Sjögren asserts, "In times of economic difficulties, ignoring the voices of experts who report on the benefits of bilingual education for acquiring a good proficiency in the second language, critics of home-language teaching have an easy time evoking the importance of learning Swedish first and foremost" (1997:62).

In 1995, an official mandate came down from the Immigrant Policy Committee confirming that only 13 languages could be used in communal mother tongue classes. Also, the home language reform of 1995 stipulated that only Finnish could be taught beyond the first seven years of primary school (Lainio 1997:35). The conservative sweep continues to affect the current language policy within Sweden. Lainio points out that the Swedish political system and the Swedish labor market have, "paid little attention in practice to the potential of multilingualism and the educational support for this" (1997:35).

Early childhood language immersion programs

Age-appropriate models of foreign language acquisition within Canada have been based on immersion programs where, within the first three to four years, teachers do not speak the majority language (English) in order to help the children become bilingual (in French) (Rosanova 1997:2). This particular method is known as the "early immersion"

program. The Canadian immersion programs use the target language for the teaching of all regular school subjects. Omaggio Hadley (1993) cites Genesee's (1985) definition of Canada's three varying levels of immersion programs as "early immersion," "delayed immersion," and "late immersion" with the following:

"The first is called "early immersion," where the first two, three, or four grades of schooling are done completely in French, followed by a gradual incorporation of English-language instruction up until the six grade, when instruction in the two languages is evenly divided. The second model is "delayed immersion," where students in fourth and fifth grade receive instruction in French, followed by a reintegration into the regular English-language curriculum in subsequent grades. The third model is "late immersion," beginning with all-French instruction in seventh or eighth grade usually following one year of "core French," which consists of a daily period of language instruction in an otherwise English-language curriculum" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:154).

Similar to the Canadian immersion program is a method used in a Montessori school in Illinois, Intercultura Montessori School. Intercultura is based on the Canadian immersion method where the target language (e.g. Spanish, French, Italian, and Japanese) is used by the teachers for all instruction in place of the standard language, English. Most of the students do not speak the target language, however, there are invariably students who do speak the foreign language of instruction (e.g. Spanish) and in such a case, the learning environment is considered a "dual language" program or a "two-way bilingual" program (Rosanova 1997:2). Critics of the pedagogical combination of Montessori method and early childhood foreign language acquisition question utilizing, "an antiquated, anti-developmental model like Montessori... children are forced to work alone on sterile individual projects. There is no social interaction and fantasy play is actively discouraged: so there is little if any possibility of normal language development, even in the child's first language" (Rosanova 1997:5). However, Rosanova maintains a positive

position on the methods incorporated in the Intercultura Montessori School and strongly advocates the natural ability of children to acquire language in their 'absorbent mind' developmental stage, "Given the right conditions, it is not normal for small children not to become functionally bilingual" (1997:7).

The key phrase in Rosanova's emphasis on age-appropriate foreign language acquisition is "given the right conditions." What are the right conditions of early childhood foreign language programs? Intercultura undoubtedly invests time and attention in the details of the Montessori method, teacher training, and student evaluations of the evolving program. Outside factors also influence the "right conditions" of Intercultura. For a program such as Intercultura, first, the socioeconomic level of children attending the school is heightened by its private school status allowing for more individual attention by guides and teachers. Secondly, the incentive for parents to school their children at Intercultura is based on a hobby-like function with little pressure to succeed beyond academic performance. Lastly, the children's daily language functioning outside of the school is not resting upon the success or failure of the students' foreign language acquisition.

Intercultura is an example of a *want-based* program where the clients selectively school and finance their children's early childhood foreign language of a minority language. The language kindergarten of my case study is an example of a *need-based* program where parents, based on varying levels of unemployment, send their children to kindergarten three hours a day to facilitate the learning of the standard language of the host country (Swedish) while their minority languages are unused in the immersion program. The immersion program at Intercultura targets the minority language; the

immersion program at the language kindergarten in Botkyrka utilizes the standard language of Swedish. To communicate with the parents and off-campus public, educators at Intercultura can speak English, whereas, at the language kindergarten in Botkyrka, educators only speak Swedish even with parents who do not know Swedish.

Placing second-language acquisition on a continuum

Prior to postmodernism, scholarly debate involving second-language acquisition chose one of two camps: *rationalism* or *empiricism*. Neatly stated, "The rationalist position assumes that humans have an innate capacity for the development of language, and that we are genetically programmed to develop our linguistic systems in certain ways... [empiricists] maintain that it is the learner's experience that is largely responsible for language learning and is more important than any specific innate capacity" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:44). Rationalism and empiricism can also be assigned to the worn arguments of nature versus nurture. Following the theoretical principles within rationalism, in 1965, Noam Chomsky, "had concluded that children were born with some kind of special language processing ability and had proposed the existence of a "language acquisition device" (LAD)" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:48). According to Chomsky, children's ability to develop grammar and acquire language was governed by universal principles, and these principles, "constitute their "core grammar," which is congruent with general principles operating across all languages" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:49).

Today, the general view by researchers, academics, and educators in the fields of linguistics and foreign language instruction condense the nature versus nurture argument based upon one pivotal factor: the *individual*. Paramount to language learning is the

situation of the individual student who is being challenged with the task of second-language acquisition, "Most scholars and practitioners in the field today agree that both the rate and the degree of success of second-language learning is affected by individual learner differences. Many also believe that learner factors such as age, aptitude, attitude, motivation, personality, cognitive style, and preferred learning strategies need to be considered in any comprehensive theory of second-language acquisition" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:63). Likewise, individual factors effect the language acquisition of the children in my case study in Botkyrka.

Marjorie Faulstich Orellana (1994) performed a qualitative study in the United States to investigate the transition from the monolingual home (Spanish) to the bilingual school (English and Spanish) for preschool children. According to her study, "the children actively construct their own uses of and attitudes toward the two languages from complex influences" (Faulstich Orellana 1994:1). The data in Faulstich Orellana's study suggested that the children at first used predominantly Spanish with peer and teacher interactions. However, three years later, the children spoke no Spanish spontaneously with other children, their parents, or their teachers. The children had become limited in their ability to express themselves fully in Spanish despite prior fluency. The children ranged between apathy to hostility toward their mother tongue, Spanish, despite their bilingual instruction.

Faulstich Orellana describes one girl's situation to be indicative of their outcomes, "the way in which the negativity is expressed suggests that she has internalized attitudes toward Spanish that abound in the larger society, and that she is seeking at some level to establish their own identity by separating herself from those who speak Spanish" (1994:10). Faulstich Orellana's study acknowledges the individual choice by each student

to favor English over Spanish while calling attention to macro influences at large in society that have caused the children to come to this decision. The political atmosphere in society toward a minority language impacts the individual's choice to retain or replace the minority language, "In the field of minority and language policy there will always prevail a value conflict between intentions to guarantee the survival of minorities and the aim to avoid segregation" (Allardt 1987:49).

In 1990, a theory known as the "Cognitive Anti-Method," a rationalist or mentalist perspective, was evaluated by Rod Ellis; this theory was originally formulated by Newmark and Reibel (1968). The first major characteristic in the "Cognitive Anti-Method" theory pinpoints a key aspect of modern language instruction, "'Second language learning is controlled by the learner rather than by the teacher" (from Ellis 1990, pp. 35)" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:99). The individual has evolved full circle in rational language acquisition theory and presently, according to the "Cognitive Anti-Method" theory, a student's success in second-language acquisition is self-determined rather than controlled by the teacher.

However, the usage of age-appropriate materials are controlled by the teacher. The class composition, the methods, and the means of instruction are within the teacher's control. The teacher's individual bias and experience influence the lesson conveyed to the class. The teacher transmits individual bias and societal values at a conscious and unconscious level to foreign language students. Though language acquisition is accepted cognitively and emotively by the student, the inspirational knowledge to learn a language is gifted by the teacher to the student. In language learning, objectives need to be predetermined by the teacher. Shall teachers impart the ability to perform the language or

shall they provide language competency? Namely, "Competence is what one *knows*. Performance is what one *does* (from Savignon (1983))" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:5). The functionality of language should be the primary objective; competency over grammatical perfection, context over syntax. As Omaggio Hadley cites Terrell, "I suggest that the level of competence needed for minimal communication acceptable to native speakers is much lower than that supposed by most teachers. Specifically, I suggest that if we are to raise our expectations for oral competence in communication we must lower our expectations for structural accuracy" (from Terrell 1977, pp. 326)" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:109).

Terrell's approach is known as the "Natural Approach Theory." Specifically, Terrell (1982) outlines the "Natural Approach Theory" with the following:

"Terrell suggested that initial classroom instruction involve listening comprehension activities... At first, simplified speech or "foreigner talk" is used. This type of speech has the following characteristics:

- a. a slower rate, with clear articulation, diminished contractions, longer pauses, and extra volume;
- b. the use of explanations, paraphrases, gestures, and pictures to define new words or concepts;
- c. simplification of syntax and the use of redundancy;
- d. the use of yes/no questions, tag questions, forced choice questions (either/or), and questions with a sample answer provided (from Terrell 1982, pp. 123)" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:109).

Within Terrell's support of "The Natural Approach" the following premise is included, "Teachers should afford students the opportunity to acquire language rather than force them to learn it' (from Terrell 1977, pp. 329)" (Omaggio Hadley 1993:109). In the case of refugee or immigrant children, the incentive to learn the standard language of the host country is not always an individual choice. The necessity of bilingual education to couch

the learning experience is of utmost importance for early language learners. Children should be afforded the opportunity to choose their preferred vehicle of communication during their formative years of preschool and early childhood education.

Age-appropriate foreign language acquisition (the preschool years)

The United States Department of Education published a report in March of 1999 by Roy Fernandez that provided specific guidelines for teachers and educators promoting bilingual education among preschool children. The report is contextualized within the United States educational system, but the theory behind age-appropriate foreign language acquisition can be applied to any country. Fernandez supports bilingual education and sees it as a vital aspect to the development of minority preschoolers, "when children are able to learn through their own language, they bring their way of knowing to the task as well as having the opportunity to validate their traditions, values, and attitudes" (1999:6). Fernandez defends bilingual education in the face of English-only advocates who aim to "help" the children by a forced-assimilationist methodology, "Rather than affirming the advantages of bilingualism, viewing it as an asset, some school programs view bilingualism as detrimental to children's development, and under the guise of "helping the children" begin direct, passive, drill-oriented English language instruction" (1999:7).

Fernandez borrows the definition of bilingual education from Colin Baker (1995) by writing that bilingual education is, "a program of instruction that uses and promotes two languages in the education of minority children" (1999:8). In creating an effective bilingual education program, Fernandez advocates that educators, "couch this bilingual education approach in a developmentally appropriate early childhood curriculum"

(1999:9). The advantages of an age-appropriate bilingual education program serve to aid effective communication as well as linguistic, cognitive, and social-emotional health for the children (1999:9). Fernandez cites Soto (1991) and Wong-Fillmore (1991) as two authors who have offered the negative results of non-bilingual education, "the loss of the children's home language may result in the disruption of family communication patterns, which may lead to the loss of intergenerational wisdom; damage to individual and community esteem; and children's potential non-mastery of their home language or English [the standard language]" (1999:10).

Specifically, the age-appropriate curriculum that Fernandez advocates allows cultural and individual development to be mutually embedded (1999:12). For teachers to be effective supporters of bilingual education, the teacher education programs must include the following:

"(a) provide opportunities and encourage their faculty and all teacher education students to reflect on their own values, beliefs, and theories, that are shaping their professional practice with all children and students; (b) include experiences for all teacher education students to intern at community based organizations serving culturally and linguistically different families; (c) include experiences (either coursework or field internships) that immerse all teacher education students in effective ways of working with non-English [nonstandard language] speaking young children; and (d) encourage all teacher education students to become pedagogically proficient in a language other than English [the standard language]" (Fernandez 1999:18).

To be an effective environment for the transmission of bilingual education, preschools must include the following:

"(a) have a systematic bilingual education program in place, that is inclusive of the components of bilingual education, including multicultural education practices, children's native language and culture, [standard language] component and has involved all staff and local community in its design; (b) provide ongoing support to all staff in developing and nurturing the

bilingual program; (c) have a systematic recruitment effort that is culturally sensitive as a means of increasing formal childcare settings; and (d) make a conscientious effort in diversifying its staff and personnel practices" (Fernandez 1999:18-19).

Language shift and maintenance

In defining language shift, I refer to its definition as written by Ralph Fasold (1992) in which, "a community gives up a language completely in favor of another one" (213). In the case of non-Swedish speaking immigrants, language shift results in a monolingual Swedish community over the space of a few generations. Language maintenance, on the other hand, leads to a bilingual community. In the case of bilingualism, there is a conscious choice by an individual or a community to have a working knowledge of two languages simultaneously. The term *diglossia* as described by Joshua Fishman exists within a bilingual community in that, "it refers to the distribution of more than one language variety to serve different communicational tasks in a society" (Fasold 1992:40, cited Fishman 1972d). Diglossia grows out of a bilingual community in which one language is given preference for different occasions over another language. In a diglossic situation, one language is also given higher status than the other language(s). However, diglossia differs from bilingualism, "in that it [diglossia] represents an enduring societal arrangement, extending at least beyond a three generation period, such that two "languages" each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implemented functions" (Fishman 1985:39).

Anthropological studies done on language shift and maintenance in Sweden highlight some of the current and recent debates on the diglossic situation multilingualism has brought to Sweden, mainly, in the context of immigrant languages in relation to the

Swedish language. For example, as noted earlier, the Finnish language has struggled to gain the same foothold of status and function that the Swedish language holds within Sweden. This is an example of a diglossic situation: Swedish has a higher status value and function than Finnish within Swedish society. As a result of the new waves of immigrant populations, anthropologists have been evaluating the linguistic situations within Sweden in a complex time of multiculturalism, bilingualism, language shift, and language maintenance.

For the following discussion on language shift in Sweden, the situation of the immigrant² population will be taken into account. Specifically, Turks and Finns are intriguing to discuss since both groups have fluctuated between the category of refugees and immigrants. However, the Finns share phenotypical and cultural similarities with the Swedes while the Turks truly came to Sweden as a new ethnicity religiously, phenotypically, and culturally.

Turkish language and culture in Sweden

Turks comprise the ninth largest minority group in Sweden (Swedish Institute 1997:8). The Turks are one of the minority groups in Sweden who first came as guest workers while a later wave arrived as refugees, "The migration from Turkey to Sweden has been varied. In addition to the major form involving labor, there has also been

2. In Billy Ehn's chapter, "Migration and Cultural Complexity: Interviewing in Multi-Ethnic Sweden" the use of the term *immigrant* is surrounded by parentheses to indicate an inclusive combination of both refugee and immigrant groups, "Out of a population of eight million, about one million people living in Sweden are today counted as "immigrants," people coming from more than a hundred different nations" (Ehn, et al. 1990:23).

immigration of Christians from an ethnic minority in Eastern Turkey and another of Kurdish refugees" (Engelbrektsson 1995:51). In the 1970s and 1980s, the Turkish immigrants participated in earlier forms of minority education in Sweden. The concept of the "home language" was to provide the children with a, "living feature of the home environment", namely, mother tongue instruction (Engelbrektsson 1995:49). In 1979, at least 1,296 Turkish children out of 1,585 who attended the Swedish comprehensive school, participated in home language instruction (Engelbrektsson 1995:49).

In Lisbeth Sachs' case study (1983) of Turkish medical practices, several issues of miscommunication caused by cultural and language differences were addressed. In regard to medical treatment, the refugee or immigrant who does not have a command of Swedish is very vulnerable to be misinterpreted. Sachs describes the frustration and isolation that Turkish women have experienced when going to the doctor and attempting to receive medical treatment while using an interpreter. Until the Turks gain fluency in Swedish, they are dependent upon the use of translators.

Often times, the interpreter omits portions of the Turkish dialogue which do not translate into Swedish. Likewise, the interpreter does not inform the Turkish women of all that is communicated by the Swedish doctors, "Turkish women must use an interpreter at the doctor--leading to great misinterpretations. As the case study suggests, interpreters do not correctly translate the information--if not completely omit information that they subjectively think is not of importance" (Sachs 1983:6). According to Sachs, "the Swedish word *sjukdom* carries a meaning for all types of illness, not making a distinction between ailments, while other countries [like Turkey] have great distinctions" (1983:17). Turkish women were targeted in Sachs' case study because they are responsible for their own, as

well as their children's, health care, thus representing a significant issue of linguistic difficulties for minority groups in Sweden to receive proper health care.

The miscommunication between Turks and Swedes is not only linguistic as demonstrated in the Sachs study, but it is also social. Boyd and Naucner (1997) investigated the norms between the way Turkish and Swedish preschool children at home and in school tell a story. The results were astonishingly different. Boyd and Naucner found that while Swedish preschool children have been socialized to take turns with adults telling and listening to the story, Turkish children only listen to the story (Boyd and Naucner 1997:129). The language socialization that the Turkish children are subjected to within the Swedish educational system, consequently, differs from their cultural background.

Boyd and Naucner (1997) aimed at dispelling popular myths surrounding the Turkish children's scholastic problems. As stated by Boyd and Naucner, these myths suggest, "that children from certain backgrounds fail in school because the culture of the family is not literacy-oriented or school-oriented, or there is a conflict between the pedagogical culture of the parents' country of origin and that of the host country, or there is a norm conflict between how children should behave in a school context in the parents' country of origin and how they should behave in a Swedish school" (1997:131). In correcting these myths, Boyd and Naucner point to significant communicative differences between the way Turkish and Swedish children are culturally conditioned--by their mothers and their Swedish teachers--to relate to storytelling and literacy in the school.

From their study, Boyd and Naucner suggest that Swedish mothers place more importance on literacy events and reading while Turkish mothers support interaction in

social activities as being helpful for language development (1997:141). Interestingly, when the Swedish teachers were analyzed as storytellers to the Swedish and Turkish students, a noticeable difference in the way the children were treated became evident. According to Boyd and Naucner, the Swedish teachers handled the storytelling co-constructively with the Swedish preschoolers; with the Turkish preschoolers, the Swedish teachers told the story to them without verbal response from the preschoolers (1997:142).

The asymmetry between the way the Swedish and Turkish preschoolers were told the story was an indication of much larger issues. Boyd and Naucner found that teachers did not invite the Turkish children into the conversation and the teachers did not ask the Turkish children, "to share their knowledge of the world with the teacher" (Boyd and Naucner 1997:143). In conclusion, Boyd and Naucner saw the interaction between the Swedish teachers and the Turkish preschoolers to be an example of power relations between majority and minority members within Sweden. Furthermore, "the minority children's knowledge and prior experience are not as well known to the teacher, and are not equally valued in the preschool context" (1997:143). The asymmetry between Swedish and Turkish preschoolers is a cause for concern.

Judith Narrowe has been studying Turkish youths in Sweden for over twenty years. Narrowe spent a great deal of time researching the home language program for Turkish youths in Rinkeby. Narrowe (1998) combats racist ideology in the Swedish educational system regarding Turks by highlighting the bright and teachable characteristics of her case study informants. Along with her support and promotion of the nurturing aspects of the home language program, Narrowe judiciously gives a nod to the common rhetoric in Sweden regarding the home language program's exclusionist aspects, "Both the

immigrant policy and its strongest expression, the home language program, were recently strongly criticized by the Swedish-Turkish editorial writer, Thomas Gür (1995). Gür doubted the entire value of the home language program and suggested that its ultimate effect was to isolate or at least "other" immigrant children" (1998:46).

As Narroze criticizes the semilingualism and isolationist debates, she views it as a weapon that forces people to overlook the larger issues, "The belief in semi-lingualism made it easy to ignore whatever else was happening and to blame all and any problems the immigrant child might have on the too-early introduction of the second language" (1998:53). According to Narroze, the home language program was helping the Turkish immigrants formation of personal identity as Turks in Sweden in a pluralistic manner while other covert factors at large in the Swedish society promote aspects of segregation regarding the treatment of minorities.

Finnish language and culture in Sweden

Sweden houses three indigenous languages: Swedish, Finnish, and Lappish (Saami). Swedish is the standard language while Finnish and Lappish are considered marginalized minority languages. Like the Turks, Finns have also existed as a marginalized minority group in Swedish society. However, Finns comprise the largest minority group in Sweden. Over 200,000 Finns have moved to Sweden since the 1960s as immigrants seeking employment. In 1978, there were 80,000 school children (speaking 50 different languages) who did not speak Swedish; the majority of these non-Swedish speakers were Finns (Linde 1986:283).

The Swedish are a special type of half-sister to the Finnish. Sweden controlled Finland until 1809 when Finland was lost to the Russian empire. However, there was a large portion of Finnish speaking residents in Sweden in 1809. At the time a "Swedification" took place to saturate the remaining ethnically diverse population (Lainio 1997:32). The forced assimilation imposed upon the Finns in Sweden was evident in the Swedish language policy, "From 1888 state support was only given to schools teaching in Swedish" (Lainio 1997:32).

The Finnish language's history in Sweden, until the 1960s, can be defined with the term linguicism or **Glottophagia**: *the suppression of the minority language by that of the majority...the end of multilingualism...for example among migrants (foreign workers) who cannot withstand the pressures of the assimilation and socialization exerted by the prestige language* (Nelde 1987:38). In his article, Nelde continues to suggest that it is indeed the Scandinavian countries who have the highest potential for language conflict between the majority and minority languages (1987:41). Nelde presents language conflict as an expected outcome of ethnic contact and he suggests that language conflict can eventually lead to political conflict. When the political conflict between ethnic groups rises, the pinnacle of the conflict occurs when differing issues (e.g. politics, economics, administration, education) are blurred and combined into a single symbol, that of language, or, language conflict (Nelde 1987:35).

After decades of oppression, in 1962 a new era began for Sweden's Finnish speaking population. The Swedish National Board of Education decided that the Finnish language could be used within the public school system as a language of remedial instruction for two hours a week (Lainio 1997:32). In the 1960s the language policy of

forced assimilation was revised but this did not easily reverse the effects of almost one hundred years of severe language repression, "It is claimed that all psychological, social and educational problems among immigrant children are due to so-called forced assimilation, the main feature of which is education in the majority language" (Ekstrand 1983:146).

Sweden has made an ardent attempt to educate its Finnish minorities in the Swedish language. However, Finns have tried to remain pluralistic and Finnish children perceive Swedes as "stuck up" (Linde 1986:292). The socioeconomic factors have also played a part in the relationship between the Finns and the Swedes; Finns have taken the lower paying jobs in Sweden and they cluster themselves in lower income areas. The following excerpt is taken from a case study on Finnish children with psychological disturbances who return to Finland after struggling with Swedish assimilation:

"The boy in this case was two years old when his mother, after divorcing, moved to live with her sister in Sweden. The mother experienced difficulties in bringing her son up alone, and the boy began to develop antisocial features. The boy was sent at the age of 9 to live with his father and paternal grandmother, because the social service authorities announced that the mother was no longer fit to be her son's guardian and threatened to take the child into care. In Finland, the grandmother loved the boy and treated him in a regressive manner with very strict demarcation of what was and what was not permitted. When difficulties at school began, the boy was referred to the Child Psychiatric Department. A double identity was found: one of an antisocial but independent, Swedish-speaking youngster and the other of grandmother's good natured little Finnish-speaking boy" (Moilanen 1986:190).

As described above, the Finnish experience in Sweden has been one of inferiority and Finns have often felt of a 'lower class' than Swedish nationals. In Sweden, there were class distinctions firmly established before the advent of the large Finnish immigration influx in the 1960s. In 1932, the Social Democrats came into power, "and through its

programs for social, economic, and educational reforms has consistently stressed egalitarian relations among all members of society... social group I (the upper class) counts for 7.8% of the population, social group 2 (middle class) 34.7%, and social group 3 (working class) 57.5%" (Bratt-Paulston 1976:360).

The Finnish situation in Sweden has evolved into a more acculturated process emphasizing bilingual education and Finnish-medium instruction. This achievement for Swedish Finns has occurred through the support of Scandinavian educators, "In the early 1970s more than 500 university teachers and researchers in Scandinavia signed a resolution demanding Finnish-medium day-care, preschools and classes for Finnish children in Sweden" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983:134). To this date, the Finnish comprise the largest minority group in Sweden and they possess, in relation to other minority groups, a foothold on bilingual education within Sweden.

The Finnish population in Sweden struggled for linguistic pluralism. Riikka Norbacka Landsberg (1997) studied the attitude of bilingual adolescents who spoke both Swedish and Finnish. The findings in Norbacka Landsberg's study indicate that while the standard Swedish language is irrefutably the dominant functional language, the Finnish language is utilized for emotional expression (1997:167). According to the study, the youths viewed language in relation to everyday life. The Finnish language, consequently had a significant impact on the youths' sense of self. The ability for the Swedish Finns to use Finnish, their mother tongue, helped to maintain a group identity as a Finlander (Norbacka Landsberg 1997:171). Interestingly, Norbacka Landsberg discovered that the terms *Finlander*, *foreigner*, and *Swede* were often heard while the term *immigrant* was not associated with the youths' identity (1997:173). The Swedish Finns, who are now

second and third generation Swedes, associate the term *immigrant* with refugees from the Third World.

With language being a marker of identity for the Swedish Finns, the different usages of Finnish and Swedish are an asset to the speaker, not a detriment. The flexibility to code-switch³ between Swedish and Finnish became for Landsberg one language, "I have come to understand bilingualism as one language, where Swedish and Finnish fill different functions and are given different meanings in different environments and contexts" (1997:180).

Sweden's early childhood educational system

As the number of children needing day care and early childhood education in Sweden increases, the funding for special needs children is on the decrease. In 1990, the percentage of immigrant and refugee children receiving instruction in the mother tongue program was at 60 percent. In 1994, the number of children receiving special language instruction was 21 percent (Kallos and Broman 1997:274). As the needs for children to receive day care increase, parents are forming cooperatives and various nonprofit associations to provide an educational care setting for their young children. As Kallos and Broman suggest, immigrant children and low-income parents are underrepresented in this new type of private, non-municipal day care. Consequently, a new form of segregation with the early childhood education system is developing (1997:275).

3. In defining code-switching, I refer to Fasold's description, "We imagine a person who speaks two or more languages and has to choose which one to use. This is, in fact, one of the major kinds of choice we have to deal with, and is sometimes called code-switching" (1992:180).

There are two forms of full time day care within Sweden: day care centers and family day care units (Kallos and Broman 1997:268). As the research conducted by Kallos and Broman suggests, the percentage of young children attending day care centers has been steadily increasing since the 1970s. In 1970, approximately 57,000 children received governmental day care where as in 1995 the number had jumped to 490,000 (Kallos and Broman 1997:270). With the increase in early childhood education, along with the decentralization of governmental policy, today the rules and regulations within the child care centers have relaxed regarding premises and group-size (Kallos and Broman 1997:271). The ratio between children and teachers in day care centers was 4/1 in 1980s; between 1990 and 1993 the ratio was 5/1. In 1990 the average size of a group was 17.8 while in 1995 it was 23.7 (Kallos and Broman 1997:273). However, not everyone wanting early childhood day care is able to obtain it in Sweden. In 1995, there was a reported 69,000 placement deficit in day care centers (Kallos and Broman 1997:272). With decentralization, the variation between the municipalities in the type of care offered is also on the increase.

In Sweden, there was a very clear distinction created by the National Board of Health and Welfare in the 1970s between early childhood education (day care centers and preschool) and the compulsory school system. However, in 1996 the Swedish government decided to shift the responsibilities for the child care system from the Ministry of Social Affairs and the National Board of Health and Welfare to the Ministry of Education and the National Agency for Education (Kallos and Broman 1997:272). The changes have allowed municipalities greater freedom to design their early childhood educational programs. This has caused concern for the child care system and its teachers who have had, in the past,

specific traditions which differed from the traditions of the Swedish school (Kallos and Broman 1997:272). In 1992, 200 of the 288 municipalities within Sweden had started a trend to unify the administrative and political responsibilities for the comprehensive school and early childhood care (Kallos and Broman 1997:279).

With its beginning in 1946, the Swedish educational system was designed to provide tax financed free school meals and textbooks for comprehensive schools. In the 1960s, the nine year public comprehensive school was established (Kallos and Broman 1997:266). The current system of governmental support to early childhood education took shape in the 1970s. The aim for early childhood education in Sweden was to provide a tax financed half day to all children whose parents were gainfully employed or students (Kallos and Broman 1997:268). In 1993, it became required that all municipalities provide child care services for children 18 months to 12 years of age if their parents work and/or study (Kallos and Broman 1997:268).

Swedish educational reform--theory versus practice

Beginning in 1991, each of Sweden's 288 municipalities were given funding by the state in one lump sum to be shared over all levels of schooling. Cuts are happening in every municipality due to the "one lump sum" but hardest hit are the children with special learning needs. In 1992, the Stockholm School Administration reported 80 teachers' positions (almost 25% of the special education teachers in Stockholm's municipality) had been eliminated (Miron 1996:44). The mother tongue and bilingual education programs also fall under the budgets for children with special learning needs. Consequently, with decentralization, there is a type of segregation occurring in that Swedish nationals are

moving from schools which have a large number of immigrant students. Critics of the new reforms also fear that the schools will gain power to decide the type and number of children they want (Miron 1996:43). Miron claims that efficiency is the goal of the new educational reforms but he asks, at what price?

In a critical evaluation of Sweden's educational reforms of the 1990s, Gary Miron (1996) emphasizes the deep impact that the decentralization, privatization, and market forces are having on each municipality in charge of its own school design and programs. Miron traces the enhanced power of each municipality to decide their "own profiles" back to the late 1980s (Miron 1996:33). With an implicit tone of doom, Miron states, "one can only wonder if the Swedish reforms of the 1990s will come to serve as examples of how not to conduct education reforms" (1996:33).

My case study in Botkyrka offers a continued perspective on the current ideology and language training of immigrant children in Sweden. The so-called progressive and efficient model that the Botkyrka language kindergarten advertises harkens back to the pre-1970s era in Swedish language policy. The forced assimilation of immigrant children, through language immersion, denies the children access to their mother tongue and devalues their cultural background.

Case Study of a Language Kindergarten in Botkyrka, Sweden

CHAPTER THREE

"Fieldwork is not everyday life."

Bruce Jackson

Ethnographic methods

My month of visits to the small language kindergarten in Botkyrka were designed to conduct a qualitative research project. My objective was to observe the ways the Swedish language was taught and received by immigrant children, studying the language kindergarten as a model for a type of multicultural education occurring in Sweden. By its definition, qualitative research focuses its attention on a small, select group or individual. While quantitative research deals with statistics and a macro perspective of society, qualitative studies provide the researcher with a concentrated and personal exposure to the individuals involved with the project. Postmodernists who oppose the era of big narratives and grand theories essentialize qualitative research and value the perspectives qualitative research gives to social scientific inquiries, "locally, temporally and situationally limited narratives are now required" (Flick 1998:2). The language kindergarten offers a valuable locally, temporally, and situationally specific group to observe the workings of foreign language acquisition among preschool children in Sweden. The micro, *emic*¹ qualitative

1. "*Emic* statements refer to meaning as it is perceived by the natives of a culture...by definition, emic understanding is culture-bound" (McGee and Warms 1996:285).

project can be representative of and applied to macro, *etic*² investigations between Sweden and other countries dealing with multicultural education.

Qualitative research primarily consists of two types of data: *verbal* and *visual* (Flick 1998:11). In the language kindergarten, as an observer, I was able to record visual data in my fieldnotes. The languages heard during the field experience were Swedish and immigrant languages. I listened carefully for tone and pitch when my vocabulary was not helpful in understanding other languages. Swedish and English were my vehicles of communication. Yet I was always searching for the hidden meanings beneath a comment or phrase. As Catherine Riessman suggests, "Language is viewed as a transparent medium, useful primarily to get to underlying content" (1993:31). The visual data I obtained--the social behavior--provided complimentary data to the input heard in the språkförskola.

In a semi-structured fashion, I also collected data from parents and the teachers through interviews³. When formulating these research questions, I crafted the questions in the most beneficial way for my research interests. Uwe Flick cautions the qualitative researcher to form the questions with the utmost care, "the precise formulation of the research question is a central step in conceptualizing the research design" (1998:51). To obtain specific answers, the questions need to be clear to the informants, "the most

2. "*Etic* meanings are those arrived at by empirical investigations. *Etic* anthropologists aim at producing generalizations that are cross-culturally valid" (McGee and Warms 1996:285).

3. See Appendix for a copy of the questions given to the parents and teachers.

appropriate forms of questions are those which handicap the interviewee as little as possible" (Flick 1998:77). The interview questions concentrated on my inquiry of the language kindergarten and the children attending the school.

During the course of the research, I spoke Swedish with the teachers with occasional English phrases. When the teachers were interviewed, I furnished them with a copy of the written questions in Swedish. Then, I asked that we conduct the interview in English. Despite the fluency I had gained in Swedish, I judged that English would be the best--and clearest-- language to utilize during the teachers' interviews. I wanted to avoid misunderstandings during the interview and when analyzing their rich, personal narratives. I was keenly aware of my own interpretation already involved in the analysis process and I did not want to misrepresent their answers. The teachers' answers were representative of their view of society, and I found it important to reflect their opinion as accurately as possible, "To the sociologically oriented investigator, studying narratives is additionally useful for what they reveal about social life--culture "speaks itself" through an individual's story" (Riessman 1993:5).

The length of the qualitative study, over a four-week period, provided me with depth and greater insight than had I observed the school over a shorter period of time. Originally, I had intended to study the language kindergarten for two or three weeks. The extension of time provided me with an opportunity to get to know the teachers and children and have them become familiar with me. Robert Georges and Michael Jones (1980) advocate a lengthy study that fosters rapport building. According to Georges and Jones, many unknowns can arise during the fieldwork process and establishing a rapport can help cushion unexpected difficulties. As they write:

"Fieldwork requiring people to study other people at first hand... entails much more than merely knowing what to observe and how to record, process, and present it. The fieldworker must explain his or her presence and purpose to others, gain their confidence and cooperation, and develop and maintain mutually acceptable relationships. These requirements create dilemmas, produce confrontations, demand clarifications and compromises, and evoke reflections and introspection that one can neither fully anticipate nor prepare for in advance. Worthwhile projects may fail. Research strategies frequently must be modified or abandoned as researcher and subjects interact. Unexpected opportunities, fruitful leads, and important insights can blossom as fieldwork develops" (Georges and Michael 1980. *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork*).

Planning

A qualitative study follows three fieldwork phases: *planning*, *collecting*, and *analyzing* (Jackson 1987:19). The planning of my fieldwork in Botkyrka municipality transpired through the collective efforts of Dr. Mark Graham, Dr. Annick Sjögren, and the educators at the språkförskola. From the start, I expressed sincere interest to observe the workings of a Swedish preschool. While Dr. Graham went about contacting people who could assist me in locating a preschool to observe, I also took it upon myself to find possible contacts. I spoke with several University professors and researchers at Stockholm University, none of whom gave me any tangible leads. I was not shy about telling the researchers at CEIFO (Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations) or students and faculty in the Social Anthropology Department about my wish to study Swedish preschools. However, the general reaction that I obtained from people at the University was snobbery. One doctoral candidate in Social Anthropology even said to me, "We don't generally study people in this country. We like to have a sense of objectivity. I suppose that if I wanted to start at the bottom and work my way up, I could look at early childhood education in Sweden."

After three weeks of deliberations, I was assigned by Dr. Graham to contact Dr. Sjögren at the Multicultural Center in Fittja, located within Botkyrka municipality. Dr. Sjögren is among the administrative team studying the multicultural environment within Botkyrka. Dr. Sjögren contacted me directly within a week and she was supportive of my observation time in the "new" språkförskola in Botkyrka.

Collecting: setting of the study

I arrived at the language kindergarten in Botkyrka on September 27, 1999 and was immediately greeted by the two teachers, a welcome sign⁴, and 12 bouncing children. The language kindergarten was on the first floor of an apartment building. Formerly, the school had been a 3-bedroom apartment. Several of the children attending the school lived within the same building or in a building close by within Botkyrka. Directly in front of the school there was an ample play park with swings, a slide, and other playground equipment. Inside the school, there were two rooms, two bathrooms, a main classroom area, and a kitchen. The decor of the classrooms were bright and tidy: yellow walls with white trim and doors, matching curtains, carefully arranged bookshelves, a comfortable reading area, and organized play stations. The first drawings I noticed on the wall within the entry hall were "self portraits" by the students; impressionistic drawings with a real photo of the child in the corner.

The school was in its second year of operations and the uniqueness of this language school has everything to do with its curriculum being designed independently by

4. See a copy and translation of the sign in the Appendix.

the teachers. The municipality provides financial resources to the school while the two teachers use their own discretion to buy supplies and school materials. The language kindergarten aims to improve the Swedish language skills of the immigrant preschoolers. The school was divided into two sections, the morning group and the afternoon group (each with a maximum of 14 children). Most of the Swedish children attended the morning session. As can be seen in the following Table 3, most of the children who attended the language kindergarten were between the ages of four and five during the study (September-October 1999).

Table 3. Demographics of morning and afternoon groups in the language kindergarten.

<u>Morning Group</u>		<u>Afternoon Group</u>	
<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>
Holland	1. 1994	Finland	1. 1994
Morocco	1. 1995	India	1. 1994 2. 1994
Spain	1. 1993	Iran	1. 1994 2. 1994 3. 1994
Sweden	1. 1994 2. 1995 3. 1994 4. 1994 5. 1994 6. 1994 7. 1994 8. 1994	Syria	1. 1994
Turkey	1. 1994 2. 1994	Sweden	1. 1994
		Turkey	1. 1994 2. 1995 3. 1994 4. 1995 5. 1995
		Uganda	1. 1994

Collecting: participant observation

Coming from the University as an ethnographer, I was aware of the political clout that I carried. Being an American had even more political implications. Though Sweden has admired several American pop culture characteristics (e.g. music and movies) many Swedes view America as a violent and irresponsible culture. Since the late-1960s, Sweden has openly opposed American political and military decisions. Furthermore, the violence within the American school system, the bombings and youth rage, is viewed with disgust and fear in Sweden. Because I was an American researcher, all of these factors were overtly, and covertly, taken into consideration.

However, I think I was quite different from what the teachers had expected. I was quiet, I spent my time sitting and writing in the classroom. I followed the daily activities to the best of my ability: I participated in morning or afternoon snack with the class, I went outside with the class during recess, and I attended the half-hour lesson called *samling* (together lesson time). I told the teachers that I was doing my job by writing and observing all of the time. I also said that the work was tiring, because I listened to everything in Swedish and kept my notes in both English and Swedish.

In addition to daily activities, I made efforts to establish a rapport with the teachers and students. I helped the teachers wash the communal dishes on occasion, joined the class on nature walks and two field trips to see Swedish cartoons, ate lunch with the teachers every day, and tagged along with the teachers once when they went to IKEA to purchase classroom materials. I invited the teachers to read my fieldnotes whenever they wished. At the end of my study, one teacher glanced at 12 pages of my field notes that I had copied for her and she provided me with written feedback. In her notes, she was

pleased at all I had observed, particularly, my interest in recording the individual personalities of the children as they worked and learned. Toward the end of my study, one of the teachers informed me that they would be receiving payment from the municipality, between 100 to 150:- SEK a day, for each day I was there.

At the end of the third week, I formally interviewed the teachers about the school and their thoughts on education. I cut back to only half time attendance during the fourth week. One of the teachers assisted me in asking the parents for interviews. I conducted interviews in Swedish with parents of three of the children during the fourth week (one Turkish parent and two Iranian parents). The conversations with these parents went extremely well and I appreciated how receptive the parents were toward me. I had hoped to also interview parents of Swedish children, but due to illness and scheduling conflicts, they were unable to accommodate my request.

On my last day at the språkförskola, I had planned to give the school a little gift. I gave a candle arrangement: I took a blue candle, put silk fall colored leaves at the base, and secured the leaves with a long Swedish ribbon (blue and yellow in design.) The teacher thanked me. After samling, I asked to have a little talk with the children. I had mentioned to the teacher that I was interested in giving the children payment for helping me with my project and I had received approval. I started by explaining in Swedish who I was and again why I had been visiting their school. I was hoping that the children would understand me and they did. Then I took out gold-covered chocolate coins and gave one to each of them and said, "tack" (thank you). The children were happy with this simple gift.

Then, the teacher invited the children into the room with the world map, Sweden was placed in the center of it, and explained to them where I came from and that I was returning to my country. The children gazed at the distance between Oregon and Sweden and the teacher's explanation really cemented my own feelings of being far away from home. Before I left the school, a young Dutch mother who I knew approached me and inquired about the completion of my study and questioned my feelings of homesickness. The mother explained, in English, that she had a very difficult time separating from her husband for many months before they moved to Sweden and she asked if I had the same feeling being away from my husband. I was touched by this personal account and the mother's attempt to empathize.

Collecting: interviews with the teachers

On October 15, 1999 I conducted two semi-structured interviews with the teachers. I gave a copy of the questions to both teachers on the morning of the interviews. I told them that if they had any questions to simply ask me. The day I interviewed the teachers, the morning group was scheduled to go on a field trip to see Swedish cartoons at Hallunda Folketshus. We all took the bus out to Hallunda and back to the school. It was a busy morning for the teachers and by the time the children left to go home at 11:30 a.m., the teachers had already experienced a full day.

As fate would have it, my tape recorder jammed and I took notes during the first interview. The first interview lasted for about 20 minutes and was over by 12:00 p.m. The second teacher sat in the other room during the first interview. She heard that I was not able to work my tape-recorder. She unlocked their storage cabinet and pulled out a large

boom box. She asked if I had thought of it before, and I said, "No, but thanks." The second interview was very thought provoking and lasted over half an hour. Being able to rely on the tape recorder during the second interview, I was less incumbered to take detailed notes and the interview was more smooth and conversational than the first interview.

After the interviews, I walked into the large room's kitchen and began to prepare my lunch. I wanted to talk to the teachers right afterward and not just run off as if I had tricked the answers out of them and left with the data. Again, I was constantly involved in building a rapport with the teachers. The teachers were relatively quiet. The next day, I asked the first teacher how she thought the interview went and she gave me nothing but positive feedback.

Collecting: interviews with the parents

I was looking forward to meeting with the parents and hearing their views as well as introducing myself, an American who had been visiting their child's school for three weeks. Unable to fix my tape recorder, I wrote down the answers that the parents gave to me. Not taping the interviews with the parents felt less intrusive anyway. The interviews were conducted in Swedish. When I first met the parents, I gave them a copy of the questions, also written in Swedish.

The first interview was conducted on October 26, 1999 between 10-11 a.m. with a Turkish mother whose son was in the morning group. The mother met me at the språkförskola and then we walked to her apartment which was in the same building unit, a two minute walk away. The Turkish mother had lived in Sweden for over twenty years

and had migrated to Sweden with her family as guest workers. The mother knew the teachers at the language kindergarten well and spoke highly of them. The Turkish mother had worked as a teaching assistant at a different school with one of the language kindergarten teacher's own children in years past.

The second interview immediately followed the first, being conducted between 11-12 a.m. with Persian parents of twin girls in the afternoon group. The couple had immigrated from Iran individually back in the 1980s, met in Sweden, and moved to the Botkyrka area recently. For the interview, I was greeted at the classroom first by the mother and then we walked upstairs in the same building to their apartment. During the course of the interview with the Iranians, I felt as though the parents took special care to welcome me and make me feel like a guest. They gave me warm tea, chocolates from a box, and a piece of princess cake. The father brought these things out to me on a silver tray. The mother was more silent while the father was full of ideas, complaints, and eagerness to discuss Swedish politics, world politics, and the state of the US 'supremacy complex'. I had a very interesting time with them and I understand that the father had been involved in politics back in Iran. The mother remained closed about her past. Both mother and father said they do not miss Iran nor do they intend to move back, "There is no democracy in Iran," the mother said.

Both of the interviews with the parents were informative and well received. I was glad to have the opportunity to meet with the parents, themselves immigrants, and discuss issues important to both of us. After collecting the data, I transcribed the interviews, and coded them.

Analyzing the data: teachers' interviews

Let me preface the following sections in this chapter by first admitting to my own bias, or identity, as an American, an early childhood education teacher, and a former resident in Sweden. Inevitably, when analyzing the ethnographic interviews, my own subjectivity influenced the final analysis. In regard to verbal art and narrative, Ruth Finnegan writes:

"As with the quest for meaning, what you find partly depends on what you think important to look for -- social artistic expression, power relations, ideological reflections or whatever; and the results will be interpreted according to your assumption about the nature of humanity, of history, or of art and its relation to society" (1992:125).

The close intersection between bias and ethnographic analysis applies to the analysis of both narration (in the form of personal interviews) and participant observation. *What* the ethnographer chooses to find within verbal data is just as personally biased, selective, and sifted through as the fieldnotes of the visual observation period.

The first distinct theme that emerged from the teachers' interviews involved the school's origin and development. According to the first interview, the children attended the school due to at least one parent's unemployment and the vicinity of the family to the språkförskola. The language kindergarten held its first day of class on March 17, 1997. The teachers designed the curriculum according to various materials gained from proven methods borrowed from the Waldorf School, the Swedish pedagogic style, and other educational programs. According to a teacher:

"We take the best of all these pedagogisk... From Waldorf, do you know?...and every one of these pedagogisk. We take the best of it. Inside here. What we think is the best. And then we read a lot of 'Language

and--something', but not, and we take, of course, the Swedish pedagogik" (Personal interview b).

In the second interview, the book, "Language and Environment," ("Language and--something") was also mentioned as a source for information regarding the development of their curriculum. From personal accounts, I know that the teachers at the språkförskola had been given various materials⁵ directly from Annick Sjögren, editor of "Language and Environment," as well as additional writings by Shirely Brice-Heath. Within this thesis, I cite several chapters from "Language and Environment" (Naucler and Boyd 1997; Norrbacka Landsberg 1997; Ogbu 1997; Runfors 1997; Sjögren 1997); the book supports cultural pluralism and questions the very methods being implemented in the language kindergarten. The teacher's reference to "Language and Environment" and the actual immersion methods used in the language school contradict the supposed theoretical influences behind the school when juxtaposed with the actual practice of the language kindergarten.

The teachers' devotion to their students in the language kindergarten is unquestionable. This commitment was evident in the second emerging theme: the role of the teacher. Both teachers suggested that a good teacher has the following attributes: good listener, acts as a *förebild* (prototype), makes the learning fun, encourages participation, concentrates on social attitudes and behavior, and is there for the child. The role of the teacher is also meant to safeguard the child. In Sweden, for over twenty years, anti-spanking laws have been in effect. The discipline and childrearing between cultures

5. See list of materials in Appendix.

throughout the world, however, is different. When I asked the teachers how they respond to immigrant (or Swedish) parents who may discipline their child contrary to Swedish law, I received the following comment:

"We try to talk to the parents...we have to explain that in Sweden it's a law. You can't hit your child. And then they must understand that. Because otherwise, we call the social [welfare agencies] and they come here. And then we speak together... it is tough. But if we don't do it, we are wrong, we have made a mistake. A big mistake. Because, we are here for the children. And if we see that the children don't feel so good, we must do something" (Personal interview b).

The third significant theme from the teachers' interviews entailed their definition of the language kindergarten's goals. One teacher explained the importance of Swedish comprehension in building a solid foundation for scholastic achievement and suggested that the child's future in Sweden depended upon Swedish fluency, "It's important to have the base in order to come into *gymnasium* (high school/technical school)" (Personal interview a). The import placed upon the Swedish language was the one of their most significant goals for the school, according to both teachers. Later in this chapter, I discuss my observation of this goal and its implementation.

I asked the teachers how they perceived the Turkish boys, in particular, with the goal of language learning. Both teachers mentioned the boys' varied Swedish language skills. One teacher said that she understood why they choose to speak Turkish together, "I understand them. I really do. Because if I had been there, in Turkey, I'm not going to speak Turkish" (Personal interview b). The other teacher attributed the Turkish boys' insistence to speak Turkish as a result of their cultural heritage as boys. As the teacher's paraphrased comments suggest:

The Turkish boys are problematic. Boys have power in the family while girls can be studying. In the Turkish culture, the boys have a run of the house and they can tell even their mothers what to do. Also, in the Turkish family, the girls are subservient and must perform household tasks while the boys don't have to do anything (Personal interview a).

The teacher suggested that the Turkish boys had a difficult adjustment when first attending the language kindergarten. As the teacher mentioned:

"When the Turkish boys first started at the språkförskola they had a difficult time cleaning up after themselves--cleaning up after fruit [snack] was difficult for the boys, they were reluctant and failed to have respect" (Personal interview a).

The teacher mentioned recent newspaper articles she has read suggesting gender segregated classrooms. When I asked her what her thoughts were concerning this type of segregation, she said it might be a good idea, "since the personality types appear to be so different between boys and girls" (Personal interview a). The teacher accepts engendering the children within the socialization process. The Turkish boys--or perhaps boys in general--are a type of distraction, or threat, to the "personality type" and learning of girls.

She continued to express concern regarding the Turkish boys' behavior:

"Many of the immigrants from Turkey and Syria come from specific countries which degrade women. This lack of respect for women takes the form in Sweden of using degrading words with regard to women's body parts. These types of words are used by the Turkish boys in the språkförskola and the older boys are even worse. In Sweden, historically, swearing or cuss words were about the devil or evil but now swear words are evolving into body parts" (Personal interview a).

In contrast to the Turkish boys' open resistance to speak Swedish, there are a group of Swedish girls in the morning group who compete to display their command of the Swedish language and to answer questions posed by the teachers. If the Turkish boys represent a defiance against the learning patterns the teachers wish to enforce, the Swedish

girls represent their antithesis. Gender plays an interesting role in the definitions applied by the teachers to both the Turkish boys and the Swedish girls. One teacher describes the morning group, enrolled with several Swedish girls, as "lovely, sociable, fine with each other, an easy group" (Personal interview a). The other teacher also described the morning group, in particular the group of Swedish girls, in favorable terms:

"It's a nice group. And they know a lot of things. And they're playing well. But sometimes three girls know best...I think it's *jobbet* (hard work) because, 'oh, I can speak the highest and I can do it best!' and everything" (Personal interview b).

A significant theme from the teachers' interviews applies to this difference between the morning group and the afternoon group. The teachers made a clear distinction between the Swedish comprehension levels of the morning group (lower) and afternoon group (higher). The distinction was also made between the behavior of the morning group (lovely, sociable) and the afternoon group (problematic). According to one teacher, the child's home life has everything to do with their behavior in school. The teacher described the afternoon children's home life, in particular the Turkish boys, with the following comment:

"I think at home they are sitting at the television... when they come here, they can play, they have *leksaker* (toys). And they can run. They really need it. So here, they can do it. But at home they are very quiet... And here we're talking to them a lot. At home, they don't talk to them... it's a cultural thing. 'Cause, 'they don't know so much,' they're thinking like that... But here we're talking to them. They are important and so it's, and here it's allowed to do a lot of things, too. So when they come here, sometimes (pause) they are not so very nice because somewhere they must plop out... to be a child, to scream, to run, to (pause) be naughty, and everything. Sometimes it's just here, not another place" (Personal interview b).

If the teachers describe the immigrant children's home lives as somewhat repressive and school being the only place they can "plop out" how can effective communication take place between the language kindergarten teacher and the child if there is a significant language difference already impairing communication? I applaud the language teachers' commitment to listen to the children, but how can they understand the children who are not fluent in Swedish? Could, in fact, the language differences be the root cause of the afternoon group's rebellious behavior, not inactivity at home? Also, how can the teachers truly understand what the home lives of the children are like unless they visit and see firsthand the social condition? According to one teacher, the involvement between teacher and student is isolated to the school:

"You say to yourself, 'oh, I must help this child' because he doesn't feel so good. And then, of course, you make a lot of observations of the child and his family situation here, because you can't, you don't go home to them... Because that's not my business. 'Cause we're here just for the children" (Personal interview b).

When the teachers described their involvement with the parents, it was also confined to the school surrounding. Interestingly, one teacher mentioned the communication most often occurred with the fathers in the event of a problem with the child. As the teacher explained the communication with the fathers, she theorized the mothers' low Swedish proficiency:

"If there's some problems often the daddies come because they are better at Swedish because they work, so they must learn. The mothers, they are often at home and take care of the children, the home... often they don't like to study, it's very hard at SFI (Swedish class) and they must travel with bus to Fittiga or Hallunda or something. And they must make some bread, 3 times a day. They are going to wash all the family's cloths. They are going to clean everywhere... and, they can't" (Personal interview b).

The interviews with the teachers highlighted the goal of Swedish language training and the social skills building. But for communication to occur and be understood, there needs to be a common language to communicate the ideas. Empathy only goes so far. With the Turkish boys, there appears to be considerable conflicts of interest and communication barriers. The teachers have suggested that the communication difficulties with the Turkish boys are linguistic as well as sex based and this suggestion warrants further investigation. This study provides only a preliminary view of the teacher's attitudes regarding the linguistic transmission and socialization process occurring in their school.

Analyzing the data: parents' interviews

The Turkish mother and I discussed how she found out about the school--in a letter that came from the municipality. She discussed her son's enjoyment of the språkförskola, his favorable feelings toward his teachers, the cultural differences between Turkey and Sweden, how much Swedish he speaks at home (50%), what brought her to Sweden and when (20 years ago as a child of guest workers), and her involvement with the språkförskola. The mother feels that the school is very good for her son's social skills, activity level, and Swedish acquisition. Her son enjoys the teachers at the språkförskola. According to the mother, a normal dagis⁶ (preschool) has lower standards--it is like a

6. The Turkish mother criticized the "warehouse" type daycare in many of Sweden's public daycare facilities, yet, the daycare in Turkey still is not common and the childcare is handled by the families directly, "Less than 2% of children under 6 now attend an organized preschool program, although government planning documents embrace the goal of enrolling 10% of the nation's children in preschool programs" (Boocock 1995:108). A 1964 account of Turkish early childhood education described its informal, home environment, "Very young boys play, listen to the men talk, or watch their elders as they work, and the girls stay close to their mothers" (Pierce 1964:90).

warehouse type educational care, too many children, not enough teachers; the teachers are just there to feed them and stop them from fighting. The Turkish mother also made a point of affirming the tough school system in Turkey⁷. She suggested that the Swedish educational system, compared with what she experienced in Turkey, is lax and producing a generation of lazy students. The only question the mother had for me was: why did I not take more of an active role with the class--why did I just sit and write notes all day? I tried to explain to her that it was my job as an ethnographer to record the activities that I observed. I was serving as a teacher in the language kindergarten and I did not want to confuse the children about my role.

During the interview with the Iranian parents, we talked about how their girls became involved with the språkförskola--one of the teachers had invited them directly. We also discussed the effort that the teachers put into the språkförskola, the goals of the school, the ability for the girls to increase their Swedish fluency, the importance of parental support in language learning, and concerns that the parent's had toward safety in their area. The father said that they speak Farsi at home and he is grateful for the opportunity that his girls are exposed to Swedish. If he was working, the girls would be eligible to attend dagis, but one of the conditions of this språkförskola is that at least one parent is unemployed.

7. The Muslim influence in the daily lives of children in Turkey provided a formalized education setting, "[before the 1960s] there was only one formal situation in which the children learned and that was mosque school. There the children memorized parts of the Koran in Arabic" (Pierce 1964:90). Today, Turkey's educational system is formalized within a public school system, "A strong emphasis on education is common to many developing nations, including Turkey, where free, compulsory primary schooling is provided for children 6 to 14 years old" (Boocock 1995:108).

Analyzing the data: goals of the language kindergarten

The goals of the språkförskola, according to the teachers' comments are threefold: Swedish language learning, social skills building, and Swedish cultural immersion. According to one teacher's account, "The first one [goal] is how I'm going to be like a child in a group. So, I can't fight...that's where we start. And then, we would like everyone to speak Swedish. We try to speak Swedish first" (Personal Interview b). In fact, the curriculum and teaching is solely communicated through Swedish, including instructions for the children's behavior and social skills. According to the other teacher, the first goal of the school is to teach Swedish (Personal Interview a). Depending upon the teacher asked, the number one goal of the school is Swedish language learning or social skills building.

The goals of the language kindergarten are also to assimilate the children into Swedish culture. The assumption is that this type of submersion will assist the children to learn Swedish. For example, the children are exposed to Swedish food, music, arts and crafts, toys, cartoons, language, books⁸, fairy tales, and social contexts. Whether it be the plastic pizza, shopping carts, baby buggies, fake money and cash register, troll tales, or lesson time, the atmosphere is carefully orchestrated to introduce the children to as much Swedish culture as possible during their three-hour school time. During snack time, a piece of fruit is strongly encouraged rather than any other ethnically marked snack.

Indeed, the children are in Sweden and should be familiar with the culture. However, I argue that the way the linguistic immersion takes place is to the detriment of

8. See Appendix for a list of the books on the reading shelf.

children who, for social or cultural reasons, resist or retard their language learning process in the språkförskola. Language, being the most important vehicle for cultural expression, cannot shift overnight. Language, being the means by which people communicate, is different within each cultural context. The cultural context is dependent on which particular language is being utilized. Each child's cultural identity that they came to the språkförskola with needs to be recognized during the acculturation process, not ignored.

Analyzing the data: implementation of goals

One of the teachers commented that in order for children to learn to speak a new language, it is vital for them to see the objects' named, "The children learn language best by visualizing the objects" (Personal interview a). The two teachers have developed a methodology to promote this type of visual learning. Every day, for at least thirty minutes, the children are gathered into a *samling* (together lesson time). They sit on mats in a circle and the teachers take out typical Swedish objects from bags (e.g. boat, paddle, trolls) or the test boxes to show the children the words they are to learn. First, the children learn the nouns based on the objects they visualize.

The teachers have devised a method of testing the children's language comprehension with the use of four different boxes⁹. Each box contains a theme: household objects (yellow box), outside play objects (blue box), house furniture (green box), and objects of people and buildings (red box). Periodically, time is set aside for each student whose first language is not Swedish to be tested by the teacher. The purpose of

9. See Appendix for a list of each of the four box contents.

the tests are to evaluate his or her comprehension of the Swedish word for the particular objects in each box. The child's answers are recorded and kept in a log book for further evaluation. For the children whose first language is Swedish, the need for such tests is not useful.

The rigidity of the language test was softened by the teachers' approach. After witnessing several children go through a periodic test, it did not appear that any extra pressure was placed on the child from the teachers to know the answer. Children received positive reinforcement from the teacher when answering correctly. The informal evaluation took place within the main classroom and a teacher and student would occupy a table privately. However, on occasion I witnessed other children interrupt the 'testing time' and pick up the objects and say the correct answer themselves.

The social skills that the children are taught involve nonviolent behavior, coping skills, and group participation. The teachers commented on the problems they face with children who are physically violent. One method that the teachers have developed to help control the violent tendencies of the children involves a pair of boxing gloves and a boxing bag. Decorated in patterned colors after the American flag, the punching bag and gloves are used to resolve issues between the children. As one teacher commented, "groups have been helped by hitting the bag" (Personal interview a).

The co-teacher reiterated the usefulness of the boxing equipment. Delving deeper into the issues of the controlled boxing, the teacher narrated an experience they had encountered with a young child who was violent. From the child's behavior, they knew something was wrong at home. In school, the child experienced wild fits until one day, the teachers grabbed a pillow from the couch and told the child to hit it. This form of physical

activity curbed the child's violent tendencies; the pillow later evolved into using the gloves and punching bag. According to the teacher, "It's a tough world at home, for some of them" (Personal interview b).

The socializing that the children participate in during the structured time of samling begins with the gathering song: "Sally is here today, Sara is here today, Tore is here today, that's good, that we all are here today..." and so forth. The song is meant to name and recognize everyone in the group, including the teachers. At the song's end, if there are not enough people to name and finish the tune, objects in the classroom are placed where peoples names would be, for example, a troll or a little doll. It is a comical ending to the song and the children enjoyed including their lesson objects.

During the samling lesson the children learn to wait their turn and be called on. For many children of this age, it can be a challenge to learn turn sharing. One of the teachers told me she found it frustrating when certain children wanted to shout out the answer every time, just because they knew it. At the same time, the teacher empathized with the children who were proud to know the answer and say it. The teacher pointed out particular children in the morning group who had difficulty containing their answers. From my observations, I noted how many times the children in the morning group with high Swedish skills volunteered the answers during samling. The difference between the children with high Swedish ability and those who were beginning learners was very noticeable: the linguistic advantage for the children with high Swedish proficiency greatly increased the chance they would answer. Consequently, group participation was boldly led by the children with high Swedish proficiency.

There was a girl in the morning group who was from Holland. The teachers immediately pointed her out to me when I first arrived. She was, in many ways, their star immigrant pupil. The Dutch girl had learned a great deal of Swedish in just three months. When the teachers compared the child to other children, for example, some of the children from Turkey who had been at the språkförskola longer and had not become as proficient in Swedish. This struck a chord with me. I was left puzzling over questions in relation to the språkförskola: What social factors may have influenced at what rate the immigrant children were learning Swedish? How were the children of differing immigrant countries receiving feedback from the teachers? What was the role of the child in the language learning process? How did the child's parents and social networks outside of school influence the rate of the child's Swedish competency? And most importantly, how were all of these children learning, or not learning, Swedish?

Analyzing the data: linguistic and social segregation

For the children in the språkförskola who had mastered Swedish as their first language, the daily challenges of language acquisition did not exist. The children fluent in Swedish were positioned in the school to serve as peer guides for the immigrant children. However, the children who were fluent in Swedish played with each other while the children who were using another language most often segregated themselves (and were segregated by other children, too). The best case study group to observe this type of social and linguistic dynamic existed in the morning group with almost half of the children already being native speakers of Swedish. In the afternoon group, all but one of the children were non-native Swedes (See Table 3). The children who were able to quickly

communicate their ideas in either Swedish or another language gravitated together and remained apart from those children who experienced a different linguistic reality.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the Turkish language and culture in Sweden. I provided information on this particular ethnic group because it also represents the largest number of children in the språkförskola other than Swedish children. Of a total student enrollment of 28 children in the language kindergarten, there were two Turkish children in the morning group and five Turkish children in the afternoon group. The two Turkish children in the morning group were cousins. Of the five Turkish children in the afternoon group, I was aware of one pair of cousins.

The students with a Turkish background often responded defensively to the teachers' invitations to participate in group activities. In the morning group, the two Turkish students responded passive aggressively by lounging on the couches during gymnastics, play time, and Friday Disco. One time, I saw the Turkish boy try to keep his girl cousin with him away¹⁰ from the snack time. It was a special day, a Friday Disco day, and unlike the normal snack of fruit from home, the teachers had purchased bags of candy to share with the children. But the boy's cousin refused to stay with him, sneered at him, and she joined the class. He positioned a chair close to a table and agitatedly rocked back

10. Empirical studies within Sweden have shown that the Turkish group maintains their cultural pluralism to a great extent, "the degree of occupational segregation of Turks was the highest as compared to other immigrant groups... the degree of residential segregation was also higher as compared with other groups" (Alpay n.d.:250-1). Additionally, the close link that Turks maintain with their homeland is encouraged through their citizenship rights; since 1981 Turks have been able to hold dual citizenship between Sweden and Turkey after five consecutive years of residing in Sweden (Icduygu 1996:264).

and forth. When the teacher invited him to join, he refused. Instead, he asked the teacher to hand him some of the snack goodies. The teacher told him he needed to get the snack himself. He refused, got up and went into the other room. The Turkish boy might have been responding to his female cousin according to Turkish culture, which elevates the boys above the girls, leaving him to try and control her (See footnote 4 in this chapter). This boy spoke Swedish well but often spoke Turkish with his cousin since she had recently moved to Sweden.

The segregation among the Turkish students was most observable among the Turkish boys in the afternoon group. On several occasions I saw the young Turkish boys being disrespectful to the teachers, making rude gestures behind their backs, running away from group activities, or being hyperactive during group activities. The Turkish boys relished being naughty and I had to contain my own laughter when I saw them using the "girls'" baby buggies as bumper cars. The Turkish boys in the afternoon also demonstrated a physical closeness to one another by putting their arms around each other when walking throughout the school¹¹. Linguistically, the Turkish boys spoke exclusively Turkish together¹². The boys showed reluctance to speak Swedish during samling. On one

11. The physical closeness that the boys demonstrated is a common behavior among close male relatives and friends in the Middle East. The Turkish mother who I interviewed commented on this type of closeness. She believes that this behavior for Turks in Sweden is changing, the physical demonstrations among close relatives or peers in public are becoming more reserved, and she does not like it.

12. The linguistic pluralism evident among the Turkish boys is common among Turks in Sweden. Turkish broadcasts and television promote linguistic pluralism within Sweden, "Turkish immigrants in general displayed a low level of knowledge about Swedish politics... News broadcasts from Turkey seemed to be the most important source of information for the group of poorly educated Turks who originated from rural areas in Turkey" (Alpay n.d.:246).

occasion, as I was leaving for the day, one of the Turkish boys followed me to the door, put his hand over his heart, looked at me and said, "Turkey." I smiled back at him and said, "*Jag vet*" (I know).

I spent time in Chapter 2 also discussing the long history between Sweden and Finland. In the afternoon group there was one Finnish girl. The Finnish girl and the Swedish girl were the only Northern European children in the afternoon and they always played together. The Swedish girl dominated the Finnish girl, grabbing toys from her, pushing toys into her hands, and speaking loudly and rapidly. The Swedish girl was high strung and temperamental while the Finnish girl was quiet. I noticed dark rings under the Finnish girl's eyes. There were two gold crowns and two purple capes to play with in the school; the Finn and Swede dominated these objects in the afternoon followed by the Iranian twin girls. When the Finnish girl was corrected by one of the teachers, she would glare at them, raise her head higher, but say nothing.

Analyzing the data: myths of Sweden's immigrant populations

Why are the children in the morning group comprised of half Swedes while the afternoon group has only one Swede? Why this type of segregation? The teachers at the language kindergarten, as well as other språkförskola teachers I asked, provided me with an explanation. They believed that the immigrant parents wanted to "sleep in" through the morning and found it inconvenient to bring their children to school too early. The myth was that the families kept the children up late to participate in their evening festivities. Is this theory substantial? On bringing this myth to Judith Narrowe, she suggested to me that very possibly the mothers worked nights cleaning or in factories and were tired in the

morning not from laziness, rather, out of fatigue. Actually, the teachers are the active agents in determining the class arrangement. The Iranian parents, during our interview, also puzzled over the segregated classes. The Iranian father indicated to me that he would prefer his daughters to be in the morning group but when enrolling his children in the school, he was told by the teachers that the morning group was full.

Another myth subjectively given by the teachers at the language kindergarten involved the concept of time. The teachers believed that the immigrants, in particular the Turks, had a different concept of time. The teachers indicated to me on several occasions that the immigrants had no respect to have the children be on time for school or to pick the children up "on time." I had the opportunity to witness an exchange between some older Turkish youths and the teachers regarding the concept of time.

One afternoon, a group of Turkish girls in upper elementary school came to pick up a younger sibling. First, the girls knocked on the large picture glass windows in the main class area to get the teachers' attention. It was half an hour before the children were scheduled to go home. After being ignored by the teachers, the girls went around to the other side of the school and knocked loudly on the door. One of the teachers went and answered them and said it was not time for the end of the day and that they would have to wait. As frustrations grew, the girls went to the kitchen window, shouting into the classroom, that it was indeed time for their sibling to go home. The girls eventually left, but soon after a phone call came for the teachers from the mother of the children involved requesting that the child be lead home. The teacher refused to let the elementary children

be the guardian of the younger child and demanded the mother come to get her child¹³.

After the phone call, the teacher angrily sputtered in Swedish, "they have no concept of time."

During the interview with the co-teacher, a general assumption about immigrant mothers came out. The assumption, actually a myth, was that the mothers were so ignorant, they were unable to articulate colors, seasons, and directions to their child. Also, the teachers witnessed the mothers restricting independent action from their children. For example, the teacher complained about mothers who treated their children "younger than they are" by needlessly helping their child put on their jacket. The way the mothers of the language kindergarten children behave appears in keeping with the Middle Eastern mothers' behavior. As one Swedish researcher described Turkish mother-child dynamics:

"The children in the group are looked after tenderly by their mothers. They are to a great extent the central part of the women's lives and during their first year of life the children have their mother's full attention. From my perspective many of the small children are very spoiled" (Engelbrektsson 1995:65).

A final myth surrounding the immigrants revealed to me by the teachers involved the parents' attitude toward the Swedish weather affecting their child's absenteeism from school. "Oh, they don't go out when it's raining and the weather is bad," replied the teachers. Considering that the current refugee populations are coming from drastically

13. The hierarchical structure in Turkey encourages girls to attend to their mothers, "the girls began to help at home early" (Engelbrektsson 1995:117). The girls who visited the language kindergarten to retrieve their younger sibling were in keeping with their Turkish culture as older female siblings looking after the younger ones. Additionally, in rules of Turkish address, "a younger sibling, for instance, will address an older sibling with the respectful *abla*, i.e. older sister, to the exclusion of the personal name, while the older sibling addressing a younger one will use only the first name" (Engelbrektsson 1995:269).

different climates (tropical and arid), obviously the weather change is a concern. However, to imply that the weather is a main contributing factor for the immigrant children's irregular attendance is to ignore other factors involved such as family circumstances, health (mental and physical), social adjustment to the Swedish culture, and favorability of the language school for their child.

CONCLUSION

Discussion on language shift in språkförskola

This thesis reveals the assimilationist methodology used within the case study language kindergarten in Botkyrka. According to recent studies, Sweden's educational system encourages cultural pluralism (Socialstyrelsen 1985; Ehn, et al. 1990; McNab 1989; Glenn and DeJon 1996). Undoubtably, Sweden has made attempts to allow cultural pluralism to exist within its public school systems. An example of this acceptance has been in the world-recognized mother tongue programs, pioneered by Swedish educators. Sweden is frequently cited, "as evident of the superiority of an emphasis upon the home language in schooling" (Glenn and DeJong 1996). However, the assimilationist methodology used within the language kindergarten in Botkyrka is an obvious example of the conservative regression away from a pluralistic ideology.

The children in the Botkyrka language kindergarten were not given mother tongue instruction. This methodology is in direct contrast to earlier stipulations published by the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare regarding preschool immigrant education. The following passages are taken from the Socialstyrelsen's publication entitled, "An Educational Program for Swedish Preschool, Summary." The message is hopeful and a glorification of a cultural pluralistic ideology. When juxtaposing these passages with the findings from my case study, there are several inconsistencies that become apparent.

Quote One: "Preschool should help children in their language development and in their other forms of expression - in creating images and forms, in music and song, rhythmic and drama. Preschools are to help make children's cultural heritage come alive for them, and help children to

understand and respect their own, as well as other's, social and cultural environments" (Socialstyrelsen 1985:5).

In the first quote, the aim of preschool should help to make the child's cultural background "come alive." How does imposing only the Swedish language and culture accomplish this objective set forth by the National Board of Health and Welfare?

Quote Two: "Many preschool children are members of families which are from other parts of the world. Their development is formed by both their families', and the Swedish, cultural backgrounds. They are learning to feel, understand, and be a part of, both the Swedish and other culture's value and norm systems, ways of behaving, traditions, language, etc. creating their own cultural identity" (Socialstyrelsen 1985:6).

In the second passage, the preschool is stated to be a time when the children are first developing a sense of "cultural identity." If the children attend a preschool taught exclusively in Swedish, playing with only Swedish toys, listening to Swedish stories having Swedish themes, how does this prepare the child to develop their "own cultural identity"?

Quote Three: "Preschool is to provide these children with a good basis for becoming actively bilingual and for participating in both parents' cultures of origin, as well as the Swedish culture. This requires access to bilingual personnel. Children need support in creating their own cultural identity of which they can be proud. The culture and language of their background must be respected, as this is clearly basic to the development of a positive self-identity, and all other development in a child" (Socialstyrelsen 1985:6).

"Giving cultural support" is the phrase used within the third quote to encourage active bilingualism and sharing each child's cultural background within a group context. One of the goals of the language kindergarten is to develop the child's social skills, meaning, that the child is able to participate within a group setting. But the teachers at the language kindergarten did not design the samling lessons to include each child's cultural backgrounds. Yes, if a word, for example, in Turkish was helpful to be used in explaining an object, then the teachers reluctantly clarified the child's confusion by saying the Turkish

word (if they happened to know it). However, the teachers utilized only the Swedish culture in the socialization process during samling, play time, outdoor excursions, and field trips.

Quote Four: "Giving cultural support means not only supporting the child's language, but also seeing that the child's culture is brought out in the group, that it is respected by, and made meaningful to, all the other children. When there are children from other cultures in the group, this situation should be a conscious point of departure for everything that is done. Children from other culture backgrounds are an asset to the preschool in that all of the children are able to, in a natural manner, learn to understand and respect other cultures and lifestyles" (Socialstyrelsen 1985:11).

Quote Five: "Children who have to integrate both their own family cultural background and the Swedish culture into their personalities, are to receive support in developing their parent's language and culture and in learning Swedish as a second language. The methods and themes taken up in the preschool should be inspired by the children's belonging to two cultural backgrounds. The aim is to aid these children in becoming actively bilingual and in forming a cultural identity to be proud of" (Socialstyrelsen 1985:12).

The final inconsistency that is comparable between the board's publication and the reality of the language kindergarten involves the qualifications of the teachers. The primary objective of the language kindergarten, according to the teachers' comments, is to teach the children Swedish. In the board's publication, the buzz words in the fourth and fifth quotes are, "becoming actively bilingual." To achieve this objective, according to the fourth passage, the children need to be exposed to qualified staff, "This requires access to bilingual personnel." The teachers did not know Turkish beyond a few choice words. For practical purposes, the only form of bilingual communication some children received was through other children serving as interpreters. The teachers often used more fluent Turkish children to communicate with less fluent Turkish children. The Turkish students comprised the largest minority group within the language kindergarten. I did not hear the

teachers speak Farsi, Arabic, Finnish, Spanish, Berber, Dutch, or any languages from India or Uganda; these are the other nine minority cultures represented by the preschool children within the language kindergarten. I did, however, hear the teachers speak English. Unfortunately, English was not a language used by any of the children within the school.

The earlier studies performed in Sweden regarding the education of Sweden's linguistic minorities gave rise to the concept of semilingualism. As defined earlier in this thesis, the term semilingualism means, "imperfect learning of two languages, a defective bilingualism into which the child is trapped by too early exposure to more than one language" (McNab 1989:80). This theory was disproven by researchers in the 1980s (Ekstrand 1983; Lainio 1997). However, the concern focused on the psychological aspects of forced assimilation caught hold in the 1970s leading to the Swedish minority reform of 1975 which stressed equality, freedom, and the goal of partnership (Narrowe 1998:30). The objective of providing equality, freedom, and partnership with immigrants and refugees in Sweden evolved into the mother tongue program which supported cultural pluralism. The celebration of cultural diversity was paramount to idealists who supported Sweden's liberal shift in the 1970s and 1980s.

As evident in the language kindergarten within Botkyrka, Sweden is choosing to ignore both its recent history and research regarding the forced assimilation of its minority populations. The submersion of preschool children in the Swedish language is no exception to adverse effects of forced assimilation. It is little wonder that the Turkish boys within the language kindergarten segregate themselves out of protection of their cultural identity. Sweden needs to be responsible to the refugee children who were accepted into the Swedish society on humanitarian grounds. The immigrants who opted to migrate to

Sweden for economic reasons also have a staked claim in their children's future within the Swedish society. The segregation between Swedish nationals and minority groups within Sweden cannot go further without adverse affects upon the society at large. The current atmosphere within Sweden's educational system is only a repetition of generations ago. As research showed in the 1970s and 1980s, if the Swedish educational system took an immigrant child's first language away completely and replaced it with Swedish through linguistic immersion the result was a disadvantaged student.

Social factors surrounding language shift

Due to corporate down-sizing, demands from the European Union, the economic regression throughout Europe, globalization, the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the Asian Market depression, and wars in Yugoslavia and Bosnia, Sweden is among several countries facing the economic ramifications of modernity and economic recession. In reaction to these changes, Sweden has implemented a series of social, political, and economic reforms which have taken the characteristics of decentralization, privatization, and market forces (Miron 1996:33). Consequently, these reforms affect the Swedish educational system. Like other European countries (e.g. Germany, France, Britain, and Belgium) Sweden was among the nations accepting refugees on humanitarian grounds in a steady flow beginning in the mid-1970s. Similar to other European countries, Sweden now faces social and linguistic decisions regarding its minority populations.

Since the 1930s, Sweden has been led by a Social Democratic government. With the new decentralization taking place, the power has shifted from the hands of the elected elite to each of Sweden's 288 municipalities. The linguistic conditions of Sweden's

minority populations has also fallen into the hands of each individual municipality. In recent history, several municipalities within Sweden have reacted in their own way to their minority populations. Negative situations have happened in Småland and Sjöbo, areas in Sweden that have tried to refuse minority groups residency altogether. In areas such as Botkyrka, which now contains a 99% immigrant population, the reverse of Sjöbo has happened. Botkyrka now represents a secluded immigrant area, otherwise referred to as "an immigrant ghetto" (Sjögren 1992:25).

The language shift and cultural maintenance within Botkyrka could be handled differently than it is today. Immigrants and refugees have been clustered within pocket communities in Botkyrka. They dwell in segregated housing, side by side other immigrants from elsewhere in the world. I often heard Botkyrka referred to as "a different country within Sweden." Obviously Swedish is the standard language utilized in the country at large. But in segregated pockets such as Botkyrka, Swedish is not the common language. As the second generation of immigrants pass through the Swedish educational system, the acquisition of the Swedish language is inevitable for some of them. Many second generation immigrants in Sweden will acknowledge the need to gain command of the language in order to obtain employment. However, as pointed out by Annick Sjögren, the recent groups of second generation immigrants in Sweden have not been terribly successful within the educational system. As Sjögren states, "in the 1990s, a disproportionate number of school failures among these linguistically and culturally diverse students is a source of worry" (1997:44).

Budget cuts affecting mother tongue programs is not a wise investment in the future development of Sweden's linguistically and culturally diverse student populations.

Depriving preschool immigrant children of their cultural heritage and submerging them into the Swedish culture is also not a healthy long-term investment in the child's well-being and consequently, in the future of Swedish society. The negative result of denying the child's native culture and language can make the child unproductive. According to Sjögren, a needed response regarding Sweden's minority students is for further research to be carried out comparatively between Sweden and other countries (1997:44). The case study derived from the language kindergarten in Botkyrka is an example of the type of research needed by the Swedish society to provide vital information regarding the condition of the language shift taking place within Sweden. This research can also be used in future comparative studies with other countries.

Language learning techniques in the språkförskola

The språkförskola in Botkyrka municipality has many explicit, simple advantages: a head start for the immigrant children in acquiring Swedish, a three-hour break for the children's parents, employment for the two teachers, and the fulfillment of the political objective to aid in the socializing of non-Scandinavian immigrants into Swedish culture. However, the workings of the school contained subtle inconsistencies which reflected segregation and ethnocentrism. The implicit, underlying force behind this språkförskola is the forced assimilation of immigrant preschool children. This mechanism is present throughout Sweden as the Swedish society grapples with the situations brought on by increased immigrant populations, a decreased economy, increased unemployment, increased usage of English, and in response, increasing representations of nationalism.

Dr. Mark Graham has aptly stated, "multiculturalism and nationalism are theoretically incompatible."

The children are learning Swedish. However, the forced Swedish pedagogy in the language kindergarten is having adverse effects on several children, namely, the Turkish children. In Judith Narrowe's book, "Under One Roof," she addresses the decades of social problems that Turkish children have faced within the Swedish educational system. Is the particular methodology in the språkförskola beneficial for the students? The answer to this question is simple: the methodology will be effective for students who want to learn Swedish. For the students who resist using Swedish, the methodology is isolating and educationally destructive.

Short term recommendations

My first recommendation is to have an assessment provided within the first two months of the child going to school. This being an honest evaluation of the child's wishes, conducted by an educated psychologist or sociologist who is bilingual/bicultural and sensitive to the student's language and culture. A portion of the evaluation would be conducted through observation of the child in the school setting. The teachers would provide necessary evaluations on the child's behavior and the parents would also input their feedback regarding their observations of the child. After adequate review is made by the professional assessor, the professional psychologist or sociologist would determine the placement or removal of the child in the immersion program.

Objects and themes from the children's multicultural backgrounds can be effectively used during samling. Music, food, dance, and games from other cultures can

contribute to the conceptualization of the Swedish language. Sensory experiences are a fantastic tool to impress upon the children concepts and words. The children will find this break in routine refreshing and it will foster learning. Most importantly, the children's cultural backgrounds will be honored by recognizing aspects of their cultural heritage.

My third recommendation involves the way that Swedish is used. The teachers have been very creative to incorporate physical objects to help the students learn Swedish. Swedish movies, music, and pictures are also being used within the language learning methods. However, despite the art and music that the teachers are allowing the children to experience, everything that the children produce is based on example and is not created from the child themselves. It is a good suggestion to incorporate more music and self-expression in the classroom. This will assist the children who have not acquired as much Swedish to still be able to express themselves.

It is very obvious that the children in the afternoon group are made up almost entirely of immigrants while the morning class consists of at least half Swedes (See Table 3). This uneven distribution in the "racial" makeup of the groups leads to my firm suggestion: diversify the classes. If there is an obvious problem with the Turkish boys, for example, being excluded in the afternoon group, it would be a good idea to integrate some Swedes from the morning--some Swedish boys--who could socialize with the Turkish boys instead of allowing the groups to exist in segregation.

Long term recommendations

Also, I recommend that the teachers in the språkförskola learn at least one immigrant language. This will help to avoid traumatic moments when communication

between the teacher and the student is completely paralyzed due to language differences. Empathy is one of the main tools being used by the teachers to sensitize the children to learn Swedish. But the empathy understood by the teachers exists within a Swedish context; the children might be having different concepts of empathy. The children's original cultures need to be valued and not placed below the Swedish culture. The teachers mentioned several times to me an interest to increase their English language skills, however, this is more for their personal benefit than the overall benefit of the school--most of the immigrant children do not know English either. Through learning an immigrant language, the teachers would also be exposed, in a personal way, to the social context of the immigrants' own countries. The teachers might also gain greater insight into the social situations of the immigrants in Sweden by learning the immigrant language. Active bilingualism will be a lasting asset to the language kindergarten's curriculum.

Parental involvement

A two-hour structured session could be offered twice a week to the parents allowing the immigrant mothers and fathers to join the class and learn Swedish with their young preschooler. Divorcing the parents and child in the acquisition of Swedish might have explicit advantages (e.g. allowing the parents to have a break, allowing the parents to participate in a more 'adult' form of instruction such as SFI) but I argue that nothing could be more natural than to foster learning of a language amid the bond of parent/child. The soothing guidance of the preschool teacher could assist the parents to relax in their own language acquisition. By practicing the language together, both parent and child could learn the practical application of Swedish while supporting each other and being

supported by the teacher. The suggestion to incorporate the parents into the classroom also allows for the teachers to become familiar with the parents and vice versa. This recommendation involves teamwork on the part of the parents and teachers and invites a truly productive learning environment. I have seen beautiful results from Korean children at the Corvallis Montessori School helped by their parents who attend the school together with their child in order to learn the language and bridge language differences.

Teacher training

I also have comments regarding the credentials of a language kindergarten teacher. Empathy can go only to a certain extent for a teacher when it is time to communicate to a child the lesson plan or course of social interaction. The teachers at the språkförskola had varying amounts of experience with teaching. One teacher had two years of experience, the other, twenty. Both teachers possessed a real gift for teaching and an inspiration to make the learning fun. Assimilationist teaching is only to the benefit of those students who are not hindered by social-emotional constraints to learn the language.

This thesis has discussed Finnish and Turkish studies that have revealed the difficulty these two ethnic groups have experienced assimilating into the Swedish culture through the use of the Swedish language alone. My recommendations for the teachers are to:

1. acquire at least one immigrant language
2. receive information about the different language communities they come in contact with in the language kindergarten
3. receive formal education on second-language learning techniques

The teachers need to be fully aware of the ideology behind the process of language acquisition, the stages of development the child who learns Swedish goes through, and the social realities the immigrant children face in their daily lives within Sweden. It might also be beneficial to invite teachers from the immigrant countries to visit and view the workings of the language kindergarten.

Finally, to enhance cultural appreciation, the teachers could also participate in exchange programs with teachers from immigrant countries. The teachers at the language kindergarten recently obtained a grant to study how other language kindergartens operate in Denmark. This accomplishment is applaudable but it provides information only on how another Scandinavian country is teaching their immigrant children, not how the native immigrant country teaches. The teachers could gain significant cultural understanding from a teacher exchange between an immigrant country and Sweden.

Bridging theory and practice in difficult times

As numerous studies have shown (Arnberg 1990, 1991; Narrowe 1998; Siren 1991, 1995; Stockfelt-Hoatson 1977, 1978; Boyd 1985; Sjögren et al. 1997; Ehn 1986, 1992, et al. 1992) the linguistic choice of immigrants in Sweden is closely associated with a sense of self and cultural identity. The requirement for stability and positive self esteem among immigrants in Sweden is simple: keep funding special education programs with mother tongue curricula. Second language acquisition should occur gracefully and supportively in a bilingual program. However, the implementation of this solution is at odds with the fundamentalist movement implicitly driving the budget cuts and Swedification agendas. The ideology to "keep Sweden Swedish" and to only teach

through the medium of Swedish has been proven to cause a defensive reaction, as the pre-1970s can attest for in Sweden among the Finnish (Skuttnab-Kangas 1983, 1988, 1996; Jaakolla 1976; McNab 1989; Allardt 1984).

Language shift occurs at both a community and individual level. To place complete responsibility on the individual immigrant to obtain a new language is to ignore the socioeconomic, political, and power dynamics contributing to the individual's desire to learn the new language. If the Swedish language policy requires a person to abandon their sense of self on the doorstep of language shift what kind of a person will be the final outcome of such a transformation? How will a forced assimilation effect the future outlook of Sweden's minority populations? Is Sweden strategically implementing a "like it or leave it" immigration and language policy that forces the immigrants to assimilate to 'Swedishness' only to fail? Sweden needs to look beyond temporal conditions and invest in the future of immigrants' minds and hearts. When I asked Charles Westin what was Sweden's greatest natural resource, he replied, "the people, of course." My recommendation is to support active bilingualism during language shift *and* after the immigrants learn Swedish. I suggest reinstalling the practice of cultural pluralism within the Swedish educational system, beginning in the preschools.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Sign posted at the språkförskola

"Måndag 27 september får vi besök av en språkforskare som heter Amy Nordlander. Amy bor i vanliga fall i Amerika. Hon ska vara hos oss på språkförskolan i 2-3 veckor, för att studera vårt arbete med språkinläring för yngre barn. Vi hälsar henne välkommen och hoppas den här tiden hos oss ska vara givande."

Translation: "On Monday, September 27 we are being visited by a language scientist by the name of Amy Nordlander. Amy usually lives in the United States. She will be with us in the language kindergarten for a few weeks to study how we teach language to younger children. We welcome her and hope that it will be a giving time for us all."

APPENDIX

Questions for teacher interviews

Frågar för läraren i Botkyrkas språkförskola

Questions for teachers in the Botkyrka language kindergarten

1. Hur började den här språkförskolan?

How did this language kindergarten begin?

2. Vilken pedagogisk modell använder ni?

Which pedagogic models did you use?

3. Vilket är den här språkförskolans huvud mål?

What is the main goal(s) of the language kindergarten?

4. Hur många språkförskolor finns det i Botkyrka? I Sverige?

How many language kindergartens are found in Botkyrka? In Sweden?

5. Vem bestämmer vilken språkförskola barn ska studera i?

Who decides which language kindergarten the children will attend?

6. Hur länge har du jobbat med barn?

How long have you worked with children?

7. Vilken utbildning har du?

What is your educational background?

8. Hur beskriver du förmiddagsgruppen?

How would you describe the morning class?

9. Hur beskriver du eftermiddagsgruppen?

How would you describe the afternoon class?

10. Vilken roll tycker du att läraren ska ha i barnens undervisning?

What role do you think the teacher has in the children's education?

11. Vad anser du om använda barn som tolk?

How do you feel about using children as interpreters?

APPENDIX

Questions for parent interviews

Frågor till föräldrar i Botkyrkas språkförskola

Questions for the parents in Botkyrkas language kindergarten

1. Hur hörde du talas om den här språkförskolan?

How did you hear about the language kindergarten?

2. Hur är den här språkförskolan bra för ditt/dina barn?

How is this language kindergarten good for your child(ren)?

3. Vad säger ditt/dina barn av hennes/hans dag i skolan--vilken typisk kommentar säger han/hon?

What does your child(ren) say about his/her day in school what is a typical comment from him or her?

4. Hur tror du att den här språkförskolan är bättre för ditt/dina barn jämfört med en vanlig förskola?

How do you think this language kindergarten is better for your child(ren) than an ordinary preschool?

5. Hur aktivt deltar du i språkförskolans verksamhet (t.ex. hjälper du till i skolan, pratar ofta med läraren)?

How active are you in the language kindergarten's activities (for example, helping out in the school, talking often with the teachers)?

6. Vad anser du om relationen mellan barnen i skolan?

How would you describe the relationships between the children in the school?

7. Vilket språk talar du med ditt/dina barn hemma?

What language do you speak with your child(ren) at home?

8. Hur länge har du bott i Sverige?

How long have you lived in Sweden?

APPENDIX

Contents of language test boxes at the språkförskola

Gold box: it's the smallest with a picture of a girl going down a slide:

- ♦ table--wood, very fine looking 5 inches long
- ♦ silverware: knife, fork, spoon
- ♦ piece of blue paper that might serve as a place mat
- ♦ 3 wood stools
- ♦ 2 wood chairs
- ♦ 2 plates of porcelain
- ♦ a glass

Blue box: it's a little bit larger than the yellow box, and it has a boy sitting on the slide on his knees:

- ♦ a read wagon with black handle
- ♦ a pink ball
- ♦ 2 blue balls
- ♦ a little red pale that is metal, and a blue shovel
- ♦ a plastic plant/flower, the flower is orange color
- ♦ a yellow jump rope
- ♦ a gold flower watering container
- ♦ a white rocking horse with red dots

Green box: it's larger than the blue one and it had a bald-like girl who is going down a slide with a jump rope, 2 blue balls, and a red sand bucket with a shovel:

- ♦ brush--white
- ♦ hand mirror, that is gold
- ♦ a white bathtub with gold handles
- ♦ a white toilet with brown seat
- ♦ a white sink with gold handles
- ♦ a blue bed and a blue cushion
- ♦ a piece of plaid to serve as a blanket--with matching bits of blue
- ♦ a teddy bear
- ♦ a wooden person with light colored wood and gray hair (woman)
- ♦ a wooden person with checkered blue/white shirt with red pants (and black hair)(man)
- ♦ a wooden stool, identical to the ones in the blue box
- ♦ a white pillow
- ♦ a yellow book that is called "Nalles bilder bok" and the pictures are: a rhinoceros, flowers, a bike, scissors, a bear, a little girl jumping rope, a tennis shoe with Velcro straps, a trumpet, a car, ice cream, a plane, and an apple with a worm sticking out of it

(continued on next page)

Red box: just as large as the green one, it does not have a picture on it.

- ♦ a police traffic cop who is a woman
- ♦ 2 wood block houses--apartments

- ♦ a traffic light, made from wood
- ♦ 2 wooden trees with green painted vegetation
- ♦ a white ice cream truck
- ♦ a red fire truck
- ♦ a blue car
- ♦ 2 ice cream cones
- ♦ a green object I wonder if it's a fire hydrant?
- ♦ a brown, long dog
- ♦ a gold flower watering container, similar to box blue

APPENDIX

Books in the reading area at the språkförskola

Leten, Mats "Var är Kaj?" 1995
 Printed by AKA--Print A/S

Torrud, Cecilia "Korv Till Middag" 1995
 Raben and Sjögren Bokförlag Stockholm

Nilsson, Ulf and Hoglund, Anna "Den lille pöjken och lejonet" 1994
 Proost NV, Belgium

Kruusval, Catarina "Bloomor från Ellen" 1996
 AB Raben and Sjögren Bokförlag Stockholm

Bergstrom, Gunilla "Kalas, Alfons Åberg!" 1995
 AB Raben and Sjögren Bokförlag Stockholm

Olof and Lena Landstrom "Nisse På Stranden" 1992
 AB Raben and Sjögren Bokförlag Stockholm

Baeten, Lieve "Lille Haxan fylder År" 1996
 Lieve Baeten och Uitgeverij Claris. Hasselt

Books of Trolls:

"Troll och trollungar" Gunilla Boven

"Karias och Baktus" Thorbjorn Egner

"Tim och Trine" Svend Otto S.

APPENDIX

Theoretical resource material given to the språkförskola by Kommun Educators

- ♦ "Language and Environment" Edited by Annick Sjögren 1997, Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, Sweden.
- ♦ "Kids Talk: Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood" Edited by Susan M. Hoyle, Carolyn Temple Adger, Oxford University Press--1998.
- ♦ "Promoting Community-Based Programs for Socialization and Learning" Francisco A. Villarruel, Richard M. Lerner.
- ♦ "Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education" James A. Banks, Cherry A. McGee Banks
- ♦ Shirley Brice Heath, Department of English, Stanford University
 - "Ethnography in Communities: Learning the Everyday Life of America's Subordinated Youth"
 - "Culture: Contested Realm in Research on Children and Youth"
 - "Creating Powerful Thinking in Teachers and Students: Diverse Perspectives"
Edited by John N. Mangieri-Arkansas State University and Cathy Collins Block-Texas Christian University.
 - Ch. 10 "Play For Identity: Where the Mind Is Everyday For Inner-City Youth"