THE HERITAGE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM AS A CULTURAL BRIDGE WITH TWO-WAY TRAFFIC

by

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Abstract

The link between language and culture is well recognized among educators and language specialists. In the area of heritage language teaching, the culture in focus has typically been the one associated with the country or area where the heritage language is used as a first language by a majority of the population. It was, however, postulated by the present researcher that much of the cultural content taught in heritage language classrooms would also deal with the host country's culture. That would in no way be an undesirable situation, since it was seen as an excellent opportunity for young, recent arrivals to the host country to learn about the culture of their new country.

The Ontario curriculum guidelines for heritage language programs state the students in these programs should also learn about Canada and the culture of this country. It would thus be reasonable to assume that heritage language instruction in Ontario would contain this kind of content to some extent, in addition to
focusing on the heritage culture. That would, however, not be expected in heritage language education in Sweden, where the curriculum guidelines do not include instruction about the majority culture. If, on the other hand, this kind of learning still took place in the context of home language education, as it is referred to in the Swedish school system, one would expect this cultural information sharing to happen regardless of the curriculum guideline objectives.

A case study was carried out in Sweden to investigate this issue. To allow for the possibility of different outcomes among ethnic groups, four different home languages participated in the study. They were Greek, Farsi, Spanish, and Vietnamese and were selected to represent cultures that were both very different from one another and from Swedish culture. The 477 students from participating school boards in the Stockholm and Gothenburg regions responded to 30 items on a questionnaire, each of which addressed a particular aspect of culture. In the analysis, the items were grouped into three cultural categories representing factual information, lifestyle, and cultural activities.

The subjects were asked to indicate on a scale from 0 to 4 how much they felt they had learned about the heritage country and Sweden respectively for each of the 30 questions. The responses were then analyzed using pair-wise comparisons, frequencies, means, and factor analysis. Comparisons were made not only between the participating languages but also in terms of age and gender. School officials and teachers in Sweden were invited to provide
feedback, as were heritage language coordinators at some Metropolitan Toronto school boards.

The results show that the students perceive themselves to have learned about Sweden as well as their country of origin. This was most true for the factual information category. Among the language groups, the Greek students reported learning least about Sweden, while the Vietnamese students felt they had learned more about Sweden than about Vietnam. Of the other two groups, the Spanish speakers most often answered that they had learned equally much about both cultures.

This cultural learning about the country of residence can be helpful in the integration process of young immigrants. As much of this learning may come from home language classmates, the new arrivals can also receive information about the youth culture in their new context, thereby facilitating integration into the peer group of the majority culture. Such a development is seen by this researcher as desirable in a multicultural society, as it allows for the preservation of minority cultures while at the same time preventing isolation. The heritage language classroom provides an opportunity to pursue this dual goal. In contrast, the result of ethnic group isolation, enforced or voluntary, is ghettoization and prejudice, not multiculturalism.
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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Intent

The close link between language and culture is readily recognized by language educators, and to teach one without the other is considered all but impossible. The cultural component has therefore become a natural part of heritage/home language classes, often in co-operation with cultural groups in the various ethnic communities (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1990, p. 12). The purpose of this investigation is to research the degree of cultural learning that takes place in the context of heritage language instruction. The study will in particular focus on the relationship between the cultural information provided about the heritage culture and the majority culture respectively, with the emphasis being placed on the latter. To date, transfer of cultural information about the host country through minority language education remains an area of inquiry that has attracted little, if any, attention.

The teaching of culture in the heritage language curriculum officially targets primarily the culture of the area where the heritage language is used as a first language, but in addition, the host country's culture is also taught to students in the program who are recent arrivals to that country. (Metropolitan Toronto School Board 1992, p. 9) This information is handed over either from teacher to student or informally from student to student, and
cultural component. Thus, these classrooms come to serve not only as links with "the old country" but also as bridges into the new one. While working on developing their first language, immigrant students are eased into their second culture.

In the curriculum guidelines for international languages issued by the Ontario Ministry of Education (1990) and the Metropolitan Toronto School Board's Generic Curriculum for Heritage Language Programs (1992), references are overtly made to the host culture. Teachers are expected to ensure that the students learn about the rights and freedoms outlined in the Canadian constitution (1982) as well as receive factual information about this country in comparison with the conditions in the country where the heritage language is spoken as a majority language. The students should also be made aware of the contributions made by the heritage culture to the Canadian multicultural mosaic. (MTSB 1992, p.6) It is therefore reasonable to assume that heritage language teachers in Ontario will include some formal instruction about the majority culture alongside the teaching of the heritage cultures.

Unlike the Ontario context, the Swedish curriculum guidelines ("Läroplan för grundskolan" or Lgr) for home language instruction of 1980 do not make any reference to Swedish cultural information as part of the instructional content. (Lgr 80, p.14-57) In the revised guidelines (Läroplan för den obligatoriska skolan" or Lpo)

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1Personal experience as a teacher in the Swedish Heritage Language Program in North York, Toronto, Ontario. (See p. 21) Also, personal communication with other heritage language teachers in the Metropolitan Toronto area.
of 1994, the Swedish National Board of Education does mention Swedish culture, but only as a "backdrop" to the culture associated with the heritage language. (Lpo 94, p. 23) It is, however, postulated by the present researcher that learning about the host country's culture still occurs to a considerable extent in the home language classrooms in Sweden, just as in Ontario, although it is not identified as an objective for the instruction. In order to investigate this issue, a study of cultural learning in the home language classrooms in Sweden has been undertaken. The results of this Swedish case study (presented in chapter 4, pp. 150-252) are intended to show how much cultural "two-way traffic" takes place in this context, even though the Swedish home language classroom officially is a "one-way street".

Background Information

Education and First Language Development

First language teaching and learning have usually been associated with the language spoken by the majority population in a particular country. In the case of countries with more than one official language, students would be taught in the dominant language of the particular region where the school is located. The language of home, school, and society is the same (=the students' mother tongue) and any other language would be taught as a separate subject, not as a medium of instruction. Non-language school
subjects would not entail the concomitant learning of a new language. With the exception of so-called immersion programs\(^2\), this has remained the reality for majority language students attending public schools in most countries.

Since the end of the Second World War, however, great population displacements have taken place throughout the world as a result of migrant workers in search of a better future and people fleeing war-torn regions or oppressive dictatorships. Many of these immigrants and refugees have settled in the nations of Europe and North America. New education needs have thus emerged among the students in the schools of these countries, be they refugee children in transition or the young members of immigrant families. These needs include second language learning of the majority language as well as first language instruction in the minority groups' mother tongues.

Meeting the special needs of students from a background that differs from that of the dominant culture has not always been seen as a relevant objective for the public school system. For a long time it was maintained, and may still be in some countries, that publicly funded education should serve not only to integrate but eventually to assimilate immigrant students into the host country's culture. In terms of language, the teaching provided was supposed to aim solely at making the students first functional and later

\(^2\)In Canada, usually French immersion in the form of students in anglophone areas, whose home language is not French, receiving their schooling in French and thereby learning the language by being "exposed" to it rather than being taught French as a subject.
fluent, even native-like, in the language of their new home environment. Little attention was paid to the value of maintaining an already developed proficiency in an immigrant student's first language.

In the 1970's researchers in psycholinguistics claimed to have found that the human brain learns how to acquire language as it develops through the different stages of first language learning. (Brown 1973, Macnamara 1972) A developmental pattern is established, on which the acquisition of other languages can then be modelled. It could, therefore, be more difficult to develop a second language beyond the proficiency level of this first language "template". It was even suggested that this language interdependency might explain why children of immigrant families often are less successful academically than children who were born and raised in the host country.

Although much of this discrepancy in school results can be explained by the cultural bias argument, academic performance more than any other type of endeavour requires a high level of sophistication in terms of language use (Kalantzis et al. 1989). This might have placed at a disadvantage children who had started their language acquisition in their mother tongue and then, before their language had become fully developed, were forced to change to a new school language imposed on them by an assimilation-oriented society. Thus, neither language got the opportunity to reach full potential, a situation which has been referred to by some researchers as "semi-lingualism". (Hansegård 1972, McLaughlin
The Development of Heritage/Home Language Programs

Most western world majority populations today seem to accept the need for public resources to be spent on teaching the majority language to minority students, but maintenance and development of these students' first language is still a more controversial issue. Heritage/home language instruction within the majority school system as well as bilingual education initiatives are found today in several European countries, in Canada, and (to some extent) in the United States. (Hyltenstam 1986) Popular support for such programs is not always overwhelming, especially if they are not privately funded options, but educators and officials in the different public school systems tend to view them more positively. (Cummins & Danesi 1990, Cummins 1997, Hyltenstam 1991, Tingbjörn 1996).

The language interdependency theory provided the supporters of heritage/home language programs with arguments in favour of first language instruction for minority students. (Cummins 1983) In Sweden in particular, this became the most widely accepted reason for establishing that country's extensive provision of home language instruction for immigrant school children in the mid-70's. Perceived increased potential for these students to become

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3See further discussion of this much debated term in Chapter 2.
proficient in Swedish as a second language became the primary motivating factor for school administrators to cooperate in this educational venture. (Tingbjörn 1996) Initially, the main objective was thus proficiency in the majority language facilitated by the development of the first language, and the students' resulting bilingualism became more of a side-effect from the school officials' point of view.

In Canada, on the other hand, bilingualism was made into a political goal in the late 1960's. Canadian bilingualism, however, consisted by definition of English and French and did not take into account the needs of immigrant children with other first languages. But in response to the demands made by educators and ethnocultural groups alike, programs for the teaching of so-called "heritage languages" began to appear within the publicly funded school systems in the mid-70's. (Cummins & Danesi 1990) These heritage language classes were not only intended to ensure proper first language development in children of new immigrants, but also to provide an enrichment opportunity for students who wished to revive or learn an ancestral language.

The programs thus became vehicles for language learning as well as a way to maintain or rediscover one's cultural roots. The provinces, being politically and financially responsible for educational matters, varied in their enthusiasm toward the teaching of heritage languages. In an immigration-oriented province like Ontario, these programs quickly caught on, and the number of available languages grew rapidly. By the beginning of the 1990's,
most Canadian provinces were offering heritage language instruction through the public school system, and the available language options usually reflect the cultural composition and ethnic background of the residents in each province (Cummins 1997).

Rationale

Peer Group and Youth Culture

It would appear that young immigrants are faced with a double difficulty. They are by definition, due to their youth, to some extent at odds with adult society, but they are also as newcomers to the host country given assistance in their adjustment to the new culture by adults - teachers, social workers, counsellors, government officials. Being taught the rules as the adult world sees fit could make their integration into the local youth culture unduly arduous. They are left belonging in neither the adult nor the young people's reality. This kind of alienation can then result in defensive behaviour, which in its turn may lead to aggression.

However, if the process of adjustment into the youth and children's culture were facilitated, integration into the local peer group would be more easily achieved. The obvious learning environment outside the home for young people is the school, but in the school context it is usually adult norms that decide the values and behaviours that are taught. Although peer teaching is
a popular concept in educational theory, most classrooms still rely heavily on the teacher as the conveyor of information. But informally, young people nevertheless manage to share the information relevant to their identity as youth or children living together in Canada. Young immigrants, however, more often than not have a language barrier to overcome, which renders this informal learning difficult, if not down-right impossible.

In the heritage language classroom, both recently arrived and well-established youngsters who share a language other than the official language of the school system can meet and benefit from each other. It is here that Canadian-born children of immigrant parents maintain a link with their origin in terms of ethnic identity. It is also here that the newcomer can meet other young people who speak their language and know the norms and behavioural codes of Canadian youth culture. In this way, the recently arrived students can learn the rules of the younger generation's Canadian reality before their skills in the official language have developed sufficiently. This will then help them associate with their peer group and prevents them from "looking stupid" or "making fools of themselves" out of sheer ignorance, which might otherwise effectively exclude them from the local youth culture at large.

A Harsher Climate

Judging by reports in the news media over the past few years, it seems that the Canadian multicultural mosaic is developing
serious cracks. With increasing unemployment and decreasing government services, a concomitant decrease in tolerance appears to have occurred together with increased suspicion or even hostility towards those perceived not only as newcomers but as minority group members generally. The label "immigrants" seems to be used in particular to indicate residents whose behaviour does not always conform with the norms of general acceptability by the Canadian majority culture. To break the unwritten rules of social interaction results in a negative response by the established society.

A country with several centuries of mostly European immigration, Canada is not unique in having received considerable numbers of immigrants from countries around the world in recent years (see p.4). Nor is the development of a harsher economic climate limited to the Canadian marketplace. These two factors are also present in Sweden, which like Canada has been - and in many ways still is - a wealthy nation with comprehensive social programs, including mostly free health care and education as well as generous pension plans and welfare payments. Different kinds of social assistance by the government in various areas of life have been taken for granted by many people in both Canada and Sweden.

Cutbacks have recently become a reality in the Canadian economy, which has brought about a diminishing generosity towards newcomers, and a similar development has taken place in Sweden over the past decade. One could even say that, generally speaking, open hostility toward those labeled "immigrants" has been more
noticeable in Swedish society than in Canadian contexts. To most Swedes, an immigrant is anyone who does not look and/or sound Swedish, (that is, speaks the Swedish language with a foreign accent) and who does not behave the way "normal" Swedes do. The unsuspecting foreigner, in turn, is only engaging in behaviour which reflects this individual's cultural conditioning.

Difficulties Faced by Immigrants to Sweden

The average Swede is primarily a peace-loving individual, but several incidents of violence against immigrants and refugees have been reported in the Swedish media over the past decade. The Swedes that are most often associated with this violent behaviour are youth groups of the skin-head variety, but neo-Nazi groups in Sweden also attract more mature members. More insidious is the less vocal and more passive support given to anti-immigrant behaviour by parts of the general public in Sweden. Opinions that reveal not only intolerance but even actual racism can these days be expressed without risk of becoming a social out-cast. Through casual observation in party contexts, this investigator has witnessed what might be called the "in vino veritas"—variety of anti-immigrant attitudes among Swedish middle-class people of different age groups. The lack of opposition or rebuttal such testimonies to intolerance are met with is certainly a cause for

^4See pp. 116-121

^5See pp. 116-121.
concern.

Equally distressing is a tendency among some employers not to hire or even interview job applicants with a family name that seems to be of immigrant origin, even though the candidate was born and raised in Sweden. Getting a job in the private sector in Sweden if you speak Swedish with a noticeable accent, although fluently and with good communicative competence, may border on the impossible unless you look for work in an immigrant-dominated suburb. Then you could get hired by an entrepreneur of non-Swedish background. But if a Swedish business or company today hires what is obviously a non-Swedish employee, public opinion can be quite disapproving and wonder why the firm could not find "a real Swede." This sentiment is perhaps boosted by unusually high unemployment levels in Sweden at present. (Guillou 1996, p. 18-19) A popular graffiti slogan today is "Bevara Sverige Svenskt" (Keep Sweden Swedish) which expresses an opinion that is, albeit less visibly, harboured in a considerable number of Swedish minds of all ages.

Summary

In short, the present economic climate, in Sweden and Canada alike, is not one to permit indulgent perks, and heritage language teaching has unfortunately often been perceived as such. Politicians and ordinary people in both countries have criticised

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6These observations are based on personal communication with representatives of minority groups in Stockholm and Gothenburg, including home language teachers, over the years 1994-96.
the programs and even supported cut-backs to them. These short-term savings may result in future social costs, with an underdeveloped human resource wasted as a number of immigrants may have failed to develop their full educational potential (Tingbjörn 1996). That, however, is a perspective only few seem able to apply to this situation. If, on the other hand, heritage language instruction can be seen as (also) helping young immigrants adjust to and better integrate into the host country's culture, both political attitudes towards and public opinion about the programs might become more favourable.

Comparison between Sweden and Ontario

Geographical and Demographic Aspects

A Swedish case study in any discipline can provide information relevant to a Canadian context and in particular to the situation in Ontario, as there are many similarities between the two. Comparing Sweden with Ontario in a more general sense, there are similar factors pertaining to both the geography and the economy of the two areas. Both of them have farmland and more sophisticated manufacturing industries primarily in the south-central parts, while more resource-based sectors of the economy dominate a bit further north. Wilderness, to a great extent, takes over in the northernmost halves of both Sweden and Ontario. Although almost a third of Sweden but virtually none of Ontario is located north of
the Arctic Circle, Sweden's proximity to the Gulf Stream compensates for this latitudinal difference so that the climates of the two areas become comparable. Since both extend more from south to north than from east to west, they experience an equally wide spectrum of weather conditions and climatic variations from one part to another.

These similar varieties in climate have resulted in parallels in demographic factors, too. The approximately nine million people who inhabit each area (a little over nine for Ontario, a bit under nine for Sweden) are for the most part found in the southern half. The highest population density is even more concentrated to the south, with the southernmost quarter of each area being home to the vast majority of the area's inhabitants. The high density urban centres are in both areas found in these southern regions. Other demographic data that point to the similarities between Sweden and Ontario are socio-economic variables such as types and availability of jobs, school and health systems, average standard of living, and family size.

**Socio-Economic Factors**

In all these socio-economic areas, Sweden and Ontario are very much alike. They both have until recently had low unemployment in virtually identical resource-based and manufacturing industries, large numbers of white-collar workers, and a once sizeable but now decreasing farming population. The public health insurance covers
all residents of Sweden as it does in Ontario, and in both areas most children get 12 or 13 years of education through the public schools, free of charge. The majority of people living in Sweden or Ontario enjoy a comfortable material standard of living, and families are relatively small with few children and not uncommonly a single parent. Extended family units are rare, but quite a few households consist of only one person.

The immigrant population in Ontario has for the most part settled in the larger urban centres, especially those arriving this century, and the same is true for Sweden. Employment opportunities have been a deciding factor in bringing about this situation, and much of the immigration to Sweden soon after the Second World War was driven by a need for workers in the then booming Swedish economy (see also p. 54). Generally speaking, newer arrivals to Sweden or Ontario do not enjoy the same standard of living as less recent immigrants, the latter for the most part experiencing a similar level of material comfort as those born and raised there. Social benefits are available as soon as a person becomes a legal resident of either Sweden or Ontario and meets the other criteria necessary to qualify for such assistance. (Lithman 1987) Albeit unfairly, this official generosity has made many newcomers the targets of accusations about "living off the tax-payer's money", regardless of whether said taxes were paid in Canadian dollars or Swedish crowns. Today's harsher economic climate has resulted in a certain popular stinginess in the way the contents of the public coffers are viewed.
Education Systems

Generally speaking, the Swedish public school system has many aspects in common with the ones in the various Canadian provinces, and with the public education system of Ontario in particular. Just as Sweden and Ontario as geographical and demographic areas have many similarities, so does the schooling the two areas provide free of charge to their young residents. Sweden has a later starting age for its school children, with the calendar year a youngster turns seven being the first compulsory school year for the child, grade one. In most municipalities, a child of six (or soon to be six) can attend an optional pre-school year of kindergarten. Similarly, the children living in Ontario can get an early start at age four, in junior kindergarten, if the family so wishes, whereas compulsory school attendance only begins in senior kindergarten, at age five. Most children in Ontario finish school after completing grade 12 or 13, and the majority of Swedish children attend school for 12 or 13 years.

Both Sweden and Ontario have school populations with a relatively high proportion of immigrant/refugee students, or students from families who do not use the official language (Swedish or English) at home. This is especially true for the major cities, where certain schools even have a majority of the students being of non-official language background. (Statistiska Centralbyrån 1994; Statistics Canada 1993) These students have a legal right to publicly funded instruction in the language of their
family background, provided a certain number of interested students can be found to start a group. (MTSB 1990; Lpo. 1994) In Ontario, this kind of instruction is known as heritage language programs; in Sweden, they are called "home language" instruction.

**Heritage/Home Language Instruction**

Although there are some differences in the design of these two versions, they share some important features. First of all, they are optional, i.e. no student of immigrant origin can be forced to attend them. Second, they are free of charge. Third, they consist of a couple of hours a week, during or outside of the regular school day. Fourth, they are usually offered for the first ten years of the child's school experience, i.e. JK-gr.8 in Ontario, K-gr.9 in Sweden. And fifth, the content of the program should teach the students about the culture of the heritage/home language country/area, without the teacher superimposing political or religious views and attitudes on the children. (Cummins & Danesi 1990; MTSB 1990)

When it comes to the differences between the programs, the most striking discrepancies lie in group size and student body. Ontario school boards require a minimum of 20-25 students to pay an instructor and provide a classroom for a heritage language to be taught, while the Swedish school system only demands a group of five youngsters. This leads directly to the second noticeable difference between the systems, which is class composition. A
heritage language classroom in Ontario often contains students of different ages and varying levels of proficiency in the target language. In Sweden, on the other hand, the groups are relatively homogenous. Moreover, the home-language students in Sweden must have some initial proficiency in the target language, which must also be actively used in the home. Unlike Sweden, no such requirements exist in Ontario.

The Cultural Content Component

Cultural Learning and the Curriculum Guidelines

The most significant difference for the purpose of this study is found in the curriculum guidelines in terms of the cultural content to be taught. We already saw above (p. 17) that both Sweden and Ontario insist that the heritage culture be taught as part of the language instruction, but only Ontario goes on to include the culture of the country of residence, in this case Canada. Not only should the students be familiarized with the rights and freedoms of the Canadian constitution, which says a great deal about generally accepted values in Canadian society, but they should also learn about the contribution of their heritage to Canadian culture, both as part of a multicultural society and as an element of Canadian identity. None of this inclusion of the host country's culture is found in the Swedish curriculum guidelines for home-language instruction.
It is, therefore, hardly surprising that one might expect different outcomes in terms of what the students learn about culture in this kind of classroom. If curriculum guidelines influence reality at all, the students in Ontario's heritage language program should learn something about what life is like not only in the heritage country/area but also in main-stream Canadian society. By the same token, Sweden's home-language instruction ought not to bring any such learning about in the students attending it. In other words, the immigrant students in a Swedish school would not learn much about Swedish culture and society until they are able to participate in school activities using Swedish as the language of communication. And by such a time, many misunderstandings could already have resulted in misguided behaviour on the part of both the immigrant newcomers and the Swedish students. We then get culture shock, culture clash, and even cultural segregation.

The Youth Culture Factor - Learning the Ropes

But just as ignorance is often at the root of intolerance, knowledge can bring understanding and acceptance. However, the information needed by immigrant students, in order for them to know how to fit as young people into the host country's culture and society, is probably difficult for an adult - in this case the teacher - to provide. Youth culture and children's unwritten rules of acceptable behaviour are not easily discernable from the more
mature perspective of the adult. As adults, we may even disagree with the relevance of many young people's norms and seriously question their underlying values. Nonetheless, the stark reality is that this is what the immigrant youngster is thrown into, whether we like it or not, and "learning the ropes" becomes an issue of survival, if not necessarily physical survival then at least survival of one's personal integrity. In the heritage language classroom, the newcomer gets the opportunity to meet other young immigrants or children of immigrant parents. These students already "know the ropes," or are at least in the process of acquiring them, and this kind of cultural learning for social skills development can take place.

That such transfer of helpful cultural information happens at the student-to-student level is something the present researcher has personally witnessed. While teaching in the Swedish heritage language program at North York Board of Education, it was easy to observe how newly arrived students received informal counselling from more well-established classmates about the do's and don't's of Toronto's youth culture and/or child interaction style. In the case of these students, the culture shift was superficially perhaps not that great, but appearing "goofy" or "stuck-up", or just simply out of touch with what is considered important by the peer group, can still have devastating effects in conformity-oriented youth contexts. Some helpful hints in ones's first language, i.e. the target language of the heritage language classroom, can be of tremendous preventive value and greatly facilitate the adjustment
process in the new environment.

An advantage of the larger and more heterogeneous groups of heritage language learners in the same classroom in Ontario extends beyond increased opportunities to receive information from your peers. The informal interaction among the students also results in linguistically beneficial opportunities for the well-established immigrants as well as the more recent arrivals. The "older" immigrant students will get a more up-to-date model for everyday spoken language, especially youth "lingo" and colloquialisms, while the newcomers in their turn can get help to become socially acquainted with their new environment, including the language. In addition, the newcomers offer a genuine context where the others have to use the heritage/home language, since it is the only way for them to communicate with each other.

Cultural Content in the Home Language Classroom

It could be assumed that this kind of classmate interaction may be more tolerated or even encouraged in the Ontario heritage language classroom, with its greater emphasis on incorporating Canadian culture into the content of the teaching, than what would be the case in Swedish home-language instruction. As was seen above, the curriculum guidelines in Sweden for this kind of program did not make much reference to Swedish culture and society in terms of instructional content. Thus, the teacher would be unlikely to make references to circumstances in Sweden and/or among Swedes
within the context of the home language, and the opportunities for students to exchange cultural information pertaining to their Swedish reality may be severely limited or simply never arise. The latter would most likely be the case in a smaller group of students with a teacher who considered this kind of content to be irrelevant to home language instruction.

On the other hand, it could be argued that this type of information-sharing will invariably take place as a result of normal casual human interaction patterns. We tend to talk about everyday situations, compare experiences, exchange views, and share observations. (Halliday, 1974) These conversational topics would enable a newcomer to any environment to learn from an interlocutor who is familiar with it. The specifics may be different, depending on age, gender, and degree of intimacy, but the general content would remain the same in the interactional style of a conversation. Therefore, it is my expectation that the variation in cultural objectives between heritage language learning in Ontario and home language learning in Sweden is only a superficial difference.

As a result, information about not only the heritage culture but also the culture of the host country could be seen as an essential part of the content learned in the heritage/home language classroom. While young immigrants are developing second language skills in the dominant linguistic code of the host country, they are also receiving information through their peers in the heritage/home language context about the behavioural code of the host country's majority culture. Knowing what is socially
acceptable under what circumstances is a prerequisite for smooth functioning within the social fabric. Breaking those unwritten rules creates wrinkles in this fabric. Admittedly, groups and/or individuals may choose to "ruffle up" the social fabric in order to make a cultural statement or show pride in their ethnic background. This should, however, always be an informed choice of behaviour, be it in terms of appearance or interaction patterns. In the heritage/home language classroom minority students can learn about what is shared and what is distinct when comparing the heritage and host cultures, thus enabling them to decide to what extent they are going to conform.

In a still relatively homogeneous society like Sweden such information may be more important to ensure a person's integrity than is in Ontario with its long tradition of immigration and official policy of multiculturalism. If this is found to be happening in Sweden as well as in Ontario, despite the different curriculum guidelines objectives, it is likely that such learning is an inseparable part of minority language education, wherever it happens. If so, it could be a valuable aid in the adjustment process for recently arrived young immigrants to a new, and perhaps puzzling, country. This would facilitate the integration of these youngsters into the peer group of their new cultural reality, which could prevent isolation based on ethnicity. By thus promoting cooperation and peaceful coexistence while maintaining minority cultures, heritage/home language programs could contribute in a unique way toward an enriching multi-cultural society that works.
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introductory Remarks

The research into bilingual education generally and heritage language programs specifically has primarily been carried out in North America and Europe. This does, of course, not preclude the existence of such educational options elsewhere, but most published investigations into this field have been connected with research centres in those geographical areas. In terms of heritage language programs, two countries in particular seem to have more prolific contributors working in this field of study; Canada in North America and Sweden in Europe. This review will focus mostly on research originating in Sweden, which for reasons of language may be less accessible to an English-speaking readership.

In the selection process for this review of relevant literature on the topic under discussion, certain priorities were established in terms of the focus of the case study, although some recent publications from the Canadian scene will also be reviewed. With the exception of the studies referred to in the section of this chapter that deals with the "semilingualism controversy" (p. 44-50), research concerning bilingual education in the United States will not be included here. Neither will research from Great Britain, although many studies from that country have surveyed and evaluated bilingual programs involving English and one of the Celtic languages. For an excellent overview of past and current

It is, however, interesting to note that Baker includes very little about research in Scandinavia regarding these issues. He refers to work done by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas when he discusses the "Threshold Levels Theory" (p. 173-175) and theories about bilingual proficiency (p. 175-177), and he does mention Leonore Arnberg of Linköping University in Sweden. Arnberg's contribution to Baker's discussion, though, looks at bilingual education in Great Britain with instruction in English and Welsh and does not focus specifically on the Swedish context. There thus appears to be a certain kind of "in-breeding" in the selection of relevant material. The present investigator found a similar lack of awareness in Sweden about some well-known Canadian experts in this field, and in North America, "household names" in Swedish bilingual education seem likewise relatively unknown. This literature review is an attempt to break with that isolationist tendency.
Review of Relevant Canadian Literature

General Comments

With its status as an officially bilingual country and a national policy of multiculturalism, it is hardly surprising that Canada has contributed extensively to the field of research on bilingualism. Canadian researchers in bilingual education have in particular focused on two areas: French immersion classes for the anglophone population, aimed at creating a bilingual citizenry, and heritage language programs for children of immigrant background for the maintenance and development of a home/community language or for the survival or even revival of an ancestral language. Research in Canada into bilingual education is carried out at all major universities, but the majority of contributions to this area of investigation have originated in the two largest Canadian cities, Toronto and Montreal.

In Montreal, especially at Montreal University, research into bilingual education and the effects bilingualism seemed to grow naturally out of the English-French environment in that city. Montreal is probably the most bilingual city in Canada in terms of inhabitants who actually speak both languages with similar ease, while the rest of the Canadian bilingual landscape at times has been described as "the two solitudes". It was in Montreal that Peal and Lambert (1962) presented their mould-breaking findings that bilingualism could actually be beneficial to cognitive
development. It was definitely not, in contrast to what studies carried out in the United States had found, detrimental to a child's development to live with two languages.

Much of the Montréal-based research into bilingual education has had as its focus the by now well-known Canadian model of French immersion for anglophone children. In 1965, this kind of program was initiated in response to requests by parents in the predominantly English suburb of St. Lambert. It was first evaluated by Lambert and Tucker in 1972. This evaluation found no detrimental effects of the children's bilingual schooling experience (Tucker and d'Angeljan 1972). Further evaluations were carried out throughout the 1970's and -80's (e.g. Cummins, 1983; Gardiner, 1983; Genesee 1978, 1983 & 1984; Stern 1984, Swain & Lapkin 1982; Tarone, Frauenfelder & Selinker 1976). A good part of these studies were undertaken in Toronto, which had started its own French immersion programs in the early 1970's. From there on, the immersion programs grew rapidly across the country, and already in 1986 there were over 100,000 students enrolled (Baker 1988).

In Toronto, much of the research into bilingual issues was carried out at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The development of expanding heritage language programs in several Ontario locations, but particularly in Metropolitan Toronto, contributed to a great deal of research being directed towards this kind of bilingual education. The OISE team in this area - The National Heritage Language Resource Unit - is led by Jim Cummins who, together with a number of co-researchers, has investigated
heritage language education across Canada, after this kind of program, like French immersion, had become established in several provinces. Also like the immersion programs, heritage language education resulted from a grass-roots initiative and grew out of some pioneering classes to include a plethora of international languages.

**Cummins & Danesi on Heritage Language Programs**

In 1990, in cooperation with Dr. Marcel Danesi of the University of Toronto, Cummins published a comprehensive overview of heritage language program developments to date in Canada (Cummins & Danesi 1990). In this report, Cummins and Danesi provide background information about the development of heritage language programs in Canada and give a description of the types of programs available. They also present an inventory of where these programs were in operation in 1990, but Cummins (1997) offers a more current version in his latest publication on this topic, which will be reviewed later in this section. In addition, Cummins and Danesi comment on the attitudes among Canadians with regard to these programs.

When discussing the background of these programs, the authors point out that languages other than English and French have been taught to Canadian school children since early this century, but those classes were originally taught as community programs that were funded by the minority groups themselves. With the change in
Canada's cultural policy from biculturalism to multiculturalism, which took place in 1971, a commission was appointed to investigate the political climate in regard to not only multiculturalism but also multilingualism. This "Non-Official Languages Study" reported their findings in 1976. They indicated that there was a great deal of support for heritage language programs in public schools among members of various ethnic communities in many parts of Canada and a serious concern about language loss if minority language maintenance rested solely with the parents.

In contrast, an investigation called the "Majority Attitudes Study" presented its results in 1977, which revealed much less enthusiasm about the idea among speakers of Canada's official languages. In fact, both anglophones and francophones were quite strongly opposed to taxpayers' money being spent on heritage language education within the public school system. Even after the introduction of these programs, the negative attitudes persisted, as was found in a 1983 survey (Livingstone & Hart) that inquired about public opinion in the province of Ontario. In Toronto, there was even a work-to-rule campaign in the 1983/84 school year among regular program teachers who officially objected to the integration of heritage language instruction into the regular school day, but several regular teachers had serious misgivings about teaching heritage languages in public schools at all. Cummins and Danesi contrast the official policy of Multiculturalism with what they see as a strong Anglo-conformity tradition characterized by an assimilationist view that had bent far enough by grudgingly
accepting official bilingualism.

Cummins and Danesi also identify different ways of designing heritage language education with Ontario exclusively using the model of a few hours - usually two and a half - per week in addition to the regular classroom instruction. That was also most common in Québec, although some bilingual programs did exist, offering education using the heritage language as a medium of instruction together with the majority language. This latter model seemed to be the preferred choice in the prairie provinces, while the coastal provinces - east and west - had been more hesitant to provide heritage language education in the public schools. That situation could in Atlantic Canada possibly be justified by the presence of relatively few immigrants in those provinces at the time, and in British Columbia we may have seen a lingering effect of the "Anglo-conformity tradition" mentioned above.

The two authors make a point of clearly defining the term "heritage languages". They explain it as meaning "all languages other than the aboriginal languages of Native and Inuit peoples and the 'official' Canadian languages (English and French)". They go on to inform the reader that a number of different adjectives have been used in lieu of "heritage", which has been perceived as having too many connotations with cultural traditions of the past. In Canada, synonyms for "heritage" have been "ancestral, ethnic, minority, non-official, third, and (in Quebec) d'origine." The terms "mother tongues" and "community languages" are used elsewhere in the Commonwealth. The Toronto Board of Education chose to
simply call them "modern languages". Cummins and Danesi do, however, (as does the present researcher) settle for the term "heritage languages" in spite of the potentially negative associations it might elicit in some readers.

The Canadian Education Association's Report

The following year, 1991, The Canadian Education Association (CEA) issued a publication called Heritage Language Programs in Canadian School Boards. The decision to launch this survey was based on the Association's awareness of a "persisting controversy into the 1990's over heritage language programs" (p. 3). This controversy was described at the beginning of the introduction in terms of the following set of questions:

"Should our schools, in addition to teaching English and French, be teaching a third language, in most cases the language spoken by the parents or other family members? What appears at first glance to be a simple question has, in fact, turned out to be a highly contentious one. On the social and political levels, the debate continues on the advisability of maintaining multiculturalism: should Canada encourage its recent arrivals to maintain their own identity, language and culture? Is there value to diversity? Of should we adopt the way of the United States, encouraging all to blend into the 'melting pot'" (p. 1).

In this document, the CEA presents an inventory of existing heritage language programs in all of Canada, according to answers provided by the 94 school boards (of 124 in all) that responded to the CEA's request to submit information about such programs. Of

7As we shall see shortly, the Ontario Ministry of Education adds one more label to the list by referring to heritage languages as "international languages".
these, only 34 reported that they had programs of this kind in operation, but the Territories, the Atlantic provinces and British Columbia had native language programs available, although the CEA did not consider them heritage languages. The questions asked by the CEA inquired about "languages other than French, English, and aboriginal". British Columbia also indicated that they were in the process of providing access to Heritage language education through the public school system, although programs already existed at the community level in that province.

In this review of the report, the focus will be on the evaluation of the programs rather than on the availability of heritage language education. The latter will be provided in more up-to-date form in the summary of Jim Cummins' latest contribution (1997). The CEA report concludes that "virtually every language in the world is taught somewhere in Canada" (p.47), and that is still true in 1997. In terms of feedback about satisfaction with the program among students, staff, and parents, it is strikingly high. The students generally enjoy the various types of heritage language education offered - bilingual schools, integrated classes, after-school classes, Saturday classes, summer school - and teachers are by and large committed, motivated, and dedicated. Staff turnover is reported as minimal by almost all boards in the survey. Parents were very pleased with the programs and often participated in curriculum committees, community advisories, parents' councils, and

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A later study by the CEA would focus solely on Canada's native languages (p.3).
other types of liaison groups between school and community.

Among the few complaints mentioned were dissatisfaction with space and available resources. At times, scheduling conflicts occurred, and cooperation with regular classroom teachers was not always without friction. Some instructors called for more in-service training, while others were happy with the professional development that was offered through their board. At the board level, support was the rule but occasional headaches were experienced in the areas of allocating classrooms and equipment as well as finding qualified teachers in all available languages. Some comments were made about the odd methodology problem. As one director of education phrased it, the methods used by his teachers were "mostly socratic; mostly based on grammar; the main purpose of my professional development is to help them break out of the traditional mode" (p. 29).

That does, however, not seem to be the norm. Most teachers are reported to use a variety of teaching styles and methods, emphasize a communicative approach, and include ample amounts of community involvement as part of the cultural component of the program. Much of the students' learning is activity-based and experiential. Their parents are sometimes not entirely impressed with this integrative methodology, and the report quotes one school board as commenting that "the parents' expectations regarding curriculum and teaching strategies are often outdated" (p. 33). Parents are, on the other hand, often willing to contribute as volunteers in the classroom, either as special visitors from the
"real world" or as regular informal teaching assistants. This direct link with the local ethnic community is much appreciated by teachers and students alike, and the teachers stress the importance of a genuine link between the home and the heritage language students.

The parents of present or former students had usually provided the impetus for getting these programs started, either as part of the heritage language education programs or, before the inclusion of these options in the public school system, as community-based independently funded programs. Frequently, parents are still involved in finding suitable candidates for teaching a particular language, and several boards also take parent input into consideration when devising their curricula for various heritage languages. Transportation is often coordinated and/or funded by parents' groups, who are sometimes also involved in fund-raising initiatives. This is done to supplement the public funds in financing the programs in order to improve the quality of their children's learning or, in these times of cutbacks, maintain the program standard. Parents usually also provide the best opportunity for the students to use the heritage language outside the classroom, although the extent to which they do this varies.

Academically, no disadvantages were reported, except by certain regular classroom teachers who objected to students being

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9In Québec, students seem to more consistently use the heritage language outside the classroom (p.23), and London, Ontario, reported that younger students do so more than older ones (p.31) ..
"pulled out" to attend heritage language education. No real loss in learning seems to have taken place, though, and the heritage program students tend to receive higher scores on English tests than the average student (p. 31,36,39,43). They also seem to have a greater facility in learning a third language (p. 32,39,43), although this was more based on personal observation by staff than on systematic testing. Many school boards also indicated that the heritage language education had a positive influence on the students' "total school experience".

In the concluding summary, the CEA report lists the following advantages as consistently found in the information from the school boards (p. 48):
* positive attitude and pride in one's self and one's background
* better integration of the child into school and society
* increased acceptance and tolerance of other peoples and cultures
* increased cognitive and affective development
* facility in learning other languages
* increased job opportunities
* stronger links between parent and school
* ability to meet community needs

To this list I would also like to add the following, which were found in the feedback from individual school boards:
* intergenerational communication (p. 36)
* positive social interaction among students with common interests (p. 39)
* increased status for ethnic communities within the school board
promotes Canada as a multicultural country (p. 32)
"it helps a child make the transition to Canadian society by giving them the security of being able to speak their parents' language while learning to speak English outside the home" (p. 32)
Finally, a quote will be offered from the information provided by the Etobicoke Board of Education (a part of Metropolitan Toronto, Ontario): "The heritage language program offers the board the opportunity to teach 'Canadianism' to students whose ethnocultural origin is quite different from the Canadian experience" (p. 33).

Curriculum Documents for Ontario's Heritage Languages

Two sources have had a particular relevance to the present investigation in that they were instrumental in determining what to include in the questionnaire used in the Swedish case study. One is the Curriculum Guideline for International Languages issued by the Ontario Ministry of Education in 1990, which makes a strong connection between language and culture: "Language and culture are inextricably interwoven" (p. 27). The document lists numerous instructional targets in both areas, and divides the presentation into four parts, Objectives, Content, Techniques, and Evaluation. The present researcher is much indebted to the list of aspects of culture in the Content section (p.14-15) and the breakdown of these cultural topics into a number of specific subtopics in Appendix E
The additional emphasis on developing cultural awareness and sensitivity is another positive quality in the guidelines. Frequent references are made to the heritage culture situation and role in today's multicultural Canada and to Canadian majority culture. It also addresses the notion of other minority cultures in Canada, and the students are furthermore expected to be taught about "the transformation that can occur when a culture is transplanted or when it changes over generations" (p. 54). Comparisons should be made between the culture today in the country of origin and the current cultural expressions in the Ontario community of target language speakers. As the document states, "Immigrant communities often maintain their culture as it was when they emigrated, while the original culture continues to change and develop" (p. 16), and it is important that the heritage language students realize this.

The other instrumental contributor of cultural content ideas for the Swedish case study questionnaire is The Generic Curriculum for Heritage Language Programs, issued by the Metropolitan Toronto School Board in 1992. It builds on the ideas and suggestions in the Curriculum Guideline of 1990 and provides concrete examples and teaching materials in addition to helpful information about methodology and a descriptive section giving an "image of the learner" by age group/school division. Particularly helpful for the development of the questionnaire used in this investigation was the selection of "Themes and Suggested Units" in the MTSB
publication (p. 7-10). Further inspiration was provided by the general overview of sample activities (p. 119-123), which is then broken down into specific instructional units. The volume as a whole is characterized by a pragmatic approach to the task of teaching heritage languages with realistic, practically applicable exercises implementing the intentions and recommendations of the Curriculum Guideline (1990)\textsuperscript{10}, as well as easy-to-use check-lists for evaluation purposes and advice on how to report to the parents on student progress\textsuperscript{11}.

Cummins on Heritage Language Learning and Teaching

In a recently published volume entitled "Ethnicity and Culture in Canada" (1997), Jim Cummins contributes a section called "Heritage Language Learning and Teaching" (p.435-456). In it he focuses on certain aspects of the heritage language programs to investigate whether the heritage language programs have indeed met the initial expectations of the program, such as promoting both multiculturalism in society and overall cognitive development in individual students. He also comments on the issue of language loss, i.e. the heritage language becomes "overpowered" by the majority language.

\textsuperscript{10}The Guideline uses the expression "International Languages" when referring to heritage languages, a name that has at times been criticised (e.g. Cummins & Danesi 1990)

\textsuperscript{11}This publication received much positive feedback from home language educators in Sweden, both among administrators and classroom teachers.
Cummins first offers a brief overview of heritage language education across Canada. Since education is primarily a provincial responsibility in Canada, most of the funding has been provided by the provincial governments. But from 1977, when the Cultural Enrichment Program was introduced by Ottawa (although not whole-heartedly supported by all speakers of the two official languages) until 1990 (when it was eliminated due to budgetary restraint) the federal government also contributed a part of the cost of operating the various Heritage Language Programs across the country. In Atlantic Canada, where no provincial financing was given to heritage language education, these federal contributions represented the entire funding for the programs.

In central Canada, the Heritage Language Program (HLP) in Ontario is considerably bigger than its equivalent in Québec, the PELO (Programme d'Enseignement des Langues d'Origine). Both programs were introduced in 1977, but the PELO only includes 14 languages and just under 6000 students (1990). The HLP, on the other hand, comprises over 60 different languages with over 120,000 students in Ontario participating in the program. In both provinces, the heritage classes are usually taught outside of the regular school day, either before/after school (or during the lunch break) or on weekends. In Québec, a school board can choose to offer PELO instruction as part of the regular school day, but this rarely happens. In Ontario, the HLP classes can only be integrated into a school day that has been extended by 30 minutes to accommodate the extra class time without reducing the amount of
other teaching during the day.\textsuperscript{12}

In the prairie provinces, the provincial governments and teaching professionals alike have been highly supportive of heritage language instruction. In Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, bilingual programs are most common, with half the school content being taught in the heritage language. Enrolment is, however, relatively limited, and the two most commonly found languages combined with English are Ukrainian and German. In Alberta, especially the city of Edmonton, a greater variety of heritage languages are offered either as bilingual program options or as subjects within the English-language education.

British Columbia has been the most reluctant big province to implement heritage language instruction. It only had 17,000 students participating in such programs in 1991. This must be a surprisingly low number considering the great influx of immigrants from South-East Asia to that province. Provincial funding can, however, be made available for school districts that decide to introduce heritage language classes.

Looking at the results of various Canadian research projects, both national and local, Cummins reports on issues pertaining to the literacy and academic performance of minority students in the majority language, first-language loss among these students, and the potential for the learning of additional languages. He also comments on attitudes among parents and education professionals as

\textsuperscript{12}This option proved to be very controversial when first introduced in the early 80's and resulted in work-to-rule protest action by Toronto teachers.
well as the role of heritage language programs in anti-racist education. The findings presented in Cummins' overview strongly come out in favour of heritage language education. The languages involved in the research projects focusing on specific programs include Ukrainian, Italian, Portuguese, Punjabi, Japanese, and Vietnamese. The research surveys look at all heritage languages offered by a particular school board or a number of school boards in a given geographical area.

In terms of language development and acquisition, there is no reported evidence of any negative effects from the heritage language learning in the areas the research deals with. Proficiency in the majority language, usually English, is if anything better in students attending some kind of heritage language program than in students who are not. This was even true for children who were identified as low-ability students and were educated in a bilingual English-Ukrainian program. Moreover, learning an additional language over and above the first (minority) language and the official (majority) language is reportedly facilitated by this early bilingual experience. Linguistic interdependency was observed not only between proficiency in various aspects of first and second language performance but also in the development of a third language. There seems to be a transfer of knowledge and learning processes, which is further enhanced by the more highly developed metalinguistic awareness regularly found in bilingual individuals.

A more realistic concern than impaired language learning
beyond the heritage language is first-language loss once minority children start their schooling in the majority language. The data show this occurring, even when the minority language is still the predominant language of communication in the home. This was found to be the case in studies looking at languages as different as Ukrainian, Italian, Portuguese, and Punjabi. It was particularly true of students who were born in Canada or arrived here before 8 years of age. If heritage languages are to survive from one generation to the next, active educational support from the school system is necessary. Cummins does, however, caution that the question of how effectively heritage language teaching can reverse language loss remains to be answered. Although casual observations of first language maintenance and development are mentioned in the studies Cummins reports on13, there seems to have been no formal evaluation to assess the difference that participation in heritage language programs can make to assist in the survival of minority languages.

In terms of attitudes to the programs among parents and educators, they are for the most part positive. It seems that the parents of children enrolled in heritage language instruction are overwhelmingly supportive, and teachers in the programs are also happy with them. Other teachers, however, do not always share this enthusiasm, and school administrators at times complain about scheduling problems and lack of materials in some target languages.

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13There is even evidence of heritage language revival in students who start attending the program with no initial proficiency in the target language, in this case Ukrainian.
By and large, though, school officials tend to be positive vis-a-vis the heritage language programs. A related outcome was also reported increased communication between the school and minority parents.

The role of heritage language education as part of the school system's efforts to work against racism is also addressed by Cummins. Anti-racist education can be both aimed at reversing existing prejudice and intended to prevent future discriminatory behaviour. According to Cummins, heritage language programs can make a positive contribution in both ways to combat racism in society. One survey (CEA 1991) found increased acceptance and tolerance of other peoples and cultures among students who received heritage language instruction. Another study (MacNamee & White 1985) found initially negative attitudes in the children about their own heritage gradually shifting toward a greater willingness to not only use the language but also participate in the culture of their family elders. The greater involvement of minority parents in the life of the school that, as was mentioned above, has been one of the heritage language program "side-effects", in combination with other multicultural initiatives at the school board level, can help to promote equity for students form diverse backgrounds, a major goal of multicultural policy. And one of the most important objectives of multiculturalism, suggests Cummins, is to eradicate racism.
Before going on to a review of the literature that has been produced on this subject in Sweden, I would like to address the notion of semilingualism, an issue that has been a topic for discussion in bilingual research and education for almost three decades in both North America and Sweden. In the Swedish debate, some of the most notable participants have been of Finnish background, e.g. Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas, while in North American contexts researchers from both Canada and the U.S. have participated. The discussion has been vigorous, but at times the participants seem to have addressed the issue from different points of departure in terms of related variables and perception of relevant measurements and evaluation principles.

The inception of this debate was a publication by Nils-Eric Hansegård, Swedish former school teacher and then professor in the Lappish/Sami language at Uppsala University in Sweden. His, as it turned out, controversial contribution was, however, not about the situation of the Sami in northern Sweden but about that of the Finnish-speaking indigenous minority living in the Torne Valley, north of the Baltic Sea on the Swedish side of the border with Finland, i.e. the Torne River. In the book "Tvåspråkighet eller halvspråkighet" (1968) he describes the linguistic competence that he had observed as a teacher there among local residents speaking both the local Finnish varietal (Tornedalsfinska), mostly at home, and Swedish, mostly at school and in other formal contexts.
Hansegård concluded from these observations that the children he taught did not really have two languages available to them but rather "half a language" in both. When Hansegård's study was published in English translation (1972), the term used for this kind of bilingual ability became "(double) semilingualism".

First to refute Hansegård's findings was another Swede, Bengt Loman (1974), who criticized them on the basis of social variables not having been taken into account in the study, but researchers from the Finnish community in Sweden agreed with Hansegård's conclusion. In 1975, Pertti Toukomaa published a study in Finnish (in Swedish in 1977) which presented results from his investigation of Finnish-speaking school-children in southern Sweden that seemed to support the existence of "semilingualism". Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1975) favoured Hansegård's basic premise, but she called for a clearer definition of the term semilingualism as well as bilingualism. The concepts need to be limited and a level established where one becomes the other. She also cautioned that this boundary may well be flexible. Echoing Loman, Skutnabb-Kangas also points to the important influence of societal factors.

By 1976, the discussion had moved across the Atlantic. In Canada, Jim Cummins (1976) published an article where he proposed a so-called threshold level of competence in both languages. This level is variable, depending on both the bilingual's cognitive development and exposure to the two languages. By identifying this level in an individual's linguistic output, it would according to Cummins be possible to avoid negative consequences of the kind
referred to above as "semilingualism". That, in turn, could then explain some of the seemingly contradictory findings about both positive and negative effects of bilingualism in different speakers of two languages.

In 1978, Christopher Stroud of Lund University published an article entitled "The Concept of Semilingualism", where he proposes that the various participants in the debate may be using the same word for different notions. He suggests that there can be three possible ways of understanding "semilingualism" in terms of assumptions made about the underlying language-thought relationship (cf. Vygotsky 1962). One of these interpretations is then implicitly assumed by a linguist who addresses the topic without being aware of that assumption. These subconscious theoretical positions make the issue difficult to settle as the debaters place the notion in different conceptual frameworks.

Quite unambiguous, on the other hand, is Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) when she in the book "Tvåspråkighet" (Bilingualism) claims that a well-established first language is a necessity before the introduction of a second one. This should not take place until after the child has had exposure to L1 in school experiences as well as the home. If children don't get this all-round exposure to their mother tongue, they will not successfully develop an L2, at least not without losing their L1 competence. Skutnabb-Kangas therefore suggests delaying the introduction of Swedish as a second language to Finnish-speaking minority students attending school in Sweden until their Finnish is developed as a school language (grade
3 or 4). By this time, she assumes, there is only a remote possibility of them suffering any later L1 loss. Her assumption is also, that - in concordance with the language interdependence theory (Cummins 1979; Cummins et al. 1984) - the students' Swedish would then also progress beyond the level of proficiency she defines as "ytflyt" (= surface fluency)\textsuperscript{14}.

Kenneth Hyltenstam, of Stockholm University, has used the translation "linguistic facade" to refer to "ytflyt" in English-language contexts. He has not, however, seen it in as negative a way as Skutnabb-Kangas (personal communication 1992; Hyltenstam 1993). Like Stroud, he also finds it misleading to use the term semilingualism in purely linguistic terms, as social, cultural, cognitive, and emotional factors also influence both a child's language development and immigrant children's scholastic achievements. Hyltenstam and Stroud (1982) address these two issues and alert the reader to the possibility that the negativism in the debate surrounding immigrant children's bilingual development could become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Another publication of note in the controversy was issued in the U.S. by Christina Bratt-Paulston (1982 in English; 1983 in Swedish translation). She fails to see any empirical evidence for the existence of a condition that could be labelled "semilingualism" (see also Cummins 1979). She suggests that the term no longer be used, as did Hyltenstam and Stroud, although they

\textsuperscript{14}This "ytflyt" seems to have much in common with what Cummins (1981) has referred to as BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills)
did not dismiss the reality of an underlying problem in language development among immigrant children. Bratt-Paulston, on the other hand, refers to the "widespread mythology of semilingualism", and goes on to, at least in part put the blame on the Swedish news media for spreading this blatant misinformation. (1982, p. 42)

Other Swedish and North American researchers have joined the debate. Lars Ekstrand (1981) has claimed that children are quite capable of learning two languages during early childhood. Searching the literature, he has found no consistent support for the "mother tongue hypothesis," as he calls it. His opinion about realistic expectations about "balanced" bilingual competence is not as positive as what has been the case in some of the Canadian literature on the topic (Cummins, Swain, Genesee) in the 1970's and -80's. In the U.S., on the other hand, the same optimism is not apparent. There, studies by Edelsky et al. (1983) and Martin-Jones & Romaine (1986) both seem to see as a likely outcome that bilingual individuals will perform at a less proficient level than their monolingual peers in either of their two languages. Unlike the Canadian researchers, they do not see language interdependence as a relevant issue.

Toward the latter half of the 1980's, though, the controversy surrounding the term "semilingualism" seems to have gradually settled into a situation that may be described as an "armistice". In the U.S., McLaughlin (1985) admits that there are "bilingual children (who) do not learn to function well in either language". Semilingualism as a concept, however, lacks generalizability in
terms of child language development (1985, p.33). In a similar
vein, Kalantzis et al. (1989) recognize a "cognitive void" as the
result of a situation "in which the home language is not
continued... and initial... schooling does not adequately prepare
students for proficiency in their second language" (1989, p. 30).
This seems to coincide with at least some of the negative aspects
associated with so-called semilingualism.

In the early 1990's, Wong-Fillmore has again raised the issue
of deficient or satisfactory development of L1 and L2 in bilingual
children and the relationship between them. Wong-Fillmore (1990)
focused primarily on literacy and found that good L1 literacy
usually resulted in good literacy in L2 as well, but in children
whose L1 literacy was very limited L2 reading and writing skills
varied. Other factors that may influence formal L2 skills mastery
in children can be their educational or economic prospects. At its
negative extreme, Wong-Fillmore (1991) reports on the real
possibility of L1 loss, which (as was seen above) was a finding in
several studies by Cummins et al. (Cummins, 1997).

Cummins attempts to, once and for all, define and clarify the
term "Semilingualism" in a paper prepared for the Encyclopedia of
Language & Linguistics (Cummins 1994). He concludes by saying that
the term "has no theoretical value and confuses rather than
clarifies the issues", and he suggests that its use be discontinued.
He ends, however, by stating that it is an "untenable position" to maintain that "semilingualism doesn't exist", since "(j)ust as there are monolinguals whose formal
language skills are developed only to a limited degree, there are bilinguals whose formal language skills are developed only to a limited degree" (p. 5). But we need a better name by which to call it.

Review of Relevant Swedish Literature

General Comments

As was the case in Canada, Swedish research into bilingualism and related educational issues has mostly been conducted in the two major cities of that country, Stockholm and Gothenburg. One individual in each city stands out as the person around whom most of the bilingual/minority education research has been centered. In Stockholm, we have Kenneth Hyltenstam, head of the Department for Bilingual Research at Stockholm University, who was already mentioned in connection with the debate about semilingualism. In Gothenburg, Gunnar Tingbjörn is the main authority on immigrant education issues at Gothenburg University. Tingbjörn is formally associated with the Department of Swedish Language Studies, but as the head of research and development of Swedish as a second language he has also been extensively involved with the study of home language teaching and learning as well. He has been particularly committed to trying to disseminate accurate, objective information about minority education through the Swedish media.
As was noticeable from the discussion on semilingualism, much research on bilingual education and issues pertaining to minority school children in Sweden has involved Finnish-speaking students, be they immigrants from Finland or part of indigenous Finnish groups within the Swedish population. For the purpose of this study, we shall not focus any more on that section of the Swedish student body but rather direct our attention to more general reports about home language education and to studies aimed at the languages targeted in this investigation (Greek, Farsi, Spanish, and Vietnamese). We will also include a comparison of the home language curriculum guidelines that have been issued since the Home Language Reform in 1977 and see how they deal with the home language subject. Finally, there will be a survey of a number of articles about anti-immigrant issues in the Swedish printed media, followed by information from the Stockholm School Authorities about efforts in the schools to combat racism and hostility against ethnic minority groups, which will conclude this chapter.

Research Conducted at Stockholm University

Early contributions by Hyltenstam.

In the late 1970's, Kenneth Hyltenstam published a few articles about inter-language syntax. By the early 80's, this interest in the structural peculiarities of the second language learner had drifted towards an interest in the learners themselves,
particularly immigrants learning the language of their new environment. In 1981, the book "Språkmöte" (Language Encounter) was published in Sweden, and Hyltenstam is not only the editor of the volume but also contributes an introduction entitled "Invandrarinriktad språkundervisning och interimspråkforskning" (Immigrant-directed language teaching and interim language research) (p.9-20). In it he points to the desirability of better needs assessment of the immigrant learner and a teaching content that more realistically addresses these needs. In the same book, Inger Jacobsen (1981) discusses some of the problems around home language instruction and the training of home language teachers in the chapter "Hemspråksundervisning och utbildningen av lärare i hemspråk".

This cooperation appears to have entailed a true language encounter for Hyltenstam, as much of his work from here on deals with issues related to home language education. In a document from the Swedish Research Board (Forskningsnämnden 1986) entitled "Invandrarspråken - rataed resurs?" (The immigrant languages - a rejected resource?), the title itself reveals some of the frustration that researchers like Hyltenstam and Tingbjörn are beginning to experience - and express. They both contribute to this report, and Hyltenstam's article "Politik, forskning och praktik" (Politics, research and implementation)\textsuperscript{15} highlights the lack of connection and continuity between those three elements, as

\textsuperscript{15}Tingbjörn's article will be discussed below in the Gothenburg section.
he sees it. Hyltenstam also laments the fact that serious discussion by researchers in the media about home language policy is usually not commented on by politicians nor followed up by officials. The gap between pious intentions and instructional reality is not narrowing but rather becoming wider. What is instead growing is a lack of understanding among the general public for this seemingly incomprehensible accommodation by the authorities of immigrant and refugee interests.

Hyltenstam & Arnberg.

In an impressive volume with the globally oriented name "International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education" (ed. C. Bratt-Paulston, 1988) Hyltenstam and one of his co-researchers, Lenore Arnberg, provide a broad overview entitled "Bilingualism and Education of Immigrant Children and Adults in Sweden". It is divided into three parts addressing a) the historical background of Swedish cultural diversity, b) the various bilingual education programs available in Sweden, and c) a presentation of past and present research until the late -80's. In this synopsis of the 38-page long chapter, the emphasis will be on sections that are of particular relevance to this investigation.

In the history of immigration to Sweden, Hyltenstam and Arnberg see the Second World War as a turning point, despite earlier periods of other ethnic groups settling in Sweden over the centuries. From the end of that global conflict, "Sweden became an
immigration country." In the years immediately after the war, as well as during its final stage, Sweden received generous numbers of refugees, primarily from other European countries. A second type of immigration began with the 1950's as Sweden invited workers in southern European countries to join the Swedish labour force. This migration continued until the restrictions of 1967. From then until around 1975, a period of immigration from the other Nordic countries took over. From the 1970's on, there has been a steady decline in newcomers to Sweden, who with few exceptions have arrived as refugees from several far-away countries in Latin America, South-East Asia, Africa. Many people fleeing war-torn areas in Turkey and the former Yugoslavia have also made their way to Sweden.

No immigrant group, however, is bigger than the Finnish population living in Sweden, without counting the indigenous Finnish-speaking population groups, and much immigrant policy is focused on these Finnish residents. Immigrants from Finland and smaller minority groups alike tend to have less well-paid jobs than native Swedes, but by working longer hours, the immigrants earn not much less in terms of annual income. This is especially true of minority women. Statistically, immigrant homes are considered overcrowded by Swedish standards, but the immigrant families themselves do not necessarily experience their living conditions as cramped. When starting a family in Sweden, about half of both male and female immigrants choose a spouse from the Swedish majority. A few percent more men than women marry within their
In terms of political objectives for Swedish immigration policy, three goals were identified by Parliament in 1975: They are 1) equality between immigrants and Swedes; 2) cultural freedom of choice for members of minority groups; and 3) cooperation and solidarity between majority Swedes and the ethnic minorities. The political equality mentioned in point one has led to local and county voting rights for non-Swedish citizens after at least three years residency in Sweden. It was, however, decided in 1984 by a government commission that foreign nationals would not be granted the right to vote in elections for parliament until they had received Swedish citizenship. As a part of the second point, the freedom of choice has been understood to include choosing language as well as other aspects of cultural expression. Finally, a commission report of 1985 concludes that some educational initiatives are recommended if the third political objective is to become a reality.

The section that deals with bilingual education begins with a reference to the Commission on Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities, which was in place from 1968 to 1974. It arrived at the recommendation that education of minority children promote active bilingualism as an objective for these students. That resulted in the Home Language Reform of 1977, which granted access to first language instruction as a part of their public school experience to all children from families where a language other than Swedish was used as part of daily communication. The first language should be
"a living component in the home environment". Support teaching in Swedish should also be made available as needed. A later commission (1983) went on to expand the home language education objective to include "language and culture maintenance among immigrant children in primary and secondary schools".

Next, Hyltenstam and Arnberg describe the organisation of these home language programs. They are centralized, with a national set of curriculum guidelines, but there are some different options permitted within the system. After briefly discussing bilingual preschool programs, in which 60% of all young children with a home language other than Swedish participate, the authors give a description of the various possibilities at the primary and secondary levels. Of four (at least in theory) available models, the vast majority of qualifying minority students attend the first variety, consisting of placement in a regular Swedish class with access to 80 minutes (=2 lessons) of home language instruction per week. The remaining 10-15% of students entitled to receive home language teaching have three models between them. They can attend a preparation class, which is a temporary transition model for recent arrivals to Sweden. Or, they might attend an integrated class (=bilingual model) where half the class is made up of native Swedish-speakers and half the students share the same non-Swedish first language. Finally, they may attend a home language class (=the mother tongue model) with all students sharing the same other-than-Swedish mother tongue. This model is mostly available for Finnish-speaking students, who in fact make up almost 80% of
minority students in home-language classes.

Much neglected in the public debate, according to Hyltenstam and Arnberg (and Tingbjörn!) is the promise of supplementary Swedish instruction whenever needed. Only 50% of students participating in home language education actually receive this second language support, although close to 60% (59% in 1988) were assessed as being in need of such extra learning. At the senior high school level, the shortfall is even greater: of 26% deemed to be in need, a mere 15% actually received the instruction (Statistics Sweden, 1983).

When informing about adult education for immigrants to Sweden the two researchers start with a bill called the Swedish Lessons Act of 1973. With it parliament decided that, in effect, the employer should pay for the Swedish language classes an immigrant worker was entitled to get. The unfortunate net result of this (supposedly) well-intended piece of legislation was higher unemployment among adult immigrants. In 1984, parliament reversed the decision and left it up to the local municipalities to assume or distribute the cost.

Also affecting several adult immigrants was the home language teacher training program that went into effect September 1977. Other teacher education for work with minority students included special university courses in teaching Swedish as a second language. Not until 1983, though, did a full certification program for "Swedish 2" teachers become available. In spite of these efforts, a persisting problem within both home language programs
and "Swedish 2" instruction is a shortage of adequately trained teachers.

When Hyltenstam and Arnberg move on to the subsection called "Problems and Solutions", a certain impatience becomes noticeable between the lines. More than one government commission, they state, have identified problems and suggested solutions relative to immigrant student education. The discrepancies between intentions and implementations have been investigated by research groups, in particular those connected with the universities of Stockholm and Gothenburg. The authors regret the lack of understanding for these issues that they encounter in various groups of society. Even parents of minority students seem to have a problem comprehending their role in their children's educational development. The authors recommend that both home language teachers and teachers of "Swedish 2" undergo continuing professional development training and that existing programs be updated with reported research findings, such as the results of starting "Swedish 2" instruction already at the preschool level.

The third and final section of Hyltenstam and Arnberg's overview is devoted to a report on Swedish research in this field of study. The authors begin with a presentation of the Swedish side of the debate over semilingualism that this literature review has already dealt with (from both sides of the Atlantic). Other research has investigated various possible models for bilingual preschool education, but few different options are available and more flexibility is needed. In the primary and secondary
divisions, the vast majority of immigrant students in the Swedish school system attend Swedish classes and can in most cases elect to participate in home language instruction, but so much of the bilingual education debate has centred around organisational models that are primarily available to Finnish-speaking students. Hyltenstam and Arnberg caution that it may be inappropriate to generalize from what is applicable to these less than 10% of all students eligible to receive home language teaching.

Hyltenstam & Tuomela.

Hyltenstam's most recent contribution to the Swedish research on bilingual education is a book published in 1996 called "Tvåspråkighet med förhinder" (Bilingualism with obstacles). Hyltenstam is the editor of this volume of five contributions in the field of immigrant and minority education in Sweden16. He is also the co-author, together with Veli Tuomela, of the first chapter, which takes up a good third of the book (p.9-110). This section is simply entitled "Hemspråksundervisningen" (The Home Language Education) and provides an up-to-date overview of recent and current developments in this area of investigation. The focus is mostly on the Swedish situation, but the authors also provide information on the international context in terms of availability of programs in countries other than Sweden.

16The subtitle of the book is precisely that: "Invandrar - och minoritetsundervisning i Sverige".
In the introduction to the volume, Hyltenstam states that the book as a whole will focus on various factors pertaining to educational options for immigrant and minority students. It will highlight the need for recognition of the existence of a pluralistic society in Sweden today. Swedish decision-makers have failed to take this complexity into account when seeking simple and unified solutions to an intricate reality. This uninformed and overly optimistic approach has led to a mostly unsuccessful series of so-called reforms. An exaggerated faith in real improvements resulting from organisational change has misguided the administration officials to believe in the possibility of one universal teaching methodology for Swedish as a Second Language and to disregard that immigrant instruction is not so much "just" an educational matter as a social issue with far-reaching consequences. Hyltenstam still deplores the disregard for existing expertise in the field and the gap between knowledge on the one hand and, on the other hand, decision-making and implementation. That expertise goes back to research in this special area beginning already in the 1960's and -70's and continuing to date. New knowledge is also called for, says Hyltenstam, if the goal of bilingualism in immigrant students shall be reached. The question Hyltenstam asks at the end of the introduction is whether the present Swedish school system is a help or a hindrance.

Hyltenstam and Tuomela first present what they describe as the "political-ideological battleground". There is a concern among many Swedes that their society is moving away from what they
consider Swedish culture. At the onset of the 1950's, only 3% of Sweden's population was made up of immigrants, whereas in 1994 that proportion had grown to 13%. Until the beginning of the 1970's, Swedish government policy toward immigrants had as its goal assimilation, but the -70's and -80's have seen a change in official objectives towards a pluralist society. This trend of increased multiculturalism did not meet with the public support policy-makers may have expected, and home language education became seen as a "substitute target" (ställföreträdande markör, p.11). Seemingly, in an attempt to smooth some ruffled feathers, immigration policy officials in the mid-80's began emphasizing integration, i.e. actively bilingual and biculturally functional minority groups as the ideal outcome. The majority population, however, had difficulty separating the notions of assimilation and integration, and in the 1990's, a greater pressure towards assimilation has again become placed on immigrants to Sweden. There has been less support for the freedom-of-choice policy of the 1970's and an expectation of immigrants and refugees to "in Rome, do as the Romans do".

The authors also define the relationship of majority groups versus minority groups in society. The majority group will de facto be in charge of the distribution of funds in a democratic society, and minority groups will by definition receive less financial support. There is also the problem of low status for most minority cultures and languages. In Sweden, a lack of seriousness when dealing with immigrant issues in a traditionally
homogenous society has also been a problem, not least in media reporting on education options for minority students.

Although experts in the fields of both child and language development generally have been in support of home language instruction for immigrant students, Swedish journalists have remained uninformed about this, and some celebrities in Sweden with immigrant backgrounds have expressed themselves against home language education "on principle". They have tended to use their own individual successes and not scientific investigation to support their claim that assimilation into the majority culture is the key to fame and fortune. The had no first-hand experience of home language instruction when they went to school, and they proudly express their gratitude for that. Letters to the editor in Swedish newspapers on the topic of home language education reveal a prevailing misunderstanding that the minority student is faced with a choice between working on first language maintenance or learning Swedish as a second language. This is, or course, never a choice in reality, where the true options are both languages or only Swedish, the latter usually at the expense of the mother tongue. The benefits of having had the opportunity of developing bilingual skills only surface in the press if an individual who has actually received home language instruction gets the rare opportunity of having a letter published in the paper.

The next section of Hyltenstam and Tuomela's chapter give a lengthy review of a report from RRV (=Riksrevisionsverket, the Swedish agency that scrutinizes spending by the public sector)
which was published in 1990. It resulted in a government proposal in 1991 that the expenditure for immigrant education be reduced by 50% in an over-all effort to reduce the national deficit. Hyltenstam and Tuomela criticize both the methodology and accountability of the report and hence seriously question the accuracy of the findings, which do not contain a single positive comment on home language programs. The authors interpret the true purpose of the report to be the creation of a rationale for targeting home language education in particular for cutbacks. Although parliament in the end did not pass the bill of 1991, Hyltenstam and Tuomela see it as a landmark in that the municipalities had adjusted their spending priorities already before the proposal was voted on. In anticipation of the proposed bill becoming law, 65% of all Swedish municipalities reduced their budgets for home language programs by a total of 33%. No attempt was made to restore the funding to former levels after the bill had been rejected by the Swedish parliament.

In the following part of their presentation, Hyltenstam and Tuomela provide information about the existence of home language education in countries other than Sweden\textsuperscript{17}. The researchers identify three main types, which in one form or another are found in most western European countries, Australia, Canada, and the

\textsuperscript{17}This existence may seem obvious to Canadian readers, but in 1993 a nationalist Swedish party managed to get elected to parliament on an anti-immigrant platform which, among other inaccuracies, "stated the fact" that Sweden was the only country in the world that had publicly funded first language instruction for minorities.
United States. The first type is sponsored by the country of origin and is usually aimed at enabling future repatriation. These programs are typically taught by teachers sent out from the "home country" and the instruction as well as the materials are often both archaic and nationalistic. The second kind of home language program is sponsored by immigrant organisations in the host country. The classes are frequently taught in "Saturday Schools", and the emphasis of the teaching tends to be more on culture than on language skills, which gives a lower success rate for first language maintenance and development. Finally, there is home language instruction offered by the public school system of the host country, which can take the form of different program options (as described above) or be limited to transitional programs with the aim of having minority students join classes taught in the majority language as soon as possible.

International research is summarized in the next section by Hyltenstam and Tuomela. Currently, there is unequivocal support for home language instruction in some form among international researchers, these authors maintain. They refer to works published in the 1980's by Cummins, McLaughlin, Hakuta and Romaine. The relationship between concept formation and language development is explored, and Hyltenstam and Tuomela see a problem with an abrupt interruption in first language development while a child's basic set of concepts about the world is still being formed. In an incomprehensible language environment, no tool exists for the child's communication and learning. No new concepts are formed and
cognitive gaps occur. Once the concepts are in place, however, learning a second language becomes much a matter of attaching new labels to existing concepts.

That relationship offers support for the educational models that allow the mother tongue to develop alongside the second language, at least until such a time that the new language has been developed to a level of proficiency on a par with native-speaker peers. Peer pressure will contribute to a child's motivation to acquire an idiomatic command of the majority language, which is usually given high social status. This, too, provides the minority child with additional motivation to master the majority language, which can even reduce the child's willingness to maintain his/her mother tongue. If, on the other hand, members of the majority through segregation and prejudice attach negative connotations to the majority language, the motivation to learn it becomes severely hampered. The authors give the example of immigrant-dominated suburbs in Swedish cities as situations where segregation has led immigrants to "invest in" the minority languages and their sociocultural contexts. With a concomitant rejection of majority language mastery as a relevant goal, it becomes necessary to at least develop the first language to a level of proficiency that permits concept formation and abstract thinking\(^\text{18}\).

Hyltenstam and Tuomela allow for the possibility of a child developing two languages simultaneously from an early age, provided the child lives in a bilingual environment. Without that

\(^{18}\)See also the paragraph on "Rinkeby-Swedish," p. 295.
component, early acquisition of the majority language may lead to loss of the first language and a monolingual child. This in and of itself does not necessarily result in impaired concept formation, as these two authors see it, but learning both the concepts and the "labels" at the same time is a more arduous task. The loss of a first language does, on the other hand, present a real risk of losing one's cultural identity, as the living, dynamic culture of an ethnic group can, with few exceptions, only be accessed via that group's language. First language maintenance is often also a key element in developing both intimate and mature relationships between parents and children in immigrant families. (Also, Wong-Fillmore 1991)

After this review, Hyltenstam and Tuomela give a brief history of home language education in Sweden. Much of this information has already been provided in Hyltenstam and Arnberg's contribution from 1988 (see p.52-58). They do, however, see the "1991 Proposal" as a turning point, and not for the better. They compare numbers of students and teachers in home language programs before and after the proposed bill. In 1989/90, a peak is reached with 4700 home language teachers employed and 65% of all students entitled to receive home language instruction participating in the programs. In contrast, by 1994 the figures have decreased to 2200 teachers and only 55% of all entitled students, with over 7000 more students being entitled. This proportion of students in the Swedish school system was 12.2% in 1994, the highest percentage ever. In spite of these figures, there are less than half the number of teachers
employed in the programs in 1994, and the curriculum guidelines of the same year (Lpo 1994) limit to seven years the length of time a student is allowed to receive home language teaching. Another change that these authors see as a direct consequence of the 1991 cutbacks is the placing of home language instruction outside of the regular school day, usually at the end late in the afternoon when the students are already tired.

In the presentation of Swedish research that follows next, Hyltenstam and Tuomela include a number of studies from the 1980's and 90's. Some of these are part of the material that this literature review will deal with in more detail when we look at research that has been done at Gothenburg University, i.e. the SPRINS-project (1982-85) and Margreth Hill's study (1995). Others will also be presented below since they focus in particular on the languages included in this investigation, i.e. Garefalakis (1993), Kostuolas-Makrakis (1995), Latomaa (1993), and Sahaf (1994). Two other studies look at issues pertaining to Finnish-speaking students whose situation, as was seen above, is often not comparable to that of youngsters from other minority groups. Therefore, suffice it here to say that one of them (Bergman 1991) tries to map the use of Finnish and Swedish respectively in a bilingual class context, while the other (Sjödoff 1989) measures the quality of Swedish writing in Finish-speaking students participating in different models of home language education, as well as comparing their Swedish grades at the end of the school year.
The two studies that will be reviewed here in the context of Hyltenstams and Tuomela's presentation are by Ingegerd Municio (1987) and Horst Löfgren (1991). Municio's particular interest is the relationship between intent and implementation of the, as she puts it, "home language reform that never really happened". Municio is very critical of the school system's failure to meet highly placed expectations on behalf of not only teachers and students but immigrant parents as well. She puts the blame on administrative ineptitude, inefficient allocation of funds, and insufficient availability of trained instructors and appropriate teaching materials. Less negative is the evaluation by Löfgren. He investigated close to 6000 immigrant students 2 years after they had left the compulsory school system (grade 9). Some of these youngsters had decided not to continue their schooling, but most were in senior high school. Löfgren looked at the overall grades of these students to see if there was any measurable difference between those who had not attended home language instruction, those who had but usually attended a Swedish class, and those who had received bilingual education. There were no significant differences between these groups in school grades, which at least seems to show that receiving home language teaching does not affect general schooling negatively. A follow-up study two years later (1993) confirmed these findings and even registered a slight advantage for those who had attended some kind of home language program.

Hyltenstam and Tuomela finish their exposé by summarizing the
major points they made and providing suggestions for the future. They highlight the unrealistically ambitious goals of active, balanced bilingualism and biculturalism as the end product of home language education, an objective in no way related to potential future repatriation. In their opinion, the symbolic existence of the programs has been considered more important than quality and actual impact, which - in combination with negative media reports and lack of attention to research showing the positive effects of minority students receiving first language instruction - paved the way for public support of reduced program availability due to the cutbacks in 1991. Future improvements are needed in dealing with these negative attitudes through more information about the benefits of home language education, which can best be accomplished with more emphasis on program evaluation. The authors also call for greater flexibility, including offering minority languages at the beginner level both to students with an immigrant background and for students of Swedish heritage. This would require greater efforts in home language teacher training, which several researchers are considering a priority even if the present program formats remain unchanged.

Hyltenstam and his co-authors are obviously frustrated with many factors affecting home language instruction in Sweden, such as politicians and the media. The lack of realistic expectations and reliable information result in a misguided public opinion about the programs. Although one can readily comprehend this sense of helplessness, it must never turn into hopelessness.
Reports on Research Conducted at Gothenburg University

Opening remarks.

As was pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the pivotal figure in research at Gothenburg university about immigrant education in Swedish public schools is Gunnar Tingbjörn. He coordinated the SPRINS (Språkutvecklingen hos Invandrarbarn i Sverige, or language development in immigrant children in Sweden) project in the 1980's, which we will come back to after reviewing Tingbjörn's individual contributions to this area of research. Following the account of the SPRINS documents that are relevant for this investigation, Margreth Hill's study (1995) will be summarized, and a review of a dissertation by Monica Reichenberg-Carlström will conclude this section on Gothenburg-based research on bilingual education.

Tingbjörn's overview of home language education to date.

Gunnar Tingbjörn's reports will be presented starting with his most recent work and continuing with three articles from 1995, 1993 and 1989 respectively. This reversed chronology is prompted by the circumstance that Tingbjörn in 1996 worked, simultaneously with Hyltenstam and Tuomela, on a comprehensive overview of Swedish home language education, although the three authors were writing these overviews for different publications. In order to avoid
unnecessary duplication, Tingbjörn refers to the work by Hyltenstam and Tuomela for information in the areas covered in the review above. Tingbjörn's overview instead focuses on other parts of the topic that the Stockholm-based report had decided to treat less elaborately.

This 150-page "Appendix about the Home Language Instruction" that was attached to the Central School Authority's report to the Swedish government (submitted on April 1, 1996) covers several aspects of the home language instruction in Sweden. The overview is supplemented by information Tingbjörn gathered directly from teachers and administrators responding to questionnaires about the present situation. Tingbjörn describes the situation in terms of both past and present experience and makes several suggestions for future improvement. The presentation is divided into four major parts: a review of the debate around home language instruction; a comparison of the previous and present curriculum guidelines; arguments, as Tingbjörn sees it, for and against home language education; and finally, the findings from the questionnaire-based information.

Two themes run through the presentation, which reflect Tingbjörn's own strong support for home language teaching. He maintains that these minority languages constitute an important resource that Swedish society has failed to appreciate and utilize. In so doing, an internationally oriented country like Sweden has all but missed an excellent opportunity to get a unique advantage in the global economy and a shrinking world. Tingbjörn also keeps
coming back to the issues of equality and freedom of choice that have been central elements in Swedish immigrant policy, but where little has been done to implement theoretical decisions into practical outcomes. This is particularly true, claims Tingbjörn, in the way minority students are regarded by today's Swedish education system.

In the first of the four parts of the document, Tingbjörn comments on the often heated debate that has surrounded the issue of home language instruction in the Swedish public school system. Initially, the media were generally supportive of the idea, based on research reports about positive results of such pedagogical initiatives. Experts in linguistics and education led the way, the media followed, and the public accepted the idea, although there were always those who did not embrace it with great enthusiasm. A mostly theoretical debate through the 1980's among educators and researchers about the best implementational models for home language instruction gave the superficial impression to the less initiated that there was some disagreement on the topic. This became a fertile ground for growing negative opinions among the Swedish public about meeting the special needs of immigrant students and developing the special skills of minority students. In the 1990's, an unfortunate combination of fiscal restraint and critical attitudes among Swedes toward immigration policy has resulted in serious cutbacks to the home language programs and less support for them both publicly and among school officials.

The second section of Tingbjörn's document looks at the
curriculum guidelines for home language instruction. Two such sets have come out since the inception of these programs in the mid-70's, the first one in 1980 and the second one in 1994. A shared feature for these two is, according to Tingbjörn, that the objectives are so high that they in practice become unattainable goals. This may lead to overly optimistic expectations on behalf of both students and teachers, as well as parents, which in turn can result in disappointment. A crucial element seems to be that the positive (but often too general) statements about the benefits, even the necessity, of home language instruction rarely are given the resources required for implementation in the schools. The net result becomes frustrated teachers, unhappy parents, and students with the potential of becoming actively bilingual individuals unable to fully realize this goal.

The objective of active bilingualism is also clearly stated in both sets of curriculum guidelines for the immigrant students. However, the placing of home language instruction under the heading of "remedial teaching" in the 1980 version, and a perception of the minority first language as primarily a stepping stone to, or launch pad for, the learning of Swedish as a second language belie the official goal of bilingual development. Furthermore, the absence of a labour market that values bilingualism, unless it combines Swedish and English, hardly provides students with motivation to strive for bilingual competence. Future employability is an important incentive for young immigrants whose families have chosen to (or have to) stay in
Sweden, unlike those whose parents are still intent on the family's returning to the country of origin.

A difference in the way the two curriculum guideline sets view home language instruction addresses a criticism that Tingbjörn expressed about the 1980 version. It did not refer to the home language as a first language, or the mother tongue of immigrant students. Instead, it is dealt with as a "minority language" which somehow does not seem to fully qualify as a "language arts" subject. The 1994 version has rectified this and even offers the (theoretical) options of a home language being taught in lieu of a so-called B-language, i.e. a third language introduced after the compulsory subjects Swedish and English\textsuperscript{19}, or as an enrichment program within the regular school day. The "old" remedial-style model still exists with 80 minutes of home language taught outside the students' regular schedule. Unfortunately, Tingbjörn points out, that last option has in effect kept the previous format intact in most schools/school boards. Only rarely has the B-language or enrichment choice become a real option for the minority students, and then only in schools located in residential suburbs with a high density of immigrant population.

Despite at least paying lip-service to the notion of the home language being a mother tongue worthy of language arts instruction, the 1994 guidelines still fail to satisfy Tingbjörn. Although increased flexibility in scheduling options and a greater respect

\textsuperscript{19}The B-language is usually French or German, but Spanish and Russian are often offered as well, depending on teacher availability.
for the home languages as "real" first languages with majority cultures in other parts of the world are marked improvements, he still finds unacceptable differences between guidelines and reality. Scheduling difficulties and cutbacks are obstacles to a productive approach to home language education, in Tingbjörn's opinion, since school administrators are inclined to first satisfy the requests of the "regular" teachers and would not want to jeopardize their cooperation in order to improve the situation for home language teachers and students. Minority languages have low status, not only on the job market but also in the school system.

Tingbjörn then goes on to present a set of arguments for and against the teaching of minority languages in the Swedish public school system. Not very surprisingly, he has few arguments to offer against home language instruction. He does recognize the cost factor, but balances that against future social expenses that may be incurred to take care of disenfranchised young adults from minority groups. In terms of scheduling, the main problem is a lack of willingness to accommodate the home language on the part of principals and other teachers. Again, this goes back to an insufficient appreciation of not only the immigrant students' language and culture but also the bilingual potential in the minority population groups. If there is a will, there is a way, and Tingbjörn offers a couple of realistic suggestions for how to schedule "minority language arts" along with "Swedish language arts" within the regular school day. Another problem with lacking appreciation for minority languages is their aforementioned low
status in the labour market and, with that, the perceived usefulness of the language, outside of repatriation. In addition, teachers of home languages have not always been appropriately qualified, and this has at times led to the use of (to Swedes) unacceptable and/or archaic methodology and teaching styles in the home language classroom. Tingbjörn suggests that the recent cutbacks have eliminated mostly unqualified home language teachers, and that professional development initiatives could rectify the situation for those remaining in the system.

Aside from these drawbacks, which are (as we just saw) not impossible to deal with according to Tingbjörn, there are no less than 16 arguments for home language instruction in this part of the document. They can be divided into three sub-groups: arguments dealing with a) socio-political factors, b) personal development and communication, and c) education issues. Among the socio-political factors are freedom of choice, the goal of active bilingualism, and the desirability for Sweden of having groups of bilingual people as part of its population. In terms of personal development and communication, Tingbjörn highlights the first language as important both for cognitive development and for a person's ethnic and individual identity. Intra-family communication is essential, as is the sense of security that is developed in a linguistically familiar environment. The educational arguments for home language instruction emphasize that learning of content is impossible if the language of the teaching is incomprehensible. Also, an abrupt language change causes undue
difficulties and delays in the schooling of minority children, and the education of any child should have the student's own experience as its point of departure and only gradually introduce unfamiliar elements. Finally, good mastery of the first language serves as an essential foundation for learning Swedish as a second language.

Last in the document are the results of the questionnaires distributed to teachers and administrators. The home language teachers were asked what they liked about their work and what areas for improvement they could identify. The positive aspects reflected good teacher-student relationships and often good contact with the parents. The teachers enjoyed their role as a bridge both between cultures and between school and home contexts. Areas that needed change included the scheduling problem, which sometimes left minority student groups alone in an empty school with racist elements harassing them during and after class time. The home language instructors also wanted improved contact with other teachers and joint professional development days. A major cause for frustration was the harsher climate the teachers had experienced since the early 1990's in terms of attitudes as well as funding. The home language instruction had become a "symbolic issue", used to reflect a general questioning among Swedes of the government's immigration policy.

The responses given by the school administrators addressed different questionnaires than the one distributed among the home language teachers. The questions answered by the principals referred to both the home language instruction and the teaching of
Swedish as a second language. As may therefore be expected, the principals clearly make the connection between these forms of language education and support the teaching of minority languages as a basis for the learning of Swedish as a second language. The level of support indicated by the principals varies greatly, ranging from acceptance of a necessary but cumbersome component in the curriculum to enthusiasm and one principal's personal involvement in arranging inter-cultural contact opportunities for all students and teachers at his school. A shared feature among the principals is, however, their reluctance to integrate the home language instruction into the regular school day. It is seen as practically impossible, at least without annoying the other "regular" teachers at their schools.

The home language coordinators at the school board level were only asked to provide information about the home language programs. The questions dealt with the organisation of the instruction, the teachers' situation, content and outcomes of the instruction, and the interaction with parents of minority group students. The responses show three main areas of concern. First, the coordinators would like to see greater flexibility in class format, ranging from entire classes made up of students from one of the big home languages, having all or most of their curriculum taught in the home language, to the smaller group option where the home language could also be offered at the beginner level, without

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10It is interesting to note that this particular principal is himself certified to teach Swedish as a second language and has thus had first-hand experience in working with immigrant students.
prerequisite knowledge of the language in question. Second, professional development is seen as highly desirable, both for continuing teaching skills improvement among the home language instructors and for increased knowledge among school principals about the home language programs, about which they are reportedly in many cases insufficiently informed. Third, problems with scarce resources make the home language teacher's job unduly time consuming, and lack of communication between home language instructors and other school staff result in frequent failures to inform the minority teachers that classes are cancelled on a particular day. This causes major inconveniences in terms of the teachers' time being wasted on travelling and waiting for students that are not coming that day.

At the very end of this document, Tingbjörn offers some suggestions for future improvements of the home language programs in the Swedish public school system. In order to promote active, balanced bilingualism in minority children, they should be offered a choice upon entering the school system of either a monolingual (=the majority language being the medium of instruction) or a bilingual education option. The latter would include minority language arts (=first language instruction in the home language) and Swedish as a second language instead of Swedish language arts. Other subjects could all be taught in a minority language, or some may still be taught in Swedish, depending on availability of teachers.

The monolingual education option should still make home
language instruction available as an enrichment program with five, not just two, classroom periods of 40 minutes each per week. These classes would be integrated into the regular school day, preferably coinciding with Swedish language arts, and could be concentrated in certain schools. Certified home language teachers ought to be able to combine a minority language with a B-language or a non-language subject as their teaching combination. For "smaller" minority languages at the high school level, Tingbjörn suggests the possibility of specialized schools with an international language profile at a limited number of locations, similar to what Sweden already has for those students who wish to emphasize sports, artistic creativity, or music in their education. And last but not least, the report calls for professional development for home language instructors in terms of both methodology and a pedagogical philosophy that more closely reflects the educational objectives of the Swedish school system as a whole.

Tingbjörn's contributions to ASLA.

Two of Gunnar Tingbjoörn's contributions to ASLA, Association Suédoise de Linguistique Appliquée, will be included in this review. The most recent one was published in ASLA's Journal of April 1995, but the material is based on Tingbjoörn's presentation at the Fall Symposium in Gothenburg in November 1993. The general topic was "Language Teaching at College", and the subtopic addressed by Tingbjoörn focused on Swedish as a second language and
the training of teachers for this subject at Swedish colleges and universities. Some of his content does, however, include the problems we have already seen as frequently associated with home language teaching and teacher training. He comments on a teacher education option that combines "Swedish 2" with a home language as instruction subjects. He describes it as an unfortunate combination. The likelihood of finding someone with the required expertise in both these languages, i.e. native speaker of any one home language plus native-like Swedish, is not great. Far more likely would be to find an individual be well-suited to teach his/her home language plus a more content-based subject area.

In another part of his presentation, Tingbjörn points to the circumstance that both "Swedish 2" and home languages have very low status among other teaching staff. Other subjects have a tendency to be given preferential treatment by school administrators as well. An exception to this rule can occur when a vice-principal him-/herself has been teaching "Swedish 2" (as we saw in Tingbjörn 1996) and is thereby sensitized to the immigrant students' situation. In such a case, the minority-related school subjects may get what Tingbjörn has referred to as subject legitimacy, i.e. other school staff than the directly involved teachers will regard the subject as a worthwhile instructional content area. The solution to this problem, according to Tingbjörn, is to work for a general acceptance of the fact that teaching "Swedish 2" is not like teaching Swedish language arts, whereas teaching a home language is very much like teaching Swedish language arts, or at
least it should be. In both cases we are dealing with instruction in the students' mother tongue, whether this first language is spoken by a minority group or by the majority population.

The second ASLA paper by Tingbjörn is from the Fall Symposium of November 1989. At that time, the overriding topic was "On the Way to a New Language", and in his article Tingbjörn addresses the treatment of languages as school subjects in the curriculum guidelines of 1980. This was done against the backdrop of revised supplements to the guidelines being issued in some subjects, among them Swedish language arts. A fair assumption was that a new set of guidelines were in the making. An area of concern was a stubborn rumour that "Swedish 2" was not going to be included as a subject in its own right in the new curriculum but rather incorporated into "Swedish language arts", a move right back to the central curriculum of 1969. In this article, entitled "Språkämnen i grundskolans läroplan" (Language subjects in the compulsory school curriculum), Tingbjörn discusses these envisaged changes and comments on the allotted time for various languages taught in Swedish schools.

Among the issues related to home languages in particular is the attitude expressed in the 1980 curriculum guidelines that "B-languages", i.e. German and French, are important for the students' future careers and studies. Why these two languages are singled out is never overtly justified in the document. English, the "A-language" and compulsory for all from grade 3 or 4, is related to the students' need for an international language for global
communication, a lingua franca "for citizens from a small language area" (literally translated by the present writer). The home language subject, in contrast, is placed in the context of the students' need for contact with the home country. Tingbjörn comments, that a large group of children from refugee families among the immigrant students need their first language skills more to communicate with their parents on the one hand and their own minority group in Sweden on the other. Also, Tingbjörn compares the very concrete skills described in the guidelines for home language teaching with the loftier, more abstract goals of the Swedish language arts curriculum that talks about "enabling the students to read so well that they can acquire knowledge, information and experiences." Home language instruction, in contrast, is to be aimed at "getting the students used to accessing... newspapers, brochures, etc.". On the other hand, by participating in 80 minutes of home language education a week, the minority student is expected to "build an ethnic and personal identity, strengthen his/her sense of self, and develop a pride in a particular cultural heritage." It takes almost supernatural talent, both on the part of teachers and students, to get anywhere near these goals by reading newspapers and studying brochures, muses Tingbjörn (p. 113).

Tingbjörn also emphasizes that these positive outcomes of the home language instruction are only possible with the full cooperation of the majority population. If minority cultures are given low status by majority society and minority languages are
seen as irrelevant in terms of career prospects, and as long as home language teachers are marginalized by other staff, there is very little two lessons per week can do to reverse that negative impact. Tingbjörn admits that attitudes among the majority take long to change, at least for the better, but a conscious effort on the part of schools to increase the cooperation between the home language teachers and their colleagues, in particular those teaching Swedish language arts, but other language teachers as well, could go a long way to improve the status of minority cultures and languages. He concludes by asking "Is it not by now time to seriously start implementing the goal of bilingualism for minority children?" (p. 119, my translation).

Tingbjörn's section on Sweden in "Sociolinguistica."

In "Sociolinguistica, International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics; 7: Multilingual Concepts in the Schools of Europe" (1993) Tingbjörn provides the entry for Sweden (p.207-217). In it he summarizes many of the points made in previous documentation presented here in the review of Swedish research, and here we shall only dwell on information that adds something to what has already been said. It deals more with policy-making as it affects the students than with the situation for the home language teachers.

More than once it has been pointed out that the Home Language Reform was not brought about with repatriation of guest workers in
mind, as had been the case in countries like Germany. Sweden looked upon their immigrant population as a permanent demographic component. Tingbjörn mentions, however, that striving for bilingualism as the goal immigrant children's education should not exclude the possible option of their return to the family's country of origin at some point in the future when conditions there allow it. For the children to function satisfactorily in their home language upon such a return, a highly sophisticated level of proficiency in it is required. When a minority language becomes the majority language, new expectations may be placed on the native speakers, whose language skills have developed in an immigrant context.

In terms of policy-making, Tingbjörn here emphasizes that the decision to introduce home language education was "a reform from the top downwards" (p. 208). It was not a popular demand that finally got the ear of the politicians. The result in the schools was "headmasters who perfunctorily follow instructions from superior authorities... and ... teacher colleagues in other subjects who display an uninterested and incredulous attitude towards special arrangements for immigrant pupils" (p. 209). Another barrier for starting bilingual classes or home language instruction (after 1991) has been the need to find a sufficient number of students with the same first language in the same school district. This situation has not been helped by a national refugee program that since the mid-80's has tried to place refugees in all Swedish municipalities. This has increased the proportion of
immigrants in rural municipalities in Sweden, but the relative density required for the number of students needed to qualify for home language instruction may be more difficult to reach.

Tingbjörn contributes some statistics of interest to the languages in focus for this investigation. Looking at the total number of immigrants living in Sweden in 1989/90, the Iranian group is the largest non-European group with 36,000 residents and the 6th on the list, the Chilean immigrants are 8th and number 26,000 (all other Spanish-speaking groups number less than 5000 each), and immigrants originally from Greece total 13,000, in 11th place (p. 210). In the figures given for school children with another first language than Swedish, Spanish is in 2nd place (after Finnish) with 9,500 students, Farsi-speakers number 5,000 and are (still) 6th on the list, Greek is spoken by 2,000 students (10th place), and 350 students have Vietnamese as their mother tongue, in 27th place on this list of 30 languages (p.211). Not all of these students could or chose to participate in home language instruction, but in the school year 1989/90, the highest figure of participation was the 87% of all Iranian students who were taking part in home language instruction (p.213).

Finally, Tingbjörn offers a word of warning. Going back to the point that school administrators reluctantly obeyed the decrees to offer home language instruction from 1977 on, he reminds the reader that many eventually accepted this inconvenience "because they were told that it was a necessary basis for learning Swedish as a Second language. However, this argument is a risky one. If
immigrant pupils [don't learn perfect Swedish, they may] abolish home language instruction on the grounds that the promised effects... have failed to materialize" (p.216).

The SPRINS documents.

It was mentioned above that Gunnar Tingbjörn also coordinated, and contributed to, the SPRINS-project at Gothenburg University. The project started already in 1976 and has been publishing into the 1990's. The publications lean heavily toward Swedish as a second language, but in the mid-80's several contributions dealt with bilingual issues and some focused on home language education. With the exception of a set of studies of home language and preschool experiences (carried out by Kerstin Nauclér) we will review those SPRINS documents that address different aspects of the home language programs.

The SPRINS reports written by Tingbjörn that are of interest to this investigation fall into two categories, those dealing with home language education from different points of view and those discussing bilingualism more generally. In terms of the latter, Tingbjörn reminds the reader that active bilingualism is the stated goal in the guidelines for immigrant education and we should not really settle for anything less as the outcome. If allocation of resources were to correspond better to the ambitious objectives, they would not necessarily be unattainable goals. These familiar Tingbjörn themes are discussed in five SPRINS publications: Skolan
och tvåspråkigheten (School and bilingualism, 1983), Tvåspråkighet (Bilingualism, 1985), Active bilingualism - the Swedish goal for immigrant children's language instruction (1987), Aktiv tvåspråkighet för invandrare i Sverige - vision och verklighet (Active bilingualism for immigrants to Sweden - vision and reality, 1987), and Faktorer som påverkar minoritetselevers tvåspråkighetsutbildning (Factors affecting the bilingual education of minority students, 1987).

When focusing more specifically on the home language programs, two of three articles pick up on another Tingbjörn favourite: the wasted potential and mismanaged investment of letting this linguistic capital go untapped. One is entitled Hemspråksundervisningen - en samhällsinvestering (Home language instruction - a societal investment, 1982), and the other one is called Skolan som resursförvaltare (The school as a resource manager, 1986) which is also found in the volume "Invandrarspråken - ratad resurs?" (The immigrant languages - a rejected resource?). The third article on a home language topic is a study done in home language classrooms as part of a SPRINS-series called Invandrar/minoritetsundervisning på grundskolans låg - och mellanstadier (Immigrant/minority instruction in grades 1-6 of the compulsory school system, 1984). It is a questionnaire-based study of teachers and students in home language instruction and the parents of these students, regarding their opinions about a possible schedule change to more home language instruction outside of the regular school day, i.e. after school. Neither students nor
teachers liked the idea in Tingbjörn's survey, but the parents of the students were generally positive. What the parents liked best was that their children would not miss any other teaching while attending home language instruction.  

Focusing on teachers in the home language programs are two contributions by Ingegerd Enström. The first one is part of the SPRINS-series mentioned above (1984a) and Enström also wrote a follow-up report to that study later in the same year entitled Hemspråkslärarna (The Home Language Teachers, 1984b). Her subjects taught in either bilingual home language classes or home language instruction. The former category was, generally speaking, happier with their work situation than the latter. The former also felt more positively about the overall effect of home language education on the minority students, whom the teachers saw as more secure and having a better developed identity and sense of self. They were also of the opinion that a high level of proficiency in the home language usually brings good Swedish skills as well, so the bilingual model was seen as resulting in greater competence in both languages. The teachers in the bilingual model were by and large satisfied with their contact with other teaching staff, but the instructors who only taught twice a week felt isolated and experienced lack of cooperation. These latter teachers also showed great variety in the content they emphasized, with some working more on language skills while others stress cultural learning.

11This, of course, eventually became reality after the 1991 cutbacks.
A SPRINS-report by Roger Källström (1982) is based on a large survey of home language education in 32 municipalities, and his main focus is on organisational issues. What he found does, however, coincide with already presented material in terms of distribution of students between the available options and the division of language use in bilingual class models. Just as Enström found in 1984, Källström's students in the bilingual models fared better than those receiving home language instruction two lessons a week. The problems that occurred were mostly administrative in nature, but that was compensated for by improved contact with the parents of immigrant students (see also Cummins 1997). The work situation for the twice-a-week teachers was described as difficult and frustrating due to insufficient time with the students and too much time spent on travelling between schools. The need for teacher training was also mentioned in the responses as was the recommendation to recruit teachers from the existing immigrants already in Sweden and not "import" home language instructors from the home countries.

Another SPRINS-document from 1982 also finds problems with imports from the home countries. Lena Ekström investigated teaching materials and found severe difficulties with the use in home language education in Sweden of materials, mostly books, produced in the countries of origin. Linguistically they are often too complex, both in terms of structure and vocabulary. The latter could, however, be rectified, suggests Ekström, by supplying students with supplementary word lists and explanations. A greater
problem, as Ekström sees it, is that the methodology and educational intentions of the school system, for which these materials were originally designed, do not coincide with the objectives of Swedish education or acceptable classroom interaction in Swedish schools.

Hill's and Reichenberg-Carlström's studies.

A recent study by Margreth Hill (1995) at the Department of Pedagogy at Gothenburg university looks at the relationship between participation in home language instruction and school experience. This experience includes both variables related to performance (=grades, Swedish skills) and psycho-social factors (=attitudes, identity, concept formation). The study was based on interviews with 42 immigrant students who attended the first year of senior high school in three very or relatively immigrant-dense areas of Gothenburg. It is thus based on a rather limited number of subjects, who have not only decided to continue their education beyond the compulsory school system (grades 1-9) but who have also all started their school experience by participating in home language instruction at the preschool level. Not all of them continued, however, and Hill divides her subjects into three groups: a) uninterrupted home language participation; b) late interruption, i.e. the students participated in the program until

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12 Two of these areas are also participating in the present investigation.
at least grade 5; and c) early interruption, which means the
students stopped attending home language instruction before grade
5. These three groups are then compared mostly among themselves
but also with immigrant students generally and with Swedish
students.

In terms of performance, the comparison results in figures
that show a positive effect of uninterrupted home language
participation. These students' over-all grades upon leaving
compulsory school where slightly better than even Swedish students,
whom they out-performed in both English and Swedish. In other
subjects, they are on a par with Swedish students. The positive
effect is still a net result for the students with "late
interruption" background in terms of over-all grades, but one notes
a difference in grades in core subjects. The "late interruption"
students have slightly lower grades in Swedish and English, but
they are considerably stronger in Mathematics, where they have
grades above their overall grades. In the "early interruption"
group, on the other hand, core subject grades are at the same below
average level for Math and English, and well below average for
Swedish. Only in the "immigrant subjects" home language and
"Swedish 2" do they receive grades above average.

The students' performance in spoken Swedish was also assessed
by Hill in terms of fluency, correctness, and native-like
pronunciation. Again, the "uninterrupted" students are the
strongest performers, with a slightly less native-like proficiency
in the "late interruption" group. The greatest problems using
Swedish were found among the students in the "early interruption" group. These assessments were based both on observations made by Hill during the interviews and by the students' self-evaluations.

The students' attitudes towards their ethnic identity in relation to home language education are also investigated by Hill. In terms of ethnicity, it is interesting to note that the students with the most native-like Swedish, which as we saw was the "uninterrupted" group, were most likely to identify with their ethnic group. In this group, only one third (37%) felt more Swedish in their identity. Those with the least proficient Swedish, the "early interruption" group, were in contrast most likely to say that they felt more like Swedes than like members of their minority group. Among these students, only about one quarter (27%) defined their identity as that of their ethnicity, whereas 73% felt decidedly Swedish. The "late interruption" students were evenly divided between the two ethnic identity options. Unfortunately, Hill did not offer the "equally much of both" option, and one Latin-American boy would have needed that option (p.42). He stubbornly refuses to be pegged as one or the other but maintains that he feels just as much a Swede as a person from his native country. He also points to the fact that he may feel either more Swedish or more like a member of his ethnic group in certain contexts and depending on the people he is with. This temporary dominance, however, can be of either culture. The boy in question was an "uninterrupted" student, and it would have been interesting
to see how many other subjects in this group would have chosen an "equally much" answer if it had been offered as a possible option by the interviewer.

The students' attitudes to their home language experience bring out a different pattern. Here, the two interrupted groups of students reported only a few responses in favour of this subject (17% and 18%), while the uninterrupted group had a more positive attitude. The latter group is also positive to bilingualism as such, which is only true for half of the "late interruption" students. Of the "early interruption" group, only a minority of subjects see anything valuable in being bilingual. Their attitudes toward the home language education they have received at any point in their schooling is, however, primarily positive and only 3 students show a clearly negative attitude. Of the remaining 39 subjects, many were positive towards home language education as such, although they may have been critical toward the kind of teaching they themselves received. The teaching was for most of them clearly associated with language skills development without explicitly cultural content focus.

A strongly positive image of the home language teaching, or more so teacher, is in the affective area. Several students comment on the home language experience as a "free zone" where they can be themselves, discuss emotional issues, receive cultural clarification, and - as one Croatian boy put it - "be comforted in a way you understand when you feel sad." (p. 66) By this he meant not just the verbal communication but also specific kinds of body
language and other culturally conditioned ways of interacting with an unhappy child, although he could "not put his finger on it" and give specific examples. "You can just tell by the way it feels" (p.66). Later in youth, as puberty sets in, the home language teacher becomes a valuable resource for students trying to make sense of two often very different sets of values regarding the opposite sex, sexual behaviour, and appropriate interaction with elders. In these areas, Swedish socio-cultural norms differ widely from those of the major non-Scandinavian minority groups in Sweden.

Finally, a few words about Hill's evaluation of the students' ability to discuss the notion of "democracy". She divided the kind of information given about "democracy" by the students into four types: fragments, disjointed facts, concepts, and generalizations. At the fourth and most advanced level of discussion, the students were able to not only define the concept but also apply it in a number of different situations, both in micro- and macro-contexts. Not surprisingly, most students able to do this were found in the "uninterrupted" group while nobody among the "early interruption" students was capable of this abstract reasoning. Conversely, most of the "fragments" were produced by the latter group. The "late interruption" group performed more like the "uninterrupted" group than the "early interruption" subjects. This seems to point to improved concept formation in those students who have not only had the most exposure to home language teaching but also developed the best Swedish proficiency and have the highest over-all grades. Family factors also come to mind. Although almost all students in
Hill's study came from low SES backgrounds, the students who had left the home language program early frequently cited their parents' uncertainty in combination with well-meaning but misguided teacher recommendations as their reasons for choosing not to continue in the program. Parental support and confidence in knowing what is best for their child usually resulted in students' staying in the program. Hill does not pursue this issue at length, but her findings certainly introduce an interesting "chicken and egg" situation.

Another study from the University of Gothenburg is a dissertation by Monica Reichenberg-Carlström entitled "Understanding Sweden in the Swedes' Own Language" (Att på svenska språk förstå Sverige. Invandrarlever och språket i gymnasiets 90-böcker.) The subtitle of this thesis translates "Immigrant students and the language of high school textbooks in societal orientation subjects". The study was published in "Meddelanden från Institutionen för Svenska Språket" (Communications from the Swedish Language Department) vol. 10, 1995, and the main focus is on the difficulties experienced by immigrant high school students struggling to comprehend Swedish textbooks.

It may initially seem that this topic has little to do with home language education in Swedish schools, but that would prove to be an unnecessarily hasty assumption. It is interesting to note

13 This group consists of social studies, history, and religious studies, which are the subjects that the textbooks under scrutiny in the study are assigned to.
that the role of the home language teacher as facilitator for the immigrant students in the regular classroom is not a service that is available at the high school level. However, the language of the textbooks is suddenly more complex than it was in the compulsory school system (grades 1-9), as a higher level of maturity and intellectual sophistication is expected of the students at this stage. Yet, youngsters who are recent arrivals to Sweden, and who wish to get a high school diploma, are "thrown in at the deep end" in the classroom. Reichenberg-Carlström quotes a school inspector in the Stockholm area as saying, after having visited 22 high schools in 1994, that "many immigrant students don't even have enough knowledge of Swedish to carry on an ordinary conversation, never mind keeping up with the teaching".

In the earlier chapters of her thesis, Reichenberg-Carlström investigates comprehension difficulties caused by factors that are not limited to a lack of proficiency in the Swedish language. The introduction of the study states, "For a textbook to be comprehensible to an immigrant student... it should use examples that relate to concepts and contexts with which the immigrant students are familiar." (p. 21) This reflects the quote from the curriculum guidelines we saw above (Tingbjörn, 1996) that what is already known and familiar should be the point of departure for any student's learning, including immigrant students in the Swedish school system. A part of chapter two of the dissertation is devoted to the notion of precomprehension, which allows correct predictions to speed up the reading process or just make the text
more accurately understood. The author explains the lack of precomprehension in immigrant students as the consequence of lacking language proficiency, insufficient prior factual knowledge about the topic of the textbook, and extensive differences in cultural background. The latter will make certain culturally conditioned connections and associations unavailable to the minority student, while the majority students automatically get the intended connotations and can fit the content into a familiar cognitive framework. For the immigrant youngster there is little, if any, "comprehensible input" (Krashen 1987).

According to the study, theoretical concepts in a text present comprehension problems for the immigrant students. Reichenberg-Carlström goes on to point out that concept formation depends on cultural factors and that the associations related to a word or expression depend on the reality behind a particular culture. She makes the observation that textbooks in religious studies present less difficulty for immigrant students than do the history books and social studies learning material. The concepts that here need to be clearly explained to the Swedish students are probably already familiar to students from other cultures, where religion plays a more central role in life-style and world view. Thus, the input becomes more comprehensible as the familiarity with a religion associated to the minority culture makes precomprehension possible for the minority student.

A great deal of attention is given to a text's readability. Idioms and set phrases can pose a problem, but that can be true
also for native Swedish-speakers of the same age. Complex structures and giant compound nouns are more frequently stumbling blocks for the immigrant students in particular. Reichenberg-Carlström offers a word of caution, however, about simplifying the language in textbooks. If it becomes oversimplified, it easily becomes too childish, and the content that is presented tends to be unduly generalized. In her concluding chapter, she observes, "The immigrant students must get to read texts that correspond to the intellectual level at which they are... overly simple texts do not manage to stimulate the students to make their own reflections" (p.161).

It is easy to see how Gunnar Tingbjörn would urge an expansion of the home language programs at the high school level to solve the problems encountered by the students in Reichenberg-Carlström's study. There, concept formation based on what is already familiar to the student could take place, and then the concepts could be modified to transfer into the Swedish contexts. As Hyltenstam & Tuomela put it, the task becomes more one of attaching new "labels" to already existing concepts. There, also, the minority students could receive that cognitive stimulus offered by intellectually challenging material, provided one understands the language.
Opening remarks.

Some studies in the field of education/pedagogy at Swedish universities have targeted the home language programs in the languages focused on in this investigation. In Stockholm, two studies looked at different aspects of Greek home language education (Garefalakis 1994; Kostuolas-Makrakis 1995). At Linköping University, a doctoral dissertation studied recently arrived Iranian students in senior high school (Sahaf, 1994). A report from the SPRINS group in Gothenburg studied Latin-American Spanish-speaking students (Eckerbrant-Cantillo 1985). Finally, in an inter-Scandinavian research project about immigrant languages in those countries, Vietnamese parents of school-age children in Finland and Norway were surveyed (Latomaa 1993).

Two studies about Greek home language education.

Jannis Garefalakis' (1994) doctoral thesis from Stockholm College of Education bears the telling title "Lärobooken som traditionsbärare" (The textbook as a carrier of tradition). The subtitle tells the reader that the focus will be on "home language education in Greek from the perspective of didactics and curriculum theory". This volume starts with a review of various home language options in Sweden and their development within the Swedish school
system. He continues with a thorough review of the Greek educational tradition, which is related to the content in textbooks used in today's Greek home language programs in Sweden. These textbooks become a particular problem when they are directly imported from Greece (cf. Ekström 1982). These materials emphasize "nationalistic, moral, and family values, tradition dependency and admiration for Greek nature" (p. 228). The teachers act mostly like communicators of this cultural content in a traditional, teacher-centred classroom context. The archaic methodology is often supported or even demanded by the students' parents, who can relate it to their own (or their parents') school experience in Greece.

Furthermore, the "monocultural" content that is taught by Greek home language teachers gives an idealized and inaccurate image of the home country, which is not one the children would recognize if they visited Greece. Even worse, students with current experiences of contemporary Greece don't recognize the culture there today in the textbook content. But the factors determining the instructional content are the content in the textbook, the teachers' authority, and the minority families' perceptions of "the old country", not some individual student's first-hand experience. Garefalakis finds this utterly unfortunate, since he sees how the home language teaching could otherwise have acted as a bridge between the two cultures. This in turn could have helped the students comprehend both Greek and Swedish reality which, hopefully, could lead to the ability to feel equally at home
in both cultures, to be bicultural (cf. Hill, 1995).

Another dissertation in Pedagogy, this time from Stockholm University, investigates Greek immigrant students. Nina Kostuolas-Makrakis (1995) calls her study "Language Maintenance or Shift?", which indicates the primary concern of this researcher. The main focus is on the ability of Greek children to maintain their minority language while growing up in the Swedish-speaking majority society. Indirectly, her topic also involves home language education in the school.

It was particularly the Greek home language teachers who through interviews communicated some points of view that Kostuolas-Makrakis decided to dwell on. As did the teachers in Källström (1982), the Greek teachers in this study were totally against the move of home language instruction to the end of the regular school day. They suggested improved scheduling and more class time with their students. They also pointed to the need for teaching materials designed for a Swedish school context, just as Garefalakis felt in his survey, and better ways to train teachers for home language programs. Professional development should be a priority, as should demands for bilingual competency in certified home language teachers. They should also be biculturally competent with thorough knowledge and experience of the social context in which the students are growing up (and Garefalakis would certainly agree). The teachers Kostuolas-Makrakis' interviewed also reported that those teachers who were directly sent out by Greece to teach in Sweden were ill-prepared to function in the Swedish school
Factors not related to home language education that Koskuolasmakrakis linked to the students' success in maintaining their home language were the comparatively high status given ancient Greek culture as the cradle of Western civilisation, the use of Greek in the home, visits to Greece and potential repatriation, and social environment. In the family context, the parents would usually encourage the children to use Greek in the home, and these students even used Greek with their siblings and friends of Greek background. Friendship with other Greek young people was a stronger factor than living in an immigrant-dense residential area, even if it was predominantly Greek. The students also felt a real kinship with the Greek community, and two thirds declared that they felt more Greek than Swedish. This seemed to be a "feed-back factor", since the report states that Greeks see their language as an essential component of their ethnicity, which influences the students' home support for language maintenance.

Sahaf's dissertation about Iranian high school students.

Ali Reza Sahaf's dissertation "Language, Identity and Social Behaviour. A Socio-cultural Approach to the Study of the Concept "Will" on the Effectiveness of the "How's" and "Why's" of Bilingualism" earned him a doctorate from Linköping University in 1994. The subjects in his study were 20 Iranian senior high school students, who were interviewed, tested, and observed in class.
Unlike the high school students in Hill's study (1995), Sahaf's subjects were relatively recent arrivals to Sweden and had entered the Swedish school system after participation in a transitional program. Sahaf's socio-cultural analysis showed that factors with a positive effect on students' attitude towards their first language and heritage culture are the values expressed in the family and the views offered by authorities. Publicly funded schooling in the minority language Farsi was seen by the students as a recognition of this language as having value, and participation in family activities or events within their own minority group provided a vital part of the motivation to maintain the first language skills.

On the other hand, a negative effect was caused by the way media treated both their Iranian culture in particular and home language instruction in general. The scheduling of the home language after the school day made it seem less important than the other school subjects. Other negative influences were a scarcity of appropriate teaching materials and advice from others in favour of working on Swedish language proficiency and comprehension of Swedish culture. Lack of progress in Farsi skills development was also seen as discouraging. All these negative factors became increasingly important in the students' minds as time went on and their Swedish improved (the study was conducted 1989-91).

In terms of their socio-ethnic relationships to the two cultures, the students in Sahaf's study showed three different possibilities. First, an individual can decide to reject both
Swedish culture and the heritage culture. This tends to lead to identity and personality problems based on low self-confidence and a sense of not belonging anywhere. These students have a limited functional command of Swedish as well as their mother tongue, and they often drop out of school. Second, there are some students who display a partial rejection, i.e. they are opposed to one of the two cultures. Their psychological problems are similar to those of the first group with depressions and emotional instability. Often they experience identity problems, and their Swedish is typically better than their Farsi. Third, finally, is the group that shows acceptance of both cultures, which Sahaf calls the balanced group, who have fewer problems than the other two. They want good skills in both Farsi and Swedish and feel like Iranian immigrants to Sweden, not like "just Iranians".

Stockfelt-Hoatson on socio-cultural factors in immigrant preschoolers.

Another dissertation from Linköping University deserves a mention in this review of the Swedish literature. The title is "Training Immigrant Children in Pre-school in Norrköping" and it was submitted in 1978 by Britt-Ingrid Stockfelt-Hoatson. Although it deals with pre-schoolers, who are not a target group for this investigation, Stockfelt-Hoatson's study is relevant for other reasons. She links the children's language development very strongly to socio-psychological factors and relates them to a
number of cultural influences. She addresses the importance of both parents and peer-groups as well as the demands of adjusting to a new socio-cultural context. Stockfelt-Hoatson also makes some rather scathing remarks about attitudes and politics in Sweden.

In terms of the parents' role, Stockfelt-Hoatson points to the fact that immigrant parents are often under tremendous pressure. They spend unusually long hours at work in addition to trying themselves to learn Swedish. Many are suffering from home-sickness or harbour a strong desire to return to their country of origin. They are struggling to adjust to a new, unfamiliar life-style, some of which they do not agree with and cannot accept. Stockfelt-Hoatson states in her concluding chapter that "...cultural conflicts are no easy matter to solve, but need great contributions from both Swedes and immigrants in the way of information, consideration and compromise" (p. 207). Parents may also have to rely on their children's Swedish for communication with the surrounding society, which can be humiliating. They will, however, easily overrate their children's Swedish proficiency once a deceptively fluent superficial ability has been developed (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas' "ytflyt" and Cummins' BICS).

The importance of the peer-group is great already at the preschool level, according to Stockfelt-Hoatson, and does certainly not diminish as the child grows older. To children, being popular is essential and they experience peer pressure to conform in order to become accepted and prevent humiliation. Peer group compliance can, on the other hand, lead to generational conflict. In this
context, the author sees the home language teacher as being of vital importance not only for bridging a parent-child communication gap but also for developing the immigrant youngster's bicultural identity: "Intermediaries such as knowledgeable home language teachers are necessary if serious problems are to be avoided. These teachers must ... teach the home language to the children and gain the cooperation of the parents.... These good intermediaries... can ... give the child a good start for his (sic) development into bilingualism and biculturalism" (p.64). She states that "(i)n addition to demands from school and parents the immigrant children also meet with demands from... other children who often have their own ways of expression" (p.45) with an obvious reference to the importance of the peer-group's culture.

In her less than flattering comments on how the Swedes deal with the needs of immigrant children, Stockfelt-Hoatson deprecates the inability in many Swedish adults to comprehend how totally different their own backgrounds are from the experiences of these children. She sees no connection in this regard to intelligence or education except in the manner that the prejudice is expressed (p.191-192). Without mincing words she warns that these children will grow up to be people with inferiority and insecurity as personality traits, who may become costly to Swedish society. To allocate resources to proper education of these children is an investment against future economic loss and an implementation of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights which, Stockfelt-Hoatson points out, Sweden has signed. But some observations on Swedish
decision-makers' fear of arousing envy or jealousy in Swedes, she delivers the following salvo:

"The problem is that prejudice, greed, fear of getting into trouble and indifference mixed together form inertia.... the situation (will not) be improved by the sad fact that the unemployment rates are increasing.... immigrants (are) suitable scapegoats, especially for those who prefer not to accept the real reasons for their unemployment" (p.197).

Eckerbrant-Cantillo about Spanish-speaking students from Latin America.

A document about Spanish-speaking students in the Swedish school system is one of the SPRINS-group's publications called "Latinamerikaner i årskurs 6 och 7" (Latin Americans in Grades 6 and 7). The report was written in 1985 by Eva Eckerbrant-Cantillo, who also carried out the investigation using an interview-based approach. The participants were 19 students and 10 parents from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay who had arrived in Sweden some time over the past 10 years. In addition, a total of 8 teachers were interviewed, three of whom taught grade 6 while five taught grad 7. Of the latter, two were Spanish-speaking teachers, but in grade 6 only one, the home language teacher, spoke Spanish. Among the students, 10 attended the same class, grade 6, whereas the other 9 were in two different grade 7 classes (4 in one and 5 in the other).
The study focuses on attitudes toward and perceptions of the school situation as a whole for these children, the teaching and learning of Spanish and Swedish, the use by the children of their two languages, and interactional patterns both in and outside of the classroom. The investigator is herself, a Swedish-Spanish bilingual and was thus able to conduct the interviews in Spanish with all subjects except, of course, the Swedish teachers. She also carried out classroom observations in both the "regular" and home language classrooms as well as during instruction in Swedish as a second language. The data was gathered in the fall of 1984 in three immigrant-dense suburbs of Gothenburg.

In terms of the overall school situation, the teachers reported on a number of problems regarding their work with these students. Especially the Swedish teachers saw them as having several social needs that were not adequately met by the school system, which resulted in absences and disruptive or indifferent behaviour, particularly among the boys. Lack of motivation and little interest among the parents as well as difficulty learning the Swedish language were cited as primary reasons for the unsatisfactory results in their school work. The girls had, generally speaking, learned Swedish better, made more friends among their Swedish classmates, and were more actively participating in classroom activities in the regular program. The Spanish-speaking teachers reported a more positive relationship with the Latin-American students, regardless of gender but expressed frustration over much of the textbook material used in their classes. Most
Spanish textbooks were from Spain and did therefore did not relate culturally to the experience and background of these South American students. In addition, since their Spanish proficiency, especially in the written language skills, was frequently a couple of years behind that of students living in a Spanish-speaking society, the textbooks they were able to comprehend were frequently dismissed by the students as childish and irrelevant (cf. Reichenberg-Carlström 1994). Of the three Swedish as a second language teachers, two were not adequately trained or qualified and felt themselves to be insecure and ill-prepared for their task.

From the parents' vantage point, the Swedish school system was basically found to be wanting. They deplored the lack of standards both in terms of behaviour and school work demanded of the students and lamented the lack of discipline and academic requirements in the schools. Most parents were planning to move back to the country of origin "soon" and were concerned about their children's ability to reintegrate into the school system in that country (cf. Tingbjörn 1989). They were less worried about their children's performance in the Swedish language, which they frequently overrated, probably due to their own poor Swedish skills. This difficulty using Swedish also made the parents reluctant to have much contact with the school, except through the home language teacher, and the contact that did occur usually happened on the school's initiative in response to some problem with a Latin-American student. Some parents felt that the school did not provide enough opportunity for their children to develop their
Spanish, which many of them saw as getting worse the longer they stayed in Sweden, while others recognized the shared responsibility of home and school in ensuring the children's maintenance and development of adequate Spanish skills. All parents insisted that the children speak Spanish with them at home, but many had had to accept that the language used with siblings often was Swedish.

As far as the students are concerned, their personal opinions about their Swedish school experiences are given in interviews with 15 of the 19 participating students. In addition, information is provided about the students based on the classroom observations Eckerbrandt-Cantille carried out, also in the fall of 1984. Her findings deal primarily with social interaction patterns and language-related issues. The children's attitudes towards school subjects different teachers, and other students are also described.

These Latin-American children seem to show different interaction patterns with Swedish children depending on gender, but it may in effect be their language proficiency that determines with whom they choose to socialize. At first glance, the impression is that the boys stick to their Spanish-speaking peers and have a clearly defined sense of "us and them". This happens both inside and outside of the classroom when they are at school and in their free time they are also together with their own ethnic group, even to the point of selecting those of their own nationality as members of their social group. The girls, on the other hand, are more integrated with the Swedish children. They sit among the Swedish classmates during lessons, while the Latin-American boys congregate
in their own part of the classroom and speak Spanish, except when they are addressing the Swedish-speaking teacher. The girls also interact with Swedish children, usually other girls, during breaks and recess. Many also have Swedish friends that they socialize with outside of the school context. In spite of this integrative behaviour, it is the Spanish-speaking girls that are involved in more ethnic leisure activities such as folk dancing. The girls are, however, more proficient in their use of the Swedish language than are the boys, and often they also have the better Spanish skills.

The ability to interact in Swedish with relative ease seems to be, not surprisingly, a prerequisite for making friends among the Swedish children. That, more than gender, is what really determines the role of ethnicity in choosing other youngsters to socialize with. The girls seem to reach that initial necessary proficiency more easily, and probably faster, than do the boys. So the boys have to satisfy their social needs among those with whom they can communicate, i.e. other Spanish speakers, whereas the girls can communicate with and choose friends from speakers of both Spanish and Swedish. To illustrate this, one exceptional boy is used as an example. His linguistic ability is much like that of the girls - after only four years in Sweden he is equally at ease using either language - and his social interaction pattern resembles that of the girls as well. He has friends in both language groups and, like the girls, uses Swedish in the regular classroom and participates actively during the lessons. The other
boys view him with a mixture of respect and distrust, maybe also some envy, and refer to him as being "swedified", which is also done by the girls. That is a bit surprising as the girls would never think of themselves as "swedified" although they behave very much like this boy.

At the other end of the language spectrum is another boy who has lived in Sweden for 8 years and even attended a Swedish daycare centre as a young child. He has extremely poor Swedish skills and interacts almost exclusively with other Spanish-speakers. His friends speak Spanish and his attitude towards Swedish people and society is characterized by indifference or even disdain, which is found to be the case among other, most often male, students who also have very limited Swedish proficiency. These students are frequently found to be disruptive by the Swedish teachers, but are well-behaved and respectful with their Spanish-speaking (usually home language) teacher. Their over-all school performance is poor, except in subjects like physical education and art, where they get at least average results. They have low self-esteem and almost non-existent expectations of themselves and for the future.

The girls tend to espouse a brighter view of their future, whether they stay in Sweden or move back to their country of origin (which is what their parents expect to do), and they are optimistic about their ability of becoming actively bilingual in Spanish and Swedish. One girl comments, however, that if that is to happen,

\footnote{These were the two school subjects where the Finnish children in Toukomaa's (1975) study performed relatively well, i.e. at average or slightly above average grade levels.}
she must make an effort to maintain and develop both languages. That realizations may be expressed in the behaviour of some girls in grade 7, who reported that they used to speak Swedish with each other, except when Spanish-speaking adults were present, but have now started interacting in Spanish among themselves. The girls also seem to be more socio-linguistically aware in that they will refrain from using Spanish when a Swedish-speaker, child or adult, is present.

In addition, this greater awareness of linguistic behaviour is apparent in the girls' self-evaluation of their Swedish language skills. They are able to make a more realistic assessment of their proficiency, which is also true for the few boys who have acquired more than a minimum of Swedish. Those with the weaker Swedish skills have, on the other hand, a tendency to overrate their Swedish ability, which parallels the parents' often unrealistically optimistic view of their children's proficiency in Swedish. As Eckerbrant-Cantillo pointed out, the parents usually have great difficulty using the Swedish language, and with their expectations of a return to the home country in the foreseeable future, any motivation to learn Swedish well is virtually non-existent, realizing as they do that it is a language of no practical value once they leave Sweden.

\[1^{5}\text{This parallels findings reported in Hill (1995)}\]
Vietnamese parents of students in Finland and Norway.

In the context of a broader research project about the languages of immigrants to various European countries, S. Latomaa carried out an investigation of attitudes to bilingualism among parents of immigrant children in minority groups in Scandinavia. Her report is entitled "Parental attitudes towards child bilingualism in the Nordic countries (1993, in Extra Verhoeven (eds), Immigrant Languages in Europe), and of relevance to the present researcher is that Latomaa among other groups looked at Vietnamese parents in Finland and Norway. As reported in Hyltenstam and Tuomela (1996), Latomaa found that by and large all of these parents had their children participate in home language instruction in both countries. Their reasons for doing that was both a sense of loyalty towards their own language as a component of their culture and the fact that their children here had a chance to learn about the history, geography, and traditions of their country of origin.

Among the few complaints registered by the Vietnamese parents are mostly found issues that we recognize from earlier contexts. In Finland, the parents felt that two classes a week did not give the children sufficient time to work in their first language. Some were also dissatisfied with the teaching materials and the lack of qualified teachers. Certain parents would comment negatively on the dialect spoken by the teacher, and several parents criticized the methodology that taught Vietnamese more like a foreign language
than a mother tongue. We recall in this context Tingbjörn's frequent calls for a "language arts approach" to home language teaching.

Judging by this researcher's experience of home language education, the above reports make some well-founded observations about shortcomings and problem areas in these programs. One can only hope that these issues will be addressed before the programs get cut.

**Articles on Anti-Immigrant Behaviour**

In order to investigate whether there was any real increase in hostility towards minority groups in Sweden, or the seemingly escalating violence against immigrants and discrimination against non-Swedes was just the result of a greater awareness of the existence of such behaviour, a survey of articles in newspapers and current events magazines was carried out by the present researcher. A library search in Sweden using the key word "främlingsfientlighet" (hostility towards foreigners) and covering the time period 1986-1996, yielded no less than 161 entries related to anti-immigrant issues. Of these, 58 were deemed relevant for this study, and their titles/headlines in Swedish and in English translation can be found in Appendix D. This review will not focus on individual articles but rather give an overview of shared features and general content in this material, in terms of reported behaviour as well as the underlying causes that are suggested by
some article writers.

The articles that report on violence and serious harassment contain several different configurations. Some incidents, typically in the major cities, take the form of group against group. Mostly we find one immigrant youth gang versus one Swedish gang of skinheads or other racist young people. These clashes usually take place in certain downtown areas of bigger Swedish cities. Occasionally, two immigrant gangs fighting each other, usually in immigrant-dense suburbs, are reported on. (It would be interesting to see how many Swedes-on-Swedes fights get news media coverage, although it was not investigated as part of this study.) These group violence reports are primarily found in newspaper articles.

Also headline material are stories about individual immigrants being attacked by hostile Swedish youth groups. These situations tend to result in the minority person being severely injured, even killed or, in the case of female victims, raped. Since guns are difficult to obtain in Sweden, the methods used in the attacks are usually stabbing and/or kicking (with heavy boots). These instances of violent behaviour more often occur in smaller urban areas, e.g. medium-sized towns, or out in the country\textsuperscript{16}. The attacks may be triggered by a variety of factors, which will be discussed below in the context of the causes behind these aggressive acts against immigrants in Sweden.

Another type of anti-immigrant incident is where only one or

\textsuperscript{16}Several Swedish refugee camps are located in rural settings.
two individuals are involved on both sides of the conflict. These situations may result in real violence, the threat of violence, or intimidation and harassment of the minority person or couple. At times a "mixed" couple becomes the target of this kind of behaviour. One article about this expression of anti-immigrant feeling tells the story of a Swedish girl dating a Turkish boy, who had to stop socializing with her "old" friends of Swedish background and socially integrate into the immigrant community in that city. The writer claims that this example is not unique, although "cross-dating" is generally speaking not the norm. This article appeared in a current events magazine, but some individual-against-individual situations get covered by the newspapers, especially if they result in physical violence.

Certain acts of anti-immigrant individuals are not aimed directly at a minority person, but at buildings used or owned by immigrants or refugees. More than once, refugee camps have been the targets of fire bombs, and businesses owned and/or operated by immigrants have been severely vandalized. Immigrant families moving into Swedish-dominated neighbourhoods occasionally find themselves harassed by the area residents. There was even a mosque, in the town of Trollhättan, that was torched and burned to the ground by racist elements.\(^\text{17}\)

More frequently reported in the magazine articles are stories

\(^\text{17}\)On a happier note, one newspaper also reported that a Swedish Lutheran Church just a block away had opened its doors to the homeless moslem congregation until they could rebuild their place of worship.
about minority persons, sometimes professionals or local politicians, who have become victims of telephone terror, hate mail, stalking, and other forms of threatening treatment. In school contexts or local sports associations, where the targeted individuals are relatively young, the social exclusion of a smaller group of immigrants or a minority individual can have far-reaching consequences for the victims. Cases of (attempted) suicide are found among them, and sometimes the "freezing out" escalates to mobbing. If you are an immigrant who has actually managed to become successful in Sweden, you may well find yourself at the receiving end of death threats, which has been documented at particular length in two cases in recent years. One is a politician of immigrant background who got himself elected to the Swedish parliament. He has since left politics. The other is a young woman of Greek origin who has become a well-known TV-personality. She is still undaunted, pursuing her media career. Such success stories tend, however, to be the exception rather than the rule. The observation that certain kinds of foreign-sounding names act as employment barriers is made in a number of articles.

Before going on to comment on the reasons given in some articles to explain this discriminatory violence and threatening behaviour on the part of certain individuals in Swedish society, I would like to highlight a point made in a magazine article that deals with organized neo-Nazis in Sweden. The author's main objective is to show how Swedish skinheads and other racists are connected to international neo-Nazi organisations and militias, but
he also remarks on the reporting of racist crimes and anti-immigrant violence in the Swedish media. It may seem, he says, that this kind of activity has levelled off since 1990, but that is really not the case according to statistics available from the police and social authorities. The escalation in this behaviour that could be followed in the media in the 1980's has not ended, quite the contrary. But at the end of the 80's, the public information authorities had requested that media reporting on such incidents be given a lower profile. The reason offered was that there was a fear of copy-cat crimes being committed, which would further aggravate the situation. Consequently, reports of violence against minority groups were no longer front-page news in the 1990's but relegated to the inside pages of the newspaper or local broadcasts on radio and TV. In spite of this publicity restriction, there was no noticeable reduction in reports of such events, although more incidents than before even went unreported.

Certain articles focus on the reasons behind this hostile behaviour in Swedes, who are otherwise not particularly violent by nature. Many articles suggest causes that would explain a particular crime they are reporting on. Some recurring themes can be identified, and they relate either to the cultural gap between the indigenous Swedish population and the immigrant groups in Sweden, or to a sense of insecurity in the majority culture, underscored by less prosperous and predictable times. Of the latter type are arguments about jobs being "stolen" by immigrants and the taxpayers money being "wasted" on refugee camps where
foreigners supposedly live in the lap of luxury. Urban myths circulate about strange immigrant behaviour, and Swedish culture is seen as being under siege.

These misunderstandings would of course not be possible were it not for that cultural gap between the segments of the population. The de facto residential segregation perpetuates the misinformation and gives permanence to the lack of contact between native Swedes and immigrants. Other nationalities also have different behavioural priorities, which causes misreading of cultural clues. Some minority groups are from cultures where you proudly display what (little) wealth you've got, which to the more modest-minded Swedes looks like just the tip of the iceberg, resulting in misguided envy of the "rich" foreigners.

The School Board of the Greater Stockholm Area

The School authorities in Stockholm include not only the National School Board ("Skolverket") but also the school board of the greater Stockholm area that coordinates certain parts of the Swedish capital's school system. After a move towards decentralization in the early 90's throughout the public sector, education issues are now handled locally at the municipal level or even by the local school district (rektorsområde). Education of minority students has, however, remained one aspect of the school system's responsibilities that is still seen as best served by an
administrative unit with authority over a larger region. It is thus handled by the greater Stockholm area school board immigrant unit (Skolförvaltningens Invandrarenhet)\textsuperscript{18}.

Much of the work carried out by this immigrant education unit is focused on disseminating information about available home language options and "Swedish 2" instruction. It is also responsible for providing news updates from the Ministry of Education about changes to the existing curriculum or, as in 1994, about the content of the new curriculum. Much of the content in one of these documents that was devoted to the differences between the previous curriculum guidelines "Lgr 80" and the newly issued ones "Lpo 94" (to be implemented as of July 1995) has been discussed already in the review of Gunnar Tingbjörn's overview (1996). The points made in addition to Tingbjörn's criticism are emphasizing the additional burden placed on the home language teachers in the new guidelines. They are still primarily peripatetic, but in addition they are expected to have the bulk of their work between 2 and 7 pm, which causes unusual problems in terms of their family life and leisure activity schedules.

Another area that the Immigrant Unit has been involved in is evaluation of home language programs, as well as "Swedish 2" instruction. These evaluations echo the concerns that have been presented in several of the previous reviews (e.g. Hyltenstam & Arnberg 1996, Källström (1984), Tingbjörn 1993, 1996). Among them\footnote{A similar situation is seen in smaller urban areas, where immigrant education is often administered not by school staff but by "resource managers" who work for the municipal councils.}
we find shortage of resources and qualified teachers, lack of cooperation with other school staff, impossible expectations based on overly ambitious objectives, and teacher burn-out due to the multitasking that is directly or indirectly, expected of the home language teacher. Other reported problems are difficulties finding enough students for a group, adequate space for teaching, and (for the smaller languages) available instructors. The positive outcomes are mostly at the interpersonal and socio-psychological levels (cf. Hill 1995, Tingbjörn 1996).19

In late 1991 and early 1992, this unit became involved in a larger scale project in the greater Stockholm area to combat racism and hostility towards minority groups. In a working paper entitled "Rapport angående Stockholms insatser mot främlingsfientlighet år 1992", which was produced by Stockholm's municipal council's committee on immigrant issues (and marked "To be treated discreetly"), several administrative sectors are reported on. The paper's title translates "Report concerning Stockholm's efforts against hostility towards minorities in 1992", and that is indeed what the document is about. The background was a reportedly marked increase over the first half of 1991 in violence and other overtly anti-immigrant behaviour against individuals from ethnic groups that were easily identified by "Swedes" as being members of a

19A nation-wide evaluation commissioned by the National School Board (1992) involving 10 randomly selected municipalities made almost identical comments.

20I am very grateful that Martha Hedberg-Granath, head of the school board immigrant unit, extended her discretion to allow me access to this document.
minority.

The working paper informs about government funding that has been made available for the purpose of working towards a decrease in these kinds of hostile acts and about the municipal sectors considered particularly appropriate in helping to bring about such changes. The sector seen as the contributor with the greatest possible potential in this regard was the school system, and at least a third of the funds were earmarked for projects in schools in the greater Stockholm area. The schools also responded to the invitation to participate with more commitment and productivity than the other sectors approached by the committee. The report describes a number of activities in various schools that were undertaken as a direct result of this initiative. They include exhibits and "theme days", excursions and camp experiences, theatre and film, collaboration between schools and school subjects.

The overriding objectives were to increase awareness and knowledge and to create opportunities for contact between the population groups. This reflects the observation made frequently in the paper that hostile behaviour is usually an expression of insecurity and fear. The best weapon against those experienced emotions are information and interaction. What is known becomes less frightening than the unknown, and familiarity based on first-hand experience emphasizes shared human elements at the cost of prejudice and defensive oversimplification. The reported positive feedback from the schools seems to support these assumptions, and the paper expresses delight over the fact that many projects will
become incorporated into the regular school activities or continued as recurring events. (See also the Tensta/Hjulsta report of 1994.)

Not everything in the working paper, though, radiates this optimism. It acknowledges the fact that prejudice and anti-immigrant attitudes exist even among teachers. In some schools, the staff has been quite divided on the issue, and the current projects don't necessarily solve that problem. The report also comments that even a modest infusion of funds seems to have been necessary for these projects to get started. "Certain schools have apparently had great difficulty affording even insignificant costs to take action against anti-immigrant behaviour" (p.29). One wonders if the implicit meaning is: If there is money, there is a will, and when there is a will, there is a way.

A report from the Immigrant Unit of the greater Stockholm area school board called "Mot rasism och främlingsfientlighet" (Against racism and hostility towards minorities, 1994) is a documentation of what has specifically been done to implement the intentions stated in the working paper reviewed above. It includes a detailed description of projects at certain schools, which provides a better idea about what was actually done than the more summarizing accounts given in the working paper. The report also provides information about specific events that will be organized again, such as a multicultural "theme day" with exhibits and presentations by immigrant students at the school.\footnote{The described event reminded me of the annual "Multifest" that is celebrated by the various Saturday heritage language programs at North York Board of Education in Metropolitan Toronto.}
Follow-up activities also included outreach into the surrounding community. One school in particular had found that a large number of senior citizens lived in the area where the school was located. These seniors rarely got any direct contact with immigrants, and the minority students together with their newly found Swedish friends at school saw this as an opportunity to extend the anti-prejudice project. The older Swedes often felt fearful or uncomfortable among "foreigners", and the positive results at the school inspired these students to try to set up opportunities for supportive interaction between themselves and the seniors.

"Not like us!"

The Swedish psychiatrist Thomas Böhm has written a book called "Inte som vi!" (Not like us!, 1993) in which he looks for the psychological reasons for why there has been this relatively recent increase in anti-immigrant behaviour and attitudes among Swedes. He is himself the son of Jewish immigrants to Sweden, who fled Nazi Germany during the Second World War, which he gives as an explanation for his own particular interest in this application of his psychological insight. He dedicates his book "to all who have been targeted by the hatred" (till alla som drabbats av hatet), and deals with his topic by mixing analysis and information with conversations between Böhm himself and persons with direct or indirect experience of racist and/or anti-immigrant activity.
The relationship Böhm sees between growing anti-immigrant violence and present-day Swedish society is based on two sets of interacting variables. One of them is insecurity versus perceived threat; the other is low self-esteem versus high complexity. Put in the context of today's Sweden, the insecurity manifests itself in different areas, primarily uncertainty about one's own identity and pessimism about one's future. The latter is mostly related to the threat of unemployment (=failure) in a tough job market, but elements of conspiracies and global disaster figure in the notion as well. The former is both about individual identity (Who am I?) and cultural identity (Where do I belong?). Böhm sees an evermore fragmentized social structure as the main culprit in the first and a superficial globalization in the second. When these identity problems never get dealt with but always get pushed below the surface, the individual reacts by projecting his fear of the perceived threat. Basic, uncultured human instinct is to reject what is different and unfamiliar, and those who are different from us become the targets of our projections: "they" take our jobs; "they" will start another world war; "they" will cause our culture to change.

The other two factors intersect with the ones just mentioned. Low self-esteem is often the result of identity problems, and Böhm also relates this low self-esteem to an inability to appreciate or respect others except as flattery or obedient subservience, which are both self-seeking. This will also bring a tendency to act in a group, belong to a gang, hide the impoverished self among others.
Strength is achieved in numbers, and "courage" grows out of anonymity. That strong and courageous group member can then fearlessly attack the representatives of "high complexity", i.e. that which one cannot easily and readily recognize as familiar and "safe"; that which is "not like us". What is perceived as different becomes complex, since it requires some analysis and empathy to identify with someone who shares few features with oneself. That in turn desensitizes the attacker and dehumanizes the victim, and the "strange" person becomes a safe target. This move into polarized behaviour is also closely linked to polarized thinking, in terms of black and white, all right and all wrong, us and them, allied and enemy.

Böhm ends his book with a chapter about possible strategies for improvement, which revolve around more personal one-on-one exposure combined with better self-knowledge leading to greater tolerance and readiness to integrate. But he warns that "the integrative forces don't emerge by themselves. In contrast, schizo-paranoid ones surge spontaneously... Since destructiveness exists, we must recognize it... instead of ignoring it or treating it as insignificant. (Only then) can we launch a counter attack. Racism is a problem inside the racist, for which his victim has to suffer" (p. 200). And these racists may throw fire bombs, but they could just as well express anti-immigrant attitudes in the polite guise of a "civilized" dinner conversation.
Ett slag mot våldet

Nynazisternas renrakade förtrupper, våldsdyrkanande skinheads, sprider avsky och skräck omkring sig i mitten av 80-talet. I Stockholm tränger de in på Sovjetambassadens område och begär att den nazistiske krigsfängen Rudolf Hess ska friges, de hotar, förföljer och misshandlar invandrare och svenska meningsmotståndare.

I midsommarhelgen 1986 blir 21-årige Ronny Landin ett av offren, när han misshandles till döds av fem skinheads på en campingplats i Nynäshamn.


Medan gatuvald bli vanligare och råare under 80-talet, tycks ingripandena från kringstående och polis bli allt färre.
(Translation of the Swedish article on p. 129)

**Striking out against the Violence**

Skin-heads, the bald-shaven, violence-worshipping vanguard of the neo-nazis, spread disgust and horror around them in the mid-80's. They force their way into the Soviet embassy in Stockholm and demand that the nazi war criminal Rudolf Hess be freed. They threaten, persecute and beat up immigrants as well as Swedes who oppose them.

During the Midsummer week-end of 1986, 21-year-old Ronny Landin becomes one of their victims when he is beaten to death by five skin-heads at a camping site in Nynäshamn.

 Mostly, the general public remains passive in front of these provocations, but when a dozen members of the Nordic National Party demonstrate in the town square of Växjö in 1985, a woman loses her patience and desperately attacks the demonstrators. She had lost her entire family in Hitler's death-camps. Several demonstrators against the Nordic National Party also attack the neo-nazis, who have to get protection from the police.

While the street violence becomes more common and brutal during the 80's, intervention from bystanders and police seems to become more and more rare.
METHODOLOGY

Setting up the Case Study

The Swedish case study was set up to investigate the aforementioned additional cultural learning about the host country, Sweden, in the home-language classroom. Does it happen at all, in spite of the lack of support for it in the Swedish curriculum guidelines? And if so, how does it compare with the cultural content taught in connection with the target language? Are there differences between age groups? Does the perceived learning vary between male and female students? Do we find similar response patterns if we compare languages reflecting cultures that are very dissimilar? And if the patterns vary, why do they? Last but not least, do different cultural components receive the same attention or are some over-emphasized at the expense of others? These questions were all to be looked at in the analysis of the data.

The data were gathered in the spring and fall of 1994, following a pilot study that was completed in the spring of 1993. A combination of student questionnaires and teacher interviews was used. In the pilot study, which yielded approximately 50 respondents, the students were given yes/no answer options. After the follow-up interviews (or, in one case, written comments) with the teachers, the questions were redesigned with graded answer options (0-4), which would better reflect the learning outcomes as
perceived by the students.

The participating teachers were briefed by the present researcher about the investigation prior to receiving the questionnaires for distribution to their students. They were informed about the purpose of the study and the experiences and ideas that had led up to the project. They were also given an opportunity to ask for clarification about the investigation, about their role in it, about the content of questionnaire, or about hypothetical problems that might occur. The teachers were also assured that they would receive feedback regarding the results as well as be able to provide feedback about their experiences using the questionnaires with their students.

The questionnaire consisted of one page containing subject information (home language, age, male/female) and 30 questions about cultural content. (See Appendix A1: A2 for an English translation.) A brief instruction paragraph included a reminder that the students learn not only from their teacher but also from classmates. As the purpose was to see what the students themselves perceived that they learned, no attempt was made to verify the subjects' responses. The entire questionnaire was written in Swedish, and the teachers were allowed to help students with poor Swedish language skills comprehend the questions by translating and/or explaining them in the students' first language. The teachers were asked to keep a record of any possible questions with which the students consistently required teacher assistance. If such a pattern emerged, the intent was to delete or possibly look
with caution at those questions during the analysis of the data.

In order to ensure minimal need for teacher intervention, only students in grades 4-9 participated in the study. It was assumed by this investigator that most of these students would have developed a sufficient level of reading ability to understand the questions, provided language comprehension was not a problem. (If it was, as we saw above, the teacher could step in.) No particular time limit was set for how long it should take the students to answer the questions. The students indicated their choices by circling a number from zero to four, zero indicating "nothing at all" and four meaning "a lot." Each question required two numbers to be circled: one relating to a particular component in the heritage culture, the other relating to the same variable in Swedish culture. Thus, each student circled a total of 60 (2 x 30) responses. There was no conscious effort made to balance male/female or age groups in the data. Nor was any attempt made to get equal numbers of students for each of the four participating target languages for reasons that will be given below.

**Participating Areas and Data Collection**

A total of 500 questionnaires were distributed to six different school boards. Three of these boards were in the greater Stockholm area, and the other three were in the city of Gothenburg, including suburbs. In each urban area, the three school boards were selected to represent varying degrees of immigrant population
density: one with high density (Rinkeby in Stockholm and Gunnared in Gothenburg); one with a moderately high proportion of immigrants (Flemingsberg in Stockholm and Biskopsgården in Gothenburg); and one where comparatively few immigrants lived (the City of Stockholm and the City of Gothenburg) which were the more centrally located residential areas of each city. This was deemed necessary to balance out cultural factors pertaining to influences from the surrounding community. In some cases, an instructor would teach the home language in more than one of these three areas, which in the final treatment of the data made it impossible to separate them in the analysis. Thanks to the cooperative attitude of the participating teachers, a total of 477 out of the 500 questionnaires were returned.

As was indicated above, the number of subjects for each home language investigated is not the same, nor was it sought to be. Instead, the criteria for selecting the languages to be targeted in this study were defined by cultural aspects. It was decided to use four languages, each representing one part of the world and a culture distinctly different from the others in the study and from Swedish culture, with its components of both northern European and North American influences. In addition, of course, these languages should all be available as "home languages" in Stockholm and Gothenburg schools. In the search for participants, any student from the six school boards who received instruction in any one of the four pre-determined languages was considered a subject, until the potential maximum of 500 respondents had been reached. No one
was refused, but a few home language groups in both Stockholm and Gothenburg decided not to participate.

After the collection of the data, getting comments from the home language teachers on the questionnaire procedure was very valuable. With all responses returned to the present investigator, the teachers were invited to meetings, one in Stockholm and one in Gothenburg, to relate their experiences. The overall impression was a positive one, with only a few groups having refused to participate and no individual students declining to answer the questions. No single question had caused consistent problems for the students, but some of the lifestyle related questions had required clarification in a few cases. These tended to be the ones the teachers themselves had asked about, so they were easily able to express what the investigator had in mind. There appeared to be no need to delete any question or treat any of the responses with particular caution.

**Language Selection**

The four languages were chosen to represent the many global varieties in cultural variables. To represent the old European tradition, Greek was selected, which also gave the Christian data an orthodox component. To represent primarily the new world - South and Central America - Spanish was chosen, with most of the speakers being steeped in the Roman Catholic Christian tradition. Some Spanish-speaking students may, however, be from
Spain, while the "new" world does, of course, also include a very old Native Indian cultural component. Also having roots in an ancient but partly lost civilisation are the speakers of Farsi, or Persian, whichever one prefers to call the language spoken by most people in the country we today call Iran. (For the purpose of this study, the language will be referred to as Farsi.) The Iranians not only represent the Middle East geographically but the data also add a Moslem component with the Farsi-speakers adhering almost exclusively to Islam. The fourth language is Vietnamese, representing the cultures of South-East Asia with local traditions having their religious roots in Buddhism.

But the choice of these four languages was not only prompted by an effort to cover all four corners of the world and the three major religions of our planet. These four languages are all spoken by immigrant populations in both the Stockholm and Gothenburg areas, but they have arrived at different times in modern history. None of the groups, however, arrived in any significant numbers until after The Second World War. All four minorities have by and large stabilized, i.e. their numbers are not affected by the most recent influx of refugees/immigrants to Sweden.

The people of Greek origin living in Sweden today usually arrived in the 1950's and 60's. They came as imported labour at a time when many southern European countries were poor but Swedish industry was booming and very much in need of manpower. This was typically the case before 1966, when immigration to Sweden was not yet regulated. In the same period of Swedish history, many workers
from Italy and Yugoslavia also came to Sweden for the same reasons\textsuperscript{22}. All these groups usually did well in Sweden, most of these immigrant workers stayed (although they had not always intended to do so), and many of them brought family members and/or married into the Swedish community.

After 1966, immigration to Sweden from Greece, unless it was for family reunification, was the result of the dictatorship in Greece after the military coup of 1967. Dissidents would be granted a haven in Sweden, where they may already have distant relatives or at least know somebody (who knew somebody) among the members of the Greek community. This minority group, according to home language educators in Sweden, is probably the one of the "old" labour immigration groups that has most strongly maintained their heritage profile. All but very few of the Greek students in Greek home language programs today are second or even third generation Greeks in Sweden.

The Iranian group living in Sweden is of much more recent origin. They usually left their home country as refugees from the oppressive islamic theocracy that began with the Ayatollah Khomeini in the early 1980's. By and large, the Farsi-speaking refugees/immigrants came to Sweden as well-educated, highly skilled young professionals, most of them with a good command of at least one European language. The Iranians make up the largest non-European minority group in Sweden today with approximately 35,000

\textsuperscript{22}Most Finnish immigrants also arrived at that time when unemployment was high in Finland and Sweden rapidly needed to expand its labour force.
members in 1995. The immigration from Iran has levelled off in the past year, and the number of Farsi-speakers in Sweden has probably remained relatively constant. Most Farsi-speaking students in Swedish schools are first generation immigrants, but in the lower grades (1-3) an increasing number are born in Sweden to refugee/immigrant parents from Iran.

Unlike the Greek and Farsi-speaking communities in Sweden, the Spanish-speaking immigrants hail from several different countries. Most of them have escaped persecution by military dictatorships in South America, and the majority of these refugees in Sweden are from Chile. The group from Argentina is also sizeable, and both these groups mostly arrived in Sweden in the 1970's and 80's. People from Bolivia, Columbia, and Peru have also sought refuge in Sweden from oppressive regimes. Due to political changes in recent years, the number of individuals having to flee those South American countries has decreased rapidly, and very few newcomers to Sweden have arrived from South America in the 90's. Thus, we find a mixture of first and second generation immigrants among the Spanish-speaking students in the Swedish school system today.

The Vietnamese community in Sweden is considerably smaller than the other three involved in this study. The background of this minority group is directly linked to the Vietnam War in the late 60's and early 70's and to the ensuing situation with the boat-people tragedy after the fall of Saigon. Sweden already received some refugees from Vietnam while the war was still going on, much because of Sweden's strong opposition to the war in that
nation. In the mid-70's, a number of boat-people were accepted by the Swedish government, and in the late 70's and early 80's more Vietnamese refugees have been admitted into Sweden on humanitarian grounds. These were usually former boat-people who had ended up living in appalling conditions in camps in and around Hong Kong. So the Vietnamese immigration to Sweden could be described as a slow but steady trickle, mostly from 1975 to 1985. The children of this minority background are for the most part born in Sweden to families with one or both parents originally from Vietnam, but usually both parents share an Asian heritage.

With the possible exception of some members of the Spanish-speaking community, it is highly unlikely that any of these immigrant groups will return to their countries of origin. For all intents and purposes, they are permanent residents of Sweden. Some have become Swedish nationals while others have retained their original citizenship. "Going back home" may still be a dream for many, but for most it is not a reality (Guillou 1996).

**Different Kinds of Cultural Information**

As the focus of the investigation was on the role played by the learning of culture through home language instruction in the adjustment process to Swedish society, it was assumed by the present researcher that different cultural backgrounds in young immigrants to Sweden would call for different degrees of adjustments to the Swedish context. A recently arrived student
from a cultural context with few components in common with the Swedish one would probably require more information about life in Sweden than somebody from a more closely related culture. A group of students who are second-generation immigrants would in their turn have a lesser need for information about Swedish culture and society. One possible result could then be that Greek, the language among the four that mostly recruits students from an already well-established immigrant community, would less need to include elements of Swedish culture in the home language learning environment, whereas in the other three such content would be more likely to occur. Or, at least, it would be more desirable to have that kind of information available as part of the content covered in the students' native tongue through the home language instruction.

As we saw on page 132, there were 30 questions in the questionnaire, and they were divided into three kinds of cultural content. These categories were grouped to reflect a) factual information about the culture, b) life-style information, and c) cultural activities. By combining questions into cultural categories, over-all trends in the data could be more readily discernible. In order not to make any single answers "disappear" in the general tendency of a category, each question in the data was also individually analyzed as well as being incorporated into its cultural category in the pair-wise comparisons.

The first category, cultural facts, includes the textbook information about a country's or area's history and geography.
Objective presentations of the political system and dominant religion(s) also fall into this category. Much of this information is included in the materials used in the heritage language classroom, but these facts may also be learned in the regular classroom, from parents and other family members, as well as from the media. The information given by these different sources is rarely in conflict with one another. To learn these kinds of facts would be considered a normal part of any formal language learning context.

The other two categories are more related to cultural experience. The second category, cultural life-style, informs the students about food and drink, clothing, day-to-day family living, as well as ways of celebrating special holidays and other major events. The third category, cultural activities, includes the particularly traditional aspects of such celebrations, but also represents the performing arts such as singing and dancing, as well as arts and crafts. Some or all of the students may receive instruction in these skills in their heritage language classes, and everybody is taught about these activities as part of the country's cultural heritage. These kinds of traditional expressions of skills, talents and creativity are what we in Canada often associate with the more superficial notion of multiculturalism.
Analyses and Language Proportions

For the analyses of the data, the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Studies) computer treatment program combination was used. This permitted a number of different comparisons and relationships to be investigated in a manageable way. The focus was more on describing trends and existing conditions than on looking for change or development. Attention was not paid to statistical significance in the pair-wise comparisons. This also seemed appropriate in the light of the fact that the participating language groups were quite different in sample size but would nonetheless be compared with each other. Significance was, however, reported in the other analyses of the data where appropriate.

In the context of sample size it is, however, a rather fortunate serendipity that the size of the participating language samples and the total number of students participating in those home language programs were rather comparable in terms of their proportional relationship to each other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total # in program</th>
<th>Students in sample</th>
<th>= % of total #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>350 (1)*</td>
<td>19 (1)*</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>2,800 (8.0)</td>
<td>80 (4.1)</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi</td>
<td>5,000 (14.3)</td>
<td>173 (8.8)</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>9,500 (27.1)</td>
<td>205 (10.3)</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,650 (50.4)</strong></td>
<td><strong>477 (25.0)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.7%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Incremental values in parentheses.
See also Figure 1 on the following page.

There is a slight underrepresentation in the largest sample (Spanish) and the smallest sample (Vietnamese) is proportionately somewhat larger than the others, but the Vietnamese sample is still very small in terms of generalizability. The percentage for the four languages together comes to 3.7%, which is very close to the Farsi sample (3.5%).

**Distribution of Age and Gender**

In terms of age and gender, the collected data includes an age range of 8-16 plus one 18-year-old with an average age of 12.8 years, and the numbers of males and females are almost the same with 237 boys and 240 girls participating in the investigation. The age distribution indicates lower numbers at the higher and lower ends, with the greatest numbers for students being 12-14 years of age (see p.144). The division of age per language group also follows similar pattern. (See Appendix E)

The numbers of boys and girls per language group reveals a greater number of Greek girls (10 more) than boys participating, but slightly more Iranian boys (5 more) than girls in the sample. The Spanish and Vietnamese subjects are as evenly divided between males and females as they could be with one more boy in each sample. The division between children under 12 years of age and students of 13 years and up is not quite as even as the male/female
AGE DISTRIBUTION AND AGE/GENDER PER LANGUAGE

Ages, Total Data

Age Groups per Language

Genders per Language
proportions, with 210 students 12 and below and 267 being 13 and above. In all four language groups, though, the older students are more numerous.

**Gender groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Farsi</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Age Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Farsi</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 and above</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 and below</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparisons by Category and Individual Question

From the perspective of this study, it could be anticipated that the three categories of cultural information would to different degrees incorporate content about the home language culture and Swedish culture respectively. Ideally, cultural facts should cover both of these quite even-handedly, lifestyle would incorporate more about the country of residence, Sweden, and cultural activities ought to high-light skills and artistic expressions from the heritage culture, which may otherwise get lost and forgotten in the Swedish environment.

In order to find out if the students perceived themselves to have learned more about, Sweden or the country of origin, a pairwise comparison was made both for each cultural category and for each question in the questionnaire. The data were analyzed separately for each language both in terms of categories and individual questions using a Wilcoxon Matched-pairs Signed-ranks Test. The results of the category comparisons were intended to show the general tendency of the responses, which in its turn would reveal any shifts in emphasis of the kind indicated above. The individual question analysis would then show if any single question received an over-all response that did not conform with the tendency of that category. If any such odd responses were found, possible reasons would be looked for and/or speculated about.
Comparison of Gender and Age Factors

In looking at the cultural categories, the analysis also included the separation of responses according to gender and according to age groups. For the latter, two age groups were identified which corresponded to the "middle stage" and "high stage" of the compulsory Swedish school system, grades 4-6 and 7-9 respectively. Between these two stages, the students experience changes not only in terms of school and classmates, but also in the home language classroom, where the student groups only rarely include children from more than one stage. This division also separates the participating youngsters into one section of pre-teens and another consisting of teenage students.

Frequency Tables

One kind of information that was sought from the analysis of the data was which cultural content was given most attention in the Swedish home language instruction. To find out what the students perceived that they had mostly been taught among the 30 topics covered by the questionnaire, frequency tables were generated for the student responses. Of particular interest for this investigation were questions that students had marked by circling "4", explained as meaning "a lot". A parallel finding that would also be of interest was which questions that were marked "0", or "nothing". The present researcher was furthermore interested in
finding out how many 0's might be found on questions that had reportedly been answered "equally much about both cultures" in the pair-wise comparison analysis. For those questions, the equal response would then rather represent "equally little" than "equally much". That could, in turn, change the relationship between the amount of content learned about the heritage culture and that about Swedish culture, as the students saw it.

**Factor Analysis**

The division into cultural categories was made by the present investigator "a priori" based on content that was perceived as belonging to the three categories defined on p. 139. To see what other question groupings might emerge, based on amount of content taught as reflected in the students' answers, the data were submitted to a factor analysis. The ensuing content clusters were then compared to the cultural categories. This was intended to show if the teachers had placed a greater emphasis on any one of the cultural categories in their instruction content selection, or if the content actually reported by students as learned in the home language program, regrouped the questions according to some other common denominator. That would in turn be looked at in relation to the pair-wise comparisons done for the cultural categories to see if a similar picture resulted from either analysis. If not, possible explanations would be sought in the data.
Feed-back from Metropolitan Toronto School Boards

Finally, four international languages program coordinators at different Metropolitan Toronto school boards were invited to provide feedback on the results of the Swedish case study. A 12-page synopsis of the findings was provided together with a questionnaire, where the coordinators were asked to reflect on the extent to which the Swedish situation, as reported, resembled the situation in the greater Toronto area as they saw it, based on their experience. Any additional details from the case study findings would be made available upon request, and interviews with these school board officials were also arranged. This material provided a basis for comparison of the instructional content in Swedish home language education and the Ontario heritage language programs.
RESULTS OF THE SWEDISH CASE STUDY

Pair-wise Comparison by Cultural Category

In the factual information category, individual patterns in the responses from the participating languages are already emerging. (See graphs on pp. 151-153). Spanish-speaking, Farsi-speaking and Vietnamese students all report that they learn more about Sweden than about the heritage country. In the small Vietnamese sample, more than half (11 of 19) felt this way. Just under half of the Iranian students (80 of 173) and almost a quarter of the Spanish speakers (47 of 205) also marked answers that reflect that kind of perception. The Greek students, on the other hand, indicated that they learn more about Greece than Sweden by a majority of over 50% (42 of 80). The Spanish-speaking students, however, mostly reported in their responses that they had learned equally about both Sweden and the home language countries. The other three languages all had the smallest number of students giving that kind of answer.

Moving on to the life-style category, a different pattern emerges. Here the emphasis is squarely on the heritage culture for both Greek and Iranian students. The two groups show a clear indication in favour of the home language culture with responses of over 50% each for "more heritage life-style" (41 of 80 or 51% for Greek; 93 of 173 or 54.1% for Farsi). Although the Vietnamese data show almost equal numbers of responses for "more heritage life-
RESULTS BY CULTURAL CATEGORY

Factual Information (in actual numbers)

Factual Information (in %)
RESULTS BY CULTURAL CATEGORY

Life-Style (in actual numbers)

Life-Style (in %)
"style" and "more Swedish lifestyle", 7 and 9 respectively, the limited size of this sample still creates an 11% difference (37% and 48%) in favour of the Swedish context. Different from the other three are again the Spanish speakers, with the smallest number of students still marking "more heritage" and the majority (143 or 72%) indicating equal amounts of learning for both cultures. (See also graphs by language on pp. 155-158)

In two of the four groups of subjects, the Greeks and the Iranians, the smallest number of students reported learning more about Swedish life-style than about life in the country of origin. This may be less surprising for the Greek home-language students, who are - as was said above - often second-generation immigrants. But it is definitely a cause for concern when it comes to the Farsi-speaking students, of whom only 21 out of 173 (12%) reported learning more about Sweden than Iran, since they have with few exceptions arrived very or relatively recently in Sweden and are more often than not first generation immigrants living in areas dominated by non-Swedish residents of varying backgrounds.

Lastly, the cultural activity category shows its own unique profile, with each group of students answering differently from the others. Over 60% of the subjects of Greek background report that they learn more about Greek cultural activities than about the Swedish equivalents. This is not surprising in view of what was

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23 Perhaps even more unsettling is this statistic in view of the fact that much of the open hostilities and anti-immigrant violence that has happened in Sweden has been directed against residents of Middle-East origin.
SPANISH

Factual Information

Her+ (8.3%)

Swe+ (22.9%)

Equ. (68.8%)

Life-Style

Her+ (8.0%)

Swe+ (21.5%)

Equ. (69.8%)

Cultural Activities

Her+ (13.2%)

Swe+ (42.4%)

Equ. (44.4%)
said above about the Greek students being most likely born and raised in Sweden, as well as the reasonable expectation that the cultural activities of the heritage culture would be emphasized. The Farsi data also seem to reflect this assumption to some extent, since this student group mostly responded with a tie between Swedish and heritage cultural activities. The majority was not very decisive, with both "more Sweden" and "more heritage" as close seconds with almost identical numbers.

Both the Spanish-speaking and the Vietnamese students report that they have not learned more about the cultural activities of their heritage cultures. Of the Spanish speakers, only 27 students (or 12%) answered in this way, and not a single Vietnamese respondent (0%) chose "more heritage". Among the Vietnamese students, most selected "more Sweden" (11 or 58%), while 8 of them (43%) indicated that they had learned equally much about both cultures. The "equally much" response got the highest number of answers among the Spanish-speaking subjects with 91 or 45%, with slightly fewer (87 or 43%) choosing a "more Sweden" response.

**Comprehensive Pair-wise Comparisons**

Looking at the combined data from the Farsi, Greek and Spanish-speaking respondents, a pattern emerges that is to some extent the very opposite of the expectations postulated above (p. 146). In the factual information category, more students (160 or 33.5%) reported learning more about Sweden than about the home
### Comprehensive Table of Pair-Wise Comparison Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample: Categories</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Farsi</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Total Data</th>
<th>Total Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fact. Info.</td>
<td>Her+</td>
<td>Swe+</td>
<td>Equ.</td>
<td>Her+</td>
<td>Swe+</td>
<td>Equ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life-Style</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult. Activities</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cult. &quot;pkg.&quot;</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Responses: X
TOTAL DATA
Factual Information

Equ. (41.3%)
Her+ (25.2%)
Swe+ (33.5%)

Life-Style

Equ. (49.1%)
Her+ (33.3%)
Swe+ (17.6%)

Cultural Activities

Equ. (39.0%)
Her+ (26.8%)
Swe+ (34.2%)
language country. Not quite so many (120 or 25.2%) felt that they had learned more about the heritage country. Most, however, (197 or 41.3%) thought that they had learned as much about one as about the other. This result contradicts the assumption that materials used in home language instruction would primarily involve factual learning about the country/area where the home language is spoken by the majority of the population. Instead, the home language instructor has been used as a facilitator in learning facts about Sweden, the country of residence. Ideally, perhaps, one would want the "equally much" rating to be the one getting the greatest number of responses, since it is as important to have factual knowledge about the place where your roots are as it is to have it about the location of your present life. Were it not for the high number of Spanish speakers indicating "equal amounts", that score would have been the lowest in the data.

In the life-style category, the results are much what could be expected considering the fact that the Swedish curriculum guidelines emphasize that the culture of the heritage area should be the preferred content of the home language instruction. A full third of all the respondents (33.3%) indicated that they learned more about the life-style of the heritage country than about life in Sweden. A higher proportion, though, (49%) reported that they learned just as much about both contexts, whereas the by far smallest number (17.6%) - and here the Greeks and Iranians were in agreement - said that they had learned more about Swedish lifestyle. In view of the role of home language instruction as a
possible vehicle for cultural adjustment, this is cause for concern.

For the questions concerning cultural activities, the answers in the total data do not reflect what would have been expected. The smallest number of students (128 or 26%) report learning more about heritage culture activities, while most participants (186 or 39%) felt they learned as much about the heritage culture's activities as they had about cultural activities in Sweden. An emphasis on Swedish culture was reported by 163 respondents (34.2%). These results do not support the assumption that the skills and creative expressions of a culture foreign to the local context would need to be practised and maintained through activities during home language instruction in order not to be forgotten and lost in the dominant cultural environment.

If we look at the outcome for all of the questions combined into one single cultural "package" and see what each of the four larger home language student groups in the data answered, we find that both Greek and Farsi-speaking students consider information about the heritage culture to be more prevalent in their learning than information about Swedish culture, while most Spanish-speaking respondents marked equal amounts of content for both cultures. The Vietnamese students, on the other hand, show a clear majority score (31) for "more Sweden". For the other two options, the Vietnamese responses show a tie between "more heritage" and "equally much" the same number of respondents (13) for each with regard to the total cultural "package". Both the Greek and the Farsi data not only
RESULTS BY CULTURAL CATEGORY

Cultural category package (in actual #)

Cultural category package (in %)
had most subjects feeling they learned more about the heritage culture, but also had the smallest number of students indicating that they learned more about Swedish culture. This is especially true for the Greek group, where considerably more students marked "equal amounts" (68) than "more Sweden" (40).

For the Greek home language students, this emphasis on heritage culture at the expense of Swedish culture is probably less potentially detrimental than what could be the case for the Farsi-speaking students. Going back to what was said about the Greek youngsters mostly being second-generation immigrants to Sweden, they are already familiar with Swedish society and know how to function in it. Iranians, on the other hand, do encounter negative attitudes, hostile behaviour and prejudice from members of the Swedish population, so the Farsi students could do well with any help they can get in their adjustment to this strange new northern land. They are usually first-generation immigrants, who have arrived with no Swedish language skills and very little cultural information. They may know that the climate is cold, but the cold reception they often experience was not necessarily anticipated. And how were they to know, since nobody had told them - neither about the Swedish temperament more often than not being quite reserved and guarded, even to the point of finding displays of emotion embarrassing or disturbing, nor about the advisability of trying not to stand out in a Swedish crowd, and how to go about that. At least we can, as part of the home language instruction, offer the Iranian youngsters some cultural know-how about Sweden in
a language they understand - Farsi - and in the company of others who are or have been in the same boat. That information, if provided soon enough, can then prevent alienation, assist young Iranians in adjusting to the Swedish context, and even work against the perpetuation of prejudice and stereotype.

Before going on with the item-by-item analysis, a brief moment will be spent on the combined data (=Farsi, Greek, and Spanish, and Vietnamese together) for the over-all cultural package, to get the most general impression prior to looking at the individual details. The highest score (617) is for the "equally much about both" responses, not surprisingly since the vast majority of the Spanish speakers and a high number of the Farsi-speakers agreed on that. Sharing second place are the "more heritage" and "more Sweden" answers (407 each), the former boosted by a majority score in the "more heritage" column among both the Greeks and the Farsi speakers. The "more Sweden" numbers are in a majority for the Vietnamese group, which far outweigh the "more heritage" scores for the Spanish speakers. This is perhaps somewhat unexpected if we again recall the objectives of the Swedish curriculum guidelines for home language instruction.

Finally, a word of caution regarding the interpretation of the results. The relatively limited number of scoring options per question increases the likelihood of "equally much" response. However, a more finely graded scale of, for example, 0-10 was deemed too complex for the students to work with, unless an unrealistic amount on class time was spent on the questionnaire.
Pairwise Comparisons Question by Question

Introductory Remarks

In the question-by-question report of the analysis, each question will be looked at not only independently but also as a component of a cultural category. Any deviations from the category trend that is evident in a single question belonging to this category will be highlighted and commented on. An attempt will be made to find the underlying causes of such differences in terms of factors pertaining to the immigrant group itself as well as Swedish society at large. Attention will also be paid to the "youth culture" factor when this seems appropriate.

For these pair-wise comparisons item-by-item, the first analysis will focus on one language group at a time. The primary purpose is to see whether any single questions differ from the general pattern in this group of students. Also, as was mentioned above, such items will be viewed in the context of their categories. Whenever these questions are found, the way in which they differ from the bulk of the data for that language group will be identified, and possible reasons for these discrepancies, from inside or outside the classroom, will be suggested. In addition, peer-interaction as a vehicle for learning will be taken into account where this seems reasonably applicable.
General observations.

Starting with the Greek data, we recall that the majority of Greek home language students in our sample indicated that more cultural content was learned about Greece than about Sweden. This was true for the bulk of the data as well as for all of the three cultural categories. A possible explanation for this was not only the curriculum guidelines, but also that these students were as a rule second generation immigrants to Sweden. Therefore, they did not really need to learn how things were and were done in Sweden. They would, of course, also be perfectly fluent, even native-like, in the Swedish language, which for some of them may even be the dominant language.

At the individual question level, although one question got the same number of answers for both "more about Greece" and "equally much", more single items were answered by "equal amounts" (19) than those yielding responses of "more Greece" (8). The most likely reason for this is found in the circumstance that the "more Greece" responses strongly favoured the information about Greek culture and therefore became more heavily loaded than the "equally much" responses, looking at the cultural categories. In other words, a response showing "quite a lot" for both Greece and Sweden would come out as "equally much," just as a zero response for both would, whereas a "quite a lot" answer for Greece and "nothing" for
Questions itemized, with dominant score for Greek data
(Parentheses indicate a sizeable second place score.)

Factual Information items:
Gr+ History
Sw+ Geography* (Equ.)
Gr+ Political system
Gr+ Main Religion
Equ. Transportation
Equ. Laws

Factual Information +
Lifestyle:
Equ. Children's rights

Lifestyle items:
Equ. Clothes
Equ. Leisure activities
Equ. Vacation activities* (Gr+)
Equ. Work/Jobs
Gr+ Family Life* (Equ.)
Equ. Women's place/role
Equ. People's opinion of right/wrong
Equ. What has high/low status
Sw+ Treat foreigners
Equ. Treat sick/disabled** (Sw+)
Equ. Political discussion* (Gr+)
Equ. Treat religious minorities

Lifestyle + cultural activities:
Gr+ Traditional food and drink
Equ. Famous people
Equ. Sporting events celebrations

Cultural activities items:
Gr+ Music
Gr+ Dance
Gr+ What special holidays** (Equ.)
Gr+/Equ. Why special holidays***

Cultural activities +
Factual information:
Equ. Radio & TV
Equ. Film & theatre
Equ. Literature
Equ. Political Events Celebration

* Close call
** Strong second
*** Tied score
Sweden would tip the scales heavily in favour of Greek cultural content. The general profile of the data, though, is reflected in the fact that only two individual questions were answered "more Sweden" by the Greek students.

Two differing items.

The two items that yielded answers showing "more about Sweden" are found in two different categories. The first one deals with the factual information component and addresses the question of how much the students think they have learned about the geography of the two countries. The "more about Sweden" response received 30 takers, while "equally much about both" scored almost as many, or 28 respondents. However, unlike the questions about history, political system and main religion, where the "more about Greece" answer dominated, for the geography question the very opposite was true. A total of only 22 students marked "more about Greece" in terms of geography, which may not be a negligible proportion - just over 25% - but is still considerably less than for the other two.

The second one of the two "more about Sweden" answers is found in the life-style category of items. It is the question that asks how much the students learn about the treatment of foreigners in each of the two countries. "More about Sweden" got all of 35 responses, while "more about Greece" received only half as many, or 17 in all. In between the two we find those who marked "equally much," a total of 28 students. So, as with the geography item, we
can see that this question, too, received not only the highest score for "more Sweden" but also the lowest score for "more Greece."

Looking for an answer as to why these two items stood out from the other questions in the Greek data, different explanations will be suggested. For the geographical information, both in terms of physical and economic geography, it is to be expected that the content of the informal classroom interaction will mostly deal with the students' present environment and relate to the location of their current life. This would affect only the geography item in the factual information category. According to the same line of reasoning, it seems logical that in this category the history question received the highest score for "more Greece" - 42, or over 50% - which was higher than the political system and main religion items. These latter two also got mostly "more Greece" answers, but the numbers were not as high as for the history item - 30 and 39 respectively. The remainder of the "factual information" questions all received most "equally much" answers.

The second of the two "more Sweden" items in the Greek data was asking how much the students felt they learned about how foreigners were treated in Swedish and Greek society. As we saw, this question belongs in the life-style cultural category, where a total of 14 out of 16 questions were answered by "equally much about both" by the Greek students. Thus, two items received different responses, and one of these is the question regarding treatment of foreigners, where the students reported that they were
better informed from their home language classroom experience about the situation in Sweden. This is hardly surprising, if we take into account the possibility of peer-interaction in the group. Given the typical content of everyday conversations, it would be quite likely that this shared experience of how Swedish society treats these youngsters, who are perceived as foreign, appears as a common topic among the students. It is, however, less likely that this would have been taught as official home language material, although some teacher interviews show that the instructor may well informally have added information in this area.

Other life-style category items.

The other item in the life-style category that did not conform with the rest of the responses is the question about how families live. Here most students (34) have indicated that they learn more about the situation in Greece than in Sweden. It is, however, a close call, since a total of 33 responses show that they felt they had learned equally much about family life in both countries. Relatively few subjects (13) reported that they had learned more about Swedish family life-style. Considering the background of the Greek students, this situation is quite acceptable and much what could have been expected. Most of the Greek language students are probably better acquainted with family life in Swedish society than the every-day life of a Greek family.

Another item that received a greater number of answers showing
that the students felt they learned more about Greek culture is the question about traditional food and drink. Here, a sizeable majority of the students - more than half, or 41 responses - marked "more about Greece" as their perception of what they learned. Only 10 students reported that they learned more about Swedish culture in this regard, and 29 responses showed "equally much." As mentioned above, traditional food and drink can be seen as both a part of every-day life and an expression of culturally defined skills and creativity. Therefore, this item was treated in the analysis as an indicator of both life-style and cultural activities, and thus it became included in both these categories when the category responses were counted.

The remaining life-style items all received "equal amounts" answers, and of these 13 questions, three were seen as belonging in another cultural category as well. The item about children's rights was clearly reflecting both factual information regarding legislation in this area and life-style in terms of how children's every-day experiences were affected by their rights and freedoms in society. As was the case with the food-and-drink question, the items about famous people and how sports events are celebrated were both treated as indications of not only life-style but also cultural activities in the analysis of the questions in categories representing categories of culture.
Items in the cultural activities category.

A total of eleven items were considered as belonging in the cultural activities category, and not a single response indicated "more about Swedish culture", which is hardly surprising. It was to be expected that the cultural activities pertaining to the heritage country would dominate, and the Greek data support this notion. Of the four questions that were labeled as only fitting into the cultural activities category, three came out decisively on the side of Greek culture. This was most strikingly true of the question about the country's dances, where all of 61 students reported learning more about dancing in Greece than dancing in Sweden. The music item also came out squarely in favour of Greece, although not as strongly as for dance, with 49 students out of 80 marking that they learned more about Greek music. This difference was primarily due to more students (23) marking "equally much" for music than for dance (only 12). Youth culture may here be a factor: modern dancing may not be regarded as Swedish but rather as international by the students, whereas the contemporary music they enjoy could be sung in Swedish or performed by Swedish groups that have even become popular outside of Sweden, such as ABBA, Roxette, Ace of Base. Thus, peer-interaction is here a possible factor.

A third item that received most responses indicating "more about Greece" (41) was the question about what special holidays are celebrated. Because of their probable familiarity with Sweden and
the Swedish calendar, it stands to reason that the Greek holidays would be emphasized, which is of course also supported by the curriculum guidelines. The question dealing with why these holidays are celebrated is, however, the item that received the same number of responses for "more about Greece" and "equally much about both". Each got 35 student answers, which leaves us with only ten students who felt they learned more about why Swedish holidays are celebrated.

**Combined category items.**

The fifth "more about Greece" answer in the cultural activities category is for the item that was discussed above in the life-style context, as this question was deemed as belonging in both these categories. It asks about traditional food and drink in the respective countries and more than half of the respondents (41) marked "more about Greece". (See p. 42). The remaining six of the cultural activities items were also treated as fitting into two categories: two more combining elements from the life-style category with cultural activities, just as we saw for the food-and-drink item, and four belonging jointly in the factual information and the cultural activities categories.

These six all received "equal amounts" responses. The two items, which pertain to both cultural activities and life-style, that got "equally much" responses were mentioned above with the life-style items. They have to do with famous people and how
sports events are celebrated. It was decided by the present investigator that those topics can reflect both every-day life variables and culture-specific activities. In the sports department, a strong majority of 51 students reported that they learned equally much about both countries, while the outcome for the famous people item was not as decisive: the highest score (38) was for "equally much", but "more Greece" came in a strong second (31). That can be seen as a both probable and desirable result, given the expectations of cultural content for the respective categories (see p. 146).

The four questions that combine elements of both factual information and cultural activities were all answered by "equal amounts" responses. The topics here are radio and TV, film and theatre, literature, and the celebration of political events. The number of students marking "equally much" for these four questions ranged from 31 (film and theatre) to 41 (radio and TV). Very few students (only 8) reported learning much about the Greek electronic media, and in the film and theatre department there was also the least number of responses for "more Greece" (24), although "more Sweden" only received one more answer (25). In the area of literature, it was not as even, with 35 students marking "equal amounts", 27 indicating "more Greece", and only 18 answering "more Sweden". (In all honesty, Swedish literature should be an unlikely topic in the home language classroom.) Even fewer students answered "more Sweden" when asked about political events, only 9. "More about Greece" received a sizeable number of responses, 31 in
all, while 40 students felt they learned "equally much" about celebrating Greek and Swedish political events.

**Summary of Greek data pair-wise analysis.**

The pair-wise analysis aimed at finding out whether the students participating in this study perceived themselves as learning more about the heritage country - in this case Greece - more about the country of residence - Sweden - , or if they felt they learned equally much about both, i.e. had marked the same score for both countries. In the "equal amounts" column we would thus get a score showing "a lot" for both countries as well as a "nothing at all" score for the two. This explains why so many questions in the Greek data come out of the pair-wise analysis as "equally much", whereas in terms of total amount of cultural content learned in the Greek home language classroom, the responses favoured information about Greek culture in all three sub-categories, or categories.

In line with this outcome is, however, the finding in the pair-wise analysis that only two items indicate an emphasis on Swedish cultural content. Looking at the potential role of home language instruction as a facilitator in cultural adjustment, this would be a cause for concern, were it not for the fact that most Greek home language students are second generation immigrants, who were born and raised in Sweden. So, despite their Greek heritage, they are familiar with and accustomed to Swedish society and know
how to function in it. They are more in need of a connection back to their cultural roots as a part of their personal identity than a bridge into a new living environment.
Number of items scored per category/category combination

Greek and Farsi Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GREEK</th>
<th>Total items</th>
<th>More Gre.</th>
<th>More Swe.</th>
<th>Equ. Much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FI/LS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS/CA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>CA</td>
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<td>0.5&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA/FI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FARSİ</th>
<th>Total items</th>
<th>More Iran</th>
<th>More Swe.</th>
<th>Equ. Much</th>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>CA/FI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

<sup>24</sup>Tied score
The Farsi-Speaking Students' Responses

General observations.

Recalling the pair-wise analysis of the cultural categories shown in the table on page 160, we there found that in the Farsi data, the combined data favoured information pertaining to the heritage culture. The least was learned about Swedish cultural content, according to the student responses, which this investigator found to be a cause for concern, especially regarding the life-style category. This is due to the circumstance that much anti-immigrant behaviour in Sweden today is aimed at people from the Middle East. If young Iranians were able to learn in the home language classroom how to avoid fuelling an already existing fire of prejudice, their adjustment to the Swedish environment could be smoother and the transition less traumatic. This, in turn, would facilitate future integration into Swedish society.

When the Farsi data is studied question by question, however, a different picture emerges from the pair-wise comparisons. A relatively even mix between "more about Sweden" responses and answers that indicate "equal amounts learned about both cultures" is found if the data is studied item by item. For sixteen questions in the Farsi data, the students had marked equally much information about Sweden and Iran, and in thirteen cases they showed that they perceived themselves as having learned more about Swedish culture. That latter was particularly true about items...
Questions itemized, with dominant score for Farsi data
(Parentheses indicate a sizeable second place score.)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Factual Information Items:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swe+ Geography* (Equ.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swe+ Political System* (Sw+)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swe+ Main Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equ. Transportation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equ. Laws</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factual Information + Life-style:</th>
<th>Swe+ Children's rights* (Equ.)</th>
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<th>Life-style items:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Equ. Clothes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swe+ Leisure activities</td>
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<td>Swe+ Vacation activities** (Equ.)</td>
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<td>Equ. Work/Jobs** (Swe+)</td>
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<td>Equ. Family Life* (Iran+)</td>
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<td>Equ. Women's place/role</td>
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<td>Equ. People's opinion of right/wrong</td>
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<td>Equ. What has high/low status</td>
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<td>Equ. Treat foreigners** (Swe+)</td>
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<td>Swe+ Treat sick/disabled** (Equ.)</td>
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<td>Swe+ Political discussion* (Equ.)</td>
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<td>Equ. Treat religious minorities** (Swe+)</td>
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<th>Life-style + cultural activities:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Iran+ Traditional food and drink</td>
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<td>Swe+ Famous people</td>
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<td>Swe+ Sporting events celebrations** (Equ.)</td>
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<th>Cultural activities items:</th>
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<td>Equ. What special holidays** (Iran+)</td>
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<td>Equ. Why special holidays** (Iran+)</td>
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<th>Cultural activities + Factual information:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Swe+ Radio &amp; TV</td>
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<td>Swe+ Film &amp; theatre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swe+ Literature* (Iran+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Equ. Political Events Celebration**</td>
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* Close call
** Strong second
that dealt with factual information. Recalling the argument presented on page 146, this kind of cultural content should ideally include both the country of residence and the country/area where the heritage language is spoken. The reasons for the strong emphasis, as seen by the students, on Swedish factual information in the content taught by the home language instructor may be found in the circumstance that most Iranian families have arrived rather recently in Sweden. The Farsi-speaking children, therefore, have not yet developed strong skills in the Swedish language. Their home language teachers, however, have acquired a good command of the Swedish language and can be used as interpreters/translators for these youngsters in school contexts outside the home language classroom.

Few "more heritage culture" responses.

In the pair-wise comparison of the Farsi-speakers' responses, only one topic is indicated by a majority of these students to focus more on the heritage culture than on Swedish content. This is the item about traditional food and drink, which is a question that belongs in the cultural activities category as well as in the life-style category. As many as 93 out of the 173 students here chose an answer showing "more learned about the heritage culture."

This may be a reflection of the stricter dietary rules that are followed by moslem students compared to what school-age youngsters in general eat and drink in Sweden. The meat most
PAIR-WISE COMPARISONS PER CATEGORY

FARSI

Category: Factual Information

Category: Life-Style

Category: Lf.-St. + Cult Act.

Category: Cult Act.


Legend:
- Her+  - Swe+  - Equ.
commonly used in Swedish cooking is pork, which is of course not permitted for human consumption by Islamic standards. The same is true about alcoholic beverages, which do (for better or for worse) figure prominently in Swedish culture, both in traditional celebration customs and in today's youth culture. It is not unreasonable to assume that these differences have been discussed, formally and/or informally, in the Farsi home language classroom.

If there was only one single question where the "more heritage culture" score was highest, no more than four items had a strong second place for the "more heritage" responses, and of these, only one is in the life-style category. The item in question is the one about how families live. The largest number of students (75 of 173) indicated that they learned equally much about family life in Sweden and in Iran. But it was a close call: 73 other students marked "more about the heritage culture" on that question. Unfortunately, though, very few respondents (25) felt that they had learned more about Swedish family living.

Not as strong but still sizeable are the "more heritage" responses for two of the cultural activities items, both of which deal with special holidays, one asking how they are celebrated (66) and the other why they are celebrated (61). Here, again, we find most students choosing the same answers for both Sweden and Iran: 76 for how the holidays are celebrated and 80 for the reasons behind these celebrations. As with the family item, only a minority of around 30 students indicated "more about Sweden." It is interesting to note that similar responses were given by the
Greek students, although their answers favoured information about Greece for the item about how the holidays are celebrated. The why-question came out even between "equally much" and "more Greece," but just as with the Farsi data, very few students reported learning more about Swedish holidays. Unlike the Greek students, though, the Farsi-speaking youngsters are as a rule recently arrived immigrants, who would indeed benefit from learning about holidays in their new environment before they have acquired enough Swedish to figure it out from information given in the Swedish language.

The fourth item with a strong second place showing for "more heritage culture" is the question about literature. This item was classified as belonging in both the cultural activities and the factual information categories, and it is therefore not surprising to find a great deal of emphasis on the heritage culture. More unexpected is, however, to find that most Farsi-speaking students (60) reported learning more about Swedish literature through their home language instruction. This outcome makes more sense if, on the one hand, the peer interaction/youth-culture factor is considered. Young people do not seem to discuss literature as a part of informal conversation (as would be true for most adults) and thus our young Farsi-speakers are unlikely to talk casually about Iranian literature with each other. On the other hand, the home language teacher does act as a facilitator for the students in subjects outside of home language instruction, which explains why the students see themselves as having learned more about Swedish
literature from their Farsi teacher. This possible influence was confirmed during interviews with the participating home-language instructors.

**Factual information items.**

Just like the literature item, four other questions in the factual information category were counted as belonging in another category as well, and among these three more were also answered by "more information about Sweden." The items about radio/TV and film/theatre both belong in factual information as well as cultural activities - as did the literature item - and were decisively marked "more Sweden" by the Farsi-speaking students (97 for radio/TV and 79 for film/theatre). The question about children's rights also yielded a greater number of "more about Sweden" responses (74), but the "equally much" indications are almost as high (72) for this item, which was assigned to the life-style category in addition to the factual information category (see p. 174).

Of the six questions that were treated as dealing with purely factual information, and therefore only belonging in this category, another three showed that the Farsi-speaking students felt they learned more about Sweden than about Iran. These are the items about history (80), geography (89) and the political system (71). Neither "more Iran" nor "equally much" came close to these scores, but divided the remaining student responses relatively evenly.
between them. Here again the possible "facilitator factor," which was mentioned in connection with the literature item, springs to one's mind. Rather than assuming that the home language instruction is filled with Swedish factual content, it is more reasonable to interpret this score as an indication of what the students have learned from their home language instructor. These teachers do not operate only in the home language classroom, but they also at times assist students with poor Swedish language skills in regular classes. The teachers did indeed express a concern that their students may not always have been able to keep these dual functions of the home language instructor separated in their minds when they worked on the questionnaire.

The remaining four factual information questions were all answered mostly by "equally much about both" responses. Three of these were analyzed only as part of the factual information category. They were the items about the main religions, the methods of transportation, and the laws. Among them, two were clearly marked "equally much" by most Farsi speakers in the study: 72 for religion and 81 for transportation. A total of 82 students marked "equally much" for the laws as well, but as many as 61 indicated "more about Sweden." Again, the home language teacher's role as facilitator in other subjects has to be taken into account.

The fourth "equally much" item with factual information content was also seen as reflecting cultural activities. That is the question about how political events are celebrated, which 82 students answered by indicating that they thought they had learned
an equal amount of information about both Sweden and Iran. A considerable number (63), though, responded that they perceived themselves as having learned more about Sweden than about Iran. Only 28 respondents reported that they had learned more about celebrating political events in Iran. This information would probably be either known by the students anyway, considering that most of them have arrived relatively recently in Sweden, or deemed emotionally too upsetting and sensitive in view of the fact that many Iranian immigrants to Sweden have come as refugees.

To sum up, none of the eleven questions belonging to the factual information category, either solely or partly, was answered in a way showing that the students had learned more about the heritage culture in the Farsi home language classroom. For seven of the eleven items the students indicated "more about Sweden" in their responses, and for the remaining four they had marked equal amounts of information learned about both countries. The emphasis on Swedish content was more frequently indicated for the five items that belonged in a category combination, while the six items that were treated as dealing with factual information only were evenly split between "more Sweden" and "equal amounts about both cultures."

**Life-style category items.**

A total of sixteen questions were considered as addressing life-style related issues, either in part or in their entirety.
Most items in this category were treated as solely life-style category questions, twelve of them in all. The other four were seen as reflecting cultural content that could only partly be classified as life-style related. Thus, they were also analyzed as part of either cultural activities or factual information.

Starting with these category combination questions, one single item was analyzed as belonging in both the life-style and the factual information categories. That is the question about children's rights, and as we saw above, the student responses indicated mostly "more about Sweden" (74) with "equally much about both" getting almost as many answers (72). Very few (27) students marked that they had learned more about children's rights in Iran. The same was also true for the item about how sports events are celebrated, which received an even lower number (24) of "more about Iran" responses. A clear majority of 90 students reported learning "more about Sweden" when it comes to sports celebrations, while just over a third, or 59, indicated "equally much."

The sports celebrations item, like the one about children's rights, was analyzed in two categories, this time combining life-style with cultural activities, as were the questions about famous people and traditional food and drink. As with the sports item, the question about famous people received answers that showed the students feeling that they had learned more about Sweden. As we saw on p. 183, the very opposite was true for the food and drink item, for which an overwhelming majority of 93 students indicated that they had learned more about the heritage culture. That was
not just the only question in the life-style category that was answered in this way, but the only item in the entire questionnaire where the Farsi-speaking students responded "more about Iran."

Going on to the purely life-style related items in the questionnaire, we find that more questions were answered by "equally much" responses (8 items) than by "more about Sweden (4 items). Of these four latter items, the one addressing leisure activities is the only question where the answers clearly favoured "more about Sweden." A majority of 65 students responded in this way, and the remainder did not show a strong second score. This could simply be a reflection of the students having more leisure time in Sweden than they had in Iran, and we would in that case see a peer-interaction influence. It could also, however, result from Swedish culture being leisure-oriented, especially through the media, which may have been more formally discussed in the classroom by the home language instructor.

In the case of the other "more about Sweden" items, all three showed a sizeable number of "equal amounts" responses. Although a decisive majority of 77 students answered the question about people's vacation activities by "more about Sweden," all of 60 responses showed "equally much about both." Only a rather small number of students (36) indicated that they had learned more about vacation activities in Iran. This was even more true of the question about attitudes towards the sick and/or disabled, with only 21 responses favouring "more about Iran", while a greater majority (82) here marked "more about Sweden." The "equally much"
responses totalled 70, similar to the score for the political discussions item, for which 73 students marked "equal amounts." For this item, however, the highest score was not that much greater, with a majority score of 77 for "more about Sweden," the same number as we saw for the question about vacation activities. Only 23 Farsi-speaking students felt they learned more about how people discuss politics in Iran.

The reasons behind these scores are probably found in the fact that these three items all deal with topics that would be more part of these students' Swedish context than their experiences in Iran. Vacation activities are, just like leisure time, a popular topic in Sweden, both in casual conversation and in media information, especially advertising content. Treating the sick and/or disabled would also have been a frequent media topic at this time when Sweden, just like Canada, was beginning to discuss serious cutbacks to social services and health care. This was no doubt discussed in the immigrant communities in Sweden and would also have figured in the multicultural media. Thus, it is likely to have been dealt with as a formal home language topic as well, since the instructor, with his/her better Swedish language skills, would have been able to answer questions the students may have had in this area. Furthermore, in terms of political discussions, it is probably safe to assume that the Swedish political climate is more favourable to open discussions between people of different political points of view than was the case in Iran. However, comparisons between the circumstances in the two countries are
certain to have been made, which explains the relatively strong "equally much" scores on these items.

Among the seven items in the purely life-style related category that were marked "equally much about both countries" by most Farsi-speaking students, we again find three questions where the answers also show a strong second response, in this case "more about Sweden." These items ask about people's jobs, the treatment of foreigners, and how minority religious groups are viewed. The distribution here is similar in all three cases: 75 "equally much" responses and 64 "more about Sweden" for the work item, 78 "equally much" versus 61 "more Sweden" for the treatment of foreigners, and 75 "equal amounts" responses with 59 for "more Sweden" to the question about minority religions. Approximately 35 students indicated "more about Iran" for the three items.

The reasons for the relatively strong "more Sweden" scores on these three items are probably found more in the peer interaction context as well as informal conversations with the teacher than in a deliberate inclusion of Swedish life-style content into the Farsi home language classroom. We already saw in the Greek data that the question about how foreigners are treated tended to favour the "more about Sweden" type of response, reflecting the every-day reality for these immigrant youngsters. The other two items, on the other hand, had more Farsi-speakers reporting that they learned "more about Sweden" than what was found among the Greek students. Again, it is likely that the daily experiences dealt with in conversation with fellow Farsi-speaking students include how they
themselves get treated in Sweden as members of a minority religion and what obstacles they or their family members and friends encounter in the workplace and/or the job market. As recently arrived immigrants to Sweden, the Iranian families are far more likely to face these kinds of difficulties than are the more established Greek immigrant families.

Four of the purely life-style related items in the Farsi data were responded to by most of the students as having dealt with equal amounts of content pertaining to Swedish and Iranian culture. One of these four was a reflection of every-day behaviour and asked about the clothes people usually wear, and a full 87 Farsi-speaking students answered "equally much." The other three items inquired about more attitude-related life-style questions, i.e. the role of women in society, what people consider right or wrong (as opposed what is legal or illegal) and what is seen as having high status in the respective cultures. Both the question about women and the one about status got strong majority responses of "equally much" markings: 92 for the women's item and 96 for the status question. In the case of what may be called "the morality item" a majority of 82 indicated "equal amounts about both cultures," but interestingly enough "more about Sweden" had a relatively strong showing of 54 student responses.

This rather strong second place score could reflect a desire by the teacher to include Swedish notions of right and wrong in the home language instruction content, but it may just as well be an indication that the students discuss these issues among themselves
in the home language classroom. The societal norms in Iran and Sweden are strikingly different. These discrepancies are likely to be discussed with fellow Farsi students and perhaps explained by the home language instructor, who has had longer exposure to Swedish society and knows the Swedish language better than his/her students. In this way, the teacher would truly act as a facilitator in the students' process of adjustment to Swedish culture and life-style.

Cultural activities category items.

In the cultural activities category, a total of eleven items were included in the analysis. Of these, only four were considered to be reflecting solely content related to cultural activities. The other seven are all combined with one of the other two categories in the analysis, three being analyzed also in the life-style category and four in the factual information category as well.

These category combination items that include a cultural activities component have already been discussed in the context of factual information items and life-style related questions respectively. We saw on p. 190 how both famous people and the celebration of sports events, which both belong in the life-style and cultural activities categories combined, were seen by the students as topics that more reflected Swedish cultural content than information about the heritage culture. We also found that
the very opposite was true for the third item in this category combination, the question about traditional food and drink, where the Iranian students felt they had learned much more about the heritage culture (p. 183). The items that were also analyzed as reflecting factual information favoured content about Sweden (p.187), except for the celebration of political events where most Farsi-speaking students answered "equally much about both."

In the four items that deal solely with cultural activities content, the dominant response is also "equal amounts learned about both cultures." The majority is not that big for the two questions dealing with music and dance, both of which received 64 markings of "equally much" with the other two options receiving scores in the 50's. The two items relating to special holidays in the respective cultures had more students indicating "equally much" (76 for how the holidays are celebrated and 80 for why they are celebrated), but both these items had strong second-place showings for "more about the heritage culture." They were thus among the few questions that received an answer from a sizeable number Farsi-speaking students which indicated that they had learned more about Iran (see p. 183-187 for further details.)

Summary of the Farsi data.

Looking at the responses in the Farsi data as a whole, question by question, the over-all impression is quite different from the emphasis shown in the cultural category analysis. At the
individual item level, we find a dominance of answers showing that the students feel they have learned equal amounts of content about both Swedish culture and the heritage culture as part of their home language instruction. Quite a few responses even favour information about Sweden, but - as was mentioned above - this was mostly true for items reflecting factual learning, where we noticed a possible interference of the home language instructor's role as facilitator in other subjects in the regular classroom. The smallest number of questions had answers that indicated more content learned about the heritage culture, but these individual markings very strongly favoured Iran over Sweden. This contributed to the seemingly contradictory result when the responses were analyzed jointly in cultural categories.
The Spanish-Speaking Students' Responses

General observations.

As was already described in the pair-wise comparisons of the different cultural categories for each of the three large language groups represented in the data, Farsi-speaking students and Spanish-speaking students responded similarly both in terms of the cultural facts and cultural activities categories. In the lifestyle category, however, the Spanish-speaking students differed from the other two student groups in that their dominant response was one of "equally much about both cultures". A total of 86 Spanish-speaking students out of the 205 respondents, which constitutes 42% of the Spanish data, answered in this way. Those who felt a greater emphasis was placed on the life-style of the heritage culture amounted to 40%, or 82 answers, and thus came in a close second. All three large language samples were, as we saw, in agreement on one aspect: the smallest number of students in each language group had indicated that they had learned more about Swedish-life-style through the teaching and interaction in the home language instruction context. (See table on p. 160)

That the Spanish-speaking students scored similarly to the Farsi-speaking students is hardly surprising. Both groups are relatively recent arrivals to Sweden, compared with the Greek students. It is, however, interesting to note that only the Spanish-speaking group indicate that they have received equal
amounts of information about life-style pertaining to both cultures. This lesser emphasis on the culture of the heritage country in terms of life-style, relative to what was reported by the other two language groups, may have its explanation in the countries of origin of these students. Unlike the Greek and Farsi speakers, the Spanish-speaking students do not necessarily come from the same home country although they share one first language and, therefore, receive home language instruction together. They may not even come from the same continent, since there are Spanish-speakers from Spain living in Sweden, although the majority of Spanish-speaking immigrants to Sweden come from South America and, to some extent, Central America. Consequently, the cultural content taught in the home language instruction context would focus on shared aspects of those cultures, while perhaps also highlighting some of the distinguishing features between the individual countries.

An assumption often made, due to lack of information to the contrary, is that people who speak the same language share a similar life-style. We need only to look at English to see how erroneous this assumption can be, even if we compare across the same kinds of income levels. Rich people in Britain live quite differently from those in the United States, as do poor people of those two countries. Somewhere in between these two are the life-styles of rich/poor people in Canada. Although I cannot speak from first-hand experience, I would expect different life-style patterns again in the English-speaking countries of the Southern Hemisphere.
Questions itemized, with dominant score for Spanish-speaker's data
(Parentheses indicate a sizeable second place score.)

Factual information items:

- Swe+ History
- Swe+ Geography** (Equ.)
- Swe+ Political System
- Equ. Main Religion
- Equ. Transportation* (Swe+)
- Swe+/Equ. Laws***

Factual information +
Lifestyle:
- Swe+ Children's rights

Lifestyle items:

- Equ. Clothes
- Equ. Leisure activities** (Swe+)
- Equ. Vacation activities** (Swe+)
- Equ. Work/Jobs
- Equ. Family life
- Equ. Women's place/role
- Equ. People's opinion of right/wrong
- Equ. What has high/low status
- Equ. Treat foreigners* (Swe+)
- Swe+ Treat sick/disabled
- Equ. Political discussion
- Swe+/Equ. Treat religious minorities***

Lifestyle + cultural activities:

- Equ. Traditional food and drink** (Sp+)
- Swe+ Famous people* (Equ.)
- Equ. Sporting events/celebrations** (Sp+)

Cultural activities items:

- Equ. Music** (Swe+)
- Equ. Dance** (Sp+)
- Equ. What special holidays***
- Equ. Why special holidays***

Cultural activities +
Factual information:

- Swe+ Radio & TV** (Equ.)
- Swe+ Film & theatre* (Swe+)
- Equ. Literature
- Equ. Political events celebration

* Close
** Strong second
*** Tied score/tie between second & third
By taking this into account, it seems only reasonable that the Spanish-speaking students who participated in this study would not have had life-style experiences that necessarily had that much in common. Life in southern Peru has to be quite different from life in northern Colombia, if for no other reason just due to the climate in each area. Many Spanish-speaking immigrants to Sweden are from Chile, which would bring yet other variables into play in terms of life-style.

One such variable is, indeed, the recent presence of a military dictatorship in Chile, and many of those who fled to Sweden brought with them both physical and psychological scars from torture and persecution. That, too, was part of the life-style that was the heritage country reality for people whose children are now students in the Swedish school system, receiving Spanish home-language instruction. For the teacher, it may well be advisable to tread gently when discussing home country life-style if there is the possibility of one or more students carrying that kind of family history. Shared cultural life-style features among the various members of the Spanish-speaking group are not only a safer but also a more appropriate topic for the instructional content. And since this may limit the amount of detailed information that would be relevant, it stands to reason that more life-style content would include the situation in Sweden, as suggested by the response figures.

In the pair-wise comparison item-by-item, the over-all impression is one of balanced learning in that 24 of the 30
questions received a response showing that equally much had been learned about both cultures. The remaining six questions had all been given "more Sweden" answers, and five of these had sizeable scores for the "equally much" responses. Only eight items had a clear "winner" without a strong second place score, and of these, one single question was given a "more about Sweden" answer. The other seven followed the general trend for the Spanish data and had a clearly dominant number of respondents indicating that they had learned as much about Swedish culture as they had about the culture of the heritage area.

Thus we can see that from the profile given by the pair-wise comparisons, the Spanish data begins to resemble the Greek data rather than the Farsi data. When the cultural categories were compared across languages, a similarity between the Spanish and the Farsi data emerged. In contrast, when the focus is on the individual questions, both the Greek and the Spanish data show a prevalence of responses indicating "equally much about both cultures". However, among the remaining items in the questionnaire, the Greek-speaking students favoured the "more about the heritage culture" answers, while the Spanish speakers in this study answered, as we saw above, "more about Sweden".
"More heritage language" responses: conspicuous by their absence.

Not a single questionnaire item in the Spanish data was given a higher score for "more information about the heritage culture", and only two questions received a strong second score of this kind. Similar to what was found in the Greek data (although the Greek students had indicated that they clearly learned more about the heritage culture) these two items were the ones dealing with dance on the one hand and traditional food-and-drink on the other. The Greeks also had a decisive lead for "more heritage" on the music item, but the Spanish data has "more Sweden" in second place on that question with 70 students (=34%) responding in this way. A total of 57 students (28%) reported learning more about the music of their heritage culture. The remaining 78 of the 205 (=38%) Spanish speakers in this study answered that they had learned equally much about music from both cultural contexts.

A similar dominant response was given to the dance and food/drink items, with 82 (40%) and 86 (42%) students respectively reporting the same level of learning for both cultures on those two topics. This was also found in the Farsi data for the music and dance questions, but in that student group the food/drink item received the single highest score for "more heritage". As we saw, traditional food-and-drink was one of those two items that had the sizeable second place scores for "more heritage" among the participating Spanish-speaking students. These two questions were
both deemed to be part of the cultural activities category, as was the music item, with the food/drink question also being analyzed as a life-style item.

**Factual cultural information items.**

In the category dealing with cultural facts, we find six items that have been treated as belonging solely to this category, and five which have been assigned a dual classification. Of this total of eleven items with factual information about the culture, six have been answered by mostly "equally about both culture" responses, and five have "more about Sweden" indicated by the respondents. Only two items have clearly dominant responses, while the other nine all show a strong second place score.

Of the two dominant response items, one is assigned only to the factual information category, whereas the other one is treated as belonging both with cultural facts and cultural activities. The former is the question about historical facts, where most Spanish-speaking students (99 or 48%) felt strongly that they had learned more about Sweden. The latter is the item about the celebration of political events, and again 99 (almost half of the 205 Spanish speakers) indicated that they had learned equally much about both Sweden and their home countries. The remaining 106 students were fairly evenly divided between the other two options, as was the case for the history item.
Of the other "cultural facts only" items, two received "more about Sweden" answers and three "equally much" responses. The two that, like the history question, favoured information about Sweden were the items about geography and the political system. They received dominant scores similar to that of the history item, with the geography question receiving 95 responses (46%) and the political system item getting 100, or 49%. Both these questions had sizeable second place scores for "equally much about both" - 78 (38%) respondents for the geography item and 71 (35%) for the question about the political system. The other three factual information items that were only treated in this category, two were given "equally much" responses with a strong second showing for "more about Sweden". These items dealt with main religion and transportation. The question about the law had a tied score with 91 responses for "equally much" as well as for "more Sweden", or 44%. Very close were the answers to the transportation question, with 87 students (42%) reporting "equally much", and 85 respondents (41%) indicating "more about Sweden". In terms of learning about the dominant religion, 92 students (45%) answered "equally much" and a relatively large number, 68 students, reported having learned more about the Swedish context.

Four items were analyzed both as factual information and cultural activities questions. Of these, two indicated "more about Sweden" in most responses. They are the radio-and-TV item and the one about film and theatre. The latter has 107 students (52%) indicating that they learned more about Swedish culture. Only 32
students (16%) felt they had learned more about the heritage culture's film and theatre, with the remaining 66 responses showing "equally much". The question about radio and television was not as heavily in favour of Swedish culture with 92 (45%) showing more learning about the country of residence. A comparable, but slightly lower, number of students (87 or 42% answered "equal amounts about both cultures". The other two items in this group - literature, and political events - both received a majority of "equally much" responses. As was noted above, the political events question had no strong second score. The literature item had a majority score of 83 students (40%) showing "equally much" while "more about Sweden" comes in a close second with 80 students (39% of the Spanish speakers) responding this way.

Life-style category items.

Of the 16 questions that were analyzed as life-style items, only four were also assigned to another cultural category. One question, the one about children's rights, was also treated as a factual information item, and the other three (food-and-drink, famous people, and sports) were included with the cultural activities items as well. One of these, the famous people item, received most responses indicating that the Spanish-speaking students had learned more about Sweden. It was, however, a close call with 80 students (39%) choosing "more Sweden" and 79 (38.5%) marking "equal amounts". The other two show "equally much about
both cultures", but we recall from the discussion on page 204 that the question about traditional food and drink also received a strong second score for "more about the heritage culture". The two scores are quite close with 79 students, or 39%, out of 205 responding "more heritage" and a slim majority of 86 (42%) Spanish speakers answering "equally much". The item about how sporting events are celebrated also received a strong second place score, but in this case the "more Sweden" response placed second. The result for the sports item show 83 respondents (40%) indicating "equally much about both cultures," while 78 students (38%) answered "more about Sweden".

The item about children's rights was one of only two life-style related questions to which a majority of students answered that they had learned more about the Swedish context than the situation pertaining to the heritage culture. We recognize this from the Farsi data, where the same was true for this item. The Farsi-speaking students did not, however, have as decisive a majority as the Spanish-speaking students, 52% of whom (107 responses) indicated "more about Sweden" in their answers. The Farsi data also had a very strong second place showing for the "equally much" response, while the Spanish-speaking students did not choose this kind of answer to the same extent: 76 Spanish speakers indicated that they had learned equal amounts about both cultures, which is still a sizeable number, making up 37% of that student group.

The other life-style item that received a majority response of
"more about Sweden" is the question about how sick and disabled people are treated. This item, which was only seen as belonging in the life-style category, has 98 Spanish-speaking students indicating that they have learned more about the situation in Sweden. That is almost half of that group (45%), but we again have a considerable number answering "equally much", 81 students or 40%. Again, we recognize the pattern from the Farsi data, where the distribution is similar, although with a stronger majority favouring "more about Sweden" (see p. 191). This which seems to indicate that treatment of the less fortunate in Swedish society in terms of their physical well-being indeed becomes a topic for discussion in the context of home language instruction, regardless of language.

All the remaining eleven life-style questions were treated as life-style category items only, and all except one received mostly "equally much" responses. The other ten lifestyle items how some differences in terms of the second place scores. Five of them don't show a distinct second score but clearly favour the "equal amounts" position. They deal with the topics of how families live, what clothes people usually wear, who or what has high or low status in society, women's place in society, and how people discuss politics. The remaining five life-style items received strong or sizeable second place scores of "more Sweden". The closest call here was for the question about how foreigners are treated. Of the

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25The exception is the question about the treatment of religious minorities, which shows a tie between "equally much" and "more about Sweden" with 85 student responses, or 41%, each.
Spanish-speaking students, 83 (40%) answered "equally much about both" but all of 80 (39%) indicated that they had learned more about how foreigners are treated in the Swedish context. A slightly wider spread but still close are the responses for the items about minority religions (78 equal amounts, 70 more Sweden), what people do on their vacations (91 equal amounts/ 86 more Sweden) and what leisure activities people engage in (87 equal amounts, 83 more Sweden). The last two questions in this category dealt with the kind of work people do and the average person's perception of right and wrong, or morals. They both had a spread of approximately twenty responses between the dominant score of "equally much" (96 and 99 respectively) and the second place score for "more about Sweden" (73 and 77).

Cultural activities category items.

Most of the eleven items in the questionnaire that deal with cultural activities were also analyzed as belonging in another cultural category as well. We find four questions combined with the factual information category and three others treated in combination with life-style related issues. These seven items have thus already been dealt with under the respective headings of factual information and life-style questions. What remains are thus four items that were considered as only part of the cultural activities category.

Like most questions in the Spanish data, these four cultural
activities items were answered in a way that showed the students perceiving that they had learned equally much about both cultures. This is clearly the dominant score for both questions about how and why holidays are celebrated (94 respondents or 49% each, with 55 for both Swedish and heritage cultures for each of item). In the other two cases the majority is not quite as strong: The music and dance questions received 37.5% and 40% for "equally much" (77 and 82 students respectively). These two questions are, however, among the very few items where a considerable number of students answer that they feel they have learned more about the heritage culture.

We recall these topics from earlier in this section (pp. 204-205). In the case of the music item, the "more Sweden" score is greater by 13 responses. For the dance question we have a close call between first and second place, but this time Swedish culture is in third place. Like most items in the Spanish data, the dominant score is "equally much", but it only leads by five responses: 82 students (40%) answered "equal amounts" 77, or 38%, responded that in this area they had learned more about the heritage culture through the home language instruction.

Summary of the Spanish-speaker data.

The most striking feature of the results of the pair-wise comparisons is that the Spanish-speaking students with few exceptions report that they have learned equal amounts of information about both Swedish culture and the culture of their
heritage countries. The very fact that Spanish-speakers in the Swedish home language programs come from a variety of national backgrounds was seen as a possible reason for this relative lack of emphasis on the heritage culture in the Spanish home language classroom (p.199). Indeed, the eight items in the questionnaire that did not receive an "equal amounts" response from most students indicated that they felt that they had learned more about the situation in Sweden. Two items showed the same responses for "equally much" and "more Sweden", but not a single question was given a dominant "more about the heritage culture" score.

The "more Sweden" responses related to items about factual information - history, geography, and the political system - or questions dealing with social issues, i.e. children's rights and the treatment of sick and disabled people. Two other items with more Swedish culture reported to have been learned were the ones about radio/TV and film/theatre. The source of these answers favouring information about the host country is probably found in these content areas being taught as part of the school curriculum in the student's regular classroom. This learning may be assisted by the home language teacher as facilitator (as we also saw for the Iranian students) in the regular Swedish-language classroom, which could make the students confuse the contexts where the learning took place. "More Sweden" was also indicated for the item about famous people, and there may well be a connection here with the
worlds of media and entertainment\textsuperscript{26}. The facilitated learning may at times also be reinforced in the home language classroom.

Relating the pair-wise scores to the cultural category scores (see page 160), the results are not as seemingly contradictory as those found in the Farsi data. Among the Spanish speakers, the scores pertaining to life-style and cultural activities are highest for "equal amounts about both cultural contexts", and the factual information category shows almost as many marking "more about Sweden". This reflects well what was found in the item-by-item analysis. The seeming lack of emphasis on the heritage culture may not, however, be as complete as the pair-wise analysis indicated: in the total cultural category package score the greatest number of scores by far do, after all, indicate that the Spanish speakers learned equally much about both. So there is no apparent reason to assume that the Spanish-speaking students in the Swedish home language programs are not provided with a learning environment where they can maintain and develop their culture of origin as well as become familiarized with their present country of residence.

\textbf{A final comment about the Spanish sample.}

Just over 10\% of the questionnaires given to Spanish-speaking students were added to the data after the first analysis had been completed. These 25 students had all been taught by the same

\textsuperscript{26}The facilitated learning may at times also be reinforced in the home language classroom.
teacher, who had temporarily misplaced the questionnaires and forwarded them to the present researcher as soon as they were found. They were then added to the previous 180 respondents and the Spanish data was re-analyzed. This gave this investigator the opportunity to see to what extent this one teacher's instructional content matched that reported by the initial Spanish-speaking participants.

It turned out that, although the numbers went up everywhere, the percentages stayed much the same. In nine cases, the percentages remained identical and in most cases adjustments of only one or two percent were done after the addition of the extra 25 students. The greatest change was one case of a three percent difference between the old and the new sample, and one other case had changed by two and a half percent. Only for two questions did the added students change the dominant score, which in both cases had initially been very strong second place scores. The previous dominant score thus became relegated to second place in one case (famous people) and came to share first place in the other, which was the item about laws27.

It thus appears that the cultural content learned by the students of this particular home language teacher closely parallels the reported learning of culture by the original sample of Spanish speakers. There seems to be, therefore, some reason to assume that there is a relative consensus among the Spanish-speaking students

27"Famous people" changed from "equally much" to "more Sweden", and the legal question became shared between these two options from having been initially given a dominant "equally much" score.
as to what they learn in the home language classroom. If this is the result of a conscious effort on the part of the teachers or the result of influences from the curriculum guidelines and similar materials is as yet anybody's guess. It is likely that Spanish home language teachers in one school district communicate with one another. However, that all of them, both from the Stockholm and Gothenburg regions, would do so seems quite improbable.
Number of items scored per category/category combination

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<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>Total items</th>
<th>More Spa.</th>
<th>More Swe.</th>
<th>Equ. Much</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>3.5*</td>
<td>2.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FI/LS</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>10.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA/FI</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>More Viet.</th>
<th>More Swe.</th>
<th>Equ. Much</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5*</td>
<td>2.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA/FI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1/3**</td>
<td>2.5* +1/3**</td>
<td>0.5*+1/3**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Tied score
** 3-way tie
The Vietnamese Home Language Students' Responses

General observations.

Unlike the other languages that have thus far been in focus, the Vietnamese sample is relatively small. This group of subjects is only made up of 19 students, which may be cause for some caution in extrapolating from the results of the data analysis. It is, though, in keeping with the situation in the Swedish school system generally, where the children with Vietnamese background make up a small proportion of the total number of minority students. It is, however, worth keeping in mind that wherever percentages are given, a five percent difference means only one student who responded in another way than the others.

The overall impression of the Vietnamese data from the pairwise comparison is that it resembles the Farsi and Greek data more than the Spanish speakers' responses. The high proportion of "equally much" answers found among the Spanish-speaking students is not seen in the Vietnamese data. There is a more even distribution between "more Sweden" and "equally much", which brings to mind the results in the Farsi data. The Vietnamese students have, however, more responses indicating "more about the heritage culture" than did the Iranian students, which is a feature they share with the Greek students.
Questions itemized, with dominant score for Vietnamese data

(Parentheses indicate a sizeable second place score)

Factual information items:
- Equ. History* (Viet+/Swe+)
- Swe+ Geography
- Swe+ Political System
- Viet+ Main Religion
- Swe+ Transportation* (Equ.)
- Equ. Laws

Factual information and lifestyle:
- Swe+ Children's rights ** (Equ.)

Lifestyle items:
- Equ. Clothes ** (Swe+)
- Swe+ Leisure activities** (Equ.)
- Swe+ Vacation activities ** (Equ.)
- Swe+ Work/jobs* (Viet+/Swe+)
- Viet+ Family life
- Swe+/Equ. Women's place/role*
- Equ. People's opinion of right/wrong
- Equ. What has high/low status
- Equ. Treat foreigners** (Swe+)
- Swe+/Equ. Treat sick/disabled
- Equ. Political discussion
- Equ. Treat religious minorities

Lifestyle + cultural activities:
- Viet+ Traditional food and drink** (Equ.)
- Viet+/Equ. Famous people*
- Swe+/Equ. Sporting events celebration

Cultural activities items:
- Swe+ Music
- Equ. Dance* (Swe+)
- Equ. What special holidays
- Swe+/Equ. Why special holidays

Cultural activities & Factual information:
- Swe+ Radio & TV
- Swe+ Film & theatre** (Equ.)
- Swe+/Viet+/Equ. Literature***
- Swe+/Equ. Political events celebration

* Close
** Strong second
*** 3-way tie
PAIR-WISE COMPARISONS PER CATEGORY
VIETNAMESE

Category: Factual Information (F.I. + Lf.-St.)

Category: Life-Style

"More heritage culture" responses in familiar places.

In terms of their reported learning about primarily the culture of the country of origin, the Vietnamese students are thus found to be between their Greek and Iranian counterparts. The numbers are, though, closer to the Farsi-speaking students than to the Greeks: the latter had all of 8 items with a majority score for "more heritage" and one tie between the heritage culture and "equally much about both", while the former only had 2 items that received a "more heritage" response. The Vietnamese students had 3 "more heritage" answers and one tie between "more heritage" and "equally much".

The three items where the Vietnamese students clearly have come out in favour of their heritage culture include the same two that were the only ones marked this way by the Farsi-speaking students, i.e. the traditional food and drink item as well as the question about how families live. The Greek students had also indicated that they had learned more about Greek culture in those areas, while the Spanish-speaking students had a strong second place "more heritage" score for these two questions with a dominant score for "equally much". The third "more heritage" item in the Vietnamese data is the question about main religion, where as many as 12 of the 19 students (63%) felt they had learned more about religion in Vietnam, with 5 answering that they had learned "equally much" about Vietnam and Sweden. The Greek students had
also shown a clearly dominant score for this item with almost half of that group responding that they had learned more about the heritage culture in this regard.

Like the Greeks, the Vietnamese subjects had one score that was a tie between "more heritage" and "equally much", although not for the same question\textsuperscript{28}. The Vietnamese students are the only group where a sizeable part indicated that they had learned more about famous people of their heritage country. There were 7 out of the 19 respondents (=37\%) who answered in this way, and another 7 marked "equally much" on their questionnaires. The remaining 5 (=26\%) felt they had learned more about Swedish famous people. As we can see, the spread is relatively even, and it is interesting to note that both the Iranian students and the Spanish speakers actually had "more Sweden" as their dominant score on this question, but in neither case was it an overwhelming majority.

\textbf{Factual information items.}

Just as was shown for the other three groups of home language students, the Vietnamese students have predominantly chosen "more about Sweden" in this cultural category. Although the item about main religion, which is part of this category, was marked "more about Vietnam", the remaining questions belonging in the factual information category were mostly showing "more about Sweden". Of

\textsuperscript{28}The tied score in the Greek data was for the question about why special holidays are celebrated.
the seven items with this kind of score, three were analyzed as factual information only. They are the questions about geography, the political system, and transportation. Of these three, the political system item got the highest "more Sweden" score with 11 of the 19 students, or 58%, responding in this way, but the other two are not far behind: the geography item received 10 "more Sweden" answers and the transportation question got 9, with "equally much" a very close second with 8 responses.

The items with dual category classification including a factual information component that also received mostly "more about Sweden" responses are the children's rights item (factual information and lifestyle), the radio and television question, and the one about film and theatre, the latter two both analyzed as combinations of factual information and cultural activities. Of the 19 Vietnamese students, 9 (48%) thought that they had learned more about children's rights in Sweden but, as was also the case in both the Farsi- and Spanish-speaking groups, "equally much" received a strong second place score with 6 students (32%) choosing this answer. Clearly in a majority for Swedish cultural learning are the radio/TV item (12 or 63%) and the film/theatre question (10 or 53%).

Also combining factual information and cultural activities but with a tied score are the question about how political events are celebrated and the literature item. In terms of the political events, 37% or 7 of the students perceived themselves to have learned equally much about both cultures, and the same number
indicated "more about Sweden". The remaining 5 or 26% felt they had received more information about political celebrations in Vietnam. The literature question is actually a three-way tie, with 6 students for each option29.

Only two questions in the factual information category had dominant "equally much" scores, the history item and the question about what the law says. The legal item was given a clear majority with 10 students (53%) marking this kind of answer. For the history question, the majority was very slim with 7 (37%) indicating "equally much", and the remaining 12 students evenly divided up between "more Sweden" and "more Vietnam" (32%). Only the Greek students had a higher proportion of responses indicating "more heritage" for the history item.

In short, the way the Vietnamese students indicated what cultural context they had learned more about in terms of factual information has much in common with what was already observed about the other three languages participating in this study. The possible influence of the home language teacher as classroom facilitator accounts for the relatively high number of answers showing "more about Sweden" in topic areas such as geography, transportation, and the media. Internationally recognized areas of Swedish accomplishments may be reflected in the scores regarding children's rights and film/theatre. The focus on the heritage

29One Vietnamese student had left seven questions (mostly in the lifestyle category) unanswered, but since more than three quarters of the questions had been marked, this questionnaire was included where there were responses. This question was blank.
culture concerning religion is not very surprising since the main religion of Vietnamese culture, Buddhism, is not a faith that is practised by many in Sweden, be they Swedes or immigrants. If children of Vietnamese background are to learn anything about their religious roots, the school together with the family will have to provide that information.

**Lifestyle category items.**

The questions in the lifestyle category reveal a pattern that is almost the reverse of the factual information responses. The remaining "more about the heritage culture" answers are found among the lifestyle questions, but there are twice as many "more about Sweden" and three times as many responses indicating "equally much about both cultures". This preponderance of "equally much" responses was noted before in the lifestyle category when the other languages in this study were discussed. Even the Greek data, with its otherwise strong emphasis on the heritage culture, had predominantly "equally much" answers in this category. It was also here that the Greeks had their only two items with a "more about Sweden" score, and among the Vietnamese students four lifestyle items are marked in this way. One of them is the children's rights question, which was discussed in connection with the factual information category, in which it was also deemed to belong (p.206). Six lifestyle questions were given "equally much" answers, and as many as four items received a tied score, two of
which were analyzed as cultural activities items as well.

The "more heritage culture" responses, as was discussed above (p.220), were given to the questions about family life and the food and drink item, the latter also being treated as a cultural activities item. The same dual designation was given to the famous people question, where "more heritage", as we saw, was tied with "equally much" in the Vietnamese responses (also p.221). Other tied scores, this time showing the same numbers for "equally much" and "more Sweden", were the questions about sporting events (also combined with the cultural activities category), the place and role of women in society, and the treatment of sick and disabled people.

Both the sports item and the question about women received 9 responses (48%) for each option, while the item about sick and disabled people was given 8 responses (45%) each for "equally much" and "more Sweden".

A clearly dominant "more Sweden" score was indicated for the question about people's leisure activities, where 10 out of the 19 students (53%) favoured this response. Less decisive was the result for the question about what people do on their vacations, with 9 students responding "more Sweden", but as many as 6 responding "equally much about both". The item concerning people's jobs/work had a slim majority of 7 students (37%) responding "more Sweden", with an even split between the remaining 12, or 32%, each for "more heritage and "equally much".

Among the lifestyle items with a dominant response of "equally much", two show a clear majority and four have strong second place
scores. The two former are the items about what people consider right and wrong ("morals") with 12 Vietnamese students (63%) indicating that they learned as much about attitudes in Sweden as in Vietnam, and the question of how religious minorities are treated, which received and "equal amounts" score of 10, or 55% (of 18). The questions that also got "equally much" as their dominant score also had quite a few students answering "more Sweden" as well. Among these is the item about the treatment of foreigners with 10, or 53%, "equal amounts" and 7 or 37% showing that they learned more about the Swedish context. Another one is the item about political discussions with 11 (58%) respondents indicating "equally much" and 6 (32%) marking "more about Sweden". Higher by one response is the dominant score for what has high or low status, which item received 12. (67% of 18) of "equally much" and a more distant second place for "more Sweden" with 5 responses (28% of 18). Less of a majority but still a dominant score is the "equal amounts" response to the item about what clothes people wear, which received 9 answers (50%) with a second place score of 6 student responses, or 33%, for "equal amounts about both cultures".

To sum up the results of the Vietnamese pair-wise comparisons in the cultural category focusing on lifestyle, there are again similarities with the Greeks' and the Farsi-speakers' responses, with some emphasis on the heritage culture but more learning taking place about the Swedish cultural context. Most students, however, report having learned equally much about lifestyle in Vietnam and in Sweden, as we saw was also the case for the Greek and Iranian
students. The Spanish-speaking respondents differed from the other three in that they almost exclusively reported that they had learned equal amounts about lifestyle in Sweden and in their heritage culture.

Cultural activities category items.

Seven of the eleven items analyzed as cultural activities were also treated as part of another cultural category. Of these, four are questions about factual information as well as cultural activities, so they have already been discussed above in the context of factual information items (pp. 222-223). We are here referring to the questions about radio and television, film and theatre, literature, and the celebration of political events. The other three cultural activities questions were also analyzed as lifestyle items, and reported on in that section of this report on the Vietnamese data (p.225). The items in question are the ones about traditional food and drink, famous people, and the celebration of sporting events.

The remain four cultural activities items, that have not been analyzed in any other category are the questions about music, dance, what and how major holidays are celebrated, and why these holidays are celebrated. Of these four items, two are marked by most of the Vietnamese students to indicate that equal amounts have been learned about both cultural activities from both countries. This is clearly the case for the question about what holidays are
celebrated and who, for which 10 of the 19 students (53%) marked "equally much". The other dominant score of this kind was given to the dance question, but this time 8 students (45% of 18) answered "equally much " with "more Sweden" closely behind with 7 responses.

Even closer is the result for the question about why major holidays are celebrated, where there is a tie between "equally much" and "more Sweden" with 7 students (37%) choosing each option, and as many as 5 indicating that they learned more about the reasons behind important holidays in Vietnam. That was also true for the music item with 5 students marking "more Vietnam" and one more (6 students or 32%) reporting "equally much." The dominant score for the music item was "more Sweden" with 8 responses or 42%, not as decisive a majority as for the questions about radio/TV and film/theatre, but still enough to indicate that more students thought they had learned more about Swedish than Vietnamese music as part of their home language instruction.

To briefly recapitulate the results in the cultural activities category, we find that the Vietnamese students report more learning about Swedish culture than did the other three language groups in this study. There is, however, also one dominant score for learning more about the heritage culture together with a tied score "more heritage" and "equally", which brings to mind the results primarily in the Farsi sample. The Spanish-speakers' preference for showing equal amounts of learning about both cultures is not found in the Vietnamese data. Perhaps the more distinct difference between Asian and European culture makes it more obvious to the
Vietnamese students when their learning experience is focusing on one or the other.

**Summary.**

The Vietnamese student responses in this investigation share certain features with the responses given by the Greek and Iranian students, but seem to have less in common with the data gathered from the Spanish-speaking students. This is mostly due to a much greater emphasis on learning about Swedish culture, as reported by the Vietnamese students. They marked having learned more about Sweden on ten questions, which is the same number as the Iranian students scored in this way, but in addition, the Vietnamese respondents also have "more Swedish culture" in a tie for dominant score on six items. The relatively small size of the sample (only 19 subjects) may have contributed to this greater tendency among the Vietnamese students to show tied scores than did the other language groups in this study.
Frequencies, Means, and Factor Analysis of Cultural Categories

Introductory Remarks

This section will provide information about how each cultural category was scored by the participating students. The responses will be presented as the mean scores given by each participating language group as well as for the entire data. Attention will also be paid to which questions in each category received the highest and lowest mean ranks among the student responses, as indicated by a Kendall Coefficient Concordance. In addition, the percentages for the response options (0-4) marked within the three cultural categories will be presented. These percentages are based on the entire participating student population, i.e. 477 subjects.

For the purpose of comparing response value means and frequencies across cultural categories, it was decided to keep the three categories clearly defined and separate. In the pair-wise comparisons, the focus was on a comparison between the amounts of learning about each of the two cultures, as indicated by the students' questionnaire responses, and the present investigator deemed it appropriate to treat certain questions as reflecting cultural content in more than one single category. This would give a more realistic view of intersecting aspects of culture. However, in the areas of mean scores and ranks, as well as frequencies, a recommendation to avoid overlapping categories was accepted by this
DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN SCORES
PER CULTURAL CATEGORY

Mean Scores

Factual Information

Life-Style

Cultural Activities

Greek
Farsi
Spanish
Vietnamese

Her.
Swe.
DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN SCORES
PER PARTICIPATING LANGUAGE GROUP
Mean Score

Greek

Farsi

Spanish

Vietnamese

Fact Info Life-Style Cult Act

Fact Info Life-Style Cult Act

Fact Info Life-Style Cult Act

Fact Info Life-Style Cult Act

Her Swe
SCORE VALUE PERCENTAGES
TOTAL DATA, PER CULTURAL CATEGORY

Factual Information

Life-Style

Cultural Activities

Her.  Swe.
researcher. The division was made in the following way: the cultural factual information items in the questionnaire were determined to be questions 1-8 and question 20. The lifestyle category includes items 12-19, 21-24, and 27-28. The cultural activities category contains questions 9-11, 25-26, and 29-30 (see Appendix A2 for questionnaire). This decision was taken after careful consideration and was not perceived as diminishing the possibility of comparing the results of the different analyses.

Responses in Frequencies and Means

Factual information items.

Looking at the factual information cultural category regarding the home/heritage country, the mean score for all 477 respondents in the study was 2.35. Moving our focus to each participating language group, we find that the Greek students have the highest mean score, 2.98, while the Farsi speakers report the lowest mean, 2.01. The values for Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese students are found in between these two with 2.38 and 2.71 respectively. The emphasis on heritage culture content found in the Greek pair-wise comparisons is thus reflected also in the mean score for factual information (see p. 160).

When this cultural category is applied to the host country, Sweden, we find the mean score for the entire participating student population to be 2.46, which is slightly higher than factual
information about the home/heritage country. As was mentioned above, a possible influence may be present from the home language teacher's role as a facilitator in the regular classroom. In terms of the language groups involved, the Spanish-speaking students have the highest mean score of 2.73. The lowest is again for the Farsi speakers with 2.21. The Greek and Vietnamese mean scores are very close together in the middle with 2.48 and 2.43 respectively. Among the four language groups involved in this investigation, the Spanish-speaking students are likely to be the most recently arrived and may therefore be the group that requires more assistance in the regular classroom by the home language teacher than the other groups. This would at least in part explain the higher mean score for the Spanish-speaking group, since the students at times seem to have had some difficulty separating the two roles of the home language teacher.

When individual questions in each cultural category are singled out, some may show a higher mean rank than others, while a few questions might show lower mean ranks than the rest. In the cultural category pertaining to factual information about the home/heritage country, the highest mean rank was given by the entire sample to the item about dominant religion, with the history question as a close second. The least learning, as reported by the students, was in the area of the political system of that country. The political system has also the lowest mean rank for the Swedish cultural content, with literature being almost as low. At the top end we find the radio and television item, which received the
highest mean rank in the factual information category regarding Swedish culture.

Turning our attention to how the participating students as a whole chose their responses in the cultural facts category, we find that both for the home/heritage culture and the Swedish cultural information the greatest proportion of respondents chose a "3" or "quite a lot" as their answer to most questions. For the country of origin, 32.8% shared this response, and for the Swedish factual information, 36.9% chose "3" as their predominant answer in this category. The second highest percentage for both sets of cultural contexts was for a score of "2" or "some", with 25.1% for home/heritage culture and 21.0% for Swedish culture. The maximum score of "4" (= "a lot") was given by 17.6% to questions about home/heritage culture 20.4% to those about Sweden. At the lower end of the scale, the "1" option (= "a little") was chosen by 16.5% regarding the country of origin and 12.2% about Sweden. Those who reported that they had learned nothing (= 0) were 7.9% of participating students for the home/heritage culture and 9.5% for Swedish factual information.

Lifestyle questions.

In the lifestyle category, the mean score for all 477 students in the sample was 3.13 for the home/heritage culture and 2.57 for Swedish lifestyle. This greater emphasis on the lifestyle in the country of origin was also apparent in the pair-wise comparisons,
where "equally much" may have been the most frequent way of responding, but when the students showed an emphasis of one over the other, it tended to be on the home/heritage culture rather than the Swedish situation (see p. 160). This was seen as less of a problem for a well-established group like the Greek minority in Sweden but a cause for concern for the more recent arrivals such as the Iranian students.

When it comes to the individual language groups, the Vietnamese group most strongly emphasizes the lifestyle of the heritage culture in the home language classroom with a mean score of 4.00. The lowest is indicated by the Spanish speakers with a mean of 3.04. Slightly higher, and very close, are the mean scores for the Greeks and the Farsi-speakers, with 3.19 and 3.16 respectively. The mean score for the Swedish lifestyle category is also highest for the Vietnamese students, 3.14, but here the lowest score is from the Iranian students who have a mean of 2.43. Greek and Spanish speakers show means of 2.73 and 2.62 respectively. As was mentioned on p. 154, the low Iranian score for the Swedish lifestyle category may be less than fortunate.

When the emphasis is on individual questions, the analysis shows that for the home/heritage country, the question about what kinds of clothes people wear outscores the others. A close second is the item about how families live. The least is learned, it seems, about the status issue and about political discussions in the country of origin. Learning about Swedish lifestyle is similar at the lower end in that the same two items, the status issue and
SCORE DISTRIBUTION
LIFE-styles

Mean Scores

Percentages (Total Data)

0 1 2 3 4

Hr.  Sve.
political discussions, receive the lowest mean rank. Another similarity is at the high end of the scale with the clothing question at the highest rank, closely followed by the item dealing with children's rights. The latter score may well be a reflection of Sweden's pioneering stance in this particular area of legislation.30

Looking at the percentages of response values given in the lifestyle category, one discovers a distinct difference in distribution. Lifestyle information about the home/heritage country is learned "a lot" (=4) according to no less than 55.2% of all 477 respondents. When it comes to Swedish lifestyle, the highest percentage is for the "quite lot" (=3) answer, which got 33.0% of all responses. Here, only 26.7% indicated that they had learned "a lot" (=4) about Swedish lifestyle. A slightly lower proportion, 20.6%, answered "quite a lot" (=3) about the lifestyle in the country of origin. Another 13.3% felt they had learned "some" (=2) with 20.8% choosing that option for Swedish lifestyle. Only 4.1% and 8.6% reported that they had learned "a little" (=1) about heritage and Swedish lifestyle respectively, with somewhat higher percentages showing that they had received no information (=0): 6.8% "nothing" about the lifestyle of the home/heritage country and 10.9% "nothing" about Swedish lifestyle.

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30 When tested for significance, the difference between heritage and Swedish culture in terms of lifestyle content was highly significant, or .0000. On the other hand, factual information showed no significant difference, while the cultural activities difference was slightly significant (.0382).
Cultural activities category items.

When the focus is on the cultural activities category, the data again reveal an emphasis on the home/heritage culture. The mean score for the entire group of participating students (477) is 2.80 for the country of origin and only 2.60 for Sweden. This follows closely the pattern found in the pair-wise comparisons (p. 149). It was also postulated by the present researcher that such a relationship would not just be expected but also desirable. Especially in a context where many adult immigrants find themselves working longer hours than the majority population, the loss of skills associated with cultural activities is a real danger, unless the school system steps in to teach them to the younger generation.

Among the mean scores for the four language groups separately, the Greek students again top the list with 3.20 when responding to questions about cultural activities that are part of their heritage. The lowest mean score belongs to the Farsi-speaking students with 2.55. Almost identical mean scores for Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese students show 2.85 and 2.86 respectively. However, when it comes to Swedish cultural activities, the Vietnamese students have the highest mean score, 3.29, while the Greek students in this case register the lowest mean score, only 2.30. The Spanish speakers are still in the middle with 2.77, this time joined by the Farsi-speaking students with a mean score of 2.53.

Individual items in the cultural activities category differed
between the two cultural contexts in terms of the highest mean ranks but were the same when it came to the lowest mean rank. Among the heritage culture activities questions, the traditional food and drink item exceeded the others, and the item about what special holidays are celebrated received the second highest mean rank for the heritage culture while getting the highest mean rank among the Swedish cultural activities questions. For both heritage and Swedish contexts, though, the item about celebrating political events was given the lowest mean rank. Just as was seen above about the political system and political discussions, minority students in the Swedish school system don't seem to feel that they learn much about topics related to politics in either culture as part of the home language instruction.

The cultural activities scores expressed in percentages of all student responses reveal a pattern similar to what was found for the lifestyle category. The heritage culture activities get the highest proportion of "a lot" (=4) answers. There are 40.7% of the participating students who respond in this way. Swedish cultural activities, on the other hand, have the greatest proportion of students, 30.3%, answering "quite a lot" (=3). Almost as many, or 29.9%, however, choose "4" for Swedish culture too. The second largest percentage for the heritage culture is for the "quite a lot" (=3) option, with "some" (=2) indicated by 16.1% for home/heritage culture and 19.7% for Swedish cultural activities. As in the lifestyle category, the smallest proportions of respondents had chosen "1", or "a little", with 7.7% for the
minority culture and 9.0% for the majority Swedish culture. Having learned "nothing" (=0) was the opinion of 9.7% relative to heritage culture and 11.1% regarding the Swedish content in the cultural activities category. Unlike the lifestyle category, this emphasis on cultural activities pertaining to the country of origin as opposed to Sweden is both to be expected and supported. Lest we want non-Swedish cultural traditions to perish in the majority culture context, minority groups need the added input from home language teachers to keep these activities alive.

Summarizing tables and comments.

Distribution of Mean Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Category</th>
<th>Total data</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Farsi</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factual Information</td>
<td>Ber. 2.35</td>
<td>Her. 2.98</td>
<td>Her. 2.01</td>
<td>Her. 2.38</td>
<td>Her. 2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swe. 2.46</td>
<td>Swe. 2.48</td>
<td>Swe. 2.21</td>
<td>Swe. 2.73</td>
<td>Swe. 2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle Information</td>
<td>Ber. 3.13</td>
<td>Her. 3.19</td>
<td>Her. 3.16</td>
<td>Her. 3.04</td>
<td>Her. 4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swe. 2.57</td>
<td>Swe. 2.73</td>
<td>Swe. 2.43</td>
<td>Swe. 2.62</td>
<td>Swe. 3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Activities</td>
<td>Ber. 2.80</td>
<td>Her. 3.20</td>
<td>Her. 2.55</td>
<td>Her. 2.85</td>
<td>Ber. 2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swe. 2.80</td>
<td>Swe. 2.30</td>
<td>Swe. 2.53</td>
<td>Swe. 2.77</td>
<td>Swe. 3.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the mean scores in the above table, the participating students as a whole have chosen higher answer options (0-4) for Swedish cultural content in the factual information category but higher responses for the heritage culture in both the
lifestyle and cultural activities categories. The difference between heritage and Swedish content is greatest when it comes to lifestyle items. The Greek students consistently respond with higher answer options for Greek culture, while the Vietnamese participants have more often selected higher numbers for Swedish culture than have the other language groups, particularly in terms of cultural activities. The overall impression of the Farsi mean scores is that the Iranian students seem to report less learning about culture generally than do the others, except regarding factual information about heritage lifestyle. The Spanish-speaking respondents show values that place them in the middle among the participating language groups except for heritage lifestyle, where they have the lowest mean score of the four.

High and Low Mean ranks for Questionnaire Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Questionnaire Items</th>
<th>Questionnaire Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>Lowest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual Information</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Political system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>Polit. discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural activities</td>
<td>Food &amp; drink</td>
<td>Political events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Radio &amp; TV</td>
<td>Political system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual Information</td>
<td>(Geography)</td>
<td>(Literature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>Polit. discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural activities</td>
<td>What holidays</td>
<td>Political events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As was discussed on p. 199, this may be related to the special case of the Spanish speakers in that they come from a variety of home countries.
The most striking shared feature is the low values given in response to political content questions about both cultures. Another similarity is in the reportedly high attention given to clothing issues when dealing with lifestyle and in the interest in what holidays are celebrated in the respective cultures. The mostly highly ranked items in the factual information category, on the other hand, are completely different between the two cultural contexts.

Score value percentages (Total data)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Heritage</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual Information</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Activities</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the percentages show, all three cultural categories receive mostly 3's regarding the Swedish context, but when the students indicate how much they have learned about the home country, the 4's are most frequently marked in terms of both lifestyle and cultural activities. In the factual information category, it is the 3's that get the most choices about the country of origin as well as Sweden. A remarkably high proportion of students did, however,
only think their factual learning about the heritage culture amounted to a 2 answer (=some). Unlike factual information, both lifestyle and cultural activities have more students marking a 0 for having learned nothing at all than those choosing a 1 indicating that they had at least learned a little.

Results of the Factor Analysis

Opening remarks.

The data of the Swedish case study were treated by factor analysis in an attempt to see if any common denominator other than the three original cultural categories would emerge based on score values rather than content. In this event, this shared feature, or factor, would be sought by looking at the cultural issues addressed by the questions that yielded the score clusters. In addition, if clusters of high or low scores coincided with any of the "a priori" categories, it could give an indication that the participating home language instructors favoured (or avoided) the content of one of the three cultural categories in their teaching.

Thus, the "a priori" categories were abandoned, and an effort to find another factor based on score values was made. However, no identifiable clusters appeared. Consequently, it was concluded that both the high and the low score values were relatively evenly distributed across the items in the questionnaire and did not coincide with the predetermined categories. Nor was it possible to
identify any new potential content category based on score clusters.

On the other hand, the results of the factor analysis could provide additional information on how the amount of learning about the two cultures relative to one another and to the three cultural categories was perceived by the 477 participating students. First, it was an opportunity to establish by means of another type of treatment the relationship between learning about heritage culture on the one hand and Swedish culture on the other for each of the three cultural categories. Second, the break-down of this comparison into language groups could confirm or put into question the findings from the pair-wise comparisons. Third, by using a contrast coefficient matrix, it could be established if there were any statistically significant differences between certain pairs of language groups.\(^{32}\)

**Heritage versus Swedish culture in the total data.**

When comparing the information given by the participating students for each cultural context and using the pre-established cultural categories as factors, the difference between the heritage culture and Swedish culture becomes significant (.000) for each category. In the factual information category, the higher score value is for the Swedish context, which we recognize from earlier

\(^{32}\)Statistical significance was measured in the factor analysis by submitting the samples to a t-test.
findings in that data. The role of the home language teacher as facilitator was then suggested as an explanation for this greater learning about Sweden, which all but the Greek students reported. The lifestyle category also shows a greater degree of high responses for the way of life in Sweden, which was reflected in the earlier reports on the Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese students in particular. Finally, the cultural activities category differs from the other two in that the students here have indicated learning more about the heritage culture. Earlier in this report we saw that the Greek and Iranian students tended to indicate that they had learned more about the cultural activities of their countries of origin.

_Cultural differences per language._

Breaking down the total data into the four participating language groups, the patterns that emerged in previous analyses recur. The Greek students show more learning having taken place about the heritage culture, while the other three language have reportedly learned more about Sweden. This is true for the Greeks in all three cultural categories. The Farsi-speaking students, on the other hand, do not find that they have learned more about their heritage culture in any of the three categories. They do, however, show the same value for both in the cultural activities category. Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese students reveal similar patterns in that they both have higher scores for Swedish culture in the
factual information and lifestyle categories, but when it comes to cultural activities they indicate a higher value for the heritage culture.

Contrasting the language groups with each other one by one, six possible combinations become possible: Greek vs. Farsi, Farsi vs. Spanish, Spanish vs. Vietnamese, Greek vs. Spanish, Farsi vs. Vietnamese, and Greek vs. Vietnamese. These contrasts were performed for each cultural category and context, which yields six different areas for comparison. Here, only those contrasts that show significant difference will be commented on. These differences between languages will be presented for one cultural category at a time.

Beginning with the factual information category, the same three contrast pairs are significantly different both for the heritage culture and the Swedish context. Two of these three involve the Greek students, and both are highly significant. Comparing Greek subjects with Iranian subjects gives a contrast in both cultural contexts of significant difference (0.000 for both). In the comparison with Spanish-speaking subjects, the Greek responses are still significantly different (0.000 for heritage culture; 0.019 for Sweden). The third contrast in this category that shows significance is the comparison between Farsi and Spanish speakers. The significance for heritage culture is only moderate (0.088) but a more significant difference (0.003) appears for Swedish factual information.

Continuing with the lifestyle category, the significant
differences are again between the Greek group and the Iranians (.000 for heritage; .002 for Sweden) as well as between the Greeks and the Spanish-speaking students (.000 for heritage; .042 for Sweden). Moderately significant (at the 0.10 level) is the comparison of Iranian and Vietnamese students, where the contrast produces a difference of .097 probability.

Finally moving on to the cultural activities category a new set of significant contrasts emerge. In terms of heritage culture, some familiar features reappear, though. The Greek group is still significantly different (.000) from the Iranian group, as it is from the Spanish speakers (.001). The contrast between Farsi- and Spanish-speaking students once again shows a moderate significance (.095), but a new pair is Greek versus Vietnamese students, which in terms of heritage culture activities show a respectably significant difference (.010). In the area of Swedish cultural activities, however, none of the contrasts is highly significant, although we again find the comparison between Farsi and Spanish speakers showing a difference that is somewhat significant (.088).

To recapitulate the findings from the contrast coefficient matrix, the by now familiar pattern of the Greek data differing from the other languages is seen again. Some contrasts also emerged between the Farsi- and Spanish-speaking groups, although not in the lifestyle category.
Results by Gender and Age

Comparison of Male versus Female Respondents

As was mentioned earlier (p. 141) the gender distribution in the total sample of subjects could hardly have been more even with 237 males and 240 females. Even for each language, the data is divided up almost evenly between boys and girls, with the possible exception of the Greek students, where ten more female than male students participated in this study. In the total data, this became to some extent offset by the fact that the Farsi sample included five more boys than girls. The Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese student groups were both uneven in number and the extra "odd" student for each language was a boy, thereby narrowing the gap in numbers between the genders to only three. (See table on p. 141).

In this section the results of the analysis of the questionnaire responses will be presented as a comparison between the girls' responses and the boys' responses. The first focus will be on the three cultural categories to see if male and female students differed significantly in their perception of how much they had learned about each category and about each culture. If any noticeable differences are found between male and female respondents in any one category, this will be reported and commented on. Attention will also be paid to whether boys from different language groups were different from each other, and the
same comparison among languages will be made for the girls as well.

The initial expectations of the present investigator were mixed. On the one hand, all the cultures represented by the four home languages under study were known to have more traditional perceptions of gender-appropriate behaviour than society in both Sweden and North America. It could therefore be reasonable to assume that the cultural conditioning in the home environment and the ethnic community of these youngsters could lead to boys and girls responding quite differently from each other. On the other hand, the Swedish school system strongly emphasizes gender equality, and the home language teachers most likely have to respect this in their teaching. Thus, both the home language instruction and the attitudes of the surrounding Swedish society could influence the students to not view their learning that differently based on gender. There was also a possibility that some minority groups would more tenaciously hold on to their traditional social structuring while others may have adopted more of the Swedish system of greater equality between men and women. This in turn could bring out differences between, for example, Greek and Iranian males or Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese females in the sample.

Results per Cultural Category in terms of Gender

The first comparison will be made between all male and female participating students for each of the three cultural categories.
The male/female comparison will be made for each cultural context (heritage country and Sweden) separately, and then the two contexts will be compared with each other. This will be done first with the factual information category, next with the lifestyle category, and finally with cultural activities. The same procedure will then be repeated for each of the four participating home languages. Only differences that are found to be statistically significant will be commented on in detail\(^{33}\).

Results per cultural category for all respondents.

In the factual information category, no significant differences were found between male and female students, neither about the heritage culture nor about Swedish culture. The responses were actually remarkably similar. Both genders were also in complete agreement that they had learned more about Swedish culture in this category with "quite a lot" (=3) most frequently marked by both boys and girls (a total of 197 responses). The heritage culture mostly received 2's (= "some") in terms of factual information learned (178 in all). The heritage culture was also given more 0's and information about Sweden more 4's by both genders in the entire sample.

Moving on to the lifestyle category, there is again no significant difference between boys and girls for either cultural

\(^{33}\)The levels of significance have been indicated in the data as a Pearson value on a Chi-square, with .05 or less required for the measured differences to be statistically significant.
SCORES PER MALE/FEMALE FACTUAL INFORMATION

**Heritage**

**Sweden**
SCORES PER MALE/FEMALE LIFE-STYLE

Heritage

Sweden

boy
girl
SCOROS PER MALE/FEMALE
CULTURAL INFORMATION

Heritage

%  
50  
40  
30  
20  
10  
0  

%  

Sweden

%  
50  
40  
30  
20  
10  
0  

boy  
girl
context. Here, too, there is a striking resemblance between male and female responses especially regarding Swedish lifestyle. The figures for heritage lifestyle are not quite as identical, with more girls than boys marking 4's (21% versus 14%) and more boys than girls indicating 3's (37% versus 31%). At the lower end of the scoring scale, however, the numbers converge once more, and the discrepancies above were not big enough to cause the difference to become statistically significant. In terms of the two cultural contexts, there seems to be a general consensus between the genders that more or less equal amounts of learning have taken place about both.

The cultural activities category, like the other two, shows no significant differences between boys and girls in learning about their heritage culture as well as about the Swedish context. For the heritage context, the numbers duplicate each other almost perfectly and the only difference in responses of more than five percent is for Swedish culture where the number 2 is marked by 32% of the girls and 25.5% of the boys. Both male and female students indicated slightly higher scores for learning about cultural activities from the country of origin.

Results per category in the Greek data.

Starting, as usual, with the Greek home language students, the male/female difference in the factual information category is again
not statistically significant, be it for the heritage culture or the Swedish context. More girls chose to mark a 3 about Greek culture (60% of the girls; 43% of the boys), which was offset by more boys marking both 4's and 2's (23% of each for the boys; 11% each for the girls), thus eliminating any real statistical significance. In terms of learning about Sweden, more girls also chose a 3 (again 60%, versus 51% of the boys), but 9% of the boys marked a 4, which none of the girls did, thereby balancing the score. Paralleling the findings from the pair-wise comparisons, Greek boys and girls are in agreement about having learned more about Greece than about Sweden.

In the lifestyle category, the equality pattern continues with no significant differences for either cultural context. Within each context, the numbers for the scores are very close. Male and female students furthermore agree that they learned more about Greek lifestyle than about the Swedish way of life. Once more, we recognize the results from the pair-wise comparisons.

The cultural activities category continues the same pattern of no significant differences between the male/female responses about neither Greek not Swedish culture. Especially the figures for the Swedish cultural activities mirror each other very closely. The Greek culture scores at first look deceptively dissimilar in that the boys have not marked any answers using a 2. However, only 11% of the girls chose this response, and that is easily cancelled out by the number of students marking a 3: 46% of the boys but only 33% of the girls. As in the other two cultural categories, Greek
boys and girls alike indicate that they have learned more about Greek culture than about Swedish cultural activities.

Results per Category in the Farsi data.

In the factual information category, the Farsi-speaking students continue the gender harmony already seen in the Greek data. In neither cultural context do the Farsi-speaking boys and girls show any significant difference, and the figures are all but identical. Neither male nor female Farsi-speakers indicate decisively that they have learned more about one or the other of the two cultural contexts, but the marked answers are found in the middle with mostly 2's and 3's. There are some more 3's for Swedish factual information (38%) than for information about Iran (25%), a difference also reflected in the pair-wise comparisons. The role of the home language teacher as facilitator in the regular classroom was then suggested as a possible cause.

The answer choices in the lifestyle category are no different from the results hitherto in that there are no significant differences between male and female respondents. Both boys and girls also agree that they have learned slightly more about Swedish lifestyle than about life in Iran, which does not reflect the findings from the pair-wise comparisons. As was, however, pointed out in that section, having learned "equally much" about a topic could just as well mean "equally little", i.e. two 0's marked in the questionnaire.
In the cultural activities category, male and female students continue to respond in tandem. As in the lifestyle category, the figures are closely matched. The biggest difference between marked scores is a seven percent spread, which only translates as four students. This discrepancy makes the Iranian girls show slightly higher markings for the heritage culture, but the difference is far from approaching statistical significance. The combined responses do not indicate that the Farsi-speaking students consider themselves to have learned more about cultural activities in Iran than in Sweden.

Results per Cultural Category in the Spanish data.

The Spanish-speaking participants in this investigation are showing the same relationship between the scores marked in the factual information category as was found in the Greek and Iranian data. There is no significant difference between male and female students' responses. This is true for information about their heritage culture as well as Sweden. Both boys and girls also agree that they have learned a little more about Sweden (38% 3's) than about their countries of origin (42% 2's). This was also seen in the pair-wise comparisons and could both reflect the home language teacher's role as facilitator and relate to the fact that these children come from several different home countries.

In the lifestyle category, the differences between male and female student responses are still not statistically significant.
This especially true for the Spanish-speaking students' learning about Swedish lifestyle, where the figures are virtually identical. In terms of heritage lifestyle, the numbers are little bit more dissimilar, although not enough to reach significance. But they are "less non-significant" than the other results we've seen (.100), and the difference is found in the answer choices at the high end of the scoring options. Of the girls, 18% had marked a 4, while only 7% of the boys had chosen the maximum score. More boys than girls, on the other hand, selected a 3 answer - 43% of the male respondents versus 30% of the females. Even though this resulted in a relative balance, it seemed worth noting when the discrepancy occurs at one of the extremes of the answer scale. (One can speculate about the content of these heavily scored questions having to do with women and children.) When it comes to indicating which cultural context the students have learned more about, the male and female Spanish speakers are again responding in the same way with the bulk of the answers around the middle marks (2's and 3's).

For the cultural activities category, there is the same situation for the Spanish-speaking students as for the Greeks and the Iranians. The boys and the girls are again marking much the same responses about both Sweden and their heritage culture. Again, the data do not show a greater amount of learning about one cultural context over the other, and as was the case with the lifestyle category, the majority of the respondents marked 2's and 3's regardless of whether they were male or female.
Results per category in the Vietnamese data.

Regarding the responses given by male and female students of Vietnamese background, the results of comparing the genders in each of the cultural categories can be summed up in three words: no significant differences. As was seen for the other three languages, the Vietnamese boys and girls also marked very similar answers in their questionnaires. There are, however, a few slight differences in actual numbers between the two cultural contexts showing some discrepancy in terms of which one makes and females felt that they learned more about. In other words, boys and girls had different perceptions of whether they had received more cultural information about Vietnam or Sweden.

This situation occurred in both the factual information and lifestyle categories, but in terms of cultural activities, Vietnamese boys and girls were in agreement. In the factual information category, the male students indicated higher responses for both the heritage culture (56% answering with 3's and 4's) and for Swedish culture (67% 3's; no 4's). The females, on the other hand, also had 56% high scores for Vietnam but 57% of the girls marked a 2 for Sweden, thereby indicating that they had only learned "some" factual information about their country of residence (there were no 0's or 1's marked by either boys or girls).

In terms of lifestyle information about the two cultures, it is the boys who reveal a different perception, while the girls have more similar scores for Vietnam and Sweden. The male students,
however, had 86% of their scores about Swedish lifestyle in the higher values (3's and 4's) and only 14% at the lower end of the scoring scale. When indicating what they had learned about Vietnamese lifestyle, the boys were closer to the girls. A total of 57% of the females had high response values on that topic and 75% percent of the males had also marked 3's and 4's.

The Vietnamese students thus continue what has already been found for the other three languages. The differences between male and female respondents are minimal and not statistically significant anywhere. In two cases were found differences where slight discrepancies could be seen between the male and female perception of learning about Vietnamese and Swedish cultures. One of these occurred in the lifestyle category with the boys registering a different view of what had been learned about the Swedish context. The other was in the factual information category where the girls disagreed with the boys about how much had been learned about Sweden and marked lower scores for that category and context. The only other similar case was in the Spanish-speaking sample, where it was also the girls who differed, but this time in their perception of lifestyle learning. The female Spanish speakers indicated that they had received more information about their heritage culture in the lifestyle category than did the male students, whereas both genders were in agreement about Swedish lifestyle information.
Summary of the gender comparison per language and category.

As the above discussion has shown, the gender factor did not create any statistically significant differences between male and female responses. Most of the time, this similarity was even obvious even without the statistical analysis to confirm it. Only three cases were found where a noticeable, but not statistically significant, discrepancy was registered between boys' and girls' answers (see above, in the concluding paragraph about the Vietnamese students). To sum up, the overall results of this male/female comparison of the data per language and category is that both genders responded in much the same way.

Intra-Gender Comparisons, All Language Groups, per Category.

Finally, intra-gender comparisons were made to see if boys, or girls, from different cultural backgrounds viewed their learning of cultural content differently. These results are most easily overviewed as a series of parallel graphs. In Appendix B, p. B1-B12, line graphs have been used to present the data for the purpose of comparing responses within gender. Each page consists of a set of four graphs, one for each participating home language, and includes the scores of all males, or females, in one cultural category for either Swedish or heritage culture. There are thus four pages of graphs for each category, including two for each cultural context, one with all boys and the other with all girls in
the entire sample, presented per language.

In the factual information category, the Farsi- and Spanish-speaking boys in particular mark similar answers, both for heritage and Swedish culture. The profiles of the Greek and the Vietnamese male participants are also quite similar. This pattern is also seen in the female responses, especially for the heritage culture, while the resemblance is less striking for the Swedish factual information. It is, however, useful to recall the smaller numbers in the Greek and Vietnamese groups, especially the latter. That may explain the seemingly higher proportions for some scores in those sets of data.

When responding to the lifestyle questions, all males are quite similar in their answer distribution about Swedish culture. In terms of heritage lifestyle, the Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese boys resemble each other, while the Farsi speakers are slightly different with more "2" scores. Completely unlike the others is the Greek graph, with those boys marking mostly high scores. That is also the case for the Greek girls' scores for heritage lifestyle compared to the other female respondents. In the other three language groups, the Spanish-speaking girls differ slightly from the Iranian and Vietnamese female participants. In terms of Swedish culture, the lifestyle scores in the female data are more similar across all four languages. The one that shows an individual profile is the Vietnamese girls' graph, which has a distinct emphasis on "2" scores.

Moving on to the cultural activities category, the boys of
Iranian and Vietnamese background responded much in the same way, and the Spanish-speaking males are only slightly different with more "3" scores and fewer "2" responses. The Greek boys again stand out from the rest with their predominant choices of high answer options for heritage culture. As in the lifestyle category, these differences have virtually disappeared when the boys answer questions about Swedish lifestyle, with Farsi- and Spanish-speakers showing particularly similar graphs. The same can also be said for the female responses, where the Vietnamese girls' answers may look deceptively dissimilar due to the small number in that group of subjects (only 9 females in all). The Greek girls here follow the pattern we saw for Greek boys in both the lifestyle and cultural activities categories. Like the boys, Greek females apparently chose to mark the maximum score more often in the cultural activities category for heritage culture than for Swedish cultural activities. As in the lifestyle graphs, the girls here resemble each other except for the Vietnamese females, who again pick a "2" score over the other options.

In short, the intra-gender comparisons confirm the earlier findings reported in the results of the Swedish case study. Differences are greater between languages than between genders. The group that reports the greatest emphasis on the heritage culture are the Greek students, both male and female. Swedish culture is proportionately more part of the content learned by Vietnamese students of both genders, but the limited number participants can have a misleading effect.
Results per Age Group and Cultural Category

Introductory remarks.

The total number of participating students (477) was divided between teens (267) and pre-teens (210). The dividing line at 12/13 years of age was chosen because the 12-and-under age group would still be attending the Swedish equivalent to grade school/junior division (grades 4-6), while the 13-and-over age group would be in Swedish grades 7-9 which correspond roughly to what in Ontario is called either middle school or junior high school. For school children in Sweden, that change usually entails many new experiences both in terms of new teachers, new school, new school day format, and new classmates. Usually this coincides with the students entering or approaching puberty, so it is a great shift in life situation generally for the youngsters at this age.

In Ontario, students in the heritage language programs would usually see this educational option come to an end as part of their public schooling at the age of 14 when they finish grade 8. In Sweden, the home language option is available through grade 9, at the end of which students usually are 16 years old (children start grade 1 at the age of 7 in Sweden). It has, however, been observed by heritage language educators in the Toronto area (personal communication) that the students in the programs tend to "drop out" to a greater extent once they are in their teens. Reasons given were other leisure activities competing for time and more school
work in the regular subjects leaving less room for optional school activities. A decreased enthusiasm about school as such is also not uncommonly found among teenagers.

It was thus interesting to find that in the Swedish data, more respondents were in the 13-and-above age group than the 12-and-below. The explanation for this greater willingness to continue in home language instruction, even after the change in 1992 to scheduling these lessons outside the regular school day, may be found in the home language teacher and fellow students from the same minority group. Those components more than studying the subject in and of itself were in several cases referred to as important positive aspects in the students' perception of their home language education experience (e.g. Eckerbrant-Cantillo 1985, Hill 1995, Kostuoras-Makarakis 1988, Tingbjörn 1996).

The comparison between the two age groups was above all aimed at discovering any age-related differences in the students' perception of what had been learned in their heritage language education. Keeping in mind the kinds of instructional content associated with different levels in the school system, one might assume more factual learning reported by the participants in the older age group. Cultural activities might be more recognized as learned in the home language context by the 12-and-below subjects. The lifestyle items in the questionnaire contained question that younger students may have encountered in their home language instruction (e.g. how families live) as well as issues for more mature youngsters (e.g. how religious minorities are treated.) It
SCORES PER AGE GROUP
LIFE-STYLE

Heritage

Swedish

[]

%}

0  1  2  3  4

0  10  20  30  40  50

0  10  20  30  40  50

12-  13+
could therefore be expected that the lifestyle category would not show any particular difference between the two age groups.

**Factual information per age group.**

The comparison between the age groups in this category for the heritage culture was somewhat significant (.016), but did give an overall impression of similarity between the responses. Only in one instance did a difference of more than 5% occur, which was in regard to how many of the students had chosen a 2 (=some) answer. Here, only 3.4% of the younger group compared with 40% of the teenagers chose this answer. At the lower end of the scoring scale, the younger students show somewhat higher percentages (7% more 0's) than do the teen group, who in turn have slightly greater proportions of 3's and 4's (= "quite a lot" and "a lot"). It therefore appears that the older students perceive themselves to have learned more factual information about the heritage culture than do the younger participants in this study. (Table on p. 249)

Factual information about Sweden also shows a difference that is slightly significant (.029) with two sets of responses showing a greater divergence than 5%. More younger students (15%) chose to answer "a little" (=1) while only 6% of the older group responded in this way. Most older students, on the other hand, marked a 3 response (45%) whereas 37% of the 12-and-below group selected this answer. That was still a majority response for the younger subjects, so there seems to be agreement between the two age groups.
that they learn "quite a lot" of Swedish factual information.

**Lifestyle content per age group.**

Statistically, the lifestyle category concerning the heritage culture is also "somewhat" significant (.037), and here too the responses show cases of more than 5% difference between the age groups. More of the junior students chose a "1" for questions in this category and context with 16% marking this answer. Only 10% of the teenage group responded in the same way. On the other hand, 21% of the older students selected a "4" (=a lot) for items in this category, compared with 14% of the younger group. Again we find a tendency among the teenage students to report that they have learned more about the heritage culture than do the younger respondents. (Table on p. 249)

In terms of Swedish lifestyle content, the statistics show a modest significance of .094, with the same answer options (1 and 4) being responsible for the greatest discrepancies. At the lower end, it is still the younger group that responds with more 1's, which is what 14% of them chose, while only 6% of the 13-and-above group answered by selecting a 1. Again we find more older students (24%) marking a 4 than do the 12-and-below subjects (15%). Not only is heritage lifestyle reportedly learned to a greater extent in the higher grades but so is apparently Swedish lifestyle content as well.
Cultural activities per age group.

Just like the Swedish lifestyle category content, the heritage culture activities learned show a difference between the age groups that is moderately significant (.090). The same two scoring options show the bigger differences between the younger and older respondents. The option to answer "a little" (=1) is chosen by 15% of the 12-and-below group with only 9% of the teenage students making that choice. The highest possible answer choice, 4, was selected by 20% of the older participants whereas only 13% of the younger group chose this response. We thus continue to see a greater readiness in the older students to mark the maximum answer option and a more widespread feeling among younger subjects to feel that they have only learned limited amounts, in this case about cultural activities in the heritage context.

The Swedish cultural activities content learned reveals a new pattern with the greatest discrepancies in score percentages are found for answer choices of 2's and 3's and these differences are somewhat significant (.055). It is still the 12-and-below students who prefer to choose the lower answer option, with 32% of them marking a 2 (=some), while 25% of the students 13-and-above responded in this way. The higher 3 option (=quite a lot) was selected by more students in both age groups, but the percentage of older respondents was considerably higher with 45% as opposed to only 38% for the younger participants. The highest score (4) was
also marked by noticeably more teenagers than younger students, 14% and 9% respectively. So, although there is consensus between the age groups in terms of the most frequently marked answer option, there are still more lower scores given by the younger students and more of the maximum score chosen by the teenagers.

Summary of age group comparison.

Although mostly statistically significant to some extent, the differences between the age groups do not seem to be that great when comparing the percentages for the answers the respondents have chosen. A consistent pattern emerges showing younger students more frequently marking lower scoring options and the teenage group usually having selected more 4's in their responses. If this is a reflection of lesser confidence in their learning process among the 12-and-below age group or a willingness to overrate their knowledge on the part of the 13-and-above age group is open to speculation. Or, it may be a possibly realistic assessment by the participating students of what they have learned, which in all likelihood ought to be more the older they are and the longer they have attended school.
Cultural Categories by Age Group

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<td>35</td>
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<td>9 Sweden</td>
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Feedback from Educators

Introductory Comments

In order to assess how well the findings in the Swedish case study reflected a reality in the classroom, opportunities were provided for feedback from home/heritage language educators in both Sweden and Ontario. In Sweden, the results of the data analysis were presented first as a series of lectures in Stockholm and Gothenburg, followed up by group discussions and interviews. In Ontario, four heritage language coordinators from three school boards in Metropolitan Toronto were invited to respond to a questionnaire after reading a summarized version of the Swedish case study. Interviews to supplement the information provided in the questionnaire were also arranged.

School Boards in the Metropolitan Toronto Area

Feedback from the Toronto educators was collected in June of 1996. The four school officials who were approached represented three Metropolitan school boards. City of Toronto, East York, and North York. Of these four, one (from City) decided not to participate, but the remaining three were interviewed by the present researcher in addition to filling out the questionnaire. In one case the interview actually preceded the filling out of the form by this heritage language coordinator, who had nevertheless
had a chance to familiarize himself with the questionnaire beforehand. Together with the form, the school board administrators had also received a synopsis of the background to the Swedish case study and the analysis and findings of the data prior to meeting with this investigator.

The comments in the questionnaires and during the interviews basically confirmed the present writers assumption that the bicultural approach already exists in most heritage language classrooms in Metropolitan Toronto. There was also a certain amount of curiosity about the situation in Sweden regarding the teaching of minority languages, and some of the problems experienced in the Swedish programs were recognized as existing here as well. Typically issues concerning scheduling, suitable materials, and multi-level classes were identified as shared areas of concern. Also, the heritage language teacher having a role as communicator between home and school, especially for certain language groups in Toronto, was a familiar situation.

The content of the teaching and learning in the heritage language instruction was generally thought of as staying quite close to the bi-/multi-cultural objectives of the Ontario curriculum guidelines for heritage language programs. All three interviewed school board officials were, however, aware of certain teachers or minority groups that were not completely in agreement with the guideline objectives or who, for reasons best known to themselves, chose not to meet the expectations placed on them by the board. The general impression of the findings in the Swedish
case study was that the results probably would have looked very similar here, were the study to be replicated in the Metropolitan Toronto area. Even the Greek students' reports of a strong emphasis on heritage culture sounded similar to Greek heritage language instruction in Toronto, particularly in an area such as East York with a very high proportion of Greek immigrant population.

One area of, at least perceived, difference was the involvement by the ethnic communities in the heritage language education. Most minority groups in the Toronto area have a degree of input through both parents and appointed/elected officials that was not seen in the information these educators had received from the present researcher about the situation in Sweden. This cooperative approach to the programs also seemed to result in more varied approaches to dealing with problems encountered as a result of government cutbacks than what this researcher had found in Sweden.

There seemed, though, to be a feeling of relief among the Toronto coordinators that the heritage language programs in another part of the world had also become the target of governmental frugality. There was also a consensus that this political budgetary move was an unfortunate way of reducing spending that affected groups in society that were less able than most others to defend their rights and back up their demands. The heritage language programs are not very costly, and they serve an important social function in communities that may be at risk of become
marginalized and isolated from main-stream society. These programs provide a useful link between ethnic issues and society's interests at large.

The Participating Swedish School Boards

The feedback procedure in Sweden was carried out in late August and early September 1996. Presentations of the findings from the case study were scheduled first at the participating school districts in Gothenburg and, the following week, in Stockholm. All home language teachers (any language!) were invited to attend, and it was obvious from the attendance that there was interest among the instructors of not only the participating languages to hear about the investigation. Questions from the audience included both inquiries about heritage language education in Canada and requests for clarification about some points in the study. The comments were generally positive, although a number of Swedish home language teachers were experiencing stress due to employment insecurity. This uncertainty was not surprisingly, reflected in some being frustrated about their working conditions (cf. Tingbjörn 1996) and the relative inflexibility of the Swedish school bureaucracy.

Following these presentations, group discussions with the participating teachers were arranged, one per school district in Stockholm, two in Gothenburg where several of the teachers were working for two of the boards at the same time (City of Gothenburg
and Biskopsgården). During these meetings, the instructors expressed satisfaction about their own participation in the study, and some among them commented on changes that they had made in their teaching as a result of the investigation. Above all, they had begun incorporating content areas that they had not thought of including in their instructional content before. The impetus for this had for the most part been the items in the questionnaire, which had provided them with ideas about topics for their home language instruction that had simply not occurred to them before. A few of them also mentioned more consciously using material about Sweden but in the home language as learning material. They were also more focused on making cultural comparisons than before, but admittedly, the data show that for the most part this was already happening in the home language classroom, even though the teacher may not have initiated the process.

In addition to these group discussions, informal interviews were done with school administrators responsible for coordinating home language instruction at the board or district level. These educators had, in addition to attending the presentation, also received a written summarized version of the analysis and findings of the Swedish case study data. These individual meetings were very supportive and encouraging, and the school officials expressed their positive view of something being investigated in this area that did not deal with language proficiency or learning materials. Getting the students' perspective on what they themselves actually felt they learned was seen as valuable by the program coordinators.
To sum up, school administrators responsible for heritage/home language instruction in Metropolitan Toronto as well as in Stockholm and Gothenburg provided helpful and positive feedback on the Swedish case study. Furthermore, a number of home language teachers in Sweden who participated in the study reported that being involved in this project had also been helpful to them and the experience had had a revitalizing effect on their teaching.
CONCLUSION

Summary of the Results of the Case Study

The data gathered from the 477 students participating in the Swedish case study were analyzed in several ways. Pair-wise comparisons were made, both between the four home language groups under investigation and between the kinds of cultural content learned. This content was divided into three categories - factual information, lifestyle, and cultural activities - and the objective was primarily to establish if the students perceived themselves to have learned more about their heritage culture or Swedish culture as part of their home language education experience. A secondary objective was to see if the subjects reported a different emphasis for different categories.

It was hypothesized that the different cultural categories would reflect different amounts of learning. In terms of factual information the expectation was that the scores would be relatively evenly divided between the two cultural contexts, as students need knowledge about both their country of origin and that of residence. Lifestyle issues would primarily concern the Swedish cultural context, since this is what the students need to learn about for their present day-to-day living. Cultural activities, on the other hand, show a higher emphasis on the heritage culture in order to maintain skills that would otherwise have few opportunities of being practised.
In addition to the pair-wise comparisons, the data were also studied in terms of frequencies and means. Mean scores for the content of the cultural categories were compared, and high and low mean ranks for individual questions were focused on. Finally, a factor analysis was carried out on the data. The purpose of these additional analyses was to, on the one hand to, investigate to what extent "equally much" responses in the pair-wise comparisons instead meant "equally little", and if that made any difference in the overall outcomes. On the other hand, the intention was to test the findings in terms of probability and to get an overview of possible gender/age differences in the responses as well as single out certain topics that had received more attention than others in the home language classroom.

The results indicated that, although there were no differences between males and females and only slight discrepancies in the way older and younger students responded, there were indeed differences in how the participating language groups reported on the cultural learning they had experienced in their home language classrooms. These differences also appeared in the three different cultural categories, but to varying degrees. The Greek students were the group that most consistently indicated that they had learned more about the heritage culture, which reflects observations made by bilingual education researchers in Sweden in other contexts such as textbooks and teaching objectives (Ekstrand, Garefalakis, Kostuolas-Makrakis). The Farsi-speaking subjects were more even-handed but reported a heritage emphasis in the lifestyle category,
although they marked that they had learned more about Swedish factual information. The Spanish-speaking participants in this study were the most "bicultural" respondents in that they predominantly showed that they had learned equally much about both cultures with, however, a greater emphasis on the heritage culture in terms of cultural activities. The small Vietnamese group, in turn, reported the greatest degree of learning taking place about Sweden in the context of their home language instruction.

Various explanations were offered for these findings. The Greek results were seen as not very surprising due to the fact that most Greek students in Swedish schools would be second generation immigrants. Therefore, they would already be familiar enough with life in Sweden and the workings of Swedish society. Another influence could be the strong sense of cultural pride among Greeks in the role played by their country as the cradle of western civilization (Theodor Kallifatides 1997, personal communication). This is seen by many Greeks in Sweden as not sufficiently taught in other subjects in the Swedish curriculum. Thus, the Greek home language teacher makes up for this lacking cultural history content.

Among the more recently arrived groups, the Iranian students have probably the greater cultural gap to bridge, but Spanish-speaking Latin Americans (primarily) also have to deal with their fair share of culture shock. Both groups have fled oppressive regimes, and the parents are often well-educated although frequently underemployed, especially among the Iranians. The
Spanish-speakers in particular seem intent on repatriation in a foreseeable future (Eckerbrant-Cantillo 1985), so it is quite encouraging that so many Spanish-speaking students felt that they had learned equally much about both cultures. Returning to the homeland may be a less realistic expectation for the Farsi speakers, who nonetheless report learning a lot about Iranian lifestyle. This could also reflect a resignation to the fact that Sweden is their new and permanent home, which does not, however, preclude a continued respect for Iranian values and other elements of lifestyle. It would then be seen as desirable that the home language teacher ensure that the Farsi-speaking students learn this type of content in the home language classroom.

The Vietnamese group is considerably smaller than the others (only 19 students) so it is more hazardous to generalize from the findings in the Vietnamese data. These students reported having been taught about Vietnamese culture in the areas of lifestyle and factual information in particular, but there was always a greater emphasis on Swedish content. In terms of cultural activities, most felt that they had learned equally much about both cultures. Their background as, usually, refugees and "boat people" - at least the parents - point to an awareness of permanence in terms of their future in Sweden, which may account for the focus on learning about the country of residence. The difference between the cultures is also considerable, which is a likely reason for certain lifestyle question to be given many "more about Vietnam" responses. There has also been evidence that Vietnamese parents highly value this
opportunity for their children to learn about their heritage (Latomaa 1988).

Results Relative to Curriculum Guidelines

The cultural emphasis in terms of the objectives of the Swedish curriculum guidelines is decidedly on the heritage culture. Even after the revised guidelines of 1994, which bring up the concept of biculturalism as well as bilingualism, the role of Swedish culture in the home language classroom is mostly to be a background against which to contrast the heritage culture. This does, of course, imply comparisons but only on the teacher's initiative when Swedish culture is seen as relevant in terms of its difference from the heritage culture. This was one reason for assuming that less cultural learning about the country of residence might take place as part of the home language instruction in Swedish schools compared to the situation in Ontario. As was previously mentioned, the curriculum guidelines for heritage/international languages in Ontario expect a fair part of the content to deal with the students' Canadian reality.

It was, therefore, less unexpected to find the content of the Greek data favouring Greek culture than it was to find the other languages report a relatively even division between the two cultural contexts. What was more surprising, perhaps, was the discovery that this tendency is present in Toronto schools as well in Greek heritage language instruction. After all, the Ontario
guidelines are quite explicit and unambiguous about the multicultural approach to the content. Since these very guidelines, together with the implementation supplement produced by the Metropolitan Toronto School Board, provided much of the content ideas for the questionnaire used in the Swedish case study, it was interesting to discover that most of the respondents from the home language groups in Sweden answered in a way that included both cultures. This was, furthermore, what the Toronto school board officials reported that they would have expected to be the case here, too.

Biculturalism and Cultural Integration

One of the most central reasons for the present researcher's opinion that this bicultural perspective is an essential part of home/heritage language instruction is the potential role of these educational experiences in young people's adjustment to a new country of residence. A smooth transition into the new cultural context would seem to be one of the best preparations for eventual cultural integration and, as a result, a bicultural and bilingual individual. By that is meant, in this writer's mind, a person that is equally comfortable in two cultural environments and functions with equal ease in two different languages. This is not a utopian premise. It is, for many of us who live in Toronto and elsewhere in Canada, an everyday experience.

However, the relative generosity in a city like Toronto in
attitudes towards those who look different or behave/dress differently from the majority (which is now only 40% of Toronto residents if we assume that "majority" refers to so-called WASP's) may seem enviable to minority groups elsewhere. We saw in the review of Swedish articles from the media in the 1990's that immigrants to Sweden, at least "noticeable" minority groups, seem to face a harsher reality than those who decide to make Canada their new home. It is, therefore, suggested by this investigator that the home language teachers in Sweden play an even more essential role as a bridge between the minority students and majority society than do their Ontario colleagues. Part of the focus of this study has also been, however, that students need cultural information from their peer group for successful integration to ensue.

The term integration should not be confused with the word assimilation. In the latter process, the culture of origin is rejected or abandoned in favour of a wholesale adoption of a new culture. The idea of integration, on the other hand, implies that an added repertoire of cultural behaviour has become available to the individual, not at the expense of one's roots (Toukomaa 1978). It is this researcher's opinion that assimilation can cause psychological problems, not just in the prime of life but especially in older age. But there is also reason to suspect that having to reject your original culture as a young person can

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34As of now, there seems to be little if any research done to investigate the effects of earlier assimilation as immigrants get older.
also bring mental trauma in younger years.

This seems particularly to be the case if the process involves the rejection of a core system of values. It is not unusual that young immigrants to Sweden come from families with distinct religious value systems, which were a natural part of the cultural environment in their home countries. Sweden is, in contrast, a very secularized society, where religion plays a minor role, if any at all, in the average person's set of values and morals. What there is, cannot easily be observed until one has become better acquainted with the Swedish psyche. This can at times leave a young immigrant in a "moral vacuum", a situation which has been documented by research at Uppsala University in Sweden.

In a project at the Department of Religious Psychology at Uppsala, O. Wikström and V. DeMarinis have studied children suffering from nervous breakdowns or severe behavioural disorders that could be traced back to this "moral vacuum". In their efforts to "fit in" in Swedish youth culture, these youngsters had completely abandoned the religion-based value systems of their parents. They had, however, found nothing to replace it with, thereby ending up in a normative no-man's-land, as they were not skilled enough in Swedish to pick up the more subtle behavioural clues that kept their Swedish peers "out of trouble". Not only did these youngsters become sources of grief to their parents and more or less petty criminals to the police, but they also eventually suffered psychological damage as a result of the total absence of a normative framework in their lives. They found themselves not
only being uncertain of what to do but also unsure of who they were. Their personal integrity had become severely compromised by this lack of moral identity (Wikström & DeMarinis 1994).

It has been said (and unfortunately I don't know by whom) that there can be "no integration without integrity". The above examples are extreme, but the possibility of the home language education experience to function preventively should not be underestimated. We saw in the review of Eckerbrant-Cantillo's (1985) study that young students, often boys, who were perceived as disruptive and low-achieving in the regular classroom, often were well-behaved and productive with the home language teacher. It may not take more "breathing space" than that for minority students to realize that their more anti-social behaviour in one context does not have to carry over to another and is not a defining part of their personalities, their true selves.

Much is said in the Swedish and Ontario curriculum guidelines for home/heritage language education about strengthening the student's identity and sense of belonging in society. This sense of identity, of knowing who you are, is an essential part of a person's integrity. It is therefore an appropriate, although somewhat ambitious perhaps, expectation that the home/heritage language teacher shall provide each student with the opportunity to develop a strong sense of self and a well-defined (bicultural) identity. Therein lies the foundation for his/her integrity - and without integrity, no integration.
The Need for Bilingual Skills

As biculturalism - the enriching outcome of a successfully completed integration process - implies the incorporation of two cultures, so does bilingualism refer to the use of two languages. Without language, culture becomes a rather lifeless and amorphous concept, and by the same token, we need two languages to embrace two cultures. One of these languages has to be the language of the surrounding majority culture. If skills in the majority language are insufficiently developed, be it as a first or second language, a person becomes severely limited both educationally and socially. Poor language skills become an obstacle in terms of employment opportunities as well as inter-personal communication.

As has been mentioned in several places in the Swedish literature on this topic, it is as essential that the minority students in Sweden develop their Swedish language skills as it is for immigrants to Ontario to learn English. A few unfortunate circumstances in the Swedish context do make the task somewhat more challenging for the immigrant to Sweden. Foremost among these are the Swedish residential placement policy (which gathers non-Swedish resident into the same suburb) and the relative uselessness of the Swedish language outside Sweden. It is not a language with international status, nor is it a language of much cultural status in contemporary Sweden. (In this regard, the challenge is less daunting for someone moving into an English-speaking area from another linguistic context.) Therefore, as ESL is essential for
newcomers to Ontario with limited or no English skills, so is "Swedish 2" an absolute necessity for minority school children in Sweden, but not at the expense of the students' heritage languages. Just as biculturalism involves the incorporation of an additional culture into one's identity, so does bilingualism imply the addition of one more language, not the replacing of one by another. The latter - which Cummins has referred to as "subtractive bilingualism" 1976) - is simply linguistic assimilation.

The residential situation alluded to above, which brings several non-Swedish nationalities together in the same area, results in Swedish being used by these residents as a "lingua franca" before they are capable of speaking the language in a way that approaches native-like usage. This has resulted in a rather interesting pidgin/creole that has been labelled "Rinkebysvenska" (Rinkeby - an immigrant-dense Stockholm suburb - Swedish) by Ulla-Britt Kotsinas of the Department for Bilingual Studies at Stockholm University. This "dialect" is in itself not a problem, if the speakers are also able to communicate in "standard" Swedish, like some African-Americans/Canadians can alternate between "black" and "white" English. Unfortunately, however, this is not always the case. Quite frequently, the minority students stagnate at this level and their Swedish errors fossilize, maybe reinforced by the "Swedish" spoken by other immigrants in the neighbourhood.
Home Language Programs: a Cutback Target

This situation is becoming a potential threat to the home language programs in Sweden. As was pointed out in the literature review (e.g. Tingbjörn 1993), the most reasonable and acceptable argument for these programs in the view of both school administrators and politicians was that good home language skills would pave the way for good Swedish skills (see p. 85). In the eyes of many Swedes, this simply is not happening. The programs have not lived up to their promise. That other factors probably have more to do with the immigrant students' limited Swedish skills - unqualified "Swedish 2" teachers, or no available "Swedish 2" teacher at all (see p. 56), unfortunate residential policies, few shared contact areas for immigrants and native Swedish speakers - is an argument that easily falls on deaf ears.

Hyltenstam (1989) called the home language programs a "substitute target" and Tingbjörn (1996) used the expression "symbolic issue" in the same sense. What they mean is that these programs have become the scape goats for a number of negative developments that many Swedes blame on the government's immigration policy. The home language programs are suitable targets for public displeasure, since they are specific and limited in scope. Most "real" Swedes would not know anyone who attends home language instruction, so it is unlikely that cutbacks in this area would affect any personal acquaintance of the average voter. That, in turn, makes the programs safe targets for politicians as well when
government services have to be reduced. After all, "they didn't learn to speak Swedish well," so the programs are just a little extra fun, a "frill" like basket-weaving or basketball.

This unwillingness to spend government money on perceived "frills" has already (as of 1992 in Sweden, 1990 in Canada) spilled over into the area of home/heritage language instruction to children of immigrants, old and new. In order to maintain financial support and increase public acceptance of these programs, it is suggested by the present researcher that an awareness of the benefits of such programs be made more readily available to the general public. The easily comprehensible advantage of a smoother cultural transition for young new arrivals to Sweden or Ontario may indeed be a more acceptable notion to the average tax-payer/voter than the rather esoteric considerations of psycholinguistic development and its social repercussions, which in their turn may well become a future financial burden. The more short-term perspective of the cultural transition process would thus seem more relevant to the general public and the politicians alike.

From Tough Times to a Brighter Future?

In times of harsher economic conditions, it is often those perceived as weaker and/or "different" who come to bear the burden of the leaner times, and Sweden as well as Canada has seen voters call for immigration restrictions in recent years. Political parties in both countries have championed this cause as part of
their platforms. Unemployment among non-immigrants is seen as related to the immigrant population, although there is no statistical foundation for such an argument. In Ontario, the unemployment rate has remained relatively stable over the past few years, but Sweden has experienced unemployment figures that were unthinkable only five years ago. It is primarily among the minority groups in Sweden that unemployment has increased dramatically, from virtually none in the 60's and 70's to 11% in 1994 (Guillou 1996), although this is rarely mentioned in the public debate.

What instead is mentioned is the - probably related - increase in the crime rate among immigrants living in Sweden. (That the victims of this criminal activity usually are other immigrants is only mentioned in passing, if at all.) (Guillou 1996). As Tomas Böhm (1993) mentioned, it is becoming socially acceptable to express anti-immigrant views, as long as one uses "polite" language (p.68). If social acceptance is not a high priority, the hostilities against minority groups and individuals can be quite unpleasant or down-right lethal, as the review of media articles on this topic in the literature section (pp. 116-121) shows. Even among those who do not act out their anti-immigrant feelings, their passivity vis-à-vis these violent acts indicates a view of the victims that places the attacked immigrants in a category that is not quite fully human and worthy of compassion (see also p. 130).

It can only be hoped that these negative views and opinions are caused by ignorance rather than by direct personal experience.
There is seemingly little contact between the immigrant population groups and the Swedish majority, which creates a fertile breeding ground for misinformation. Stories become rumours, and rumours become facts. Second-hand knowledge is turned into indisputable truth: what somebody heard becomes "everybody knows." And if you repeat a lie often enough, it will become reality.

Unless, however, we replace this false reality with one founded on first-hand experience and information that will pass a veracity-test, tensions in society are likely to rise. Racist violence and intolerant discrimination against recently arrived people from other countries will escalate. Lean times create mean minds. A conscious effort must be made to counter that development, both in Sweden and in Canada, and such an effort is of the educational kind. The media can certainly be used to shape the attitudes of the general public, but schools are more likely to bring about lasting change in the growing generation, a change towards open-mindedness, away from myopic stinginess and fear born of ignorance. From this hopeful perspective sprang the ideas that eventually resulted in the Swedish case study.

Closing Remarks

The Swedish case study attempted to measure the extent to which transfer of cultural knowledge takes place in the context of Sweden's equivalent to Ontario's heritage language programs. Because of the many similarities between Sweden and Ontario that
were described previously (pp. 14-17), the present researcher feels that the outcomes of the Swedish case study will also be applicable to the situation in schools in Ontario. School officials at the board level in Metropolitan Toronto agreed with this perception. This study shows that two kinds of cultural learning indeed do take place - about the host country as well as the heritage country - and the heritage language classroom can be described as a bridge with two-way traffic. In order to fully utilize this valuable link, though, the traffic needs to be directed. By encouraging peer interaction and peer teaching in a multilevel classroom, elements of youth culture become an informal part of the instructional content for the more recently arrived classmates. They need other young people who both speak their language and know the norms and behavioural codes of the surrounding youth culture. These young immigrants then become faced with a situation more similar to that of the youngsters who were born and raised in the host country. This would in turn enable them to identify more readily with their peer group and not primarily with the adults of their ethnic group.

This shift to an emphasis on generation identity does not imply a loss of the young person's cultural roots, and in no way should we remove the availability of positive adult role models with a shared heritage. Indeed, the Swedish literature revealed the home language teacher often to be such a role model. We should, however, avoid painting ourselves into cultural corners with barricades of suspicion and rear of the unknown keeping the
ethnic groups separated from one another, be it in Sweden or in Canada. That kind of development only drives people apart and widens the cracks in the multicultural mosaic.

Promoting and developing cultural understanding and learning as well as maintaining and developing a minority language are the cornerstones of the activities in heritage language classrooms. The application of Cummins' interdependency model (Cummins 1979) to not only language acquisition but also to the learning of culture, can show how information about the heritage culture in comparison with the host country's culture, which is often provided in the heritage language classroom, will help immigrant students realize where the cultures overlap and where there is a distinct, or perhaps slight, difference in culturally acceptable behaviour. That this learning can take place in the minority students' first language both ensures effective communication and a learning environment that is perceived as safe by the youngsters. The cultural code is learned alongside with the linguistic code and not only after the majority language has been sufficiently mastered to correctly interpret cultural signals. By removing such a learning environment from the public school system, we would be helping prejudice to flourish due to lack of effective communication between population groups. If we do, we will be building barriers by blasting the bridge.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES

**Appendix A:** Questionnaire used in the Study
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   - English translation .......... A2

**Appendix B:** Intra-Gender Comparisons
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   - Spanish-speaking students ... C5-C6
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**Appendix E:** Age by Language ............ E1
### ENKÄT OM HEMSPRÅKSUNDervisningens Innehåll

Ansvarig forskare: Lilian Nygren-Junkin, University of Toronto, Canada.

Språk:_________ Ålder:_________ Pojke___ Flicka___


0=inget, 1=bare lite, 2=inte så mycket, 3=ganska mycket, 4=mycket.

Obs! Tänk på att du kan lära dig både av din lärare och dina kamrater!

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Hemspråksland</th>
<th>Sverige</th>
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<td>2. landets geografi?</td>
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<td>3. landets politiska system?</td>
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<td>4. landets dominerande religion(er)?</td>
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<td>5. landets transportmedel?</td>
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<td>6. landets radio och TV?</td>
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<td>7. landets film och teater?</td>
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<td>8. landets litteratur?</td>
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<td>9. landets musik?</td>
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<td>10. landets danser?</td>
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<td>11. traditionell mat och dryck?</td>
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<td>12. vad människor brukar ha på sig?</td>
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<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<td>13. vad de flesta gör på sin fritid?</td>
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<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<td>14. vad man gör på semestern?</td>
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<td>15. vad de flesta arbetar med?</td>
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<td>16. hur familjer lever tillsammans?</td>
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<td>17. vilka rättigheter barn har?</td>
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<td>18. vilken ställning kvinnan har?</td>
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<td>19. vad folk tycker är rätt och fel?</td>
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<td>20. vad enligt lagen är rätt och fel?</td>
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<td>21. vad som har hög eller låg status?</td>
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<td>22. berömda personer?</td>
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<td>23. hur man behandlar utlännings?</td>
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<td>24. hur man är mot sjuka/handikappade?</td>
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<td>25. hur man firar sporthändelser?</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. hur man firar politiska händelser?</td>
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<td>27. hur man diskuterar politik?</td>
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<td>28. hur man ser på andra religioner?</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. hur man firar speciella högtider?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. varför man firar dessa högtider?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A2
QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT THE CULTURAL CONTENT OF INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES INSTRUCTION

Researcher: Lilian Nygren-Junkin, University of Toronto, Canada

Language: _____________  Age: ___  Boy: ___  Girl: ___

Mark two answers for each question. The first one refers to the area(s) where your heritage language is spoken. The second answer refers to the situation in Canada. Circle the number which best reflects your answer.

0=nothing; 1=a little; 2=some; 3=quite a lot; 4=a lot

Remember that you can learn both from your teacher and from your classmates!

How much do you learn about

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The heritage country*</th>
<th>Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. the history of the country?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. the geography of the country?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. the political system of the country?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. the main religion(s) of the country?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. the transportation systems of the country?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. the country's radio and television?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. the country's film and theatre?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. the country's literature?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. the country's music?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. the country's dances?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. traditional food and drink?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. what people usually wear?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. common leisure activities?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. what people do on their holidays?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. what work most people do?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. how families live?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. what rights children have?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. what place women have in society?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. what people think is right and wrong?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. what the law says is right or wrong?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. what has high or low status?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. famous people, past and present?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. how people treat foreigners?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. the treatment of sick/disabled people?</td>
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<td>25. how sporting events are celebrated?</td>
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<td>26. how political events are celebrated?</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. how people discuss politics?</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. how minority religions are viewed?</td>
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<td>29. how special holidays are celebrated?</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. why these holidays are celebrated?</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* i.e. the area(s) where this international language is used as a first language.
Factual Information
Heritage Culture, Male Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
B2
FACTUAL INFORMATION
Heritage Culture, Female Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
FACTUAL INFORMATION
Swedish Culture, Male Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
B4
FACTUAL INFORMATION
Swedish Culture, Female Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
LIFE-STYLES
Heritage Culture, Male Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
LIFE-styles
Heritage Culture, Female Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
Swedish Culture, Male Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
B8
LIFE-Styles
Swedish Culture, Female Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
B9
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES
Heritage Culture, Male Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
B10
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES
Heritage Culture, Female Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES
Swedish Culture, Male Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
B12

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES
Swedish Culture, Female Students (in %)

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese
## C1

### Scores Given by Greek Students

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Alcala, Jesus: "En kö för vita, en för svarta: om rasdiskrimineringen polis och åklagare gaspar åt." (One line-up for whites, one for 'darkies': about the racial discrimination that police and prosecutors yawn at.)
Re: Racism at restaurants and clubs in downtown Stockholm.

Alinder, Orvar: "Är den svenska toleransen en myt?" (Is Swedish tolerance a myth?)
Re: The racism and hostility towards immigrants in Sweden.

Alonzo, Michael: "Expeter på främlingsfientlighet: Ungdomarnas egna erfarenheter - det bästa redskapet att förändra attityder." (Experts on hostility towards immigrants: The young people's own experiences - the best tool for changing attitudes.)
Re: The government youth council's racism project.

Alonzo, Michael: "Åsikter & insikter" (Opinions and Insights)
Re: Perceptions behind anti-immigrant attitudes.

Andersson, Lars: "Mordbrand mot flyktingar! Godmorgon, detta har hänt medan du sov: En undersökning av svensk rasism." (Refugees targets of arson! Good morning, this happened while you were asleep: An investigation into Swedish racism)
Re: Anti-refugee violence as an indication of racism among Swedes.

Andersson, Torsten: "Ett halvår efter rasbråken" (Half a year after the race riots) Göteborgsposten April 3, 1994
Re: The race riots in Trollhättan.

Baksi, Kurdo: "Våld och rasism marscherar i Sverige" (Violence and racism on the march in Sweden)
Barnen och vi, nr 7, 1995, p. 32-33.
Re: Violent anti-immigrant behaviour in different parts of Sweden.

Barbarosa da Silva, Antonio: "Attitydförändring som ett nödvändigt led i bekämpning av invandrarfientlighet" (Changes in attitudes as a necessary step in the battle against hostility towards immigrants)
Re: The reasons behind hostility towards immigrants.

Bergstrand, Mikael: "Jag är inte nazi - jag är bara viking" (I'm not a Nazi - I'm just a viking)
Sydsvenska Dagbladet, Nov. 27, 1995.
Re: Interview with Mike Nilsson, a skinhead from the town of Ystad.
Billgren Cissi: "Rasistiska åsikter ifrågasätts allt mindre: Högerextremt trendbrott i Sverige" (Racist opinions less and less questioned: the extreme right causes a shift in Swedish thinking)
Re: An interview with Anna-Lena Lodenius about the book "Extremhögern" (The Extreme Right).

Björkqvist, Anita: "Efter slaget: att se om sitt Örbyhus..." (After the battle: taking care of the Örby business...)
Re: Harassment of refugees in the town of Örbyhus.

Boethius, Maria-Pia: "Våga reagera" (Have the courage to react)
Östgöta Correspondenten, Nov. 11, 1993.
Re: A head-line in the newspaper Expressen Reading "Drive them out! The Swedish people on immigrants and refugees".

Bolinder, Jean: "Kunskap är boten mot dagens rasism" (Knowledge is the cure for today's racism)
Re: Schools and media providing realistic information in order not to perpetuate current myths.

Carlid, Tor: "Nynazismen - och rasismen - blir allt tydligare men myndigheterna blundar" (Neo-nazism - and racism - become ever more apparent but the authorities turn a blind eye)
Dagen, April 10, 1996.
Re: Increased anti-immigrant behaviour goes unchecked.

Carlid, Tor: "Så blev rasismen rumsren i Sverige: allt öppnare främlingsfientlighet" (This is how racism became presentable in Sweden: increasingly open hostility towards immigrants)
Dagen, April 3, 1996.
Re: Anti-immigrant attitudes gaining social acceptance.

Diaz, José Alberto: "Om fallet Bel Madani och ett tandlöst förslag." (About the Bel Madani case - and a toothless proposition)
Re: The proposal to prohibit discrimination based on ethnicity in the workplace and the investigation about organized racism.

Diaz, José Alberto: "Rasism utan ras?" (Racism without race?)
Invandrare & Minoriteter, nr. 3, 1992, p. 3-8.
Re: The growing hostility toards immigrants and the acts of violence in Sweden against immigrants. Ethnic discrimination.

Dükler, Peter: "Som man bäddar får man ligga?: rotlösheten är rasismens rötter" (As you sow, so shall you reap?: rootlessness is at the root of racism).
Trots allt, nr. 3, 1996, p. 10-13
Re: Youth violence and the causes of hostility towards immigrants in Sweden.

Edling, Lotta: "Alexandra Pascalidou, programledare i TV:s 'Mosaik': Jag vill verka där makten finns" (Alexandra Pascalidou, host of the TV program "Mosaik": I want to be active where the power is)
Re: Interview about immigrant policy, racism, hostility towards immigrants, etc.

Ekholm, Mats & Kåräng, Gösta: "Ju fler invandrarelever desto mindre främlingsrädsla" (The more immigrant students, the less fear of foreigners)
Lärarnas tidning, nr. 2, 1994, p. 22.
Re: Discussion about the effects of student body composition on attitudes towards immigrants.

Flores, Julio: "Rädslan får inte tysta oss" (Fear must not silence us)
Fönstret, nr. 11, 1995, p. 9.
Re: Skinheads, racism and anti-immigrant behaviour.

Friggebo, Birgit: "Rasismen får aldrig accepteras: Främlingsfientligheten och den rena rasismen blir allt synligare i Sverige" (Racism must never be accepted: Hostility towards foreigners and pure racism are becoming increasingly visible in Sweden)
Re: Open manifestations of anti-immigrant behaviour.

Grape, Margareta: "Folkhemspatriotism: integration" (Welfare state patriotism: integration)
Re: Hostility towards immigrants and concerns about the social safety net.

Gustafsson, Lars: "Något av sfinxens kalla ögon" (Something of the cold eyes of the Sphinx)
Svenska Dagbladet, Sept. 21, 1993.
Re: A headline in the newspaper Expressen reading "Drive them out! The Swedish people on immigrants and refugees."

Gustavsson, Lennart A.: "Ledningen vill bli av med olönsamma: Rasism på Volvo" (Management wants to get rid of those who are unprofitable: Racism at Volvo)
Re: Anti-immigrant behaviour.

Haag, Anders: "Två bilder av Sverige: etniska konflikter ökar"
(Two images of Sweden: ethnic conflicts on the increase)
Re: Ethnic clashes in Sweden during the 1990's.

Hirsch, Monica: "Svensken - en blåögd rasist?" (The Swede - a blue-eyed racist?)
GT Kvällsposten iDAG, April 13, 1994.
Re: An interview with author/psychiatrist Tomas Böhm

Hygstedt, Björn & Selander, Johan: "Rädslan gav våldet fotfäste: Nödinge rasiststämplat - makthavare försöker bryta mönstret" (Fear provided a foothold for the violence: Nödinge stamped as racist - the local authorities try to break the pattern)
Re: Efforts to explain and counteract anti-immigrant violence in the town of Nödinge.

Johansson, Petter & Lasse Winkler: "Göteborg: Moskén ska byggas men striden inte över" (Gothenburg: The mosque will be built but the fight is not over)
Re: Local objections to plans to build a mosque in the city of Gothenburg.

Jonsson, Bo: "Lögnerna måste bemötas med fakta" (The lies must be countered with facts)
Re: Battling racism and hostility towards immigrants.

Larsson, J.: "Släpp inte en jävel över bron" (Don't let any damned one of them across the bridge)
Re: Racism at Ekerö and the local community youth centre.

Lindström, Kristina: "Svartskalle, svartskalle...: Alexandra Pascalidou" (Black top, black top...: Alexandra Pascalidou)
Re: An interview with TV host Alexandra Pascalidou. Harassment of Immigrants.

Lööw, Heléne: "Återkommande mönster" (Recurring patterns)
Invandrare & minoriteter nr. 5/6, 1990, p. 26-34.
Re: Hostility against immigrants in Sweden. An historic overview.

Mahlasela, Joy: "En sydafrikansk betraktelse: På nåd och onåd" (A South African's observation: With and without mercy)
Invandrare & minoriteter, nr. 2, 1992, p. 3-6.
Re: Hostility towards immigrants and racism in Sweden.

Myrman, Birgitta: "Det är svårt att veta: Elever i den skånska myllan om flyktingfientlighet" (It is hard to know for sure:}
Students in the fertile soil of (the southern province of) Skåne speak about hostility towards refugees.)

Re: Interviews with students at two public schools in Malmö.

Myrman, Birgitta: "Rasism ett ungdomsproblem?"  (Racism - a youth problem?)
Re: Young people's attitudes to refugees and immigrants.

Månsson, Sven-Axel: "Är Erik rasist? Eller säger han bara vad vi hittills inte fått lov att säga?  (Is Erik a racist? Or is he only saying what we have not been allowed to say before?)
Modern tider, nr. 16, 1992, p. 28-30.
Re: People's worries regarding immigration policy and the shamelessly open hostility towards immigrants.

Narti, Ana Maria: "Rasismens gift bland ungdomar: de svåra frågorna ställdes först av invandrare"  (The poison of racism among young people: the difficult questions were first asked by immigrants)
Re: Racist behaviour and acceptance of ethnic myths among young Swedes.

Nilsson-Kelly, Karin: "Vi och dom: Onödig polarisering eller nödvändig verklighetsskildring?"  (Us and them: Unnecessary polarization or necessary depiction of reality?)
Re: Articles in the newspaper Aftonbladet about immigrant youngsters and Swedish youngsters in the Stockholm suburb of Jordbro.

Nordmark, Christer: "Misslyckad kamp mot rasism: de senaste tio årens kampanjer mot främjandet av främjande liberalism har i bästa fall varit verkningslösa visar ny studie"  (Failed struggle against racism: the campaigns against hostility towards immigrants over the past ten years have at best been ineffectual according to a new study)
Dagens nyheter, March 26, 1995.
Re: Lack of results from efforts by the authorities to reduce anti-immigrant attitudes and behaviour.

Norlin, Anna: "Alexandra Pascalidou om svensk feghet: förbjud fascististiska och rasistiska organisationer"  (Alexandra Pascalidou on Swedish cowardice: ban fascist and racist organisations)
Impuls, nr. 11, 1995, p. 16-17.
Re: Interview about immigration policy and related issues.

Norman, Helena: "Hotad"  (Threatened)
Re: Racist threatening letters. Interview with among others Juan Fonseca, M.P.

Rudvall, Göte: "Våra egna problem speglas i rasismen" (Our own problems are reflected in our racism) Religion & Livsfrågor, nr. 1, 1992 p. 8-9. Re: Social and psychological causes behind racist behaviour and attitudes.

Rydhagen, Maria: "Rasismen samhällsfarlig: försöker vi utestänga invandrarna skaffar vi oss en intelligent fiende" (Racism a danger to society: If we try to exclude the immigrants, we will get an intelligent enemy) Arbetet, uly 4, 1995. Re: Interview with Michael Alonzo about social segregation of immigrants.


Sahlberg, Lillemor: "Ökar rasismen bland ungdomen?" (Is racism among young people on the increase?) Ny i Sverige nr. 6, 1991, p. 37-38. Re: Reports of increased violence against immigrants by youth groups.


Schenlaer, Boel: "De invandrarfientliga myterna" (The anti-immigrant myths) Östergötta Corresponsendenten, Sep. 20, 1993 Re: Ethnic myths about deviant or unacceptable behaviour and rites.

Schwarz, David: "Vi måste angripa våldets orsaker" (We must tackle the causes behind the violence) Invandrare & Minoriteter, nr. 6, 1995, p. 3-7. Re: Interview with Laila Freivalds about the immigrants' situation in Sweden.

Sjöberg, Jan-Olof: "Nynazister jagar invandrare: uppblossande främlingshat sprider oro i Oskarström" (Neo-Nazis chase
immigrants: a surge in hatred of foreigners causes worry in Oskarström)
Re: Attacks by skinheads on recently settled immigrants.

Svensson, Alf: "Vi vuxna måste också ta på oss ansvaret: hjälper inte att enbart hojta åt vilsna ungdomar" (We adults must also assume responsibility: just yelling at misguided youngsters doesn't help)
Re: Youth violence and racism.

Svensson, Per: "Vem har byggt en minaret i mitt skogsbryn?" (Who has built a minaret at the edge of my forest?)
Re: Hostility towards immigrants and anti-moslem attitudes.

Tamas, Gellert & Lodenius, Anna-Lena: "Attentaten mot invandrare - terrorism eller pojkstreck?" (The attacks on immigrants - terrorism or pranks?)
Frihet, nr. 6, 1993, p. 16-17.
Re: Attitudes towards youth attacks on immigrants and refugees.

Tjäder, Ulf: "Alexandra Pascalidou, programledare i TV: hon förföljs på grund av sitt ursprung" (Alexandra Pascalidou, TV host: she is harassed because of her origin)
Kommunalarbetaren, nr. 1, 1996, p. 6-8.
Re: Interview with the host of the TV program "Mosaik".

Westin, Charles: "Murarna byggs högre" (The walls are getting higher)
Re: A questionnaire survey of the attitudes among Swedish youngsters to immigrants and refugees.

Wirthén, Per: "En vanlig kväll i Hälleforsnäs..." (A regular evening in Hälleforsnäs...)
Arbetaren nr. 6, 1991, p. 6-9.
Re: An attack with fire bombs on a refugee camp in Hälleforsnäs.

Wolters, Staffan: "De förbjudna känslorna: Våga ventilera invandrarfientlighet" (The forbidden feelings: let the hostility towards immigrants out into the open)
Re: Interviews with social workers about racism.

Wolters, Staffan: "Unga rasister bakom attentaten" (Young racists behind the attacks)
Re: An interview-based investigation about attitudes towards immigrants carried out by the Centre for Immigration Research.
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AGE BY LANGUAGE

Greek

Persian

Spanish

Vietnamese