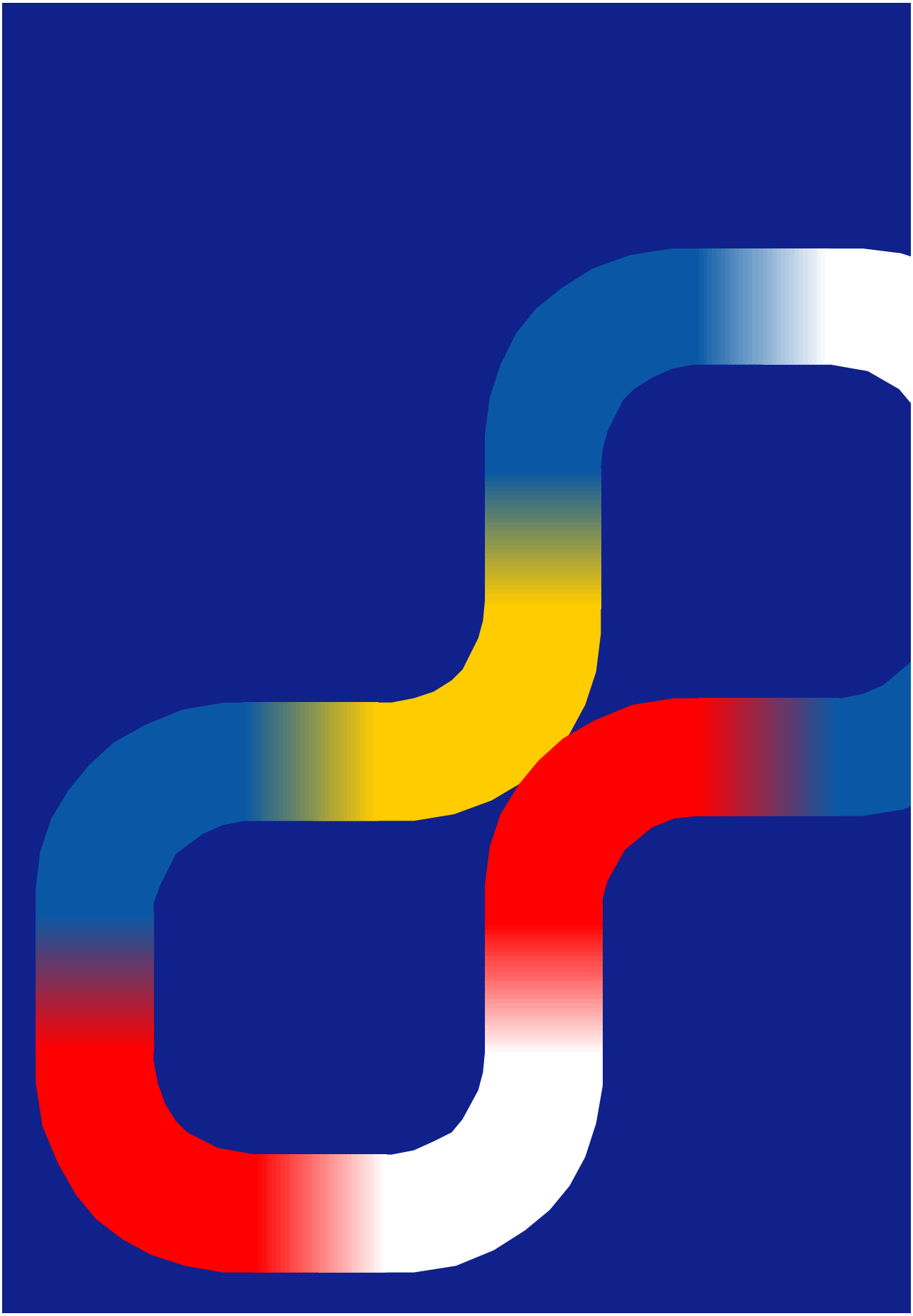

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FOREWORD

"Nordic Roads to Multilingualism" – How to Help Minority Children to Become Multilingual – is a Nordic Project, which has received financial support from the European Union's SOCRATES programme (COMENIUS, Action 2).

In the first phase of the project (1995–1996) the five Nordic countries viz. Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark, have assembled in the form of articles good experiences and examples gained of different ways of supporting the learning of a second language, while maintaining the native language and culture.

Bilingualism and multilingualism are seen as one of the goals in teaching immigrant children. Moreover, they are considered as assets to the individual and society at large to be pursued in different ways. These articles give illustrations of how it is possible by different means to advance the teaching of the mother tongue and a second language alike, how to further integration, how to prevent isolation, and how to promote interculturalism at school. These articles cover all types of education from the teaching of children in day-care centres and pre-school teaching to the teaching of youngsters at upper secondary level. After school activities are also discussed.

Descriptions of arrangements made for immigrant education in the five countries complete the articles. The writings reveal the similarities between the systems as well as the considerable differences in some respects. In spite of the differences we have a common goal i.e. we believe in the importance for the immigrant pupils to maintain and advance their own mother tongues; good skills in mother tongue will also further second language learning.

The writers of these articles include teachers, headmasters, researches and civil servants, who have a long experience in working with these questions.

The project team, which assembled this publication, includes Bodhild Baasland (The Royal Ministry of Church, Education and Research, Norway), Mai Beijer (The National Agency for Education, Sweden),

Bergþóra S. Kristjánsdóttir (Ministry of Education and Research, Denmark), Nina Rekola (National Board of Education, Finland) and Sinikka Vihavainen (The National Board of Education Centre for Professional Development, Finland). Finland has acted as the project coordinator.

In the first edition of the book the articles had been written in Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish and Danish. The Finnish articles have also been translated into Swedish.

This English version of the same articles forms a part of the second phase of the project. The second phase includes as well an international launching seminar for this book.

Helsinki 15.7.1997

The Project team

Nalin Baksi

1. MY TWO LANGUAGES

When my parents fled from Kurdistan in 1980 I was thirteen years old, and already very politically aware. I still remember my first day at school in Sweden, my teacher who took me by the hand to show me which locker was mine. The teacher talked to me like you talk to a small child, and I started crying – I was so grown-up, a fighter in the Kurdish cause! I was placed in what was called a preparatory class (i.e. a class for children who did not yet know enough Swedish to follow the normal timetabled lessons) together with a large number of other immigrant children. Several of my classmates were illiterate, but the whole class had to go at the same pace – those who finished their work first had to wait for those who finished last.

After one year I made up my mind to move into the Swedish-speaking class. I did not understand 70 % of the words printed in my school-books, and I learned a lot of things purely by rote. I carried on like this throughout the eighth form, and I really struggled; I couldn't understand the language, and my grades were very poor. However, by the time the ninth form started my Swedish had improved; all subjects were suddenly much more fun, and my grades improved as well. I had a strong will, and I had a goal – to go on to university. I was also lucky

Nalin Baksi in her office at the Swedish parliament.

Photo: Britt-Inger Hallongren

in the people I met. After only a month in Sweden I made friends with a Swedish girl, who went to the same Kurdish dancing classes as me. We used to meet up after school every day, and I learned more Swedish from her than from any other teacher. However, although I could now speak Swedish, I still kept quiet in class throughout lower secondary school. I was ashamed of how my Swedish sounded, and I'm sure my classmates thought I was rather strange and withdrawn.

In 1982 I became a member of the local Social Democratic youth association in the area of Stockholm where I live (Tensta), and started to really learn how Swedish society works. At the same time I rediscovered my self-confidence and self-respect – I was once more seen to be a person with a political commitment. In 1983 I started at the Tensta upper secondary college. I started off following the two-year General Studies programme, but after a year I transferred to the three-year Natural Sciences programme, with the idea of going on to study medicine. I wanted to go back and work in Kurdistan – a career as a doctor did not really interest me that much, but it would mean that the Kurds would respect me as a woman. While on the Natural Science programme I had a wonderful Swedish teacher, called Britt-Marie Wikström. She got me interested in Swedish literature, and I started to read books by writers such as Vilhelm Moberg, Inger Alfvén and Per Anders Fogelström. I became particularly interested in the literature of the 1890s – this was the time when Sweden became an industrial nation, with large-scale migrations of people from the countryside to the towns. It was a time of change, upheaval. I became fond of the work of Verner von Heidenstam, Selma Lagerlöf, Erik Axel Karlfeldt and Gustaf Fröding. A characteristic that unites all of these writers is the fact that they all wrote about the areas they came from. One poem that has particularly followed me is Verner von Heidenstam's "From lonely thoughts":

> For eight long years for home I've yearned.
> I long in my sleep, and across countless miles
> wherever my footsteps have been turned
> I've yearned – but not for people: for the earth!
> I yearn for the stones where I played as a child.

This poem gave me words for how I felt as a Kurd in Sweden. Heidenstam's longing is not for people or faces, but for the countryside of his home, the landscape. Heidenstam may not mean very much to modern Sweden, but his words help me to understand that what I miss is my home landscape. This poem also helped me to realise that the Swedish language could be my language too; my thoughts and feelings could be expressed in Swedish. I'm sure that many immigrant children would respond to Heidenstam, if they were introduced to his

poetry in the same way as I was. The best way to learn a new language is via something familiar.

The constant encouragement I received from my Swedish teacher gave me confidence in my ability to write things in my own words, to find my own style. Britt-Marie took my wild judgements and unbridled imagination seriously; the support she gave me has given me a foundation for daring to say what I think as a politician without having to muffle my thoughts in timid phrasing. It was during my time at upper secondary college that I started to gain full control of written and spoken Swedish.

The language of a society is the key to entry to the community – all the relationships which create and bind together a community require a common language. So, obviously, in Sweden Swedish is the means by which people communicate and can get to know each other – and the means by which bridges can be built between different cultures. The Tensta district of Stockholm has a large immigrant population; many immigrant parents have no education, they do not speak Swedish, and they are not familiar with the workings of the school education system. The result is that their children cannot turn to them for help. For a number of years now the Social Democratic youth association in Tensta has been running homework help workshops, which are attended by both Swedish and immigrant children. It all started when I began giving homework help to some children who lived close to me and were having difficulties at school. It was clear that there was a big need for this kind of assistance, and a fellow member of the Social Democratic youth association and myself launched an open homework workshop in 1989, which we held on Sunday afternoons for youngsters from Tensta. We wanted to show that these children can succeed in the school system, provided they are given the chance. I have direct experience of youngsters who have been performing very badly at school, but who have shown marked improvement once they have been given help with homework and revision. What a boost their self-confidence has received! Knowledge is important, it is one of the bases of self-esteem and personal development – and unfortunately, today's school does not provide knowledge to all young people: some people are able to acquire a lot of knowledge, while others gain next to none. Teaching is often much more concerned with grades than with the joy of learning – but a child who experiences no sense of enjoyment will not learn anything.

It makes me very angry when I hear people blaming immigrant children's language difficulties on the fact that the children's parents do not speak Swedish with their children. Surely it is a good thing that parents who speak poor Swedish do not pass it on to their children? When I was a child we always spoke Kurdish at home, yet my Swedish

is perfectly acceptable. I believe that immigrant children have to have a good command of their mother tongue if they are to be able to learn Swedish.

While I was at upper secondary college I had lessons in my mother tongue, and this strengthened my sense of cultural identity: although we always spoke Kurdish at home I had not had much opportunity to read and write the language. Now I had Kurdish homework to do, and what I wrote was marked, subjected to criticism and praise. At the same time as my teacher of Kurdish went through Kurdish literature with us, looking at such authors as Ahmedé Xani and Melayé Ciziri, in our Swedish lessons we were studying the writers of Europe. I remember the sense I had of growing as a person when I discovered that the ideas expressed by Kurdish writers agreed with what writers were saying in Europe.

My identity as a member of the Kurdish community is important to me. It sometimes feels as if some Swedes would like to forget that I am a Kurd, as if they think I'm one of them, just because I speak Swedish without an accent. However, I have also made sure to observe Kurdish cultural traditions; and now that I've been elected as a member of the Swedish parliament Kurdish people treat me with respect. That being said, it has not always been an easy line to tread, especially as a thirteen and fourteen year-old. It has been difficult to live as a Moslem, Kurdish girl and at the same time to be free and actively involved in politics. I was forced to think of my family and the Kurdish people, and observe their ways; I wanted to be accepted by them and to be able to enjoy social contacts with them. It was not important to me whether I had a long or a short skirt, but to other Kurds and to my family it was important. I never went to a disco or drank alcohol. I accepted most Kurdish traditions and customs, but my political freedom has always been very important to me, on that point I never budged an inch. I think it is important that I have coped with this balancing act of being a Swedish Kurd; other Kurdish girls can see that they can do the same if they wish. This means that it is important that I do not differ too strongly from other Kurds. Sometimes I found all the demands tiring, and broke with traditions which I felt had a negative effect on me. For example, when I was 26 I moved away from home although I was not married. My move was at first kept secret from all our Kurdish friends, but when I was elected to parliament I talked openly about living alone in my flat. I do not like being hypocritical about my independence: I can heed traditions as long as they do not clash with things that are important to me, but not if observing them would cost me my individual freedom.

Jan Moen

2 EXPERIENCES FROM A MULTICULTURAL SCHOOL

The development of bilingualism must be considered in a context where the school as an institution, the efforts to create the desired attitudes, and the organization of the teaching are three parts of a whole.

In this article I shall describe the most important things we have learned from our attempts to create this whole.

Residential area

Fjell school is located in a suburb of the town of Drammen, in Norway.

Drammen has a population of 50,000, of whom 10% have an ethnic background other than Norwegian. The clearly largest minority group is Turkish. This is because, in the 1970s, Drammen needed industrial workers from abroad because Norwegian workers were switching to better paid jobs.

Fjell school has 474 pupils, from 29 different countries. Altogether 300 children belong to bilingual minorities. The largest minority groups are from Turkey (110 pupils), Pakistan (55 pupils) and Kosovo (29 pupils). As many as 20 different mother tongues are taught at the school.

Most of the pupils from language minorities are the children of immigrant workers; a minority are refugees. All these language

The flags of all the nations represented among the pupils are painted on the outside wall of the school. This has been done to emphasize the school's multi-cultural profile.

Photo: Jan Moen

minority children live in high rise apartment blocks in areas with small numbers of Norwegian children. The school also receives Norwegian pupils from a residential area consisting of detached, semi-detached and other low rise housing.

The diversity of the pupil group is expressed in a number of ways; the different ethnic backgrounds, the different reasons for the parents' being in Norway and the different social backgrounds.

The number of language-minority children at the school has increased considerably from the mid- 1980s up to today. The main reason is that the immigrant workers have purchased housing in the suburban area of Fjell of adequate standard to enable them to bring their families to Norway.

Nothing differs so much as the same teaching for different children

At the end of the 1970s, Fjell school contained many children with behavioural problems. This led to a school climate marked by aggressive behaviour between pupils and towards the teachers. There are examples of teachers being knocked down in the school playground.

Many of these behavioural problems were created by the school itself through its system of teaching; every single day, some of the pupils felt that they could not master what the school demanded of them. This structural violence insulted the pupils' self-respect, because the school's practice told them every day: "You are stupid, you are stupid, you are stupid".

When the school, as a system, trampled on the children in this way they reacted with aggressive behaviour or passive withdrawal. This period was marked by a view of learning and of human beings where the teacher knows "everything" and the pupils are passive recipients.

The number of children with behavioural problems decreased considerably after we introduced differentiated teaching in Norwegian and mathematics. There is no explanation for this other than that, *by enabling the pupils to experience the joy of mastery, we enhanced their self-respect.*

This way of working was based on a view of learning and of human beings where the teacher guides and advises, and the pupils have the will and ability to accept responsibility for their own learning through participation and joint decision-making.

> The smile in the eye
> is the light in the window
> that tells that
> the heart is at home

In 1985 the school had reached a crossroads. We had eliminated that most serious behavioural problems. Our mass of pupils now contained 30% from language minorities, and we had to make a choice. Did these children represent a new problem, or could we look on the multi-cultural element as resource? We decided on the latter; our reason was that the world was becoming smaller:

We saw, for example, that:

- satellite communication had made it possible for us to take in the whole world on our TV screen
- cutting down the rain forest in Brazil had led to a thinner ozone layer and higher risk of skin cancer on the other side of the world
- the nuclear accident at Chernobyl in 1986 showed that pollution does not respect national borders

In addition, there was the conflict between East and West and the tension between industrialized and developing countries.

If human beings were to be able address these challenges, they would have to cooperate across ethnic and religious divides, and across geographic, national and language boundaries. Our conception was that children who grew up in a multi-cultural school environment would enter adult life with experiences from school that would make it easier for them to take part in an international community marked by cooperation and coordination. Such a community is a must if we are to solve our global problems. In such a perspective, 30% from language minorities became a resource and not a problem.

After defining the multi-cultural school community as a resource, we had to make this visible in practice. The period when we had experienced serious behaviour problems had led to many negative comments in the media, which had helped to give the school a negative identity.

With the multi-cultural school community as the starting point, we started to use the media actively. We telephoned or wrote to newspapers, radio and television to tell them about what we intended to do. The response was good.

The first we did to display the school as a multi-cultural community was to paint the flags of all the nations represented in the school on the outside wall. The flags were ceremonially unveiled on United Nations Day in 1985. We wrote to “Norge rundt” (Around Norway), a very popular Norwegian television programme, to ask whether they were interested in reporting the UN celebrations at Fjell school. They were willing to do so, and this was a tremendous event for the school. We could demonstrate our multi-cultural school to 1.5 million viewers in a positive way. That we had succeeded was confirmed when I attended a course for teachers in a totally different part of the country. This

started a process during which, by drawing attention to the *positive aspects of difference*, we changed the identity of the school from negative to positive.

Our multi-cultural efforts were founded on developing the minority pupils' sense of identity. We wanted the school to make the pupils aware of their background in a way that would make them feel that being part of a minority community was a resource for the majority. For this reason, we started to celebrate the national days of the countries represented among the pupils. In the very beginning we usually hoisted the nation's flag and one of the pupils gave a speech in Norwegian which was broadcast over the school's public address system, describing how the national day was celebrated in the country concerned. Another pupil gave a greeting in his or her own mother tongue.

In Norway, our national day, 17 May, is celebrated by school children walking in procession to the music of their school bands, singing, shouting "Hurrah for 17 May", and waving flags. Therefore the contrast to other countries, many of which celebrate their national days with military parades and displays of missiles, is extreme. The first period was marked by what I like to call looking through a "cultural peephole". Chilean, Turkish and Pakistani children displayed their cultural background by celebrating their own national days and United Nations Day, which became the school's most important day of celebration. Now, the pattern has changed. Today, through music, dance and drama, children interact with children across language and cultural barriers.

When the school, as a system, sought after the children's background in this way, we established very good contact with the parents. It was obvious to both the school and the parents that such measures would fail without the parents' participation.

The most important arena for displaying the multi-cultural school community was the classroom. A very well-known Norwegian poet and musician, Alf Prøysen, said that during his schooling he did not recognize anything at all from his own local environment or from his childhood. He went to *the strangers' school.* This made it important to make sure that our bilingual children could recognize something from their own background in the classroom. Songs, rhymes, numbers and letters were presented in the different mother tongues.

One of the classes was very proud of being able to sing "Frère Jaques" in seven different languages. This way of working implies drawing attention to difference all the time.

> It is my belief that if we create an awareness of difference in a positive way, then we also create respect for difference. The awareness and respect thus become the foundation for tolerance.

Models of organization

Over the last five years the school has tried out several different ways of organizing the education. We have always tried to change the structure of the education in step with changes in the composition of the mass of pupils. When the map does not fit the country, the country is always right.

Welcome class

The first bilingual pupils who arrived in the 1970s went straight into an ordinary class, without any kind of special arrangements. They were placed into classes where they copied directly from the blackboard; the only things they received from the school were a desk, a pencil and an exercise book.

Gradually, as the number of Turkish pupils increased we collected them into special introductory groups.

Today, the groups have another name; they are now called "Welcome Classes".

This particular measure is directed at pupils who arrive in Drammen in the course of the school year. The main purpose is to introduce these pupils to the Norwegian language and to Norwegian conditions and customs, so that they can be transferred later to an ordinary class in their own local school

At Fjell school, the pupils attending the Welcome Class participate at the same time in the ordinary education in practical and aesthetic subjects.

Bi-culturalclass

Gradually, as the group of Turkish children increased in number, we established at the beginning of the 1980s the first bi-cultural class, a Norwegian-Turkish class.

At the grade 1 stage, this class consisted of 7 Turkish and 14 Norwegian children. Six years later, when the children were to start lower secondary school, the same class consisted of 20 Turkish and 10 Norwegian children. The class had one bilingual teacher and one Norwegian teacher. These two cooperated and taught the class jointly during a certain number of the lessons.

Given this from of organization, the minority pupils could

- support and help each other in their own mother tongue (solidarity means strength).
- experience that teaching in the mother tongue, through the bilingual co-teacher, increased their self-respect and raised their status in the class.
- develop a vocabulary more easily, because of the close relationship between the mother tongue and Norwegian in the teaching situation.

The Norwegian teacher and the Norwegian pupils had an opportunity to learn more about another culture and another language, in addition to Norwegian cultural and language. This made it easier to compare the different cultures, and discover similarities and differences.

We tried out this model for Turkish-, Vietnamese- and Urdu-speaking children. The schemes for the last two groups were not as comprehensive as the ones developed for the Turkish groups.

This bilingual model was gradually relinquished, the main reason being a lack of bilingual colleagues with adequate qualifications and competence. They were not good enough in Norwegian, and had insufficient professional knowledge to teach the highest grades of the compulsory school.

Language homogeneous classes[1]

In 1990, the school established the first language homogeneous class. The large number of Turkish children in the year concerned made this feasible. We had some doubts about this form of organization to start with, so we contacted the Council for Primary and Lower Secondary Education, the Ministry of Education's advisory body. The Council thought that the model would work very well.

An-Magrit Hauge, lecturer at the Regional College in Oslo, was engaged to evaluate developments during the first school year. She tested the pupils for language skills in Norwegian and Turkish at the beginning and the end of the school year. The results showed good language development, and strengthened our faith in the model.

The model is based on Professor Jim Cummin's theories about

- reciprocal language dependence. What a person learns in one language is transferred almost automatically to another
- the threshold hypothesis:
  - bilingualism has a positive cognitive effect when the language skills are adequate for the age concerned
  - if a pupil possesses adequate language skills for his/her age in *one of the languages*, this provides a potential for cognitive effect
  - if a pupil's skills are inadequate in both languages, this has a negative cognitive effect.

Many of the Turkish parents were sceptical towards our model. They feared that organizing the pupils in special classes would imply that their children would not have enough contact with Norwegian-speaking children to learn to speak Norwegian. Their primary wish was that their children should be placed in multi-cultural classes containing a few Norwegian pupils and having a Norwegian teacher.

[1] "Language homogeneous class" means that all the children in the class have the same mother tongue, in this case Turkish.

The school held a different view. We believed that the most important goal was not to speak Norwegian, but to make sure that the children acquired the necessary knowledge to master further education, so that they could get a job. In our opinion, it was best if the pupils acquired this knowledge through their mother tongue, while developing skills in Norwegian at the same time. They could do this best in language homogeneous classes, because here they either had teachers who were Turkish and had completed a 3-year course of ordinary teacher education in Norway, or a Norwegian teacher plus two bilingual co-teachers without a general pedagogic qualification from Norway.

Knowledge of Norwegian is important, but involves not only speaking Norwegian, but also reading, writing and understanding the language. Understanding, and therefore interest, is the strongest motivation for reading. In a language homogeneous class there will always be someone who can give meaning to words in the Norwegian text through the mother tongue. At the same time, the Norwegian word can be linked up with the hierarchy of terms existing in the mother tongue. It is easier to remember the Norwegian word when it has been placed in a meaningful context. This is important, because the text in the textbooks is dependent on context. The different words can be understood in relation to the context within which they are used.

The bilingual teachers in the language homogeneous classes are the best qualified to show the differences between Turkish and Norwegian. They have themselves worked through the different phases of progressing from their mother tongue to another language, so are better equipped than most Norwegian teachers are to point out similarities and differences when it comes to writing Norwegian and Turkish.

The weakness of the model is that it does not automatically provide an arena for cooperation between the different groups of pupils, where bilingual children can practise Norwegian with children of the same age from the majority group. This makes it important to deliberately create situations where the bilingual pupils and the language majority pupils can interact.

We have not been good enough at arranging such situations. Fjell school therefore made this a priority area for development work in 1996, and is participating in a Comenius project where this is the theme.

To become good at speaking Norwegian the pupils must use the language actively. Regardless of which organizational model is used, the time each pupil spends speaking Norwegian in the course of one school day will be 3–4 minutes, if the time available is divided equally between all the children and we assume that the pupils work to some extent individually and that the teacher spends some time going

through their work. I maintain that nobody can become good at speaking Norwegian by using it just 3–4 minutes each day.

This means that the primary challenge is to establish new arenas for language interaction *outside school hours*. If we are to succeed, the school and other municipal services must cooperate with the parents. The parents on their part must allow their children to participate in such arenas, and give them the time to do so. The best way to achieve such cooperation is through continuous dialogue.

Today, Fjell school has four language homogeneous classes. The class that was established in 1990 is now being assessed. The assessment is being carried out under the leadership of Liv Bøyesen and Turid Mangerud, of the Regional College in Oslo, and is financed by the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs.

In all work connected with children, interpersonal relationships between the children themselves and between children and adults have a marked affect on the learning process. I shall therefore conclude by citing the Norwegian child psychologist Magne Raundalen:

> A teacher is stronger than 100 dish aerials, but he has to be tuned in.[2]

[2] "Being tuned in" means connecting up with, having one's "antennae" out, being an active recipient.

Gösta Andersson

3. SCHOOL WITH NO BOUNDARIES

Torneå and Haparanda are twin towns separated by no more than an arm of the Torneälven river. Torneå was granted its town charter as early as 1612. When peace was concluded between Sweden and Russia in 1809, Finland was ceded to Russia, and Haparanda grew up on the Swedish side of the frontier to replace Torneå. Haparanda was granted its town charter in 1842.

At the end of a 130 km drive from Luleå in falling snow I park my car at the edge of the school yard. It's April the nineteenth. The first thing I see on getting out of the car is a group of boys playing football in the ankle-deep snow. An incongruous sight. As I approach the pitch I can hear Finnish voices, and the odd comment in Swedish. I've arrived at the Haparanda Language School, as this comprehensive is called.

The school is housed in two buildings. I'm informed by one of the boys that the older of the two is the home of classes 1 to 3 (i.e. ages 7 to 10), with the older pupils – classes 4 to 9 – being based in the newer building. One of the boys for whom it's break-time immediately offers

Photo: Gösta Andersson

View of Haparanda – Torneå, with the "School with no boundaries" in the foreground.

to be my guide, and leads me along corridors and up and down stairs to the principal's room.

The principal, Monica Waltari, gives an impression of calm reassurance; she is one of those people who has the skill of listening to what other people have to say, whether they are children or adults. She is bilingual, as are all the school's teachers. I'm introduced to two of the teachers, Marie and Raija, in the staff-room, and am immediately struck by the friendly, open atmosphere, an atmosphere which I subsequently find prevails throughout the school. Marie describes their first inquisitive steps on the Internet, how facts can be compiled and information sought via the global network.

Monica shows me round the school. We walk along wide, light corridors which at intervals broaden into work areas where pupils are sitting at the tables in pairs or groups of four. We decide to listen in on one group of four. Two of them are Finnish and two of them Swedish, and it's the middle of a Geography lesson. One of the pupils reads a passage in Swedish. One of the Finnish pupils interrupts to ask to have something explained. Between them the four reach an explanation everyone understands, and they move on. A teacher looks out from a classroom and wonders if they need any assistance. The teacher's function seems to be more that of a supervisor and guide than of an imparter of knowledge. The pupils themselves are responsible for their own learning; their work is characterised by calm concentration. They are not even disturbed by our presence, until we start asking questions about the way they're working. The answers they give us are direct and thoughtful, and the impression they give is of independent, open-minded youngsters with healthy self-confidence.

Our next stop is class 6, whose roomy, airy room is currently divided by a temporary partition the Finnish pupils are at work in one half of the room, the Swedish in the other. The folding partition provides a quick and neat way of switching between two separate classrooms and one large room for when both groups work together. Over the years the project has been running, I'm told, teaching the pupils as one, mixed class has become more and more usual; although the timetable doesn't show that many lessons for the whole class, the partition is folded back more often in practice than on paper, even when according to the timetable each language group has separate work to do.

I ask the pupils on the Finnish side of the partition what for them, coming as they do from another country with a different language and at least in part a different culture, are the biggest problems with the Language School. The surprising answer is the time difference. Finnish time is one hour ahead of Swedish time, so the Finnish pupils think that the school day in Haparanda starts rather late; by the time

school is finished and they get back home it's four or five in the evening, and they've missed many of the after-school activities their Finnish friends can take part in. The tangibility of this time difference was underlined throughout our conversation, with the question "Do you mean Swedish or Finnish time?" occurring constantly.

So, where did the idea come from to start the Language School – a school with no frontiers? In the mid 1980s people involved in education in Torneå and Haparanda started discussing the need for some kind of joint programme for learning the language of the neighbouring community. The idea for a shared school took form, and was approved by the regional school authorities in both countries. The municipal decision-makers got behind the idea, and the Language School opened its doors in autumn 1989. Before the first term started there were several rounds of intensive discussion between parents and head teachers/governors, in both towns. As usually seems to be the case with developments of this kind in school education, there were a few teachers who made a special contribution to giving the ideas for the school shape and content. Monica names two of them; they were also the first two teachers to be employed for the Language School's inaugural class of seven-year-olds. They were two driving forces, who shared a desire to do something to foster greater understanding in the two towns for the neighbouring community's language and culture.

The mobile library has arrived over the bridge from Torneå. Janne has borrowed a big picture book of animals, the Guinness Book of Records, and two books of jokes.

Photo: Gösta Andersson

Ethel Svanberg has since retired, but Marja Hyytiäinen is still teaching at the school together with another teacher she has a new Finnish/Swedish class 1 of 36 pupils. Marja has followed the first class up through the school. The pupils have now reached class 7 (i.e. are about 14 years old) and now has a number of colleagues who work in the same spirit as herself. For the new class 1, 42 applications were received from Finland for the 18 places available, a measure of the school's popularity which she is proud to relate.

The concept

When I am introduced to Marja, her bright eyes and alert manner tell me immediately that this is a person with strong and enthusiastic will-power. We have a long conversation about the ideas which led to the establishment of the Language School and the philosophy which has developed since then. The work of the school is seen in an all-round, total context, which, summarised in one sentence, might be described as *the will to build up a respected school in a positive educational and social climate so that the goal of active bilingualism can be achieved.*

Winning respect for the ideas for which the school stands took quite some time. The first step was to gain the support of head teachers/ governors and fellow teachers at the Haparanda school, and also at other schools. Step two was to persuade parents of the usefulness of being able to speak the neighbouring community's language and to understand each other's differences. Today the school is respected in all camps, at all levels. The methods and learning environment at the

"The Television News". Pupils in class 1 present the news, sports news and weather forecast from Finland and Sweden.
Photo: Gösta Andersson

school should lead to pupils developing active bilingualism. Results so far suggest that the Finnish pupils have made greater progress in Swedish than their Swedish counterparts have in the Finnish language. One positive side effect is that the performance of the pupils of the Language School is better than the national average in both Sweden and Finland, an assessment which all of the school's teachers endorse. This might be a result of the desire to learn, to understand, and to help one another which is characteristic of the whole school, and of the fact that pupils have a large part of the responsibility for their own learning. Other factors may also be involved. Do the pupils perhaps expect more of themselves because they have opted to go to this type of school? Does the ever-present rivalry between the two countries have any part to play? Or is it that the pupils' parents have a higher-than-average level of education and are consciously committed to the school and its principles? However many factors are involved, there can be no denying the part played in these good results by the positive environment prevailing in the school and the working/learning methods which have been developed there.

Everyday work

Marja frequently underlines the value of pair-work in school-teaching generally, and in language learning in particular. Learning to read and language learning are primarily based on oral work an approach called in Swedish the LTG method, or "Reading through Speaking". In all the school's work there is an endeavour to apply an overall view. Everyday language and everyday life are a central presence in all projects undertaken; no-one allows themselves to feel unduly fettered by timetables and curricula, and many lessons are based on projects

Timetable scheduling at the language school Classes 1–9 (No. of "clock-hours")

Subject	Taught in Finnish/Swedish	Taught in mixed classes	Total
Mother tongue	1348	142	1490
Finnish for Swedes, Swedish for Finns	775	0	775
English	177	303	480
Mathematics	591	309	900
Language Option	0	320	320
Individual Option	0	470	470
Social studies/Humanities	1053	347	1400
Art	0	205	205
Home Economics	0	100	100
Physical Education	0	395	395
Music	0	205	205
Handicrafts	0	240	240
TOTAL	3944	3036	6980

that cut across traditional subject boundaries. As an example, Marja describes a project where pupils had to work with the question as to what money is needed for. And what differences were there in the answer to the question between Torneå and Haparanda? The pupils had to structure the project themselves, choose the objects and aspects they wanted to study, and make their own comparisons in Swedish crowns and Finnish mark. Their project work brought together their language studies, mathematics, social and cultural studies and basic family economics.

This integration of subjects and items studied is being successively increased, but a certain amount of work remains to be done. The continued harmonisation of the Finnish and Swedish curricula is a pre-condition for continued development of subject integration in the school.

Camp school and "Neighbours' language week"

From class 3 upwards, the pupils spend a number of days each year at a camp school. Finnish and Swedish pupils share rooms together. True team spirit develops across the whole class. Both languages are used, and the pupils discover that they understand each other. Following the camp school it becomes more natural for them to use their "neighbours' language" in conversations of all kinds.

In class 4, if not earlier, the class has a "Neighbours' language week". The Finnish teacher spends a week in Finland with the Swedish pupils, with the Swedish teacher taking the Finnish children for a week in Sweden. The groups pay study visits to different places, such as factories and offices, shops, administrative institutions and locations of cultural interest. When they are back at school the pupils report on their week, and are encouraged to use their neighbours' language when doing so.

In the older classes, pupils go in pairs to visit parents' workplaces and other companies in the two countries. This kind of pair-work involves using both languages, and when the projects are completed the Finnish pupils report in Swedish and the Swedish pupils in Finnish, to the extent that their linguistic knowledge permits.

New approaches and working methods are constantly being developed and tried out; there is an on-going process of appraisal, which leads to adaptation of the way work is carried out as new experience is gained.

The integration aspect of the school's work has been successful. The parents are interested in the school's objectives, with 85% of them participating, or declaring themselves willing to participate, in different activities. A number of the parents are very active, and interested in what and how their children learn; in some of these cases this

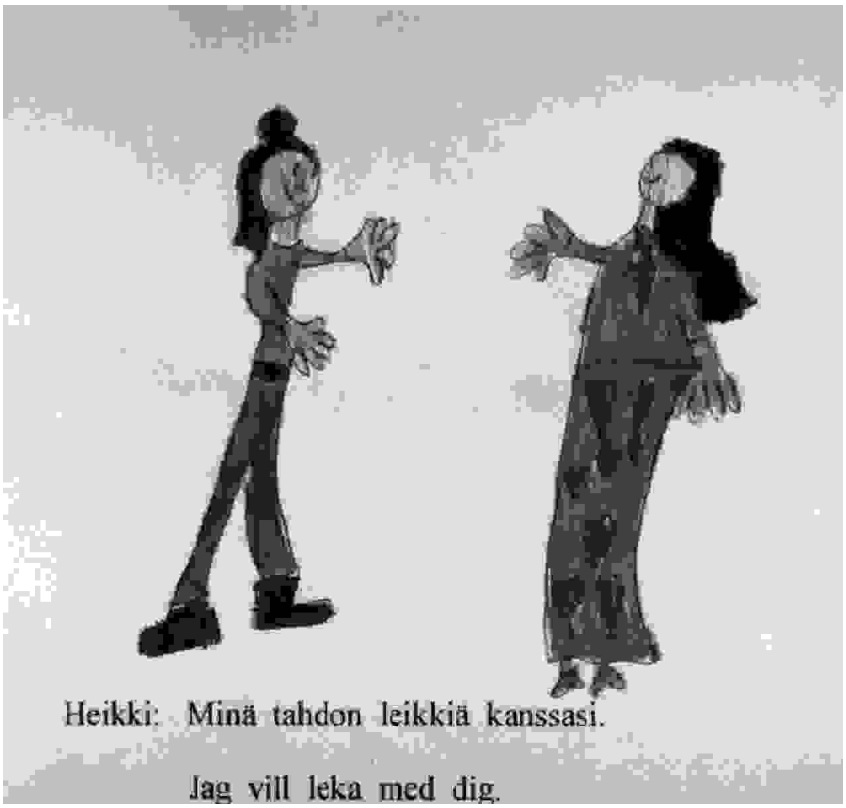
commitment stems from plans to move to the other country. The work of the school has influenced the general attitude prevailing in the two communities towards the neighbours on the other side of the boundary.

Why learn their language?

The answers given by the Finnish pupils to this question can be summarised in sentences such as

- Because it may be of use to me in the future.
- Because Sweden is a Nordic language which can be used in a number of countries.
- Because I like the Swedish language.
- Because Finland has two official languages, so it is important to be able to speak both of them.
- Because learning Swedish also makes it easier to learn English.

In addition to the general usefulness of being able to speak the language of the neighbouring community, the Swedish pupils mention such motives as having grandparents who live in Finland and who they want to be able to talk to. Generally speaking, the Finnish pupils give clearer, stronger motives for learning their neighbours' language



On every wall there are pictures and texts in both languages, skilfully written with the help of a computer.
Photo: Gösta Andersson

Heikki: I would like to play with you.

than do their Swedish counterparts. It can be mentioned in addition that when they start school the children from Torneå speak no Swedish at all, while many of the children from Haparanda understand a certain amount of Finnish.

The school philosophy

Among the central objectives of the Language School:

- emphasis is given to the endeavour to foster active bilingualism
- Internationalisation
- An education for friendship, a spirit of cooperation and peace
- Respect for each other's traditions
- Establishing new contacts across the boundary between the countries

The pupils display great tolerance of the way their own language is used by their classmates from across the boundary. The prevailing attitude seems to be "It's not so important how you express yourself the important thing is to be able to understand each other." This attitude reinforces the pupils' self-assurance and their confidence in their own knowledge and abilities. Openness and the desire to help and support one another have laid the ground for friendships across the language boundary.

The school aims to provide an education for life. It is the aim of the teachers to liberate the potential in each child, to enable them to develop into open, independent people who believe in themselves. The ultimate objective is to achieve full integration, so that Finnish and Swedish children, through constantly being and working together, come to harmonise any differences in attitude in different areas, to learn each other's language, to attain awareness and understanding of cultural dissimilarities, and to learn how to deal with conflicting situations in an open and constructive manner. The task of the teachers is to provide their pupils with support and guidance in this development, and to encourage such things as foster confidence and self-reliance.

The work of the Language School has led to developments in several different areas. A greater appreciation of the joint historical and cultural heritage of the Torneälven valley has been achieved, at the same time as greater respect has been nourished for the differences that have developed on each side of the international boundary that divides the valley. New social contacts across that boundary have been established and cemented.

It is hoped that by the time they reach the upper classes here all pupils will be taught half in Finnish and half in Swedish. The Language School is an example of freedom of thought and action from which other schools around the world surely have something to learn.

Costs and responsibilities

The municipal authorities of Torneå and Haparanda pay all the running costs of the school, apportioning the costs to correspond to the relative number of pupils from each of the two countries. School transport, which composes a comparatively high proportion of the total costs, is paid for separately by each country. The Swedish National Agency for Education provides grant funding for special development initiatives. These grants account for about 15% of the total costs of the Language School. For the 1995/96 school year the school has 222 pupils, 112 of whom come from Haparanda. The annual cost per pupil for those of the school's pupils who come from Haparanda has been calculated as SEK 47 516. The teachers employed come in equal numbers from Haparanda and Torneå. The state authority with overall responsibility for the Language School is the Child and Youth Welfare Committee of Haparanda Municipal Authority, which thus is responsible for ensuring that the school fulfils the objectives and obligations laid down for comprehensive schools in Sweden at national and local level.

The developments in educational methods pursued at the Language School have been subjected to on-going assessment by Professor Henning Johansson of the University College of Luleå (who produced a report, in Swedish, in 1995, based on his evaluation of pupils whose mother tongue was Finnish).

The school has a governing board consisting of an equal number of representatives from each of the two municipal authorities, plus one representative of the school's teaching staff. The governing board has an advisory function vis-à-vis the Child and Youth Welfare Committee; in certain matters it is entitled to make decisions.

Regular discussions and debates are held, at different levels, between the two countries, in order to assure that a maximum degree of harmonisation is achieved and that there is continual developmental progress.

Inger M. Clausen

4. ENGHØJ SCHOOL AS MAGNET SCHOOL

One Saturday night

It is Saturday night in a suburb of south-west Copenhagen. Although the suburb is wrapped in winter darkness, light is streaming from the sports centre. The swing doors at the entrance are in constant movement as the many youngsters jostle in to "Fun Saturday". They are welcomed, many get a handshake and all are asked where they come from - from the suburb Avedøre Stationsby, from other parts of the municipality of Hvidovre or perhaps from other neighbouring districts.

Youngsters are already playing chess or billiards. Happy shouts can be heard from the swimming pool. A lot of parents are making the most of the opportunity for a cosy family evening with their children in the pool. In the four halls games of hockey, badminton, basketball and table tennis are in full swing. A plan shows when the various tournaments and arrangements are happening. Helpers in yellow T-shirts are training the players and starting the various matches, helping with the division of players, reminding them of the rules and chatting with children and their parents. Some of the helpers come from sports clubs, others from the school or the local criminal preventive clubroom "Octopus".

There is plenty of life when c. 700 youngsters between the ages of 8 and 25 together with some few adults take part in the monthly "Fun Saturday". It is a form of getting together without alcohol or fighting. When the youngsters go home at closing time (half past one in the morning) they are so exhausted that they go straight to bed. The aim of the project – to develop attractive club localities across the barriers of age and culture and to develop a framework for the prevention of criminality, violence and wanton destruction of property – has succeeded to the full.

Formerly, Avedøre Stationsby had the image of a dangerous part of town. This image is now gradually changing. "Fun Saturday" is one of the projects responsible for this change. Most of the participants are boys, although girls also come to take part in the football games and some of the other activities. C. 40% belong to ethnic minorities. A third come from other parts of Hvidovre and other districts. "Fun Saturday" is integration in many shapes and forms.

Enghøj school as part of Avedøre Stationsby

The school is situated in the middle of the housing estate Avedøre Stationsby. The estate was built about 20 years ago and has c. 5,600 residents living in c. 2,300 apartments that are rented through the housing company AKB. The municipality has the right to assign about 10% of the apartments, which means that they have c. 10% of the housing at their disposal. This right of assignment should ideally mean

Photo: Inger M. Calusen

that the municipality could give an all-round tenant composition a high priority. But because the percentage is so low, and because there are so many disadvantaged single people and families with acute housing problems, this right of assignment is often the cause of an increase in the number of socially and economically weak groups.

In recent years the estate has become termed a “ghetto”, because the resident population differs in many ways from the average Danish distribution. Many single people live and many single parents live in Stationsby. 50%, for example, are under the age of 25. There are 14 day-care institutions attached to the estate in the form of day-nurseries, kindergartens and play-clubs. One third of the inhabitants are of non-Danish ethnic origin. The average household income is considerably lower than average in the municipality, and many families live on some form of so-called “transferred income” in the form of unemployment benefit or social welfare. About 40% of the adults have no vocational skills, and this percentage is even higher for the ethnic minorities. This also means that the area is extremely lively. There is a need for a large number of leisure-time options where people can get together. The area has a somewhat tarnished reputation, partly because of the socially disadvantaged families, residents with alcohol, drug or mental problems and a number of criminal activities on the estate.

A very frequent shift in the tenant population is characteristic for Avedøre Stationsby. As soon as families with children find a cheaper apartment or can afford a house of their own they move away from the area. The trend through the 80s has also been for Danish families to move out and ethnic minority families or Danish problem families to move in. Many of the early immigrant families are the most stable residents. However, in the last couple of years the rotation has been considerably lower and there are signs of stabilisation.

Much is being done to lift Avedøre Stationsby out of the above-mentioned problems. The housing company has modernised and renovated the apartments and the green areas so that they now look attractive. Funds from the government’s Urban Committee have enabled the otherwise high rents to be reduced. Environmental staff coordinate and help in connection with planning, practical problems and conflict-solving. A tenant counsellor employed by the housing company AKB assembles groups of residents in club rooms for samba dancing, organises a street watch corps and helps to distribute second-hand clothing and furniture.

In addition to the day-care institutions for children there are activity rooms for the young homeless and young single mothers, and job practice for the young on social welfare. The church also plays an important part in the housing-social work, providing a café, guidance and counselling and a theatre group. The local branch library has an

activity room where young mothers on parental leave can meet and relax while they exchange experiences on child-care and upbringing. There is also an educator present to take care of the children, who can avail themselves of the free access to computer games, books and tapes.

Enghøj School has 420 pupils, of which about 43% are bilingual. The school attracted attention in the early 80s by being a multi-cultural school with emphasis on integrating the bilingual pupils groupwise and with the support of bilingual teachers. The school had already given a high priority to gaining insight and understanding of the many different family backgrounds and conditions of life. This presumes a teacher-role that weights the social aspect. This priority has been a positive ballast in the work on integration between Danish and bilingual pupils.

But the school has also registered the extensive moving in and out of the area. Less than half of the pupils who begin in the pre-school class complete the 9th–10th classes. This has required openness and flexibility, while security and closeness in the midst of change has had to be given priority. Many of the bilingual pupils constitute the stable group.

With the rising percentage of bilingual pupils through the 80s and the school reflecting some of the problem family backgrounds, Danish as well as immigrant and refugee families, the school has had to battle with many parents' scepticism and anxiety. It has been difficult to achieve a positive image, with the result that many Danish parents have chosen to send their children to neighbouring schools, some even moving away from the area altogether. On the other hand, there have always been plenty of applications from minority families. The proximity to the home, bilingual support in the pre-school and 1st–2nd classes and mother tongue teaching in several languages are some of the qualities that have attracted these families to the school.

The local education authorities have set an aim of a preferred maximum of 25% of bilingual pupils in a class. The efforts to achieve this aim resulted in one reception class for children arriving directly from overseas being referred from Enghøj School to a neighbouring school. Similarly, parents of bilingual pre-school pupils are being asked to apply to other local schools with attractive integration options. When the Ministry of Education in 1994, via the so-called Integration Project, offered co-financing of projects aiming at alternative distribution of bilingual pupils between school districts, Enghøj School started its very comprehensive magnet school project.

Enghøj School's magnet school project

The term magnet school comes from the USA, where there are urban areas with many problems and schools with impractical pupil compositions. The attempt has been made to change the school so that

they attract and retain the most well-founded pupils. In the USA the schools with highest prestige among parents are mainly those strong in information technology. Enghøj School had no wish to become a technological elite school, but wanted to see if they could change their image by emphasizing the areas that are less well established at other schools in the municipality. Among these are the integration of bilingual families as co-participants in the collaboration on joint aims for a qualitative development of the school.

Development of Danish teaching at intermediate level – teaching materials – in-service courses for teachers

The initiative comprises an extension of the number of hours by 1–2 lessons in the 3rd to 6th classes and extra teaching resources for Danish teaching so that, just as for the pre-school to 2nd classes there are two teachers present in the Danish lessons. The two teachers are responsible for the planning of Danish as national language and Danish as a second language respectively. There are big differences in aim, content and method in these two forms of Danish teaching. Whereas the aims in normal Danish teaching are largely directed towards cultural background, Danish as a second language is more concerned with foreign language methodology and communication. It is difficult for teachers to work concurrently with these two aspects of Danish, but this clear division of areas of responsibility should help the problem. The division departs significantly from the traditional content and methods of teaching, and requires an extensive amount of supplementary exercise types and differentiating materials. Enghøj School has now sought to cope with this by earmarking a larger amount of the school budget for teaching materials and in-service courses for the Danish teachers.

The development of Danish teaching is to a high degree directed towards the Danish pupils. Many of them come from homes with hardly any tradition for education and academic knowledge, and where there are also social and economic problems. This is clearly visible in their grades in spoken and written Danish at the school leaving exam in the 9th class. The extension of the number of Danish lessons at intermediate level and the two-teacher system help to strengthen these pupils in Danish, while at the same time working purposefully towards improving the language competence of the bilingual pupils.

One of the methods used by many teachers is concrete workshop-related teaching. This is a working method designed especially to build vocabulary and phrases and extend language usage. Pupils work on topics with accompanying specially written exercises which they have to work through and answer questions on. For example, a 6th class

worked on an investigation of the local environment. They interviewed shop owners and residents, and carried out a survey based on questionnaires about young people's hobbies and leisure-time interests. The material was then treated statistically and set up in circle diagrams. In its final form the topic was exhibited both at the school library and at the local branch of the public library, where it was the subject of much interest.

New organisational forms at 7th–9th class levels

The purpose of reorganising the teaching at 7th–9th class levels is to experiment with different organisational forms, working across the classes. The complex of problems at these higher class levels has been due to the lack of social and academic sparring partners. Teenagers tend to form themselves into groups, not only boy/girl but also culture and social background-wise. With the aim of preventing the removal to other schools of the more well-founded girls and boys, the school is attempting to provide cooperation across classes and class levels.

The homework room

Many of Enghøj School's pupils have neither the physical framework in the home nor the parental background for help with their homework. The homework room is a school classroom, where tea, juice and buns can be served. It is open every afternoon, and a teacher and older pupils from the nearby gymnasium school help with the homework. The homework room is mainly used by pupils in the 4th–6th classes. Attendance varies, but on average there are 10–20 pupils. Subject teachers are closely involved in the work done here and their interest is reflected in their pupils' attendance. Pupils are appreciative of the good atmosphere and social framework connected with the assistance they get with their homework.

Integration of EDP

Enghøj School has p.t. one EDP room with 14 computers and 6 more computers in the mediatek/school library, where pupils can write their assignments in the various subjects. There is always a teacher present with specialist knowledge on computers. The computer rooms are to a certain extent also open outside school hours and are used among other things for mother tongue teaching.

Pupils' increasing use of EDP for their written assignments has given many of the linguistically weaker pupils extra motivation, and for all pupils has resulted in a sharper focus on linguistic expression.

Integration of assisted learning

Engen at Enghøj School is a social-pedagogical initiative for children with social interaction problems. It can hold 10 children aged 7–13. It

is a whole-day option where teachers can work together with a social pedagogue and a social adviser.

Engen is an important part of the Magnet School Project, as it provides an opportunity for pupils who have difficulty forming positive social relations with other children and adults to get out of the classroom for a period.

Together with the professional and social work done here there is intensive parental work and collaboration with day-institutions and clubs.

It is to a great extent the Danish pupils who are in need of this option, and Engen is a contributive factor in taking the pressure off the bilingual pupils as scapegoats for a bad class and school image. The school has experienced several times that Danish parents wishing to move their children to another school have at first given as their reason the predominance of bilingual pupils in the class, but on going deeper, it has emerged that individual, very disturbing Danish pupils have been the main cause of their dissatisfaction.

New methods of music teaching

Pre-school – 2nd classes are offered optional courses in music and samba in cooperation with the Music School. This collective effort in rhythm and song combines the path to broad-mindedness and respect for foreign cultures with a very optimistic musical experience. It also has the result for both Danish and bilingual children of increasing their competence in language and language rhythms, which again prepares them for better reading skills. The course culminates in an enormous samba festival with the participation of everybody in Avedøre Stationsby, an added strengthening of the network and companionship in the local housing environment.

The music teacher improves the quality of music teaching in the youngest classes, accompanying all the exercises on the guitar or the piano. Pupils are also encouraged to join the school's voluntary choir teaching. The school has three choirs, all of which perform at countless arrangements outside the school, helping to make Enghøj School's competence on the musical scene more visible.

Project art school

Since the early 90s the school has used art activities to improve its image. For example, the inside corridor walls have been decorated by artists assisted by pupils from the school in a decorative form that has given the school the appearance of a lively, colourful multicultural universe, rather than a cold, institutionally aesthetic one. The school has also helped with decorating other institutions in Stationsby. This experience has naturally been built on in the art school project.

The initiators are teachers from Enghøj School, although the art school's activities cover the whole municipality, half the students coming from other schools. This gives Enghøj School the chance of making itself visible in a positive and outgoing way. Students get to meet each other across the boundaries of social background, language, culture and age in a common experience and interest in art.

The art school's activities comprise teaching activities in school classes at Enghøj School and other schools in the district, leisure-time options in the afternoons and on Saturdays for children and parents, teaching options for day-care institutions and courses for educators, courses for teachers and involvement and cooperation on a number of ad hoc projects in decoration, for example in theatre, Copenhagen Cultural Capital '96 and "Friendship Week".

In connection with Copenhagen Cultural Capital '96, the school's classes 3a and 4a took part in an exhibition entitled "Skabe" (Create) at the Municipal central library. In collaboration with the teaching of Danish, the pupils worked with the connotations of word combinations with "-skab" (which in Danish can mean both "cupboard" and the suffix "-ness"). It was a good exercise in linguistic observation and grammar. Then children chose their own "skab"-category to illustrate in a three-dimensional art form. They produced some very expressive "skabs" out of cardboard boxes and junk material, and at the same time extended their perception of the scope of 3-dimensional art. Focus was constantly on linguistic expression in relation to product and working process.

The art school's target population is not only pupils from Enghøj School; it comprises all of the local environment of Avedøre Stationsby as well as the whole municipality of Hvidovre.

The theatre club project

The municipality of Hvidovre has a local professional theatre and a number of theatre clubs. In 1996 Hvidovre hosted a national festival of children's theatres. All in all, there is a very lively theatre tradition in the district. It is therefore an important part of Enghøj School's integration project to motivate and qualify their pupils to take advantage of the common enjoyment and experience that accompanies an interest in theatre.

The theatre club is an after-school option for pupils from different schools. Rehearsing and putting on a successful play or show requires a common effort and makes for a feeling of solidarity. Pupils also make friendships reaching beyond the limits of their own school and their own area of Hvidovre.

In addition to this leisure-time option, the theatre club teachers give courses and develop practice materials for use by schools and day-

institutions. The club cooperates with the other theatre clubs and has contacts and exchanges with clubs abroad. This very outward-looking activity promotes pupils' curiosity and openness towards other environments. At the same time it gives Enghøj School prestige as a magnet for other cultural experiences.

In the autumn of 1996 Enghøj School sponsored a mammoth performance based on the Mesopotamian myth of Gilgamesh, this time with the participation of amateurs from all over Hvidovre and Greater Copenhagen.

Project sport as cultural intermediary

Like theatre and art, sport is a form of expression that attracts people of all social, language and cultural groups. Sport gives a positive content to belonging to a team or group that one feels a responsibility for and to. Sport provides an opportunity of introducing the ethnic minorities to the Danish club tradition and a challenge to these clubs to change and open their doors to a new member-group. In this sense sport can function as a cultural intermediary.

Via this project, Enghøj School is the initiator of sports meetings in different forms of sport. The meetings take place at various schools in turn. At summer and winter camps pupils from a number of schools get to know each other in intensive comradeship lasting several days. The friendships formed here transcend the myths and prejudices that prevail about Avedøre Stationsby and Enghøj School. There is always widespread support for Project Sport's arrangements.

"Fun Saturday", described at the beginning of the article, is part of this project. Volunteers from the sports clubs take part in these arrangements, so both they and the children get to know each other personally. Knowing someone personally is an important factor when considering whether to join a club. One of Project Sport's aims is to get as many children as possible to join an established sports club. This aim is a long term one with regard to the bilingual pupils as there are barriers both on the part of the clubs and on the part of the bilingual pupils and their families. For the time being, the widest support is for the sporting activities sponsored by the school and those the ethnic groups themselves arrange.

Project Green School

In 1995 the municipality set up an urban environmental experiment called Quark, where school classes can come and learn about waste-sorting, composting, bee- and hen- keeping, and so on. There are plans to extend this together with a larger environment and ecology centre for the entire region of Western Copenhagen. Projects have also been started in Avedøre Stationsby under the Urban Committee to promote enjoyment of the natural surroundings and awareness of environment and ecology. Green School is one of these initiatives.

Green School has started school gardens, and uses a small lake and a former rampart in the local area as a natural part of the teaching of Science. There are plans to extend the project in the school year 1996/97 to include a number of urban ecological experiments with green-houses, composting, collection of rainwater, waste-sorting, solar panels and green cleaning. At the present time the project involves only a limited number of pupils (8th class) but the idea is to extend the experience gained to other classes.

Café evenings

Café evenings are open to parents and children at the school. This type of parent-teacher arrangement is a less formal and binding way for school and homes to meet than the regular class-parent meetings. The theme for the evening can be either social, cultural, musical or one related to school work. Café evenings can be a rounding-off of another project such as a theatrical production, an art workshop or a mother

tongue class presentation of dancing, cooking and information about the background countries. Café evenings are very well-attended.

Integration

Enghøj School's magnet project, with its annual budget of c. 4 million Danish crowns, is one of the biggest of the Ministry of Education's integration projects. Does this project contain integration of Danes and ethnic minorities? Integration is the stated aim for schools and urban districts with a large percentage of immigrants and refugees, but few people realise what this aim actually entails. Any integration which only demands adjustment from the ethnic minorities is not an integration of equal values. Neither is it appropriate that the minority and the majority see themselves as in opposition to each other, whereby integration becomes a matter of negotiating an exchange: giving and taking. This concept of integration presupposes the recognition of a power-imbalance but is much too static in its picture of the opponent.

Individuals and social groups move and change. Integration must somehow make room for this movement. In modern society each individual can have many roles. It is vital that these roles are not pre-determined and limited through expectations of stereotypes.

The concept of integration at work in Enghøj School is one which encourages networking and fellowship for the purpose of freeing the individual to assume many different binding roles. Ethnic minorities and Danes come together through common interests, whether these be sport, theatre, green environment or artistic expression. Language proficiency is worked on so that each and every individual is better equipped for communication and education.

But integration cannot be achieved by one school alone; it must happen in collaboration with the near environment. The success of Enghøj School's magnet project is therefore dependent on developments in Avedøre Stationsby

MIKÄMIKÄMAA
LANDET DITTOMITT

5. WHATEVER-EVER-LAND – PROJECT FOR MULTICULTURAL EARLY EDUCATION MATERIAL

Irmeli Tuomarla

THE CHILDREN OF WHATEVER-EVER-LAND – In a multicultural daycare centre

The change of attitude towards tolerance begins with early education. Daycare centre is the first meeting place of the immigrant children and Finnish children. There Lin becomes Emmi's best friend. Ako and Erkki are inseparable mates even at school.

The multicultural material for early education WHATEVER-EVER-LAND which has been produced for use in daycare centres may facilitate the development of friendship between different children. The WHATEVER-EVER-LAND- bags which tell about seven different cultures will take you to the Land of the Magic Lamp, Camel country or perhaps to Bamboo country. For little Ali in Saffron daycare centre WHATEVER-EVER- LAND is BÄLÄDI BÄLÄDÄK in Arabic. For Somalian Daud it is KEE DALKEE DALKEE. For Finnish speaking Emmi MIKÄMIKÄMAA and Swedish speaking Erika LANDET DITToMITT is the world of traditional culture, fantasy and play from different countries, where difference is natural and fun.

WHATEVER-EVER-LAND material also gives resources for the daycare centre staff and professional educators. For their needs was produced the CHILDREN OF WHATEVER-EVER-LAND HAND-BOOK, which provides ideas and tips for practical work. In the development of multicultural daycare the parents of the immigrant children are also needed, and that is why we provided them with a brochure of their own.

An elephant size project

In 1994 the daycare statute was amended in Finland. It meant, that support to Romany and immigrant children's own language and culture as well as support to traditional minority group children is included in the educational aims stated by the law about daycare.

According to information received from the municipalities the lack of material in mother tongue for multicultural activities in daycare centres WAS a matter 'of the size of an elephant'. The Office for Refugee Affairs in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health started the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND-project immediately in the same year to produce this material. The trilingual (foreign language, Finnish and Swedish) WHATEVER-EVER -LAND bags, which deal with seven different cultures and languages, and whose stories, songs, basic cultural knowledge and tips for activities also act as material for education into internationalism for those Finnish children, who speak Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongues in daycare centres and also at lower levels of the comprehensive schools.

In the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -project we started with the assumption that **immigrants themselves participate in the production of the material which is aimed at them and tells about them.** Cross- cultural mode of working was an instructive and broadening experience to the team. The seven different language and cultural teams, which collected the material, had been assembled of teachers of immigrant children, Finnish experts, mainly kindergarten teachers**.** The widely varying elephant projects were completed each at its own convenience. In addition to the development of the contents we also regarded the visual outlook of the material as equally essential. The search for high quality illustrators, who are themselves immigrants and represent the language and culture in question, was like looking for a needle in a haystack, but we were lucky to meet with such people. They did magnificent work. Even the collection of music and sound material was a difficult task. The studio recording required musical children representing the culture and language in question, who would be able to sing. The selfish desire of the user of the material is joy and enjoyment. A child is the most demanding of users. In order to learn, whether the children liked the choice of the stories, and how they reacted to them, we tested the stories in three experimental daycare centres among others.

The sunny way towards WHATEVER-EVER-LAND

One can not work multiculturally with knitted brows and grinding teeth, that is why we primarily wanted that the material aimed at both grown-ups and children would be fun and entertaining, even though it contained the serious aim to develop the multicultural everyday world of the daycare centre and to support the growth of the children into bi- and multilingualism. At this moment we have not very many ethnic workers in our daycare centres yet, who would contribute with work methods from different cultures to the routines of daycare centres.

In the autumn 1996 the trip to WHATEVER-EVER-LAND can start for the immigrant children and their Finnish mates in 500 daycare centres. The daycare centres in question receive the material free through the project allowance. A child asks a plain question about the skin colour as naturally as about the lack of a tooth or a strange name. These moments are key moments, when difference as well as similarity may be dealt with. The shy question of both Finnish and immigrant children: –Will you be with me? sounds just like the language in WHATEVER-EVER-LAND.

Ogechukwu Eneh

WHATEVER-EVER-LAND – SUPPORTS IMMIGRANTS CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT INTO BILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

For most everyday human purposes, power is exerted through verbal channels. Language is the vehicle for identifying, manipulating and changing power relations between people. The use and meaning of language is deeply rooted to people's culture. Language is the most powerful tool in the development of any human being.

Parents and teachers are stakeholders

Informal education of children starts from their homes. Formal education takes place in kindergarten and in the primary school. The stakeholders involved in the upbringing and training of children in the language skills are the parents and the teachers. The key factor also in schools is the racial composition of staff, that is, it should reflect the student body because the staff composition forms part of the hidden curriculum. Children can acquire important learning from observing the power relationship in the schools.

Parents are models for their children's behaviour and language learning at home, and especially at an early age. Parents should be advised by the professionals on the importance of maintaining their own languages with their children at an early stage. Research results have shown that the learning and development of mother tongue/s for bilingual families facilitates the acquisition of the second or more languages. It is important that parents have positive bilingual and bicultural attitude for their children's development in a bicultural or multicultural environment.

Practical activities aid language acquisition

Acquisition of the language skill and own culture cannot be separated from one another. Every ethnic minority family is their own culture representative and specialist. For the young children, the acquisition of their first language depends very much on their interactive activities with the adults. This interaction could be in the form of plays, story-telling, music & art, paintings, videos, and group reading narrations.

Play is a vehicle through which an enormous amount of learning takes place in children. Dramatic play is a critical activity for children to try new roles and role plays. Socializing a child with his/her environment is a good motivation and energy for acquiring language skills. A child's language development will be determined to a large extent by the amount and quality of the attention given to the child by the adults around her/him. Teachers must hold high expectations, and value the culture and language of the minority children in order to meet their needs and ensure that both equity and excellence are achieved. Ethnic minority children can teach some simple sentences and numerical in their classes to their classmates. They can be in pairs with Finnish classmates to translate poems, simple songs etc in both languages. Teachers could choose some themes that are related to culture, e.g, greetings, politeness, folklores etc; and work together in these issues in all the languages of the children in the class. It is not a waste of time but enriches cognitive thinking.

For example, the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -material gives good tools for that purpose. The material aims at developing linguistics skills (cognitive objectives), promoting positive attitudes towards other cultures (social, ethical, cognitive objectives), affording opportunities for cultural experiences and for using one's imagination (emotional objectives), and offering an opportunity for constructive play and cooperation from many different cultural starting points (social and cognitive objectives).

Children develop linguistic skills from uttering single words, using sounds reflecting syllables, making meaningless words and sentences, to using complete sentences. Children enjoy and engage with simple stories, rhymes, folklores and songs. Adults reading story books for children should engage in active listening when they are communicating with the children. Clear elaborations, pictorial materials, simple puzzles and concrete objects are the best instructional materials for teaching languages to children. Extending the child's short sentences and introducing new vocabulary could produce a better result through the method of identifying the parts of the body.

Impact of bilingualism to cognitive development

Listening to a foreign language is more tiring, it requires more intensive concentration, there are few opportunities to relax. When speaking in the second language, there is a constant pressure to think

about the form of the language used, thereby allowing less attention to be paid to the content of utterances. Less proficient second language students attempting the double task of learning language and the subject matter simultaneously are under greater stress.

Quality bilingual programmes have been influential in developing language skills and in contributing to broader academic achievement. High level second language proficiency depends on well developed first language proficiency. Children from disadvantaged minority groups generally profit from bilingual programmes in which their first language plays the major role, because this lays a language foundation which cannot otherwise be guaranteed.

There is a link between language, culture, identity, thinking aptitude, and educational success. Bilinguals may be superior to monolinguals on divergent thinking tests as a result of their broad cultural space. They have some advantage in their analytical orientation to language and show increased social sensitivity in situations requiring verbal communication. Bilinguals may have advantages in thinking clearly and in analytical functioning. Bilingual children may realize better than their monolingual counter parts at an early age that the relationship between a word's sound and it's meaning is an arbitrary one. They can focus better on the essential aspects of objects at an early age. This positive influence on cognitive development is as a result of the enriching experience of being exposed to two cultures.

Bilinguals could easily develop a flexible attitude as a result of having to frequently switch between two languages. They are more apt to detect grammatical errors in sentences. Moreover, the acquisition of mother tongue increases children's confidence, facilitates communication between parents and children, and enriches the cultural life of the country as a whole, by means of a diversity of linguistic resources. There is an example of an immigrant mother, whose spouse was of the majority culture, who spoke the majority language to her children although she had no mastery of this language. As her children's second language (majority) developed, she lost communication with her children because her children's vocabulary was much more developed in the second language than hers, and her children were not able to express themselves in their mother's language. These children felt that their mother was stupid as they could not understand each other. This situation could be found in families where one parent is a member of the majority culture and the other of the minority.

Societal influence determines language development

Adverse social factors and negative stereotyping affect young language learners in a new culture. Discrimination and segregation

sets up spatial boundaries to the disadvantage of the members of the ethnic minorities. Also, singling out groups, especially in an exceptional way to give special attention, does more to foster suspicion, jealousy and cynicism. Materials, like the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND, show racial minority groups in a positive light, and include images and ideas that, as they represent the students and the community, can have a positive impact on children. They can enhance minority students' concept of their race; increase students' knowledge and appreciation of other cultures; and decrease stereotypes and ethnocentric behaviour.

If the two cultures are valued equally at home, in the school, and in the society at large, then children who are in contact with two cultures will accept both instead of rejecting or being rejected by one or the other or by both. It is difficult to have this positive attitude towards bilingualism if parents feel that their language and culture is not valued by members of the majority group.

In Finland, most professionals are facing the challenge of ethnic minority issues with mere boldness, without seeking out for education in this area. Boldness and empathy are needed but so is education. In-service training for staff and total school approach could be working solutions. The clock is not ticking backwards, we are passing into an era where diversity and flexibility are key words.

Cooperation and continuation are key-words in the training of bilinguals.

HOW TO LOAD A CAMEL – THE TALE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SOMALI BAG

Abdullahi A. Yarrow

> Once upon a time in Camel country there was a queen,
> who gave the young people of her country a very difficult,
> actually an impossible task. They had to load a he-camel fully,
> but they were not allowed to use any straps or racks.

In the autumn 1994 a group of Somalis were studying on a course for minority language teachers. The president of the immigrant teachers Nina Keres told the participants of the course about WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -project planned by the Office of Refugee Affairs in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, which would produce multi-cultural materials for early education to be used in Finnish daycare centres. Seven small ethnic groups were formed.

First three Somalis from the Heinola course were invited into the Somali group. We all Abdirizak, Daud and Abdullahi were young men. The female viewpoint was lacking in our group. Women everywhere are nearer to the children. Nasro, who is mother, knows Finnish and was studying to be a nurse, was recruited. We met a few times and discussed the areas of responsibility, and how and on what principles our material should be collected. The group needed a Finnish speaking coordinator, who would know our language and culture, and would, above all, know our way of thinking.

Along came Maija, who was acquainted with Somalia and Somalis from development cooperation since a decade, and she could help us with word processing and schedules. The greater group met. We memorized, tasted and deliberated the visible and invisible, overt and covert messages of the stories.

We wrote once the stories and other texts, which were first translated from Somali into English and then into Finnish. All the time Maija was doubtful about her Finnish translations and suggested, that Muddle would be invited to join the group. Muddle must be the only Finn with a complete knowledge of the Somali language. She has studied and done research on Somali language at Sorbonne University in Paris, and her husband is a native Somali language speaker. Muddle is also an active writer, and she has followed with her heart in her mouth the adaptation of the Somali community in these cold, northern surroundings. We were glad to have Muddle interested in our work. The pattern of work was ready: Muddle will check and proofread the Somalia texts, translate them into Swedish, and Maida will retranslate them into Finnish.

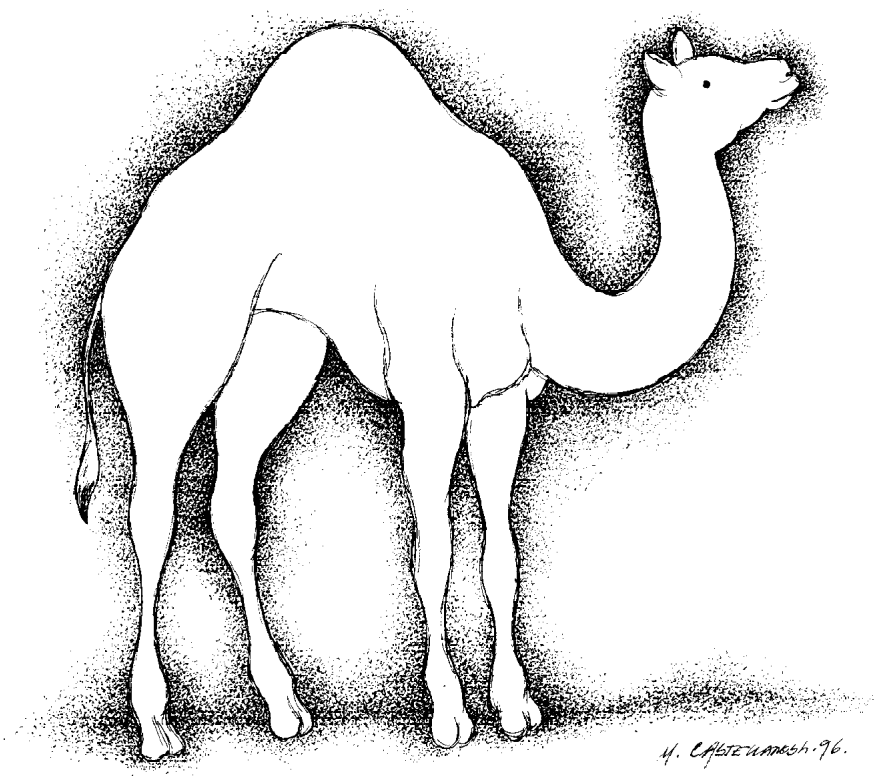
The Finn says ’one nation, one language, one mind’, a Somalia proverb says ’a man has a thousand advisors’. The language for the Somalia people is common, but dialects and choice of words tell from which part of the country and from what circles the speaker originates. The orthography is not quite stable, but Muddle would be able to make our texts conform as closely as possible to standard language and dictionary standards. The Somalia group made the immediate decision, that their material bag would be called Camel country. No matter how closely we considered Somalia, there was no overcoming, surpassing or bypassing the camel. There are more camels than people in the country, and the nomadic culture lives vigorously in the language, poetry, proverbs, music, dances.

The loading of the camel according to instructions from Airmail and Kite could start. The load, or actually the bag, needed stories, songs, proverbs, pictures, music, food recipes and action games.

It was easiest to start with the tales. Tales and stories are an important part of the rich Somalia folklore. Despite the fact, that the

orthography was only established in 1972, the oral tradition has been effective. Mothers and fathers tell tales to the children, the grown-ups to each other. With the help of stories and allegories such as proverbs, social skills were discussed and instructed and intelligence was trained.

Some stories were easy to choose. Others were dismissed on the basis of their universal familiarity, but some stories raised several gay, even sharp discussions. Many an earlier simple, good and gay aspect of exile has become delicate and extremely serious. The group would not, in any way, volunteer as target or scapegoat at the crossfire of different opinions. We wanted to keep the traditional line, but on the other hand the stories should be such as would be easily acquired by as well Somalis as by Finns. To be on the safe side, we tested the probable and improbable interpretations of the stories. We knew that the strong tradition of telling stories is based on hearing, empathy, understanding and memory, not on masticated interpretation of the message. The stories were easily shifted from our own memories. We had many tales on offer and we were rather pleased with our job, till Helena from the pedagogic background group told us that is easier to find a needle in a haystack than a camel in the Camel country stories. We had to agree that a camel flashed by only in one story in one subordinate clause.



We went on search of the camels, and we did catch them: Hassan Fiidow and his singing camel, and the Boaster, who lost and found his camel. Even songs about camels were unearthed together with their happy-go-lucky atmosphere.

The illustrator was easy to find, Nuur was no beginner at illustrating stories. Nuur was very busy, that is why we had to avail ourselves widely of our contact nets to get him at talking distance. Nuur also gave us the tale about Boaster, which was clearly something snappier than the other stories.

> An old wise man gave the young the solution:
> You can easily load the camel without any equipment.
> Let him roll in the grass, when there is still morning dew,
> and then pour a binfull of grain on his back.

The bag started to fill in and the loading seemed to be an easy trick. Till clouds started to gather on the sky. We were informed that now was the time to start compiling the music cassette in a hurry. Pirjo told us that she wished us to assemble a small group of musical children of about 10–12 years of age and practise the children's songs of our choice for later studio recording. Our songs were of two types, on one hand rhythmically lively camel songs with more difficult words, and on the other hand easier melodies telling about our native country. Even the Finnish children would easily catch those tunes. Cousin Abdi promised to unravel the tunes to notes with the help of his cornet. What we did not know was how great a problem it would be to catch the singers.

Music in the native country was a simple, good and gay matter. It was played in TV, radio, homes, theatres, schools, tearooms, beaches and dance halls. In exile it has turned into a religious bone of contention and an instrument of moralism. Even our promising songbird, who had given performances at weddings, told she had completely stopped singing regretting her public performances. The schools find it problematic, when many parents want their children to discontinue the music instruction at schools. On the other hand the few professional musicians desire to raise their rewards sky high. The Somalia children hardly hear the songs in their mother tongue aimed at them; the immense flood of images, and news from TV, and other media, together with many feelings of anguish and isolation in the new surroundings will undoubtedly disrupt the transmission of oral tradition from one generation to another. The loss of mother tongue and native country are frightening threats indeed. To find the children to sing five small children's songs for the enjoyment of the children in daycare centres seemed an impossible task. We made inquiries everywhere in Finland. The Somalia children do not know the music

of their own country well enough, even though they wanted to help, at least some of them. We did not give up hope. Next summer, at the camp for home language, songs will be sung each and every day. Some day perhaps we will see a Somalia child as kid star or a Hallikainen in the Finnish music world. Then Finns would learn to know the sentimental, wistful Somalia music.

We know our task is important, and after recording the songs, we may leave the Camel country bag to start its own life in hundreds of daycare centres. You may be sure that where-ever we are our hearts will beat with joy every time we hear how the camel bells start their jolly tinkling at the cassette player of some daycare centre.

> When the young people returned to the queen with their fully loaded camel the queen flew into a temper: You would never have solved the problem by yourselves, you must have had the help of the old wise man.

WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -material:

* WHATEVER-EVER- LAND -booklet for personnel in the daycare centres
* CULTURES AND LANGUAGES MEET - work methods in a multilingual daycare centre
* Brochure to the parents of immigrant children and WHATEVER-EVER- LAND -material brochure
* WHATEVER-EVER- LAND -bags: Eagle's home (Albania), The Magic lamp (Arabia), Country of Poppies (Kurdish), Rose and nightingale (Persian), Camel country (Somalia), Bamboo country (Vietnamese), Samovar (Russian). The bags contain basic information about culture, stories and songs, plays and games, tips for activities, food recipes and slides. The songs and the stories are on cassettes.

WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -material has been edited by Irmeli Tuomarla from the Office of Refugee Affairs in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health and Kitte Marttinen from association Our Mutual Children. Musician Pirjo Bergström is responsible for the sound and music production.

The material is sold by Oy Edita Ab and it can be ordered in the following address: PL 800, FIN-00043 Edita, FINLAND or customer service telephone number +358-9-5660 266

Trinidad Rivera

6. MOTHER TONGUE AND COMMUNICATION – MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING IN EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED

Immigrant children in schools for the retarded and handicapped

The Swedish School Education Act states that mentally retarded/handicapped immigrant children shall attend the kind of school intended for pupils with their kind of disability. The same applies to children suffering from brain damage, autism, or conditions similar to autism who are unable to benefit from the teaching provided in ordinary schools (at junior, lower-secondary, and upper-secondary levels). Some of these immigrant children were born in Sweden, but to parents who have perhaps not yet assimilated Swedish society or the Swedish language. A considerable number of children come to Sweden when they are of school age, and of these many arrive as refugees, with traumatic experiences behind them which require the special attention of those working in education for the handicapped.

Mother tongue language teaching is to be available for all pupils in schools for the retarded and handicapped – irrespective of the degree of their disability or of any further disabling factors – who have a first language other than Swedish and who use that language in their everyday communication with at least one of their parents. The objective of this mother tongue teaching is that the pupil is to be enabled to develop, according to his/her individual ability, a knowledge of his/her mother tongue and culture; the pupil is to develop the ability to communicate in and structure the mother tongue, and to be helped to strengthen his/her self-esteem and individual identity.

> – What is it like, to speak unclearly, to be a slow, stumbling reader who has difficulty interpreting what she reads? Many handicapped children only learn a few words, and their language development proceeds slowly – isn't there, then, a risk that splitting their already small vocabulary into two might have fateful consequences? What can be done to help children who don't even understand words and letters, but who nonetheless have the need to communicate using their mother tongue? Can we speak of "mother tongue studies" in this regard?

Let us first look at what mental handicap implies for a person's development as a whole, and describe how a person experiences the world, thinks and communicates depending on whether he/she is severely, moderately or slightly handicapped. I will then present a number of individual, personal examples, and in describing the work of these

pupils in mother tongue studies I will attempt to answer the questions posed above.

What is aptitude?

Aptitude enables us to form a picture of the reality we encounter around us. We take in information via our senses – sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste, and our sense of balance. Our sensory impressions are processed and classified by the mind using five categories; the information is sorted on the basis of time (temporality), place (spatiality), quality, quantity and cause. Using the understanding we have formed of reality, our aptitude guides our thoughts and actions to achieve certain goals. For example “I’m hungry.” In order to eliminate this need, I must have learnt to distinguish the feeling of hunger from other needs, and must know what to do in order to quench this particular need. Experience has taught me that what I need is food, for example an apple (quality-based perception), and that when I eat the apple this unpleasant sensation will be removed (causal perception). I know where I can get hold of apples (spatial perception), and how long it will take me to get there and how many apples I need to satisfy my hunger (temporal and quantity-based perception).

Aptitude is involved in developing our language faculty, which assists our thought processes and enables us to interact with other people.

What is mental handicap?

In 1968 a Swedish researcher, Gunnar Kylén, began a project together with a team of research colleagues. The twofold aim was firstly, to establish what mental handicap is, and secondly, to study what consequences this disability has on the way the individual interacts with his/her environment. Once we know this, we can systematically plan school education and the living environment for handicapped people in such a way that they are able to live a meaningful life.

The research team found that mental handicap consists of a lower level of abstraction in the thought processes of the person affected i.e. handicapped people’s thinking is simpler and more concrete, and their short-term memory is weaker. The handicapped are not able to juggle a large number of impressions simultaneously, and what this implies is that their senses take in a limited amount of the reality around them. It is precisely these primary disabilities that give rise to a secondary effect learning ability is impaired. When a handicapped pupil is to learn something, the information must be supplied in small portions, and he/she needs to be given time to allow the impressions to be conveyed to the thinking part of the mind.

The researchers found that mental handicap does not primarily affect a person's feelings, needs, attitudes or self-esteem; these functions are mainly affected by the treatment the handicapped person meets with from other people.

Handicapped children, like all children, need secure emotional contact with adults. Stability in this kind of contact is necessary if the child is to be able to develop the basic sense of security which is a pre-requisite of positive identity development.

Different degrees of handicap

The researchers found that Piaget's description of child development could be applied in describing the possibilities and limitations facing a mentally handicapped person. The ability of the severely handicapped to perceive themselves, to think and to construct knowledge about themselves and the world corresponds to the aptitude of a normal child during what Piaget terms the first stage of development (i.e. from 0 to 2 years). The moderately handicapped have this ability at a level that corresponds to the aptitude of a normal child during the developmental period from 2 to about 7 years. The ability of the slightly handicapped corresponds to the aptitude of a normal child during the developmental period from about 7 to about 12 years.

Aptitude development progresses through different stages which are the same for all children. Children with a mental handicap go through the same developmental stages, but at a slower rate; and when they are adults their development will stop at an earlier developmental level than that of other people - which is not to say that they are excluded from living a life filled with new, enriching experiences. We must, moreover, beware of the danger of drawing comparisons between for example a child with normal aptitude and an adult with a mental handicap. Even if the level of abstraction in the two persons' thought processes is the same, the adult has greater experience than the child; and therefore does not function like a child.

While the researchers had made progress in coming to the conclusion that Piaget's theories of child development were suitable for describing the possibilities and difficulties experienced by the mentally handicapped, it was still felt that they had not yet reached a fully satisfactory basis for describing this kind of disability in adults. In the aim of clarifying the difference between children and adults the researchers decided to categorise the different degrees of maturity of mentally handicapped persons as A, B or C.

Three individual children

A-Handicap (severely mentally handicapped)

- Perceives the concrete reality around himself primarily via his own body, but has difficulty understanding what he sees and hears
- Lives in the here and now
- Mainly experiences the here and now, but may have expectations as to what is going to happen
- Does not understand pictures
- Does not understand language as symbols for realty
- Is unable to speak, but can understand and give signals in the form of body language and sounds.

Introducing Matti

Matti is a Finnish boy; his birth was an abnormally long delivery, and he was born suffering from brain damage and convulsions. A hospital examination confirmed that he was severely mentally handicapped, and also suffered from slightly impaired vision. It is a general characteristic of multiply handicapped children that they sustained brain damage at an early stage of such magnitude that several different functions were affected. Matti cannot move around by himself, cannot sit without support, and is almost completely unable to use his hands. A few years ago he started attending a small special school for severely mentally retarded children, where all the staff are Swedish-speakers. Matti has four lesson-hours of mother tongue studies a week.

How Matti thinks and understands

Starting at the school represented a great upheaval for Matti. At home he knew everybody, and also some of those closest to his family. He could recognise familiar objects and how they were used – for example, he knew a mug is used for drinking. He compares the mug in front of him with the picture he has in his memory of a mug, and so is able to recognise it. At school, however, everything was new. When he went into the school's dining room, there was nothing that could help him think "This is a dining room". At first he saw a room filled with different things. When he had time to look at the different objects, to perceive them one at a time "a chair, a lamp, a table" he was able to recognise the chair as a chair, the lamp as a lamp, etc. How Matti thinks is by comparing and recognising.

He has difficulties with orientation in different rooms; he has to make his way using landmarks which he compares one with another, seeing always two links of a chain which he never sees in its entirety. He is dependent on these landmarks if he is to be able to navigate. For example, the room next to the blue armchair (the landmark) in the hall is the living room; if the armchair is moved Matti is unable to find the living room.

He lives in the present, and does not think about things that have happened or are going to happen, since his reality is the concrete reality of here and now. He learns to think and remember in a fixed order of progression. Use should be made of this fact in situations that occur daily, such as getting dressed and undressed, meals, washing and going to the toilet, etc; if such activities are always carried out in a fixed order every day Matti's day is given a firm rhythm, a structure. It is not possible to use words to prepare Matti for an outing; however, the sight of a picnic basket can arouse in him a feeling that something enjoyable is going to happen – although he cannot see the outing in his mind; to do this would require the faculty of abstract thinking.

How Matti communicates

The only noises of his own Matti can produce are shouts, laughter, crying, whining, etc, with all their nuances. Although he does not understand language as symbols for reality he understands other

Foto: Gösta Andersson

The resonance board, developed by Lilli Nielsen, is an example of the aids that can be used in education for the severely handicapped. The board is made from 4 mm-thick plywood, with a strip of wood along the edge of the underside; the effect is that the sound of the child's movements, and of the movements of all the objects which should be placed close to the child, are amplified and transmitted via the fibres of the wood with the result that the child is motivated to increased activity.

people's gestures and body language, and is very sensitive to tone and intonation. It is easiest for Matti to communicate at home, where he can understand a number of words as signals, although not as symbols. The word "food" or the expression "here you are" can function as signals that trigger a feeling of well-being, but he cannot see the meal-table in his mind's eye.

Matti does not communicate as much in a Swedish-language environment. It is easier for him to communicate at home because his parents have had time to learn to understand his reactions and signals. The staff at the school, who see the child in certain, limited situations, need therefore a good level of cooperation with and assistance from the parents and the mother tongue teacher in order to benefit from what they have learnt. There are a few occasions when Matti cries; it can be very difficult to understand why and to comfort him. On those occasions when the mother tongue teacher has been present this has been easier. The melody of his mother tongue fulfils an important emotional function for Matti.

Everybody has a need to communicate, even severely handicapped immigrant pupils. However, the only way they are able to communicate is using body language. If this is to be possible school staff must know the child very well, since the ways things are expressed differ from culture to culture. It is equally important to ascertain how much the children understand of the way members of staff express themselves. If severely handicapped immigrant children have no sensitive listener to communicate with there is a risk that they will give up and lapse into an evil circle of non-communication. This can be avoided if the children are enabled to retain contact with their mother tongue in school, and if the school environment is adapted to fit their needs.

Matti´s work in mother tongue studies

One of the most important pre-conditions of development is to be able to understand and be understood; this ability increases every pupil's capacity to benefit from experience and increase his understanding of the world about him. The ability to interact with the school environment, to interact using one's mother tongue, is the foundation of social life, the key to being a participant.

For Matti, mother tongue studies is about learning to *communicate using his mother tongue.* By "communication" is meant the exchange of information, and this can be achieved in many different ways for example, the spoken language, pictures, sign language, body language. Communication is more than just language; it also includes signals, sounds, visual expressions, mime. Communicating on the appropriate level with Matti, who has no spoken language, is about getting him to *give and take contact.* This means that he must have something to

communicate about, and that there must be someone who listens and answers and equally, Matti needs activities and objects to awaken his attention. His mother tongue teacher has to stage activities of the kinds that small children usually provide for themselves tasting different things, feeling them, looking at different shapes and materials, listening to different sounds, experiencing pleasant and unpleasant smells. He needs to be given an as wide as possible range of stimuli, which builds on those information channels – smell, touch, taste, motor activity, hearing, sight – which he has at his disposal.

The mother tongue teacher provides Matti with the activities, and continuously describes for him the objects he is holding, the things he is doing, and the sounds he is hearing or other sensory impressions he is receiving. This is aimed at teaching Matti the connection between the spoken language and reality. Even if words will continue to function as signals for a long time yet perhaps for the rest of his life it is important that people around Matti talk about what is happening or is going to happen. The activities of greatest importance are *taking hold of various objects in order to examine their properties; experiencing sounds and playing sound games; hitting, tipping over and throwing different objects; swinging and jumping; imitating sounds*.

The Danish expert on education for the blind, Lilli Nielsen, has taught us a great deal about our responsibilities vis-à-vis severely handicapped children in their earliest development stages. Her methodology is based on the following principles

- The development of these children follows the normal pattern, but they need a longer time to complete each developmental stage
- Concentrate on what the child can do, don't dwell unduly on what the child cannot do
- Give stimulation in the form of play
- The actions of the child should always lead to a result.

Pupils like Matti need a carefully adapted school environment and special aids can help them to actively explore and discover the world about them. Appliances which train his sensory abilities increase his interest in his surroundings, which stimulates development and enables him to experience himself as *a person who can, who is able*.

B-Handicap (Moderately mentally handicapped)

- Understands her immediate environment as a unit
- Has a broader time perspective compared with the earliest level of development
- Can distinguish between different groups of objects
- Understands pictures
- Is able to speak
- Is unable to understand numerals or arithmetic.

Introducing Nilgün

Nilgün moved to Sweden when she was one year old. She is now eight, and lives in a suburb of Stockholm with her two sisters and her parents. Nilgün has Down's Syndrome; in her case this means that she is mentally handicapped, and has a generally weak musculature which has resulted in delayed development of her gross motor ability. She understands a lot of what is said, but has difficulty in speaking herself partly as a result of having an over-enlarged tongue (macroglossia). At home the family only speaks their mother tongue.

When she was four she started attending a day-care centre; she was in a single language group, where only her mother tongue was spoken. She made good progress in this group, where language and culture were the same as in her home. Her parents and the staff of the day-care centre understood how important it was that she could feel secure in the group situation, that she was able to interact with children of the same age using her mother tongue. Everyone was agreed that in her early years a mentally handicapped child with a language other than that spoken by the majority needs linguistic stimulation in an environment having the same language and culture as in her own home.

Nilgün now attends a special school for severely mentally retarded children. Here, she is able to acquire new knowledge corresponding to her own level of development. If her development in the future is such that she progresses beyond the level of this school, she will start attending a comprehensive school for the mentally retarded.

How Nilgün thinks and understands

Nilgün understands pictures and language. This means that she has progressed beyond the stage where she always needed to have direct contact with concrete reality in order to understand the world about her; she can now understand concrete symbols. A picture is a concrete symbol like the reality it represents, but at the same time very different. A picture of an apple may look like an apple, but it doesn't taste like one, and it doesn't feel the same when held as a real apple. However, we still say that it is an apple. Words are also symbols for concrete

reality, but at a more abstract level. The word “car” stands for a motor vehicle, but cars look different from each other. Nilgün has started to be able to think of objects and events she cannot see before her, but her thinking is still very concrete, the meanings of words are still tied to what she has personal experience of. Nilgün is now able to order the images in her memory according to different categories e.g. buildings, vehicles, dogs, etc. She thinks when she compares, recognises and orders the pictures in her memory. She is able to form an overall picture of her surroundings if she is given the opportunity to try out a lot of things and gain experience.

She has started to be able to find her way in the areas she visits regularly i.e. her home, her school, the day-care centre. She navigates in a way that can be compared to the links of a chain, where one landmark leads to the next. This ability is still tied to those places she has experienced herself. Other places do not exist for her.

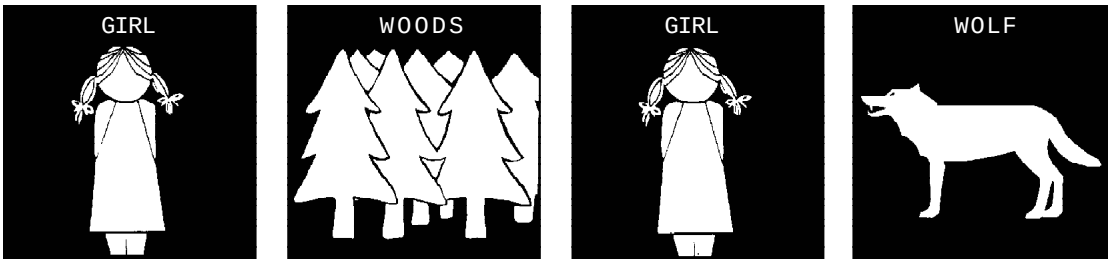
Her experience of time is concrete. She knows that there are things that have already happened – before; that there are things that will happen – after; and that there are those things that are happening in the present – now. She does not really understand if her mother says “We’re going to Granny’s at one o’clock”. She becomes uncertain, and wants to start putting on her outdoor clothes. It is easier for her to understand if her mother says “We’re going to Granny’s after we’ve had lunch”, since Nilgün then has a concrete event to compare with. She is also beginning to be able to understand quantity, but she has no understanding of numerals.

Nilgün and language

Nilgün’s level of linguistic understandings. is significantly higher than her own language production suggests. Since she has no fully functioning spoken language at her command she needs the support of aids which help her to communicate in both her mother tongue and Swedish. Even if the degree of communication she can thereby achieve is limited, it helps her to affect her environment by expressing her will, her feelings and her needs which is obviously important for her. If she is enabled to achieve something herself she is encouraged to take her own initiatives, and can thus expand the wealth of her experience

People who have no functioning spoken language at their command can make use of alternative methods of communication, depending on their level of aptitude – for example pictorial, sign-based and Pictogram communication. These alternatives to spoken communication can be combined in various ways.

The combination chosen for Nilgün was based on her individual situation a combination of signs and Pictogram. Her parents, sisters, friends and teachers, and other members of school staff, have to



The Pictogram version of Little Red Riding-Hood, by Anita Johansson (SIH, Teaching Aids, Umeå)

regularly practise the signs used and use them consistently. Many of the signs are logical and easy to interpret, and help Nilgün to identify and understand information given orally. Pictogram is a communication system, which at present consists of 929 symbols in the form of stylised, concrete pictures in white against a black background. Pictogram can be said to be the written language of the signs Nilgün also uses.

Nilgün receives support from a speech therapist to help her with communication in Swedish. The mother tongue teacher works with her both in the classroom and individually.

Nilgün's work in mother tongue studies

The function of the mother tongue teacher in the school Nilgün attends is an important one. It is through the mother tongue teacher that Nilgün's mother tongue can be a living part of her everyday life. The content of Nilgün's mother tongue studies is planned by the teacher in consultation with the members of staff who work with Nilgün, and her parents are also involved in the process. The aim is that by being taught mother tongue, Nilgün will be enabled, as far as her abilities permit,

- to develop her ability to interact with other people, in both the domestic and the school environment
- develop her awareness of different social relationships and roles and of different linguistic environments, and her ability to base her actions on this awareness
- assimilate one or more methods of communication, and to learn to communicate in an all-round manner in her mother tongue
- learn to understand the use of her mother tongue in everyday conversation, traditional folk-tales, stories and play
- take part in singing and dancing games
- know the relationships in her family and among her relations, and to appreciate their customs and traditional festivities.

The communication carried on with her in her mother tongue aims to develop and contain a store of words and expressions which need to be

regularly revised and supplemented. The range of expression is expanded pari passu with Nilgün's individual development.

Examples of concepts/terms she should learn to master

- are terms for activities, objects and persons of importance in her life
- terms of importance in Nilgün's immediate environment;
- terms for everyday routines
- terms to do with fundamental needs – for example, in order to say she's thirsty
- terms for feelings
- parts of the body, colours, toys, etc.

Possible materials for training/learning

- Pictogram symbols (cards, stickers, stamps) and a communication map consisting of categories of importance to Nilgün, such as "school", "home", "food", etc.
- colour photographs of persons and objects Nilgün knows well
- picture books showing people doing different things (mother, father, brothers and sisters, mother tongue teacher)
- games based on categories e.g. lotto, pairs, bingo using Pictogram symbols
- shortened and simplified versions of traditional folk and fairy tales told using Pictogram symbols
- anthologies of rhymes, verses and singing games in the mother tongue
- computer and software for teaching Pictogram
- other picture-based programs used in the regular teaching of the school for the mentally retarded. The pictures in the programs can provide a basis for communication, and also contain concepts/terms to be learnt.

C-Handicap (Moderately mentally handicapped)

- Has overall understanding of temporal and spatial relationships;
- Can perform simple arithmetic
- Is better able to deal with new situations
- Still has difficulties with abstract concepts
- Needs to experience any one thing a large number of times in order to be able to understand it
- Is able to learn how to read and write.

Introducing Juan

Juan was born in Chile, and came to Sweden with his parents and brothers and sisters. The family speaks Spanish at home. After three years in a comprehensive school in a native-language class he moved to a comprehensive school for the mentally retarded where all teaching was in Swedish, with four hours a week of mother tongue studies.

How Juan thinks and understands

Juan found life difficult to understand in his early years. His parents realised that his development was progressing slowly when his younger brother began to catch him up in several respects, and even to overtake him. Juan was not as actively inquisitive, and his way of finding out how things worked was to handle them. Answers to the questions he put had to be given concrete demonstration, otherwise he could not understand. Juan is mentally handicapped, but his disability is not particularly conspicuous, which can lead to people around him expecting too much of him.

Juan is now able to pursue a thought process to a conclusion, which means that he can acquire knowledge by combining different experiences in his mind. Thought can replace practical deed. However, he cannot understand abstract concepts such as beauty, freedom, etc; he understands them as something concrete, tangible. He understands idiomatic expressions and abstract reasoning in a literal sense; he is bound to concrete meaning.

Juan can, with difficulty, add and subtract. He is unable to understand the difference between money and cheques, which are a symbol for money. Juan sees cheques as money, and cannot grasp that he needs money to cover a cheque.

Juan and language

Juan now has a bigger Swedish than Spanish general vocabulary. When he cannot make himself understood in Spanish he will often turn to Swedish. At home, the children speak Swedish with each other, and Spanish with their parents. Their Spanish has obviously deteriorated.

Juan can read both Swedish and Spanish. He can write in both languages, but needs a lot of time to structure his thoughts if asked to write freely. He takes great pleasure in his mother tongue teacher’s readings of legends and traditional tales from his native country. He is now able to understand that there are different times than the time he is experiencing right now, and can imagine things he has not seen.

Juan’s identity is rooted in his Chilean origin. He is interested in everything that has to do with Chile current affairs, customs, music, politics, food, and so on.

Important elements in Mother Tongue Ttudies in comprehensive education for the mentally retarded

The syllabus laid down for Mother Tongue Studies in comprehensive school education for the mentally retarded establishes two stages of objectives

Objectives which every pupil is to have achieved on completing that part of their education which aims to prepare them for learning to read and write in their mother tongue

To the extent permitted by his/her individual abilities,

- in simple language about everyday things
- have acquired a basic foundation of words and concepts
- be able to acquire awareness of the various aspects of language sounds, words and sentences
- be able to tell a short story or give a short account, with or without the support of pictures, in such a way that the listener understands
- be able to express feelings and thoughts
- know something of their native culture's folk tales, songs and music, customs and traditional festivities.

Objectives which every pupil is to have achieved on completing their ninth year of school education

To the extent permitted by his/her individual abilities, the pupil is to be able to take part in conversations in a group situation,

- to be able to talk about things that have happened and their own experiences, and to be able to give an account of the content of stories
- be able to read and understand simple texts, and to write short messages, letters, etc
- know and be able to apply the most common rules of spelling
- know of the central folk tales and authors from the cultural sphere of their mother tongue
- be able to read and understand literature for children and youth, and basic factual books written for children
- have knowledge of the major historical events, traditions and social characteristics of their native country, and to be able to make comparisons with Sweden.

Juan's work in mother tongue studies

Listening to and speaking Spanish

The mother tongue teacher should in every way endeavour to concretise the teaching, and to provide Juan with opportunities to acquire experiences via all his senses. The learning of words and concepts is most successful if they are encountered in a real context. Many everyday situations also provide rich opportunities for training grammatical competence in a natural fashion.

The materials Juan uses in practising his aural and oral skills in Spanish include natural, concrete objects; Spanish radio programmes; rhymes, songs and stories; Spanish computer programs (e.g. "1000 words", "Living Books", "KidPix 2"); and good pictures of objects, people, activities, qualities, events, and different environments.

Reading and writing Spanish

Like other pupils in comprehensive schools for the mentally retarded Juan has the ability to achieve a certain level of competence in reading and writing. For him to be able to realise this potential, the following aspects must be taken into consideration

- Co-ordination of planning between the class teacher, the mother tongue teacher and the teacher of Swedish as a foreign language

Computers are establishing themselves as valuable aids in the teaching of immigrant children in schools for the retarded.
Photo: Gösta Andersson

- The mother tongue teacher should apply a contrastive approach in order to be able to observe the difficulties Juan may experience with Spanish as a result of the influence of Swedish
- distinguish them from other learning difficulties; and provide him with appropriate corrective exercises. The similarities between the two languages should provide the starting point, with the differences being subsequently dealt with by degrees
- The methodology used in teaching reading should not differ too much from the methodology being used in teaching the reading of Swedish. Juan should be able to make use of the basic skills he has acquired while learning to read Swedish

Juan's learning to read should be based on his spoken language and his personal experiences.

Juan is now able to write texts of his own on the computer using a simple word processing program. He is able, without difficulty, to write words in Spanish with accents that don't appear on the Swedish keyboard.

Learning about the native country's culture and society

Teaching the native country's culture is not only the task of the mother tongue teacher; it is the task of everyone in the school. It is important that the children learn about their own background and culture; and it is at least equally as important that the immigrant children can feel that everything that belongs to their own culture is accepted and welcomed by the other people in the school. If this is the case, it will be easier for the children to grow up with two languages and two cultures.

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Nina Pekkinen

7. IMMIGRANTS AT PELTOLA SCHOOL – THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN FROM RUSSIA AND THE EARLIER SOVIET UNION

Peltola School in Vantaa, neighbour to Helsinki, is a higher comprehensive school of about six hundred pupils. Five years ago the first Russian immigrant pupils came to our school. First there came only a small group and according to the parents' wishes the pupils were placed directly into the Finnish classes. They received instruction in their own mother tongue Russian two lessons once a week together with remedial instruction and instruction in Finnish as the second language.

They were hard years for everybody both teachers and pupils. Every year the amount of pupils increased, and the unsolved problems kept on growing. The situation was new to everybody; it necessitated the solution of problems through one's own experience. One had to consider the historical background, the prejudices etc. All this affected education as a whole. The teachers worked hard in the classrooms with their pupils and tried to do their best.

At the beginning one felt, that everything one did was at times quite right, at others completely wrong. Demands were increased, but few results became visible. It often happened that pupils of the higher comprehensive got frustrated and were often absent from education. Parents were not content with their children's marks.

Russian was the greatest problem. The pupils refused to study it and the parents supported their children's choice. Everybody expected wonders in a short time. The children were to learn Finnish in one year to the extent, which would allow them to follow the instruction without the aid of an interpreter. In addition the parents wanted their children to have a lot of Finnish friends, which resulted in the denial of intercourse with Russian speaking children.

The senior common room often discussed the matters and expected too much. Each new school year brought its own surprises and the problems only amounted. One could not have anticipated a situation like this; thus our next step was to study and participate in different kinds of courses, getting acquainted with the experiences of the Swedish schools in Finland and with Russian the culture and school.

What a Finnish teacher ought to know about a Russian speaking pupil?

The amount of foreigners living in Finland in 1996 amounted to about 70,000 or approximately 1,3% of the population. The largest group

was the speakers of Russian, Estonian, English and Somali. At the moment there are about 13,000 Ingrians or so called return migrants.

The immigrants have concentrated in the county of Uusimaa, where about a half of the immigrants are living. About bare five per cent of the inhabitants of the capital district have foreign background.

The Ingrian Finns have emigrated from Lutheran Finland to Ingermanland in the 17th- century and later. The migration to Ingermanland continued to the Revolution of 1917. Among tens of entire nations the Ingrian Finns were exiled in the political and ethnic persecutions of the 30s to the last man, woman and child to the interior of the country, to Kazahstan and Siberia. After the war they were exposed to new deportation. During the past years the Ingrians have had to pay a higher price for their Finnish origin than any other group of foreigners. Currently the status of Ingrians is poor. The Ingrian Finns living in the area of the late Soviet Union are exceptional in certain circumstances. They have lived under a different social system, and they are still living under conditions, which in themselves cause pressures to emigrate. The opportunity to emigrate was opened for them only with the liberation of life in the Soviet Union. After a long period of isolation their knowledge about Finland was scarce and deficient.

The Ingrians started arriving in Finland to a greater extent in 1990. Then the President of Finland, Mr. Mauno Koivisto had in the spring 1990 issued a statement, according to which the Ingrians could be considered as return migrants in Finland.

A return migrant is a foreigner emigrating to Finland. The qualifications for the Ingrian Finns for return migration were, that the person emigrating from the area of the late Soviet Union was of Finnish origin. In other words, either he himself or one of his parents or at least two of his grandparents are, or have been entered as of Finnish origin in the records, or he can show some other tie with Finland or Finnish nationality.

When either Ingrian or Russian immigrant pupils arrive at Peltola School we do not separate them. The main thing is their common mother tongue Russian, which can be used to give instruction and to support their studies. Mutual understanding and friendship between these groups can be practised gradually keeping the historical backgrounds in mind. The main part of our pupils come from Ingrian families, which means nothing to the children, because they all feel themselves Russian in the first place. It is very seldom that anyone of them knows Finnish or knows anything about Ingrians.

The identity of the immigrants

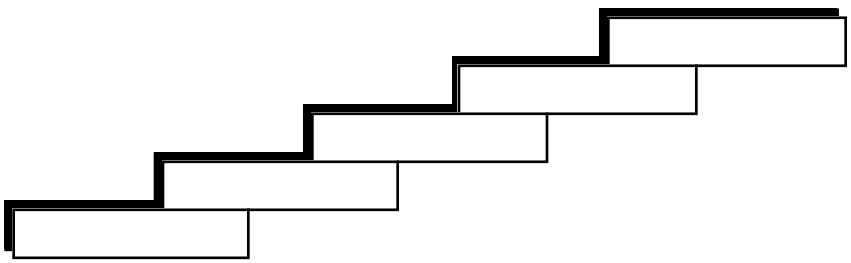
The word identity means a permanent way of experiencing one’s own characteristics and oneself, which grows together with the different

experiences of identification and learning received in social relationships. (Matinheikki-Kokko 1992,1)

Most people find their strongest roots in their homes and native regions. The question of the extent, to which the nature of the native place and the climate conditions form man and nation, has been fairly well argued. As individuals we do know how deeply we may be attached to the details of the home neighbourhood. Every object, a windfelled birch, shrubs planted by grandfather, the bends in the home way, and views from a hill bring to mind moments and events, which mean something to us. They have actually set their stamp on us.

No one can live in a foreign culture solely by reminiscing the native country. On subconscious level, at least, man aims at creating order out of chaos. Man is a physical being, who tries to get rooted into the surroundings, where he finds himself at any given moment. The former native country lives in memories, but physically man always exists somewhere. The need to find an explanation to the significant events of the surroundings is characteristic to man. Communication between cultures only succeeds, when people are able to interpret the same acts in the same way. From the point of view of education and language instruction it is important that such matters may be discussed, read, and written about, and they can be compared with new impressions. A person's identity is never final, but it develops, and is subject to alteration due to age.

The following development pattern describes the changes a person undergoes, when he moves from one country to another. Here the pattern is applied to the process by which the pupils of my own school become integrated:



1. The cooperation phase is the most interesting and difficult. The pupil arrives at the Finnish school unable to talk the language, alone without any previous knowledge about the new culture. But as long as everything is new and interesting, there is courage for cooperation with teachers and new mates. Then everything seems to be wonderful and promising. This phase may last long for some pupils at our school. Often, the changes start appearing after six months; parents and

teachers notice the change in the behaviour of the child. There are now 25 Russian pupils at Peltola School, the greatest group are those on the seventh form. During this year new pupils have constantly arrived during the term. In our school there is a reception group, where the pupil stays for a short period to get acquainted. After two or three weeks the pupil partly participates in the lessons of the Finnish classes. The other Russian pupils volunteer help and act as interpreters.

2. Appreciation -phase comes later, when the pupil learns to cope with activities outside home, at school, and knows colloquial Finnish fairly well. The appreciation of one's own culture and language increases, while the appreciation of Finnish language and culture decrease. Often at this point the pupil gives up trying to find Finnish mates. The Russian group at our school is well discernible. The pupils stay together during the breaks, and they speak only Russian. They are numerous and they do not have any problems with the Finnish young people. This phase is difficult to understand; there is often a complete change in the child's behaviour; a great deal of problems surface both at home and at school. Parents require discipline and compare the Finnish school with the Russian school. The children often tell what it was like to study in Russia, and what kind of discipline they had there. When the children and parents compare the Finnish and Russian school, they forget that the school there was founded during a different social system. In Russia the school is still completely dependent on the decisions "above", it has been created for a society, where knowledge is passed, fed, taught, people are fostered for an authoritarian society.

This is the reason why it is very important, at this point, for our pupils to get information about all this. The teachers have to be patient in teaching, and explain even simple matters, which the Finnish child learns at the lower comprehensive:

- you come to school to get information
- you acquire knowledge independently
- you may get help, when you ask for it
- learning is fun
- peace for work and tranquillity in class are important
- I learn by myself because I want to develop myself

This freedom is not yet grasped by the Russian pupils. This is the difference and reason why this phase is the most difficult for all - pupils, parents and teachers. If cooperation cannot be found between grown-ups and children at this point, studies get jammed for a long time and there is no development.

3. Status

At this point the common bridge to the Finnish culture, which the young person is ready to cross, has been found. He has a clear background of his own, he has no conflict with himself, he knows to

which culture he belongs, and he wants to become integrated into the Finnish culture. This phase starts after 2–3 years, if the pupil gets help, guidance at school, where he has a teacher who belongs to his own culture. Then he is able to appreciate both the cultures.

4. Self esteem

When the pupil reaches this stage it means that:

- His language competence has developed, he has the courage to continue his studies in upper secondary school, vocational training on post-comprehensive level or he finds work.
- he has many friends, both Russian and Finnish.
- he is bold in making decisions, and knows how to act in this society.
- he knows his own chances, and he is not lonely.
  At our school the pupils only have time to reach the second or the third phase.

5. Success

The pupil shows development; he knows what he wants and what are his chances in this society.

On the basis of my own experience I can say that the development of the immigrant's identity roughly follows the lines of the above development pattern. During these five years different alternatives have been tried in teaching the Russian group.

Because there is a permanent Russian teacher at the school, all educational matters run in a smoother and more effective way. It is very important for the pupils to have an adult of their own culture at school who helps, guides, explains etc,

Curriculum and educational process for immigrants

The educational aims for the immigrant pupils at Peltola school should be as follows:

- to help the pupil cope with everyday situations in using Finnish
- to acquire the Finnish language competence together with basic structures and vocabulary according to subject matter and the person's own linguistic development
- to secure the preservation and continual development of the pupil's own mother tongue
- as well functioning bilingualism as possible
- promotion of the pupil's own cultural identity
- to acquaint the pupil with the Finnish nature, culture, living conditions and society including education
- to develop the facilities to intercultural intercourse, multiculturalism and to becoming internationalized
- to secure the adaptation to the new peer group considering the background culture

- to promote the pupils self esteem in a way, which makes him believe in his own chances of doing well in the new culture
- to give facilities for studies in the Finnish comprehensive school and further education, and to encourage spontaneous acquisition of information.

The school curriculum undergoes continuous development, it constantly lives, changes, and it is dependent on i.a. the resources reserved for education.

When compiling the curricula for different languages, attention must be paid on the characteristics, development stage of standard language and the whole cultural background of each language. When essential contents are defined, consideration must be paid on the pupil's age, language development, cultural background, earlier tuition and learning routines.

Development of the curriculum for immigrants at Peltola School during five years

Because the first immigrant curriculum in 1991 was unclear, we followed the curriculum made for use with the Finnish pupils of the school. The pupils were given two lessons in their own mother tongue at Viertola school, because the Russian teacher worked there.

There were great difficulties. There were no suitable textbooks for use, that is why they had to be found from Russia. The group of pupils consisted of pupils at different levels, some had finished the ninth form, but most were on forms 7. and 8. The desire to study mother tongue was low, some refused outright. Teachers had to fight this attitude for two years. The situation changed, when the mark for one's own mother tongue was included in the school graduation diploma. The pupils who knew Russian well succeeded better even in Finnish.

The general chaotic stage of teaching arrangements resulted in the insecure studying conditions both for teachers and pupils, which culminated in behavioural problems for several pupils. We had no time to consider the curriculum, because our time was spent in trying to find a functioning system to discipline the pupils, and to know what was happening, and where it was happening. The Finnish parents also began to pay attention to the restless school life. Hardly any support was given by the Russian homes; the parents did not believe in the pupils' behavioural problems at school, because the children were well-behaved at home. The situation at Peltola School gradually matured to a stage, when the development of immigrant curriculum and arrangements were accepted as an essential development area. In December 1994 the school started to follow a new behavioural mode and curriculum for immigrant pupils.

All the immigrant pupils had their own Finnish classes, but changes were made to their schedules. They were freed from Swedish; it was substituted by either Russian or Finnish as second language. In classrooms they were given remedial instruction by the teacher, while the subject teacher taught the other pupils. It took six months before we could get the pupils in order and make the rules and modes of behaviour of the school clear to everyone. Even removals of pupils had to be resorted to. In this way the situation was calmed down, and only then were we ready in our school to consider and plan the educational contents for the immigrant children.

There was a promising start for the year 1995. The Russian immigrant pupils, who numbered 21, were given a receiving class and the school had resources to engage a Russian history teacher. Physics, maths and chemistry is taught in a separate group by an Estonian teacher, who also knows Russian. Also English and domestic science are taught in a separate group. The municipality engaged a Russian school assistant, and the school acquired a Russian psychologist. In addition there was a permanent Russian language teacher on the school staff, who acted as welfare officer and remedial teacher/ support for the immigrant pupils.

This term is approaching its end, and it is time to look at the results, and plan for the coming school term. Today there are 15 pupils on the 7th form, 6 on the 8th, 4 on the 9th, which makes 25 Russian immigrant pupils in all.

The receiving class must undergo further development and a permanent teacher must be engaged for it. Nowadays the pupils that come from Russia are weaker. They may have problems with maths, or languages are extremely weak. In the receiving class they must continuously be taught to learn, one has to illustrate with examples the meaning of the word “freedom” in a Finnish school and what are the differences between a Russian and Finnish school. It comes closer to fostering work, preparation for a Finnish class.

Maths, physics, chemistry in a separate group did not work out as expected. This requires a mother tongue teacher and/or different course systems. The Russian pupils get frustrated during lessons, if they are too easy for them, or the requirements are not clear. The instruction could be given for example as courses , which would also pay attention to the pupil’s skills in Finnish in addition to the subject matter. They could even study the same subjects in Russian.

Instruction of Finnish as a second language should also be developed. Now there are two Finnish language groups at the school: the beginners, who are taught in their own mother tongue, and another advanced group which is taught in Finnish. In addition the pupils of the other group are in the class during the mother tongue lessons. The instruction of the beginners’ group should be developed more along

lines, which would motivate for the use of Finnish with the help of a Finnish teacher, and the advanced group needs focusing on Finnish grammar in Russian.

English has always proved to be a difficult point to all Russian immigrants, even though it has been studied in Russia since the 4th form, but the aims there differ completely from those in Finland. The pupils do not know the spoken language, and they dare not speak it. Some do well in Finnish groups, the majority forms a group of its own. Nevertheless, this is not the correct solution, because the teacher does not know Russian and many things have to be translated into Russian. For this group a teacher with the knowledge of Russian is needed.

History is a subject, which produces full marks for the pupils and makes them pleased. Its is a really good experience, the pupils get more self assurance and believe in their own abilities. I hope next year we could engage a history teacher, with whose help we could give instruction in civic skills in a separate group with the help of an interpreter; this subject is most difficult on the last form and extremely important.

The instruction in geography and biology has functioned quite well, because the Russian teacher visits the lessons and helps in the class by translating the texts from the books into Russian. Domestic sciences in a separate group work well.

In future the instruction in Russian language should be arranged in courses. The planning of the courses could be done together with the pupils and in this way they would commit themselves to the instruction.

The next step to success at Peltola School

Nowadays we have a rather clear picture of the situation and the aims to be reached in the instruction of immigrants. We do not want to accelerate the children's natural development in an artificial way. This work is extremely labourious and hard, it requires a lot of strength and resources. The school teachers are pleased to help, but one can not advance far without a common language. We want to teach and we hope, that after school these pupils will find their own way into the Finnish society and culture. And because, at this point, these pupils need a lot of guidance on their own mother tongue, further aid is required. There should be at least two permanent Russian teachers. It is possible to implement the course system, if there are two teachers. Now is the time to decide, what we will do and what kind of opportunities the school will have. The consensus at school is extremely good – the common" bridge" has been built, the way to the future has been opened.

Max Strandberg

8 THE VIKING AGE IN OUR NATIVE COUNTRIES – A CROSS CULTURAL APPROACH

Present-day Somalia was called Puntland at the time when the Vikings lived in the Nordic countries. It was the ancient Egyptians who gave Somalia this name. It was where they travelled to buy incense, which to this day is called "punt".

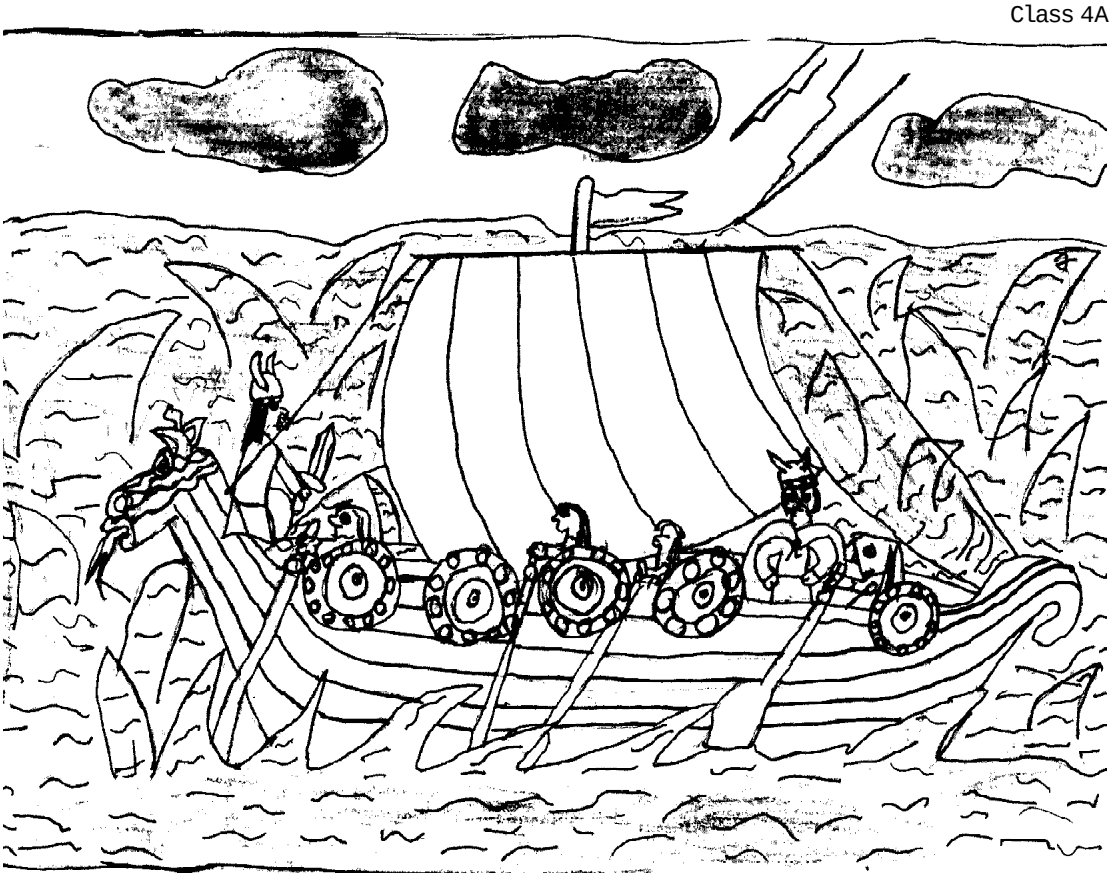
In eleventh-century Pakistan the kings lived in big palaces. They had tigers, eagles and lions to show how powerful they were. The kings sent letters by homing pigeon.

In the eleventh century in Morocco horses were used in war. Mules and donkeys were used for ploughing and as beasts of burden.

The e priests in eleventh-century Guatemala had great power. The quetzal, a little blue bird with long, blue tail feathers, was holy.

In Bosnia there was a lot of iron ore. The mine owners grew rich, and had a lot of military conquests.

Class 4A



This, and much more, was what I and my pupils in class 4A at Kvarnby School in Rinkeby (a suburb on the north-western outskirts of Stockholm) learned when we looked at the Viking age. The children in my class come from a large number of different backgrounds Bosnia, Serbia, Turkey, Somalia, Morocco, Guatemala, Chile, Pakistan, Kurdistan, Syria, Iraq, and Sweden. Rinkeby became a centre of immigration when manpower arrived from Finland, Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 70s. Subsequent arrivals have come from Chile and other Latin American countries. Rinkeby became home for refugees from Iran and Iraq, and in the 1990s we have received refugees from Somalia, Kurdistan and Bosnia. This little area of 1 km^2 is witness to over 60 languages, and all of the world's major religions are represented here.

The Viking Age (800–1050 AD) was, as all people from the Nordic countries know, an exciting and dramatic period in our history. Pupils always find the subject interesting, and are eager to know more about the Vikings' life and travels. The myths of the ancient Norse gods are exciting and entertaining. My pupils usually each build their own small Viking ship of paper, and together we build a large Viking ship using cardboard boxes. The children then make models of the equipment - a stove, scales, a box and clothes, provisions and weapons the Vikings had with them when they made their journeys. They then carry out their own research and write up what they find out about the Viking age in their history books.

It is important that the teaching of history should have some connection with the culture and background of the pupils. Many immigrant pupils have different frames of reference from the Swedish pupils, and it is natural if they do not display the same enthusiasm for Swedish history as for history which they see as having some connection with their own background. The Vikings plundered and traded in several of the countries where the pupils have their origins.

What did the class's different native countries look like during the Viking age?

It was a pleasure to see how the pupils worked on the Viking age; but things became really interesting when we asked ourselves what life was like during the same period in the various countries of origin represented in the class.

Before we get down to work on a new subject area we in our class usually take time to formulate questions; our aim is the to find the answers to all the things everyone would like to know. In this case this stage was easy, since everyone knew exactly what they wanted to find out.

1. What people lived in my country at the same time as the Vikings lived in the Nordic countries?

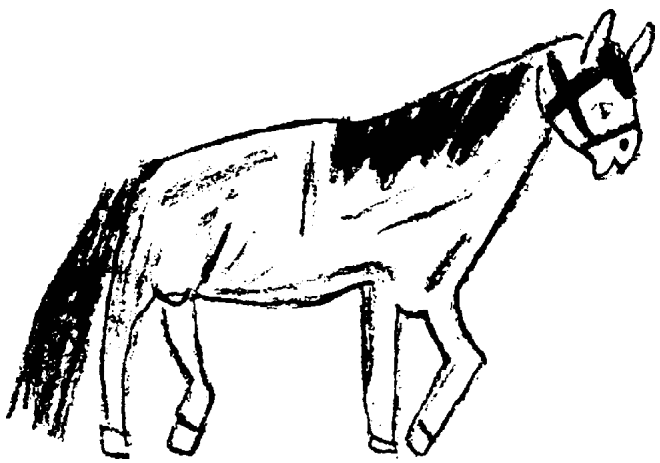
GUDEN YUM KAAX VAR MAJSGUDEN. HAN TECKNADES SOM EN UNGDOM.

2. How did they live? What did it look like inside their houses?
3. How did they cook, and what did they eat?
4. What tools and what kinds of weapons did they have?
5. How did people dress?
6. Did they have domesticated animals? Did they have horses?
7. What did the countryside look like? Did it look like it does today?
8. What gods did they have?

Although the questions appeared straightforward enough, it proved to be no easy task to find out the answers. For example, there is no literature available in Swedish describing what life was like in Pakistan 1000 years ago. Teachers of Mother Tongue Studies, parents and neighbours became involved in the work to find out the answers. The classroom computer was kept busy, and the children visited embassies and the city's main libraries in the hunt for illustrations for their texts. The teachers' staff-room became the venue for discussions of Turkish, Pakistani, Somalian and Kurdish history. The Kurdish map was the topic of especially heated conversation. My colleague and myself were filled with enthusiasm, and learned a great deal. When the Somalian mother tongue teacher, Idil, came and showed us a piece of punt, of the same kind as Queen Hatschepsut of Egypt bought in Puntland 3500 years ago, it was if we could hear the heart-beat of history.

Library exhibition

The class and I decided that we wanted to stage an exhibition, with displays showing what life was like in all our different native countries during the time of the Nordic Vikings. Each of the fifteen display screens that we made for the exhibition included text, pictures, drawings and maps. The pupils put a lot of time and work into making



the screens visually attractive; together with the large Viking ship and all the small ones they formed an impressive, informative exhibition at Rinkeby public library. At the opening ceremony the pupils presented their displays to parents, teachers, the school's principal, and the chairman of the borough council. Some of the pupils performed a dance in Viking clothes while the others sang "The Valhalla Polka". Visitors were offered the class's home-brewed, much-enjoyed mead and two kinds of Viking bread.

Booklet

After the opening of the exhibition several parents suggested we should put the texts together to make a booklet. We expanded some of the texts, wrote a foreword, and got hold of more pictures. The pupils designed the front and back covers, and wrote a bit about themselves. There are photographs of all the children. Two weeks before the end of term our booklet, *The Viking Age in our Native Countries*, was ready. Several schools bought enough copies for a whole class, to use as a teaching material. The booklet has 44 pages, and a lot of what it contains are things we teachers have never previously read about, whether it be during our professional life or during teacher training. When we came to evaluate the project the pupils said that they had learnt a lot, not only about their own countries but about everybody's. Peter, aged 10, from Syria, said

> "It's good to make a good job of something so difficult even though we're so young."

When we had sold 350 copies of the booklet we went on a class outing to Grainy Lund, Stockholm's big amusement park.

Immigrant pupils' language development

A serious problem prevalent in areas with a high proportion of immigrant inhabitants is the children's linguistic and academic development. Immigrant pupils' level of knowledge is lower than that of their Swedish counterparts, at least with regard to knowledge of the subjects taught in Swedish schools. In Rinkeby it is not easy to find a Swede to talk Swedish with; as a result the level of competence in Swedish is low. Many textbooks are abstract in content, and depict a reality which the children have never previously encountered. It can be difficult to relate to this new reality for a pupil who comes from a completely different kind of cultural environment. Language development is encouraged if the content of teaching awakens the pupils' active interest and can be made accessible for them. The national objectives for what pupils should know after completing the various stages of their school

Morocco 800–1050

The Vikings bought spices and salt from the merchants in the markets, paying for them with animal skins. They called Morocco and northern Africa The Blue Land. Morocco was inhabited by the Berbers during the Viking age. The Arabs arrived later. The people who lived in the desert ate a lot of dried fruits dates, raisins, figs with milk. They ate camel meat and goats' meat. The food varied depending on where they lived.

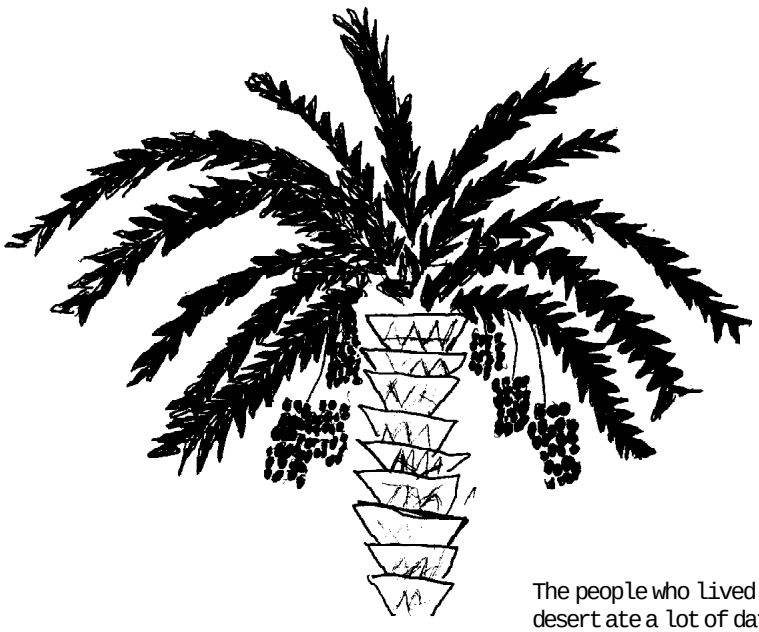
The people who lived near the coast were fishermen. Agriculture was well developed, they grew vegetables, tomatoes, onions, garlic and other things. Wheat and rye were staples. They hunted antelope, hare, ostrich, wood pigeon, pheasant. The houses were built of stone and clay. Some people lived in caves in the Atlas mountains. Sultans and rich people lived in beautiful palaces.

education can be achieved even if the content of the lessons is changed. This explains why we systematically work using a cross-cultural approach, an approach based on comparisons between cultures; we endeavour to get the mother tongue teachers, parents and other adults involved as well. Both of the languages the children speak are made use of. We work out and formulate our questions in Swedish, and we plan our interviews in Swedish, although they are frequently carried out using the mother tongue. The answers the children receive from their parents and other adults are translated from the mother tongue into Swedish. The textual content of the booklets we produce is written in Swedish but the knowledge the children have gained is in both of their languages.

Two earlier booklets

Schools in other countries, 1992

A previous class, with pupils from an even bigger number of different countries, carried out an interview-based investigation, where they asked parents or other relatives what it was like when they went to school in their native countries. One of the reasons why I set this project rolling was that I wanted to try to find out what my pupils' parents' attitudes were towards school education in Sweden. Opinions as to the best way for children to learn and what makes a good school are very much culturally determined, and sometimes it is difficult to understand what parents' expectations of school are.



The people who lived in the desert ate a lot of dates.

The children carried out their interviews, and presented a report to the rest of the class making use of overhead transparencies, maps and glossaries of words from their mother tongues. We put together their work to make a booklet entitled “Schools in Other Countries”, working together with the author Gunilla Lundgren. This work is described in the book “Fourteen languages in One Classroom” (*Fjorton språk i klassen*). The most exciting of the pupils’ 30 questions this time was

What kinds of mischief did you get up to at school?

Maths in other countries, 1994

The following year, parents and other relatives were given the task of solving four maths problems, one for each of the four rules of arithmetic; they were also asked to answer questions about what maths lessons were like when they went to school in their native country. Several pupils in the class were not interested in the maths lessons, and I was hoping to get some help in motivating them from the parents. We compared the different methods which had been used to solve the problems. The algorithms for multiplication and division were those that differed the most from case to case. An elderly lady from eastern Turkey, who had never attended school, came up with a very elegant solution to the problem, using a method nothing like anybody else’s. The market traders had never been able to bamboozle her! The point of the exercise was that everyone arrived at the same answer, whether their methods for solving the problems came from Beijing, Mogadishu, New Delhi, Kinshasha or Sundsvall.

Immigrant children help us expand our knowledge

Working from a cross-cultural perspective is not only instructive for pupils; we teachers can learn a lot as well. Not only can we find out about other cultures, but we can also learn new things about our Swedish and Nordic heritage. Pupils who are given the opportunity to talk about their country, traditions and history listen when it is someone else’s turn to talk about *their* country.

We have talked about such topis as who should decide who you marry – your mother? Your grandmother? You yourself?

When certain of the children in the class are fasting we talk about the differences between the fasting traditions of different religions. The Moslems in the class fasted throughout Ramadan, but ate and drank in the evenings. The Orthodox Christians neither ate nor drank during their three days of fasting. The Hindu girl fasted sometimes for her brother’s health. The Swedish teachers fasted in order to lose weight!

THE BERBER ALPHABET

In Sweden we usually pour water on burns. In Asia Minor they use grapes or honey to soothe the pain.

Things that are obvious for us, aren't obvious for others.

Meeting Adult Immigrants

At a "parent's consultation hour" I asked Mehmet, a father from Kurdistan.

- "How do your people manage to keep on fighting? How come you haven't given up?"
- "It's like a fire in my breast. I think of all my family", Mehmet answered.

During a meeting with Mohammed, a Somalian father, I said "Somalia must be a beautiful country.

- I've heard that Mogadishu used to be a pleasant town, with lots of beautiful buildings."
- "Maybe you're right", said Mohammed. "But it's the people that are beautiful, not the country."

Vedad from Bosnia looked very sad one day, so I asked him what had happened.

- "My best friend has been killed. He trod on a mine."

The Vikings never went to Somalia. They knew nothing about Somalia, and perhaps they were not interested in travelling to Somalia. At that time, most people in Somalia were nomads. They lived in the countryside.

I asked the Bosnian mother tongue teacher

– "How are things with Vedad's family? He seems very upset."
– "The whole of Bosnia is in tears", she answered.

The meetings we teachers have with adult immigrants can open our eyes and help us understand what situations are like beyond our own boundaries.

In my examples I have attempted to show how we work and what can be learned from pupils from an immigrant background. Intercultural work naturally runs counter to racism and xenophobia. Schools disseminate Swedish and Nordic culture in a number of ways; at the same time, we must also be receptive to, learn about and disseminate the culture of immigrant families. Immigrant children take us on a journey around the world. We are a part of the world, and the encounter with other cultures changes us all. If we want to benefit from this, we have to be able to listen.

> Sidar, a girl from Kurdistan, said to me one day
> "Max, it's good to be a teacher in Rinkeby."
> "Why", I asked, somewhat curiously.
> "Because you can learn so much here", Sidar replied.

Iákovos
Demetriádes

9. BETTER MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY – ASSESSMENT AND FOLLOW-UP IN PRESCHOOL, COMPREHENSIVE AND UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BOTKYRKA MUNICIPALITY, SWEDEN

Assessment in preschools – harder than we thought

> "Developing a simple tool for gauging the mother tongue skills and degree of bilingualism of immigrant children in preschool education is a difficult task. Present-day research advises us to be careful in, for example, stipulating norms as to the number of words a child should know at a given age. We are all individuals – and every language is different in the structure and mechanics of its semantics, phonetics, morphology, syntax etc. Our measuring instrument has to be designed in such a way that it can be applied with regard to all languages...
>
> ...We made an endless number of draft designs, but rejected them all on the grounds that they were too complicated and "scientific". Then, by chance, we heard about an already existing, easy-to-use "test", primarily developed by Marie-Luise Nyberg, who is a preschool teacher and language teacher. Her material is designed to measure children's development in Swedish, so we have made a few alterations in how it is formulated in order to adapt it to the area of mother tongue studies."

A working party consisting of mother tongue teachers at preschool level began the introduction to their report "Assessment and Follow-Up of Mother Tongue Skills in Immigrant Children at Preschool Level", presented in December 1994, with the passage quoted above. This development work has come to form the foundation of the regular assessments of preschool children's proficiency in their mother tongue now being carried out in the municipality of Botkyrka (a suburb on the southern outskirts of Stockholm. In Sweden it is the municipal authorities that are responsible for managing school education).

The assessment tool

Materials and methods used in the assessment of mother tongue proficiency:

- eleven colour pictures with related pages of text
- a page of pictures which the child is to talk about
- a list of cue words which the child is expected to react to.

In addition, there are a number of sentences and questions referring to different concepts, to be used in order to get the child involved in a conversation.

ASSESSMENT CARD

Date: _____

Child's Name _____

Year of Birth _____

Language _____

Save this card. The information it contains may be of interest to parents, preschool teachers, the principal/education officers

A. Assessment Category A
The language is well developed.
The child speaks and understands well.

The child's level of proficiency is 6 ☐ _____
or 5 ☐ _____

B. Assessment Category B
The language is satisfactorily developed.
The child understands the language,
but has an insufficient active vocabulary.

The child's level of proficiency is 4 ☐ _____
or 3 ☐ _____

C. Assessment Category C
The child understands the language,
but uses Swedish for verbal communication.

The child's level of proficiency is 2 ☐ _____
or 1 ☐ _____

Assessing Teacher: _____

Tel. _____

The mother tongue teacher meets the child, shows him/her the pictures and has a conversation with the child. Afterwards, the teacher uses an assessment card to record his/her assessment of the child's level of proficiency in the mother tongue.

Levels of proficiency – the core of the assessment process

The children's development is described using a scale of six levels. It is the combination of the different language skills tested that determines which level of proficiency each child is at.

Level 1: The child understands simple, concrete sentences referring to specific situations, but is him/herself only able to use a small number of individual words and phrases. The child understands the content of fairy tales. The literature they can deal with is children's picture books, either of the kind where they have to point and say the name of things, or such as have simple, short texts that go with the pictures.

Level 2: The child understands simple everyday language and simple stories. The child can speak, using short sentences. His/her active vocabulary usually only contains the most frequently occurrent words.

Level 3: The child speaks in a simple but fluent manner. His/her vocabulary includes the central words and concepts of importance in everyday life. The child is able to understand fairy/folk tales if they are illustrated with pictures, puppets or concrete objects.

Level 4: The child has a reasonably large passive vocabulary. When describing and narrating the child often finds it somewhat difficult to find an accurate expression or the desired shade of meaning. Everyday communication is no problem.

Level 5: The child speaks the mother tongue almost as well as a child of the same age and maturity in a society where the language is the general means of communication. The child plays with the language, enjoys it, and makes up his/her own words, rhymes, etc. However, the child still experiences difficulties with certain complicated grammatical structures. The child has a large passive vocabulary, and likes all kinds of folk tales and stories.

Level 6: The child's command of his/her mother tongue is about the same as that of a child living in a community where communication is generally carried out using that language. The child's grammatical foundation is as good as complete, and his/her pronunciation shows no

trace of a foreign accent. The child finds listening to stories and folk tales an enriching experience, and enjoys making up his/her own stories. The child can give vivid descriptions of objects and events.

Results from two assessments

Our mother tongue teachers at preschool level have carried out two assessments to date, one in early 1995, and one at the end of the same year.

The teachers used two cards in their assessment work:

- an individual assessment card, on which the teacher records the child's name, age and mother tongue, and provides an assessment of the child's level of proficiency in the mother tongue
- an overall card, bringing together the number of children distributed per level of proficiency.

The individual assessment cards are kept by the mother tongue teacher. The cards can be used as a source of information for use in meetings with parents and in co-ordination with the child's other teachers. The card shows the child's own, individual level of language proficiency; the child is not compared to any other child. All individual information is confidential, and is not passed on to the preschool's head teacher, for example. Instead, the mother tongue teacher collates the individual assessments to form an overall card which is sent to the head teacher/education officers responsible for the preschool. This overall card shows the mother tongue teacher's name, the language in question, and the distribution between the different proficiency levels of all the children assessed. No children's names appear on the card. The head teacher/education officer collate all the reports and draw up tables, graphs etc. to visualise the results.

Results from December 1995 assessment

- Number of children assessed: 505
  (326 6-year-olds, 179 5-year-olds).
- Number of teachers taking part: 40–Number of languages: 40

Distribution between proficiency levels

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
18	44	60	102	158	123

As the table shows, 281 children (55% of all those assessed) have the highest levels of command over their mother tongue. These children speak the language as well/just about as well as children of the same

age in the country where it is the usual mother tongue. 162 children (32%) have an intermediate level of proficiency. Their passive vocabulary is large and they can communicate without difficulty; and although their language use is somewhat simple, they speak fluently. The two lowest levels describe only 62 children (12%). These children understand basic everyday language.

> The conclusion, then, is that the majority of the preschool children have a good or very good level of proficiency in their mother tongue; it can be assumed that their mastery of the language will continue to improve.

What has happened since?

Although the mother tongue teachers felt that the language assessments helped them in planning their teaching, they considered that the interval between the two assessments was too short for them to be able to draw any conclusions regarding the children's development in their mother tongue. That being said, the assessments highlighted certain tendencies which are of value for preschools, and also, for example, for teachers of the first year of junior school.

The mother tongue teachers reported on, analysed and discussed the results with other preschool staff and with the heads of day-care centres. Certain suggestions and ideas hatched during these meetings have found expression in new methods and approaches aimed at encouraging positive language development. Since roughly the same

The learning of children who feel happy and secure is quicker, easier, and better.
Foto: Iákovos Demetriádes

material can be used for assessing the children's level of proficiency in Swedish the possibility presents itself to carry out an all-round assessment of the children's language development, both in their mother tongue and in Swedish. In turn, this has led to greater balance in the way staff view the children, and triggered a positive dialogue between the mother tongue teachers and the Swedish-speaking members of staff on subjects such as the children's degree of maturity and language development. This can be seen as one of the most valuable benefits of this project.

Assessment of mother tongue studies in junior, lower-secondary and upper-secondary education – the tey to quality

With regard to the subject Mother Tongue Studies the national syllabuses lay down both goals towards which each pupil should strive, and objectives which each pupil is expected to have achieved on completion of a given course unit. In order to be able to assess pupils' knowledge and skills in their mother tongue, mother tongue teachers need to define, for the particular language they teach, specific kinds of knowledge their pupils should achieve, in addition to the objectives applying to all mother tongues generally.

As early as 1986 our teachers of Greek as a mother tongue drew up a schedule for teaching Mother Tongue Studies in Greek. This schedule was revised in 1993, and came to form the foundation of the schedule devised for all mother tongue teaching in junior, lower-secondary and upper-secondary schools in the Botkyrka municipality. The schedule was amended and now consists of two parts, one referring to junior and lower-secondary schools (children aged 7–16) and one for upper-secondary level (16–19 year-olds). These two schedules harmonise with the objectives established in the national curricula for junior and lower-secondary school education (Lpo94) and upper-secondary school education (Lpf94); they are also in line with the syllabuses for Mother Tongue Studies.

To make it easier to compare the assessments given of children's proficiency in languages that are very different from each other, in 1993 we developed a language appraisal instrument. This instrument is based on a) a division of mother tongue teaching into five objective-related levels, and b) criteria we established for the four central language skills: comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. Assessment of these criteria is based on six proficiency levels (we chose to have a six-point scale because, at that time, there was a proposal for a new national grading scheme in which A would be the highest grade and F the lowest).

Teaching levels

Put briefly, the teaching levels can be described as follows:

Level 1 – Highest level. The pupil's command of his/her mother tongue equals that of a native speaker of the same age in the country where the language comes from.

Level 2 – Advanced level. The pupil has full command of the mother tongue, but there are still certain gaps in vocabulary, and difficulties with abstract terms and written use of the mother tongue.

Level 3 – Intermediate level. The pupil understands, speaks, reads, writes and counts basic everyday language, has a limited vocabulary and difficulties with abstract terms.

Level 4 – Basic level. The pupil understands and can speak simple everyday language, and has learnt the principals of reading and writing.

Level 5 – Beginner's level. The pupil understands and can speak very simple everyday language, and has started learning to read and write.

For each teaching level minimum proficiency objectives are established, which apply with regard to all Mother Tongue Studies in all languages. The conditions prevailing in practical reality determine the rate at which these objectives are realised in each separate language. There are several factors which affect the way proficiency develops – for example the pupil's previous knowledge of the language, time-tabling issues, availability of teaching materials and resources, etc.

The teaching levels are not bound to particular school years. One benefit of this structure is that pupils can be taught in a group at the level appropriate for them, irrespective of which year they, and the other group members, are in at school – at the same time as we endeavour, as far as possible, to organise groups which are relatively homogeneous as far as age is concerned.

Criteria for assessing language skills

The assessment is effected on the basis of criteria which are the same for all the four skills comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, for all languages. The criteria follow a scale running from A to F, with A representing the highest degree of proficiency and F the lowest. The criteria for speaking and writing, for example, are as follows:

(A) – No difference. No mixing of languages. The pupil communicates fluently and without error in his/her mother tongue, both orally and in writing.

(B) – Slight difference. Slight mixing of languages. One or two errors or gaps (with regard to unusual words and abstract terms), which on the whole do not give rise to misunderstanding. Hardly disturbing in oral or written communication.

(C) – Clear difference. Significant mixing of languages. Limited vocabulary. Several errors and gaps in both oral and written communication, which sometimes give rise to misunderstanding. Can be disturbing.

(D) – Major difference. Major mixing of languages. Many errors and gaps in both oral and written communication, which, for monolingual listeners/readers often give rise to misunderstanding.

(E) –Very large difference. Spontaneous mixing of languages. Limited vocabulary in the mother tongue. The most the pupil can do is put together very simple sentences. A monolingual listener/reader can only understand certain parts of what is said.

(F) – No language skills in the mother tongue. The pupil does not understand simple instructions, such as basic routines of the kind that are normal at school. Passive vocabulary.

The assessment is based on comparisons which can be assumed to apply with regard to "a mother tongue pupil whose command of the mother tongue is equal to that of a school pupil in the country where the language is spoken." This construction is relative. The "mother tongue pupil" receives much less teaching where the language is used, and lives in a society where the language does not have the same life as in the country where the language is the main one used. Furthermore, the teacher must be aware of the danger of making subjective assessments, a danger present whenever language skills are to be assessed.

The assessment card – the tool in assessment work

The work of assessment is carried out using a card which combines the objective-related teaching levels with the assessment of the pupil's proficiency in comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. The assessment follows a "circular" pattern: the mother tongue teacher assesses the pupil's proficiency against the objectives established for a

PUPIL'S ASSESSMENT CARD

Mother Tongue Studies

Date _____

Pupil _____

Mother tongue _____

School _____

Form _____

Number of hours/week in mother tongue studies

Junior/Lower-secondary:

Outside school _____ Individual Option _____ Instead of a Foreign Language _____

Upper secondary:

As 2nd Foreign Language _____ as 3rd Foreign Language _____ as 4th Foreign Language _____

Individual option _____ Extended Programme _____

Study Guidance:

A) Junior/Lower-secondary _____ B) Upper secondary:

PART 1 Teacher's Part Teaching Levels

- ☐ Level 1 _____ Highest Level
- ☐ Level 2 _____ Advanced Level
- ☐ Level 3 _____ Intermediate Level
- ☐ Level 4 _____ Basic Level
- ☐ Level 5 _____ Beginner's Level
- ☐ ( ) _____ The pupil is not entitled to receive mother tongue teaching

PART 2 Pupil's Part Assessment of Proficiency Level

Speaking	A	B	C	D	E	F
Reading	A	B	C	D	E	F
Writing	A	B	C	D	E	F
Comprehension	A	B	C	D	E	F

Signature _____

Tel _____

Please note: Keep the pupil's assessment card; it will help you provide information to pupils, parents, teachers involved, and the principal/education officer.

particular proficiency level. The pupil can also see and assess his/her own language development. The mother tongue teacher is at the same time given a documentary basis for deciding if and when the pupil can move up to the next teaching level. Our experience is that a pupil is ready to move up a level when he/she has achieved a C assessment or above in all of the four language skills.

Implementation

Before we started assessing pupils' language proficiency with the help of this tool, we offered teachers special training. The first assessments as carried out in November 1993. The subsequent assessments carried out during 1994–95 made use of the same tool and methods, in order to provide a basis for comparative analysis. During this period there was a change in national curricula and in the national grading system for school subjects. We will be carrying out one final assessment on the "old" basis in May 1996, after which our tool will be brought into line with, for example, the new national grading criteria.

Five interesting assessments

Between 1993 and 1995 our teachers assessed pupils' knowledge and skills in their mother tongues towards the end of every term. Five assessments have been carried out to date. The following presents some of the data collected from the assessment carried out in the autumn term of 1995:

- total number of pupils taught by our teachers: 1950
- Number of pupils assessed: 1817
- Number of languages: 38

Distribution between teaching levels:

- Level 1 Highest Level 126 pupils (approx. 8%)
- Level 2 Advanced Level 316 pupils (approx. 17%)
- Level 3 Intermediate Level 655 pupils (approx. 36%)
- Level 4 Basic Level 494 pupils (approx. 27%)
- Level 5 Beginner's Level 226 pupils (approx. 12%)

Distribution between proficiency levels

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Comprehension	341	543	537	259	117	12
Speaking	430	525	498	230	103	9
Reading	235	522	482	307	178	88
Writing	168	397	571	335	227	115

What conclusions can we draw on the basis of these results?

- The number of pupils who achieve the highest level of proficiency (level 1) is small in relation to the number of pupils attending the final two years of lower secondary school and upper secondary school.
- Most of the pupils – 1149, i.e. 63% – are being taught at levels 3 and 4. These youngsters have attained a half-way position in the development of their mother tongue. The length of time during which pupils stay at level 3 has increased in comparison with previous assessments. This means that there is a risk that many pupils will not reach the higher proficiency levels during their compulsory school education.
- A comparison of results across the language skills shows that most mother tongue learners are best at understanding and speaking their mother tongue; they have a "pass-level" reading ability; while their writing is the least developed skill.

Let us take a closer look at the three combinations of results in the language skill writing

At the lowest proficiency levels, E and F, there are 342 pupils (18.8%). Naturally, many of the pupils at these levels are children in years 1 and 2; however, we also found a number of older pupils who were at beginner's level. One conclusion might be that these pupils are in a developmental stage, and that a more positive development can be expected during the rest of the school year; but at the same time one wonders why, towards the end of the autumn term, there are "older" pupils who have still not acquired the fundamental writing skills. One explanation for this might be the pupil's family background – for example in the case of children whose parents do not speak the same mother tongue as each other, and who have started receiving mother tongue tuition during this school year. Another explanation is that the time accorded Mother Tongue Studies in the time-table is so short that there is not enough time for sufficient writing practice. The average teaching time per week is 40–60 minutes, and the number of teaching weeks per term averages 16–17.

906 (50%) of the pupils assessed displayed writing skills at the intermediate levels C and D. These pupils' writing is characterised by a limited vocabulary and a large number of errors and gaps. There is a "clear" or "major" difference between these pupils and children of the same age in the country where the language is spoken. This situation gives cause for concern, since many of these pupils are from years 7–9 (i.e. are aged 14–16 years).

At the highest levels A and B we find 565 (31 %) of all the pupils. While this in itself is a good result, only 168 pupils (9.2%) display the highest level of proficiency, A. When we compared this figure with the total number of pupils in our upper-secondary schools who take Mother Tongue Studies – 305 youngsters (16.8%) – we were obliged to conclude that there is a large risk that many pupils will not achieve the highest levels of skill in writing during their school career.

Competence development – a result of the assessment procedure

After each assessment the results are analysed, and compared with the previous assessments. The analyses are presented to all members of staff concerned, and together we discuss different measures suggested by the results. The assessment carried out in December 1994, for example, showed that pupils' reading skills were poorly developed. Consequently, during spring 1995 mother tongue teachers were offered extra training in reading development methods. The training was based on the work by Bo Sundblad on the reading process and reading development. The assessment carried out in December 1995 showed that pupils' reading had improved – but at the same time, their writing skills had deteriorated. As a result, we decided to provide mother tongue teachers with additional training, this time on the basis of Bo Sundblad and Birgitta Allard's model for the development of writing skills. Since autumn 1996 we have also been using computer support in mother tongue teaching, a step which has proved to be beneficial for the development of the pupils' reading and writing skills.

Resource cut-backs – a cause of negative development?

With regard to the poor levels of writing skill, we suspect that there may be a connection between public-spending savings and the deterioration in pupils' writing skills. It is a recurrent problem for teachers, that every year they are under-resourced and suffer from insufficient availability of books and teaching aids for mother tongue teaching.

Teaching materials are a necessary component of successful language teaching. It is not enough merely to have a good teacher – no teacher can constantly conjure up suitable teaching material, week in week out. "Good tools do half the job". There is not one mother tongue taught in Sweden for which there are teaching materials at all levels that correspond to the objectives laid down in the national curricula and subject syllabuses. The suppliers of text books and teaching aids are not taking any new production initiatives, since this is an area that has been strongly affected by spending cut-backs, with the result that

the market is not profitable. In 1991 the National Institute for Teaching Materials (known in Sweden as SIL), among the products of which were books and teaching aids for mother tongue learning, was closed down.

The National Agency for Education is currently (spring 1996) looking at the possibility of establishing an "Intercultural Development Centre for Educational Methods". This centre would have responsibility for questions such as the following:

- to provide support with regard to the use of IT in teaching and in contacts with other countries
- to initiate and support the development and production of text books and teaching aids in different languages, including dictionaries and materials for computer use, in collaboration with other interested parties in Sweden, the other Nordic countries, and other countries
- to distribute information concerning text books and teaching aids available for intercultural teaching and how they can be used, material aimed at stemming the spread of racism and xenophobia, and materials for mother tongue teaching. The centre would also be involved in importing and distributing the materials available.

Our judgement is that a centre of this kind would be able to make a considerable active contribution to positive progress in the teaching of mother tongues. At the same time, each municipal authority must take its own initiatives in the field of mother tongue teaching.

Our plans for the immediate future

During the period 1–15 May 1996 our teachers will be carrying out the second assessment of the school year. The results will confirm or qualify the conclusions we came to following the December 1995 assessment. At the beginning of the autumn term of 1996 our assessment tool will be brought into line with the principles and objectives embodied in the new national curricula (Lpo 94 and Lpf 94), above all the new grading system.

We now have an assessment tool that makes it possible for us to document the progress made in objective-oriented mother tongue teaching. We will be developing routines for an ongoing dialogue with pupils, parents and the rest of the school. It is also our wish to develop appropriate teaching materials, and to create routines, to be applied in collaboration with the mother tongue teachers, for ensuring a stronger connection between the teaching materials purchased and the pupils' proficiency level. We have drawn up a plan of action for study guidance in the mother tongues, and plan to move on to draw up a

plan of action for co-ordination between all teachers involved in the education of pupils of immigrant and refugee background. Last but not least, we wish to develop an objective-oriented schedule for mother tongue teaching in the municipality of Botkyrka which can be assessed using a simple assessment tool designed on the basis of clear criteria.

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Kristen Soren and
John Vinter Knudsen

10. YOUNG PEOPLE ON THEIR WAY – AN INTEGRATION PROJECT ON GRADUATION INTO EDUCATION AND VOCATION

Mona is a young girl with an Arabic family background. She would like a job involving other people, preferably nursing, but lacks the necessary academic qualifications. So after completing 9th grade at school and having talked with her counsellor, she chooses to train to be a social and health assistant in the municipal home help sector.

She hopes in this way to gain enough experience and skill to enter the nursing school, but at some point her family have second thoughts. In the course of her training, Mona will have to attend to the personal needs of the elderly, men as well as women. In the family's opinion, this is not a job for a well-brought up and respectable Arabic girl. Mona is distressed at the prospect of having to give up her chosen training. She turns to her bilingual Arabic counsellor for guidance.

Mona and her counsellor talk the situation through. They decide to investigate exactly what the Koran says and pray to Allah for help. They find a passage in the Koran which states that it is the duty of a good Muslim to help people in need. The counsellor then meets with the family and Mona. The counsellor has met the family before and knows them to be respectable and religious people but with little knowledge of the Danish education system and social conditions in Denmark. She and the family together watch the video "Young People on their Way". The way is then paved for a good discussion on matters such as educational traditions in Denmark, why school camps and field trips are part of the educational process, the importance of parents in children's education and who takes care of the elderly in Denmark.

The discussion also turns to the situation of elderly Arabic people in Denmark and the Koran's commandment regarding the duty of helping elderly people in need. By the end of the discussion, Mona has been given permission to continue her studies. Today Mona works at a home for the elderly.

Guidance and counselling in Denmark

The Danish Folkeskole is a comprehensive concept comprising 1st to 9th grades, with an optional pre-school class and an optional 10th school year.

In the Education Act of 1993, the teaching of educational, vocational and labour market orientation is obligatory in 1st to 9th classes and optional in the 10th class.

The studies are usually included in the subjects Danish and social studies, at special arrangements and on Theme Days.

It is characteristic that a significant part of the teaching takes place through outgoing activities such as job practice at work places, presentation courses in youth education, study visits and guest instructor sessions by parents, employees and employers from the labour market.

Two key persons are an integral part of this teaching: **the class teacher and the school counsellor.**

The class teacher is responsible for the personal guidance and counselling of each individual pupil, based on a personal knowledge of the pupil and his or her social, intellectual and family background.

In addition, the class teacher teaches educational, vocational and labour market orientation, which, according to the curriculum, includes the following:

- Equal opportunity and equality problems which pupils encounter in the education system, in the labour market and in society in general
- Personal choices, options, ability, aptitude, prerequisites and limitations
- Acceptance and understanding of others
- Conditions in the work environment as seen and experienced
- Various guidance systems in and outside the Folkeskole, youth education's study guidance, municipal youth guidance and others.

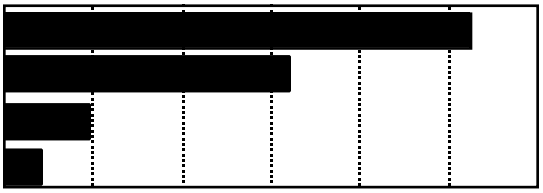
The school counsellor, who is also a teacher at the school, gives guidance and counselling to the class teacher and other teachers as to the organisation of the teaching, plans the outside activities and is in contact with counsellor colleagues in youth education. In addition, he or she assists at parent-teacher meetings, and in 9th and 10th classes has personal discussions with each pupil on the subject of his or her educational options, and in collaboration with the pupil works out an education and training plan which comprises both the youth education which the pupil can begin at once as well as the long-term goals.

Options after 9th and 10th classes

- preparatory academic gymnasial education aiming at higher education,
- vocational training, combining technical and/or mercantile vocational school and job practice at the workplace,
- social and health education, combining social and health school and job practice in municipal home care sector.

In addition, there are a number of shorter training programmes, for example, in navigation, farming and fishing.

Distribution of applications for youth education in 1996



Source: Ministry of Education, April 1996

The Folkeskole counsellor is replaced in youth education by the **Student counsellor**.

Closely associated with the counselling efforts in schools and youth education is the **municipal youth guidance**, since the Law requires each municipality to offer all young people guidance for two years after leaving school, and at least until the age of 20.

The Youth Counsellor shall

- facilitate the transition from school to education and vocation
- motivate the young to continue their education
- familiarize them in using the guidance systems
- support those in a problematic education situation
- support those with particular difficulties through more comprehensive and personal counselling.

The Youth Counsellor stays in regular contact with the young who have not yet started on an education, or who have dropped out. The Counsellor talks to them and often also with the families about the available opportunities, and gives them practical and moral support in getting started in an education.

General counselling materials

As already mentioned, educational, vocational and labour market orienteering are to a high degree characterised by activities outside the school; job practice, presentation courses, study visits and so on. However, there is naturally a mass of material on the subject in books, on video, games and data bases, almost exclusively in Danish.

Among these is the material published by the Ministry of Education and the Council for Educational and Vocational Information (R.U.E.), an institution under the Ministries of Education and Labour which publishes i.a. teaching and guidance materials for use in the Folkeskole, youth education and adult education. They are all extremely detailed and comprehensive, and cover the whole country. For example, each year a set of material is published for 9th classes consisting of three information booklets – one on all youth education, one on gymnasial education and one on vocational training. Due to their scope and detail, it can be difficult to grasp all the information

contained in these materials; a more accessible version is in preparation.

In addition to the above-mentioned, there is an amount of locally produced material for use in schools as well as information material on local educational options.

Special guidance material for bilingual pupils

Guidance and counselling of bilingual pupils and young people with ethnic backgrounds is a relatively new element in guidance in Denmark. The first guest workers came to the country during the prosperous period at the end of the 60s, and their children began to influence the schools at the end of the 70s. Most bilingual children live in the Copenhagen area and the other big cities – Aarhus, Aalborg and Odense.

Experience deriving from the guidance of this group indicates that special considerations must be observed in the case of young bilingual people.

These considerations concern

- the language
- the parents
- cultural differences

On this basis, the Ministry of Information and R.U.E., with the Copenhagen Media Centre as producer and with the support of EU and the Ministry of Education's special integration fund, published **Young People on their Way** – an integration material comprising a booklet and 2 video films. Both the booklet and the videos are published in Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, English, Farsi, Somali, Tamil, Turkish, Urdu and Vietnamese as well as Danish.

Young people on their Way is a material designed for parents and young people, and which also gives school and youth counsellors and others a handy tool that in a simple and clear way sets out the available options after 9th and 10th classes, gives a short introduction to the various educational paths and lists the academic requirements for many youth education programmes.

The Minister of Education, Mr Ole Vig Jensen writes in his introduction, i.a. to parents, that the aim is to get 90–95% of young people started on youth education, whether it be a practical oriented or a more theoretical academic education. Which ever way the young select, their chances of success will always be greater when supported by parental encouragement.

The booklet also begins with **Good Advice to Parents**, listing the important points which in the past have given rise to misunderstanding and subsequently unfortunate and even terminated education.

GOOD ADVICE

Good Danish language skills are important.

Education is for both boys and girls.

In Denmark education and marriage are compatible.

Be aware of dress and behaviour at school and workplace.

Be aware that schools and workplaces make demands on young people with regard to:
- attending from the start, being punctual and keeping to holiday schedules
- taking part actively and continually
- doing homework
- being cooperative and in all cases taking part in planned activities

Provide good work and study conditions for your son or daughter.

Support them in making a realistic choice of education by evaluating strong and weak aspects.

Support them in good leisure-time interests for the good of their education or vocation.

With the two video films **Young People on their Way** and **Young People on their Way – vocational training and gymnasial youth education**, the use of a modern form of communication has been chosen. The films can be used for class teaching, but are intended primarily for use in the guidance and counselling of bilingual pupils and their families.

One of the films deals with the two final classes of the Folkeskole and the pupils' educational preferences as they emerge via conversations with parents, teachers and pupils. The other film, which is in two parts, depicts the two largest educational sectors, similarly depicted through young immigrants who are undergoing an educational programme.

The films have taken as their point of departure the so-called "soft" qualifications, i.e. all the elements that are **also** necessary in completing an education and making the grade, as it were, both at the training school or gymnasium and in vocational life.

Through the sequences in the films and the instructive conversations, the young trainee and his or her family are given a qualified basis on which to make decisions as to their choice of educational.

Family influence is decisive in the young person's situation, as can be seen from the story of Mona. It is therefore vital that the guidance

embraces the family to a higher degree than is usual in the guidance of Danish pupils, due partly to the frame of reference and partly to the aims of their upbringing.

Family pressures on the young to choose a particular education, as often as not an academic one, can create problems both for the counsellor and the pupil.

A large number of parents of young bilingual pupils have only slight or even no connection to the Danish labour market and have difficulty advising their children about work. They also often have a poor educational background. This means that orientation on the Danish educational system must be intensive, and that the counsellor must be aware of the significance of the young person's cultural background.

In the individual guidance conversation the counsellor must express him or herself clearly and avoid irony, sarcasm and other verbal effects, must take pains to explain his or her role and ensure that the young person and the parents understand what is being said. Focus on the family therefore presumes the cooperation of bilingual teachers and counsellors.

Bilingual guidance and counselling

Since 1983 the Municipality of Copenhagen has had bilingual counselling as part of its school and youth guidance. At the present time it has an Arabic, an Albanian, a Pakistani and a Turkish counsellor.

The bilingual counsellors' backgrounds include teaching qualifications from their own country supplemented by a Danish teacher's exam or a shorter pedagogical course. In addition they shall have completed the course for school and youth counsellors at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies.

In the cities of Aarhus and Odense, the education authorities, with financial support from the Ministry of Education and EU, have launched similar guidance research projects on the inclusion and training of bilingual counsellors.

The bilingual counsellors offer guidance to late arrival youngsters without a school background, and take part in the guidance and counselling of bilingual pupils in schools on an equal footing with the Danish school counsellors when the need arises.

They make contact with the young people and their families, and tell them about educational opportunities in Denmark.

They inform i.a. by using the brochure **Young People on their Way** and the two videos **Young People on their Way** and **Young People on their Way: vocational training and gymnasial youth education**, and in doing so, emphasize:

- the need for good qualifications and Danish language skills in all educational and training programmes
- Danish educational traditions with emphasis on self- reliance, group work, critical evaluation and participation in discussions
- the many forms of training in Denmark which do not exist in the parents' homeland, for example, the many forms of vocational training
- the concept of lifelong education
- opportunities for girls in Denmark.

They provide the opportunity for young people to try out their vocational and educational potential through participation in guidance forms such as special presentation courses in youth education combined with guidance in their own languages.

Special requirements accompany the job of bilingual counsellor. In some cases they may have to overstep conventional boundaries in order to enter into a close collaboration with families with different educational backgrounds. At the same time this collaboration demands time, pertinacity and personal commitment of the young people who are in confusing situations, where they wish to respect their families and their decisions while at the same time being part of a Danish community and the Danish educational system with its aims and requirements.

The Danish counsellor, too, must cooperate on an equal footing with the bilingual counsellor in cases where the bilingual colleague will often be functioning as an adviser for the Danish one. This cooperation also demands that the bilingual counsellor be respected as an independent professional and not merely as an interpreter for the Danish Counsellor.

What do young people choose after the Folkeskole?

School and youth counsellors in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg have in recent years registered an increasing interest on the part of the young to get and take an education. A corresponding trend can be observed in the rest of the country. Gymnasial education is especially in focus for young bilingual pupils, whereas they are less interested in vocational training. There is a marked difference in the various ethnic groups' educational frequency. The reasons for this are subject of on-going discussions: social heritage, housing patterns, family tradition, and so on, but there is no doubt that the former educationally weak groups are on the way up. Among these is the large Turkish group.

Through the special bridge-building programme between the Folkeskole and youth education, combination-teaching has been established, comprising, for example, 3 days at the Folkeskole and 2

days at technical school, gymnasium school or social/health school, the aim being to enable every young person to make a more qualified choice and thus have a better chance of completing the education they choose.

Not only does this serve to give bilingual pupils a better background on which to base their choice, it also enables them to see the wide range of educational opportunities in Denmark.

Future perspectives

The Folkeskole and youth education programmes today give most young people the opportunity to qualify themselves for work and education with the aim of becoming self reliant in respect of their own working life, their leisure time and their community and family life.

The new Danish citizens also want an education and a good life. They want to move on and they are moving on. They are increasingly taking competence-based education programmes.

However, it is disturbing that there is a remaining group of young people, both Danish and even more, the bilingual, that does not complete an education and are thus vulnerable to social and economic rejection. School and youth guidance, and indeed society as a whole, face a challenge here. How do we get all young people started on an education?

There is no simple solution. The government is aware of the problem, however, and has earmarked 40 million Danish crowns over the next few years to help ethnic equal opportunity in the labour market. Via the Ethnic Equal Opportunity Board, work is being done to draw attention to the resources that exist within the Danish population through those who are familiar with more than one cultural background and its language(s).

Simultaneously with these efforts, the smaller number of young people in the coming years – the so-called low birthrate years – could make it possible to focus on the young people who need special attention, such as, for example, some of the bilingual pupils along with their parents.

Added to this there are the development areas comprised in the government's UTA (Education For All) programme:

- extra guidance especially in relation to educationally disadvantaged youngsters,
- increased cooperation between the Folkeskole and the youth education, and
- new education programmes catering for the educationally disadvantaged.

In the case of young bilingual people, guidance and counselling has an important task in smoothing their way into the labour market. There are a number of barriers facing them based on ignorance. The state ought to be in the forefront here and formulate a policy on ethnic equal rights in the labour market similar to the equality of the sexes policy formulated in the 70s.

The experience from Copenhagen and Frederiksberg shows that it gives results when counsellors visit the workplaces and help young bilinguals to get apprenticeships in workshops, in industry in shops and offices. The young bilinguals break down barriers and reduce prejudices among their colleagues and employers, and when they have completed their training, the employers usually ask for a new bilingual pupil and coming employee.

These are not unique cases, as a survey by PLS Consult reveals. Their survey concludes that only the fewest firms have tried employing pupils of foreign origin, but those who have are eager to do so again.

The future challenge in a world that is becoming more and more internationalised requires employees, people, who can succeed in multicultural environments in jobs, in the family, in institutions of the community and in their leisure time.

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Ingibjörg Hafstad

11. SUMMER SCHOOL FOR BILINGUAL CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN REYKJAVÍK AND NEARBY COMMUNITIES

In 1993 a four-week summer school was offered for the first time for bilingual children and their families in Reykjavík and nearby communities.

Since that time the summer school for bilingual pupils in the Reykjavík area has become an important part of the Icelandic second-language programme for compulsory school pupils.

The following discussion is an attempt to describe our experiences of the summer school and how its ideology and objectives have gradually developed from one year to the next.

In 1993 we lacked a clear picture of the project's potential and our approach was fairly simple:

- In Iceland the school summer vacation is fairly long. At the commencement of each school year in the autumn teachers were repeatedly faced with the problem of bilingual children returning to school after their summer vacation having forgotten during their holiday what Icelandic they had learned the previous year. In addition, there is always a sizeable group of children who arrive in Iceland during the summer and start school in the autumn who need support and preparation.
- The teachers were concerned at how difficult it was for many immigrant parents to participate in the co-operative work of parents and schools. They have problems in following and supporting their children's school work. The parents are easily isolated from the reality of their children's environment outside the home. We thus wished to create a common basis and common project for both parents and children to take part in.

During the summer of 1993, bilingual children in compulsory schools in Reykjavík and the surrounding area and their parents received an invitation to a four-week course in Icelandic free of charge, arranged on a full-day basis for the children and a half-day basis for the parents.

The plan was to have the Icelandic instruction for children and adults to proceed in parallel as far as possible. We chose themes to work with which, to the greatest extent possible, linked both groups and gave parents the opportunity to follow their children's activities closely.

What is it called in Icelandic?
A trip to the beach.

During the four years which have passed since we began the summer school our work, objectives and methods have changed radically. Our bilingual pupils have taught us a great deal.

The summer school is now in full swing for the fourth time, and in the ensuing section an attempt will be made to describe how it is organised at present. The main emphasis will be on the work with compulsory school pupils.

The summer school is a co-operative project of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Reykjavík Sports and Youth Council and the Reykjavík School Division Office.

- Participants: 50, 6–16 years of age
- Structure: half of the day is spent on instruction in the Icelandic language, the other half on recreational activities.

The first summer we learned how incredibly great is the variation among the members of the group described as bilingual pupils from minority groups. Children and youth from 24 different countries took part in the summer school; some of them had been born in Iceland, others had just arrived in the country, some had a solid school background, others had never gone to school, etc. The students had a minimum of common experiences upon which we could base our instruction. It was thus clear that we had to create this common experience for them. The pupils were to experience exciting and interesting things together and we had to find ways and means of revealing the similarities and differences, on the one hand, within the group and, on the other hand, between the group and the society at large.

We thus organised the day so that for half of it the pupils went on exploring tours together with staff of the Sports and Youth Council and spent the other half working with us on what they had experienced during the day.

Today our objectives could be summarised as follows:

Overall objectives

- to welcome the newcomers to Iceland, prepare them as far as possible for entering Icelandic schools, and soften possible culture shock
- to maintain their Icelandic during the long summer vacation
- to create an environment where the various family members could, either together or concurrently, learn Icelandic
- to endow them with a feeling of belonging to the society and the possibility of being active participants
- to experience the benefits of being bilingual and belonging to two cultures, for instance by comparing them and learning what a person **can** and **may** do and he or she **must** do, and what he or she **cannot** or **should not** do in Icelandic society
- to realise that values can be regarded in different ways;
- to provide the possibility of intensive and coherent instruction for adults.

Those of us responsible for the summer school feel that it is still developing and we are quite certain that these objectives will change and gradually become more goal-oriented. The enormous amount of knowledge and wisdom which our multicultural pupils have managed to teach us during the course of a few summers appears practically unlimited.

To create a common experience

In Iceland there is only very limited knowledge of the methodology of second-language instruction. Those minorities immigrating to the country up until now have been exceedingly small and development in this area has been on a slow and gradual basis. This is also one of the reasons why the colleges of education do not offer immigrant or second-language instruction as part of their curriculum. Teachers have had exceedingly scant opportunity to prepare themselves for the instruction of multilingual pupils. This leads to some problems.

The Icelandic language has a fairly complicated grammatical structure. Icelanders have a long tradition of teaching foreign languages by studying their grammar and comparing this to Icelandic grammar. In addition, considerable emphasis is placed on grammar in Icelandic language instruction at all levels in compulsory school

Second-language instruction has thus quite understandably been adapted to the traditional patterns. Grammar instruction works quite well when studying one's mother tongue, since in that case it is a process of understanding consciously knowledge that already exists

Studying the Icelandic flora.

unconsciously; we learn about our own language. For bilingual pupils such a method can have catastrophic results. We don't regard it as our principal task to instruct pupils on form and structure, but instead place emphasis on making our pupils learn enough Icelandic to be able to express their thoughts and obtain information and knowledge in the language.

The summer school has thus right from the start concentrated on encouraging and helping the pupils to express what they are thinking and to enable them to receive information and new knowledge regardless of how limited their Icelandic may be.

We start each morning by reviewing and discussing what they experienced the day before. Language instruction is carried out primarily during the morning hours, when the pupils are rested and fresh.

One example of language instruction:

Our oldest pupils, 12–16 years of age, spend a week working on posters presenting the various lands and cultures represented at the summer school. The posters include photos and drawings and a variety of information on the people and their cultures. The pupils themselves decide what information they choose to present. Such exercises can be carried out at all levels of language and provide exciting possibilities

Language instruction through mountain climbing.

to practice words and phrases which are used in school but only to a limited extent in everyday surroundings.

These posters then hang in our school entrance way all winter long and are admired by all the adults attending adult education classes.

After lunch we go on expeditions in and around the city. One day it may be a tour to a swimming pool, another we may experience the exciting world of the ocean coast, collect shells and study the rich variety of life to be found under and among the stones and seaweed. We go fishing, visit sports clubs, hold an athletics day, go bowling, visit the schools the newly arrived pupils are to attend in the autumn, go mountain climbing, go sailing, go horseback riding on Icelandic horses, have outdoor barbecues, and have many other activities. In the morning classes the necessary vocabulary is practised, we have discussions, draw and paint and describe: similar experiences they may have had in their home countries, what they enjoy most and dislike most, what is nice though unfamiliar, and what is familiar and secure.

We discuss things which are similar or different in schools in various countries and cultures, find out which of the games played by Icelandic children the children know and which are new. On all excursions photographs are taken which are widely used in the language work, and we do a lot of singing. In short, we have a good time while doing a lot of hard work.

A feeling of belonging in new surroundings

On the final day of summer school we have a festival. Both the children and adults take part. Everyone brings a dish from their native country and the pupils prepare a festival programme. The pupils have invited the Minister of Education, Science and Culture, the Mayor of Reykjavík and the Icelandic President, for instance, to their festival. They themselves make the invitations and deliver them personally to those invited. When such an offer is presented in this manner it is very difficult to refuse.

The pupils spend a lot of time preparing for the festival. They write a festival speech, practice small skits, dance traditional national dances, and sing both in their native languages and in Icelandic, etc.

In one instance the Icelandic President, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, invited the entire group to the President's residence at Bessastadir, where they played and dined to their heart's content for several hours, with the President taking an active part in their games, talking to the children and making friends with them. This served as the point of departure for many discussions on democracy, power, and the role of the President in society, and provided an opportunity to practice vocabulary which is usually not encountered in everyday activities.

Similarly, we managed to have the Mayor of Reykjavík invite us to City Hall for the same purpose.

This summer we will visit, for instance, the police and talk to several police officers about their work. Some of the most important observations we have made on such visits were that traditional visits, for example, to City Hall or the Icelandic parliament house, with guides who lead the way and provide a steady stream of information, have not proved especially productive. It is not until we achieve active communication and dialogue in relaxed surroundings that we feel that the visit has brought lasting results and been truly instructive. For this reason we try to prepare such visits well, the pupils have practised questions to which they subsequently receive responses and reactions. Such preparations are themselves fruitful; the pupils discuss what they should ask about and how they should express the question.

This summer we plan on taking advantage of multimedia technology. The project is as follows:

The children write e-mail letters, asking a variety of questions and seeking information, which they send to various recipients, including travel agencies, schools, politicians, etc. Working in this manner is incredibly exciting, because it gives rise to informative and exciting discussions in the group and requires fantastic cooperation in order for the letters to be good enough to be understood and deserve an answer.

Portfolio

The idea of the portfolio developed gradually. It was intended, firstly, to provide parents with contact to what their children were doing in the school and, secondly, to give the children's classroom teachers information when they returned to school, so that the teachers could put this information to use in their instructional projects in the classroom. It has, however, been difficult to ensure the cooperation of the schools and make sure that the material was put to good use. It turned out that children sometimes failed to take the material from summer school to their classes, or to show it to any one at all.

We will now attempt to prepare portfolios which describe all the activities at the summer school in both words and pictures and send them directly to the respective schools, so that the children's teachers will receive them and can decide how the material can best be used.

Culture and cultural competence

The work on culture and cultural competence is an important part of the summer school work. It is also in many respects very rewarding and highly instructive. It is both exciting and revealing for everyone concerned to discuss questions such as: when to look one another in

the eye; Icelanders apparently stare at one another in a way that would be regarded as impolite in many cultures.

We walk up and down the streets of the city centre and observe who moves aside for whom, we go into cafés and watch how the Icelanders order. When do they smile, what their body language is like, and a thousand other amusing little things.

This is a rather superficial picture of some of the activities of our summer school. We know that we are moving in the right direction towards something which can be developed to become an important part of positive integration. We also know that what we are doing is economically sound, and that in the long run it will spare the establishment a great deal of expense. Here we get to know many of the members of the families at once, we can avoid serious problems by addressing them in their early stages. We have a much better opportunity to see and understand the situation in its entirety that if we only met individuals in various situations.

In Iceland we do not have a long tradition in our work with students from immigrant backgrounds and are very eager to develop more extensive Nordic cooperation in this area.

Anne Hvenekilde[1]

12. BILINGUALISM AND THE SCHOOL

In the public debate about bilingualism in the Nordic countries, some questions have received more attention than others. One is what role the mother tongues should play in the school system. This applies both to the tongues of the language minorities who have lived in one of the Nordic countries for a very long time and regard this country as their home, and the tongues of the minorities who have arrived more recently. This article is an attempt to account for some of what is regarded as established knowledge about bilingualism, with particular reference to the school. The views presented here as established knowledge agree with the general principles outlined in the various works on bilingualism by recognized scholars (e.g. McLaughlin 1984, 1985; Hakuta 1986; Arnberg 1988; Romaine 1989; Hyltenstam & Stroud 1991 and Baker 1993).

Some of the research on bilingualism has had a clearly applied objective. The purpose has been to provide a scientific foundation for political decisions, first of all in the school system. When evaluating the results of studies conducted in this connection, the findings must be considered in relation to society's goals for the language, educational and social policies, and the fundamental political ideology. For example, it is important to know how the results relate to the educational objectives defined for the educational institutions from which the data for a particular study have been obtained. It is necessary to know whether the school achievement of pupils from language minorities is assessed in relation to a policy of assimilation, where competence in the mother tongue is not one of the expressed objectives, or to a policy of integration, where competence in the mother tongue is an educational goal in itself.

Language has many functions – it places an important role in building up our concepts and in structuring our conception of the world, it is a means of communicating information and a tool for learning. At the same time, language is an important means of binding people together in social groups, and a means whereby people can express their personality and social and cultural identity. All these functions are linked together in complicated ways. This makes the role of language in education a complex phenomenon in itself, which naturally becomes even more complex when it involves more than one language. It is possible to focus on different aspects of bilingualism, both when collecting the data and when interpreting the findings. No single study with a reasonable number of informants can include all the relevant variables. The media tend to give the impression that the research findings on bilingualism can be used to support two totally opposing points of view – it seems that if one only looks long enough

[1] This is an abbreviated and edited version of a contribution made by Anne Hvenekilde, Kenneth Hyltenstam and Sunil Loona to a consensus conference arranged by the Research Council of Norway in 1996 (Hyltenstam et al. 1996).

one can always find research results to support whichever standpoint one wishes to justify – for example, that teaching their mother tongue to children from language minorities is absolutely essential if they are to make any progress at school, or that teaching the mother tongue is of no importance at all in this respect. The findings from studies of a group of bilingual individuals in a specific social situation do not necessarily apply to the same group in a different situation, or to a different group in the same situation. The causal relationships seem to be extremely complex, which makes it necessary to interpret the areas of validity of the different studies, and clearly define the premises for the interpretations.

The fact that the findings from research on bilingualism can be difficult to interpret does not mean that we have no certain knowledge about the relationship between bilingualism and school achievement and the development of identity. During the last decades, the research on bilingualism has provided a much better basis of knowledge than was available before. But it is still impossible to point to one particular study, or a couple of separate studies, and state that these very studies show exactly what measures to emphasize in our educational policy. In reality, what we have is an accumulation of knowledge based on reported experience and isolated studies, and we are learning more about which variables seem to be the most crucial. In recent years, greater interest has also been shown in the individual variation that is seen to exist within the overall picture derived from studies of large groups of persons.

The research on bilingualism has not only provided results from studies of use of language and progress at school. Other aspects may be just as important. In his introductory address at a consensus conference in Oslo in January 1996 on suitably adapted language teaching for pupils from language minorities, the director responsible for cultural and social science research under the Research Council of Norway, Arvid Hallén, said:

> In the first place, it is necessary to acknowledge that the primary function of social science and humanistic research is not to produce knowledge and insight that can be used instrumentally after being suitably adapted. Research in our disciplines may be concerned just as much with finding a perspective, a method of reflection, clarifying concepts, discussing what kind of problems we are facing. The research helps to influence what we see and our understanding of what we see. As has been said many times before, we can just as well debate what questions are the right ones to ask, instead of the final answers.
>
> (Hallén in Hyltenstam et al. (ed.) 1996:10)

One of the tools that has been developed which may help to place the discussion on bilingualism in the school in perspective is the set of

concepts and the model developed by Åke Viberg (1993:6–4) to describe language competence. This model can be used to show two levels of knowledge of language, in both the mother tongue and the second language. Viberg's model for competence in a language distinguishes between knowledge of a language, skills, and control of the knowledge. As far as knowledge of the language is concerned, a distinction is made between base and expansion, and this distinction can be used, for example, to work out what native competence in a language actually involves and how the different teaching models could function in relation to pupils from language minorities, and to present and discuss the results from some of the research on bilingualism.

Model describing language competence
(Based on Viberg 1993:64)

1. Knowledge		
Base	Expansion (Varies with the individual)	
PHONETIC SYSTEM	ALPHABET Relation between pronunciation and spelling	STYLE REGISTER Ability to shift between the pronunciation of different variants of a language (e.g. between dialect and standard language)
BASIC VOCABULARY	SPECIAL VOCABULARY	Synonyms Collocations
GRAMMAR	TEXTUALLY GOVERNED USE OF GRAMMAR	Grammatical alternatives depending on style
DISCOURSE	Adapting the form of conversation to an increasing number of different situations Knowledge of an increasing number of genres or styles	
2. Skills		
	Spoken	Written
Understanding:	Listening	Reading
Production:	Speaking	Writing
3. Control		
Flow, automatic use, relation between active and passive vocabulary, reading speed etc.		

The model, like other models describing language competence, distinguishes between knowledge, what the individuals have stored in their brains about language, "skills", which refer to the different modalities the individuals can use when applying this knowledge, and control, that is to say, the extent to which the individuals, in the different situations, have control over and access to what is stored in their brains.

The distinction made between *base* and *expansion* in the part of the model referring to knowledge is, in a way, an attempt to distinguish what all speakers of the mother tongue master (the base) from the distinct characteristics of the different speakers. The base, the fundamental structure of the language, is learned before the child starts school. This applies to pronunciation, the system of grammar, important parts of the common, central vocabulary, and the vocabulary used in the home. Thus, what the children learn spontaneously at this age through interaction with their parents and with others in their surroundings who speak the language is *genuine speech and pronunciation* corresponding to the variant of the language spoken in the surroundings, *with the correct grammar* and *a vocabulary of perhaps 8000 to 10 000 words* (which includes the concrete and abstract words occurring in all kinds of conversations), *basic rules for the structure of a conversation* (how people behave when they talk together) and *the structure of the text* (how people wrap the information they want to communicate). What the majority language children learn of their mother tongue in this way, before they start school is mastered in the same way by nearly all mother tongue speakers. It is this that is called native competence in the language. Thus, like Viberg, we can say that the competence possessed at the time they start school by all the children with the majority language as their mother tongue, constitutes the *base* of the language.

What happens after that involves a development of this part of the language. The added competence is referred to as *expansion*. The children learn to expand their mother tongue mainly at school. They learn the written language, the formal spoken language and the unique characteristics of the variants in terms of grammar and vocabulary through the education in the mother tongue, but also to a large extent through the teaching in different subjects. A particularly large special vocabulary is learned in connection with all the areas of knowledge the children encounter during their schooling. In this connection, the extent of the children's interest in the different areas has a great deal to say for which special vocabularies they acquire. The language is developed not only at school, but also in all other situations in which people find themselves, e.g. at work, during various leisure time activities, and in the world of fiction and the mass media. The acquisition of language is a never-ending process. People increase their vocabulary throughout their lives, as they come into contact with new areas of knowledge and develop new interests.

In both the mother tongue and the second language, the base is important as a foundation or prerequisite for expansion. Some pupils arrive at school with a base in a language other than the majority language, and some of them – those who have grown up in bilingual

homes where the parents have different mother tongues – start school with a base in two languages. In many cases, how a pupil copes at school may depend to a large degree on what strategies the school uses to expand the base, or if applicable, the two bases the pupils arrive with, and what strategies it uses to establish both base and expansion of the second language for pupils with a different mother tongue.

In the 1970s, a number of large studies were carried out to shed light on the relationship between the language used in subject matter teaching and school achievement among bilingual pupils. In order to find out which educational policy strategies would be most profitable in bilingual situations – whether the pupils should be taught initially in their mother tongue or in the second language – the World Bank reviewed eight studies with this problem as the main theme, and compared the findings. All the studies that were included had to fulfil two main criteria: the methodology had to be of high scientific quality, and the studies had to include monolingual control groups. In addition, they had to be of a certain size, and should preferably be widely distributed geographically.

Three of the eight selected studies were from programmes where the pupils received their initial education in the second language (Philippines, Ireland and Canada). The remaining five were based on programmes where the pupils received their initial education in the mother tongue (Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United States). The sample included both of the studies most discussed in the Nordic countries at the time, namely Lambert's study of the Canadian immersion programme, and Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa's studies of language acquisition and school achievement among Finnish immigrant children in Sweden.

When the World Bank summed up the findings from the eight investigations, they found that good results were sometimes achieved when the mother tongue was used in the teaching, and at other times when it was not. Thus, at first glance, it seemed as if it did not matter whether the children were taught their mother tongue or not. However, the report also discussed the conditions under which teaching in the second language had been successful. They found that the following three conditions had to be fulfilled if use of the second language only was to produce good results:

- The child's first language had been developed to a certain level. (This has been called the threshold hypothesis (Cummins 1981).
- The parents had chosen the schooling for their children voluntarily, they expected the child to do well at school and also assumed that the child would also learn to read and write his or her mother tongue.
- The child's mother tongue was highly esteemed in the majority society.

If these three conditions are not fulfilled, teaching in the mother tongue is recommended. When discussing the relationship between the factors, the report concludes:

> The causal links are not easy to trace, but the following plausible hypothesis is not inconsistent with the data: a child in a subordinate group has low feelings of self-worth. These feelings influence his achievement, or lack of achievement, in a school whose classes are conducted in a language other than his mother tongue. When the initial schooling is conducted in his mother tongue, through teachers with whom he can identify, then his feelings of self-worth are enhanced, and his achievement in the mother tongue and in the second language improve.
>
> (World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 504, 1982:42).

If we consider these findings in relation to Viberg's model for language competence, and base the discussion on the most well-known of the studies included in the World Bank's review, it is reasonable to interpret the results as follows. Preconditions for successful teaching in the second language are a well-developed mother tongue base, with an expansion that is well under way. The further the children have progressed in the expansion of their mother tongue, the more they have developed concepts and vocabulary, and the further they have progressed in the development of reading and writing skills, then the more of these skills they can transfer to the second language.

The last two points can be said to be social variables. Parents who consider the development of reading and writing skills in the mother tongue to be a matter of course, even if the child is not taught these skills at school, and who have a mother tongue that is highly esteemed, will usually be parents with a certain level of education and with resources in the widest sense of the term.

In the reported studies, the question was a matter of which language should be used throughout the schooling. In the Nordic countries, the debate is not concerned with this question alone, but also with the value of offering teaching in the mother tongue as a supplement to an education where most of the lessons are held in the second language. In the following pages I assume that a limited number of lessons during which the children are taught the mother tongue, or are taught other subjects in the mother tongue, could work in the same way - though not perhaps with equally strong effect – as teaching where the mother tongue is the dominating language.

This means that the children in the Nordic countries who have not chosen to attend a school where the education does not include their mother tongue, but despite this have had to take part in such education, whose mother tongue does not have high prestige in the Nordic countries (which applies to many languages that are widespread in the

third world), and whose parents are unable to provide or organize teaching in the mother tongue themselves, make up the group with the poorest potential to succeed at school. It is important to be aware that this is a generalization at group level. There may be much variation within the different language groups – highly capable parents with mother tongues that are not esteemed very highly in the Nordic countries can stimulate their children in ways that counteract the negative effects of the education in school, and there will always be some children who manage well against all odds.

These standpoints coincide well with other information we possess about the relation between social class and school achievement in the majority population. It is reasonable to interpret the findings as tending to show that a bilingual situation exacerbates the effects of social differences that are observed in the majority population as well.

The results of the studies evaluated by the World Bank can still be regarded as part of the established knowledge concerning bilingualism. In the course of the last decades, however, we have become more aware of a need for caution when making prognoses in individual cases. Even if the main features still hold good, it is necessary to realize that when we have so many factors working in combination, both for the individuals pupils and for the different groups of pupils, problems in one area can sometimes be compensated for by extra effort in others. The findings from the studies mentioned above also correspond with some simple, fundamental "truths" that apply to all categories of children, and which few people think of doubting: if the teaching is to be fully beneficial, it has to take place in a language the children understand, and if the children are to be able to learn from the teaching and play an active part in the school community, as required in the curricula for the school, they must feel secure about their own worth and their own background. If the school cannot give them this security, then the resources of the parents and the home environment can be absolutely decisive for progress at school.

Although the main conclusions from the studies evaluated by the World Bank in the 1970s still hold good, some findings have been published which seem to challenge this view of the role played by the mother tongue in the teaching of children from language minorities. The results of some empirical studies seem to indicate that school achievement is not affected by whether the minority language pupils are taught the mother tongue or not. Let us take a closer look at one example. A large study in Sweden examined whether the results achieved by pupils from language minorities in the final class of the compulsory school were related to various background variables, such as the language spoken in the home, the pupils' competence in Swedish and in their mother tongue, and their participation in education in the

mother tongue at school (Löfgren 1991). The immigrant pupils, almost 6000 in all, were compared with 3600 “Swedish” pupils. As was to be expected from the established theories on bilingualism, the examination results correlated well with the pupils’ competence in Swedish. A good command of Swedish seemed to be a precondition for learning the different subjects taught at the school. There was no correlation, however, either positive or negative, between the pupils’ results and their participation in education in the mother tongue. Nor was any correlation found between the level of competence in the mother tongue and achievement at school. In a follow-up study of the same pupils two years later (Ministry of Education 1993), a weak correlation was found between the marks obtained in the “gymnas” (academic) type of upper secondary school and previous participation in education in the mother tongue in the compulsory primary school. It was concluded that “participation in the education provided by the school in the mother tongue does not seem to take place at the expense of achievement in other subjects” (p. 52, unofficial translation). Thus, it seems that these findings can be interpreted as indicating that teaching in the mother tongue is of no importance for how the minority language pupils cope at school. These findings conflict with the established theories on bilingualism. Do they, however, completely overthrow the theory that teaching in the mother tongue does affect a pupil’s school achievement? If an established theory is to be abandoned in the light of new research, two fundamental scientific requirements have to be fulfilled; the research results must be reliable, and the methods used must be indisputable. The study referred to above does not fulfil these requirements. One of the basic problems when interpreting the results was the definition of the group regarded as immigrant pupils. This group included pupils born abroad who had immigrated to Sweden, with at least one parent born abroad. It also included pupils born in Sweden, one or both of whose parents, or single parent, had been born abroad but had immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or after. This means, for example, that the sample of pupils included all sorts, ranging from children who spoke only Swedish to children who spoke only their mother tongue, with all grades and types of bilingualism between these two extremes. Another problem associated with this study was that the quality of the teaching in the mother tongue was not evaluated. It is not discussed, for example, to what extent the teachers had been educated as teachers of the mother tongue. Nor is it stated how many lessons were allocated to the mother tongue, and if this number was the same for all of the pupils.

Children from different backgrounds opt for teaching in the mother tongue for different reasons, and for some of them the results in other subjects are influenced by whether or not they receive education in the

mother tongue, while for others this may be of little importance. In the actual heterogenous group of pupils that was studied, it is likely that participation in education in the mother tongue was important for school achievement for the children who arrived at school with little knowledge of Swedish, and that it did not matter so much for children who either spoke only Swedish when they started school or had good knowledge of Swedish and good skills in the language. It is also easy to imagine that, for some pupils, education in the mother tongue may have had a negative effect on achievement in other subjects. In the form the education in the mother tongue was practised in Sweden up to the beginning of the 1990s, the most common solution was to take the pupils out of classes in other subjects in order to give them teaching in the mother tongue. This implies that many of the immigrant pupils had gaps in their knowledge of other subjects, leading to poor results. It can be concluded that the effects of education in the mother tongue on school achievement have certainly been positive, negative or of no importance – for different pupils. These effects neutralize each other in a statistical investigation and result in lack of correlation.

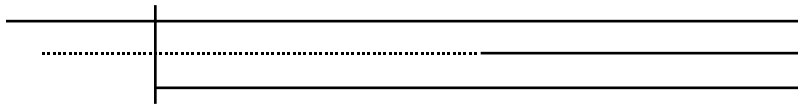
A summary of the relationship between language teaching and subject teaching, using diagrams

Below, some simple models are used to sum up the association between teaching in the mother tongue and achievement in other subjects. They are based on the important distinction between a policy of integration and a policy of assimilation, and refer to what is required of the school if the children are to achieve adequate academic development, given each of these policies. The figures have been made to illustrate a situation where the pupils have a mother tongue that is not highly esteemed in the Nordic countries. In such a situation the school is assumed to be the primary source of providing the children with opportunities for what Viberg calls expansion of the language. This assumption applies to very many children from language minorities in the Nordic countries. It is also assumed that the pupils shall not only obtain a certain gain from the teaching in the different subjects, but must have sufficient language competence to obtain maximum gain from the subject teaching, if the academic progress they are able to attain is to be regarded as adequate for their age.

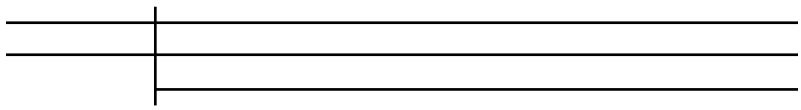
The diagrams are lettered A to E. Each diagram contains lines for L1 (Language 1, i.e. the mother tongue (or the mother tongues in figures B and D) for L2 (Language 2, the second language) and for expected academic achievement. A solid line means that the pupils can be expected to experience age-adequate development and a dotted line means that they cannot be expected to experience age-adequate development. The vertical line denotes the time when the pupils start

school. The dotted lines or in informal contexts in brackets denote acquisition of the second language at kindergarten, if applicable.

1. Language integration model with bilingualism as objective

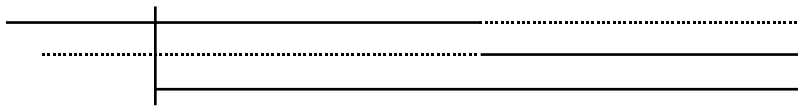


Model A shows a situation where the pupils start school with age-adequate competence (i.e. a developed base) in the mother tongue, but without age-adequate competence in the second language. The education in the mother tongue provides for expansion of the mother tongue (including reading and writing skills). The basis of the second language is established simultaneously, and afterwards the expansion of the second language. The expansion of the second language can occur quite rapidly, because the expansion of the mother tongue has progressed further, which enables the pupils to apply the concepts and knowledge that they have learned through the expansion of the mother tongue. After some years, age-adequate competence is attained also in the second language. If age-adequate development is to be expected in the other school subjects, which is the stated aim, then the mother tongue has to be used to teach the other subjects during the period before the pupils' competence in the second language has become adequate for their age.



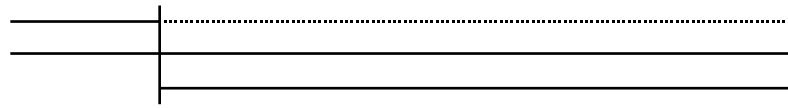
Model B depicts a situation where the pupils have two mother tongues and start school with basic skills in both languages. The pupils receive education in both the languages and thus achieve expansion of both of them. One or both languages are used in the subject teaching.

2. A language assimilation model without bilingualism as the goal



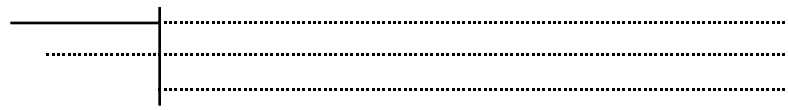
In Model C, the children arrive at school with the same qualifications as in Model A. They receive education in the mother tongue up to the time they attain age-adequate competence in the second language. The

expansion of the mother tongue then stops, and the pupils subsequently do not, like the pupils in Model A, reach an age-adequate level in the mother tongue, because the expansion ceases. If age-adequate development is to be expected in the other subjects, which is the stated aim, the pupils have to be taught the other subjects in their mother tongue during the period before their competence in the second language has become adequate for their age.



Model D shows a situation where the pupils have two mother tongues and start school with basic skills in both languages. The pupils receive education in the second language only, and only the second language is used in the subject teaching.

3. School failure model



In Model E, the pupils arrive at school with the same qualifications as in Model C, but are not taught the mother tongue, nor is the mother tongue used to teach the other subjects. This implies no expansion in the mother tongue, and the pupils may find it difficult to follow the subject teaching because they did not have the basic skills in the second language initially (and at a higher grade no expansion), which the subject teaching in this language together with the majority pupils requires. The result can be gaps in the basic academic knowledge required to follow the teaching in the subjects at a higher level, and these children will lag behind the others, so that many of them will not attain a level adequate for their age in the school subjects, even if they gradually acquire the base in the second language. Although they apparently “have learned” the second language, they will lag behind their peers as far as expansion is concerned, who have this language as their mother tongue, and they will therefore never reach an age-adequate level of competence in the second language either.

These are simple models which do not take into account all the individual variation that always exists. It will always be possible to find some individuals who do not fit these models. Thus, they cannot be suitably used to predict the development of individual pupils.

Because of the many factors that work in combination, particularly favourable conditions, such as the availability of help from capable parents, can change the situation considerably. Nevertheless, for the majority of pupils with a mother tongue without high social prestige, the models show the main features of the established knowledge about the relation between language skills among pupils in a bilingual situation and the acquisition of knowledge in the different subjects taught at the school.

It is not always easy to peg out the roads to success at school. If a pupil is to succeed at school, it is not only necessary to provide education of a suitable kind in the mother tongue and the second language, and in the other subjects. The teaching must also be of sufficiently high quality. Therefore, there is no guarantee that the educational models that are intended to provide opportunities for the pupils to reach an age-adequate academic level actually do this in practice. In all the models it is necessary to ensure high quality teaching, both of the different languages and of the different subjects. The last model, however – regardless of such considerations – is bound to create a large number of school failures.

The aspect of values

Other aspects should be also be taken into account, in addition to the purely instrumental ones, when considering what the school offers to pupils from language minorities. It is usual to regard the mother tongue as a crucial factor for the development of identity, and in this perspective the mother tongue is of value to the pupils in itself. Through the mother tongue, the children obtain confirmation that they belong to a family and to a specific ethnic group. When the school provides education in the mother tongue, this shows in practice that the school has a high regard for the language concerned and the culture of which it is a part. In this way, many children may feel that is it not only their culture that is highly regarded, but themselves as well. In this connection it is natural to draw a parallel to the situation of Saami (Lapp) pupils in Norway – there is no longer anyone who, in a school policy context, doubts the value of the Saami language to Saami pupils. For the majority society too, multilingualism is a highly esteemed cultural value, independent of practical benefit.

It is more difficult, on the basis of quantifiable research findings, to document the value of the mother tongue as a factor in creating identity, but this does not weaken the arguments for teaching the mother tongue as a value in itself, it is just that the arguments are of another kind.

The mother tongue is important for children both in the primary socialization process and for the development of personal and ethnic identity. If the school follows the generally acknowledged pedagogic

principle of starting with the known and then leading the children from there to the unknown, the initial teaching for many of the children in the school must start in mother tongue. If the pupils are to become part of the world of the school, then the school must understand, and be able to build on, the children's earlier experiences and patterns of socialization in the homes.

A common observation is that children who do not receive active support for the minority language outside the family turn to using the majority language as soon as they can speak it tolerably well. If their parents or other family members have limited competence in the majority language, or do not speak it at all, there is a great risk that the communication between the parent generation and the children will be adversely affected. This implies a risk that the one of the means the parents have for bringing up their children, namely language, is lost to them, or is diminished. Wong Filmore, who has studied Spanish- and Chinese-speaking children in California, describes this risk as follows:

> What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children: When parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences. [...] Talk is a crucial link between parents and children: It is how parents impart their culture to their children and enable them to become the kind of men and women they want them to be. When parents lose the means for socializing and influencing their children, rifts develop and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understanding. (Wong Filmore 1991:343).

It has happened that counsellors have told parents that it would be best for their children if the family changed to speaking the second language at home. Certainly, this has often been done with good intentions. But advising the parents to use a language which they do not master well when talking to their children may have serious consequences for the children's cognitive development and general socialization. This may in turn have serious consequences for the children's relationship with the school. Advising the parents to change over to speaking the second language with their children is a course that persons with knowledge of research on bilingualism are very unlikely to recommend.

We know too that language can be a strong ethnic marker. The non-Nordic part of a person's identity is developed, for example, through mastery of the mother tongue. It is debated in the literature whether preserving the language is a prerequisite for preserving ethnic identify. Those who believe that this does not apply (e.g. Paulston 1983) give examples of groups who regard themselves as ethnic minorities in spite of having stopped using the minority language. This applies, for

example, to the Finnish gypsies who speak Finnish rather than the Romany language, but still comprise a distinct, limited ethnic group. In this connection, it can be pointed out that how they dress is also important as an ethnic marker, perhaps for the very reason that they no longer speak a particular language. We know that, for certain groups, language is of fundamental importance for ethnic identify (and, according to Smolicz 1981, constitutes a so-called "core value of culture"), while for other groups it is less important. Clyne's studies of change of language among immigrants to Australia show clear differences between groups when it comes to the tendency to maintain or change language (Clyne 1982). This may mean that language is essential for preserving identity for some groups, but not for all.

If the objective is integration, the mother tongue and the minority culture are regarded as values that both the minorities and the majorities ought to preserve and develop. For this to succeed, the minority languages, just like the majority languages, have to be taught. Extensive research has shown that being in a minority situation makes it difficult to develop the first language to the level that would otherwise be normal for the age concerned (see e.g. Hyltenstam & Svonni 1990; Pfaff 1993; Shaufeli 1993; Namei 1993; Kuyumcu 1995). An immigrant or minority child simply does not meet his or her own language in enough functions or in sufficient diversity to stimulate general language development. This can lead to many gaps in the base of the language and even more gaps in its expansion. Typical reasons for the child's receiving limited stimulation in the language is that only the parents, or more typically one of the parents, talks with the children in the language. An absence of brothers and sisters who speak the language, or similarly of friends of equal age, implies that the child does not acquire all aspects of the pronunciation or the grammar of the spoken language before starting school. Children try to be exactly like other children in many ways, and especially with regard to language. But, obviously, the base of the language can be developed just as in a majority language, provided that the child receives adequate intensive and diversified stimulation in the language. This can occur, for example, when the whole family speaks the language concerned, and the child also has opportunities to speak it with friends and adults outside the family.

Owing to differences in the family situation and in the intensity of contact with the mother tongue, children who participate in the education in the mother tongue at school have varying competence in their mother tongue. The variation in the command of the mother tongue among immigrant and minority language children is much greater than among children with the majority language as their mother tongue.

Therefore, in addition to providing ordinary education in the mother tongue, this teaching has to compensate for the aspects of the use of language that are lacking in the life of the child. Some children need support both to build up the base of the language, so that it can be developed to a level that is normal for the age, and to develop the expansion of the language. Other minority language children may only need help to expand their mother tongue, in the same way as the majority language children do in their mother tongue. In the Nordic countries, there are few areas on which the school spends so much time and gives so much support as in the development and expansion of the mother tongue for the majority language pupils - many hours of teaching per week throughout the schooling.

Another factor that may inhibit the minority children's learning of their own language is the attitude of their surroundings to the language concerned. In a given community, the majority language is valued highest and the minority languages not as much – this is always the case if, by minority, one means a dominated group (see Hyltenstam & Stroud 1991: 21 et seq.). This means that children, who at certain ages are very sensitive about social status, may be poorly motivated to learn and use the minority language. They prefer to adapt their speech to that of their friends who belong to the majority, and are therefore more motivated to learn the majority language. If the children are taught the minority language and in the minority language at school, this may help to raise the status of this language and thus the children's motivation to learn it and use it properly. This means that, if it is considered important for pupils from language minorities to have a qualified command of their mother tongue, they have to be taught the mother tongue.

There is also another side to the relation between language and ethnicity. This applies to the contact with the non-Nordic cultural community comprising the immigrants' and other minority groups' complex cultural background. If the other culture or other cultures in which the minorities have their roots "live" in a totally different language, it is more or less impossible to keep up with developments and the cultural life in general without knowing this language. If we believe that it is important for children from language minorities to participate also in a cultural community which includes their parents as well, then teaching in the mother tongue is of crucial importance.

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13. DESCRIPTION OF TEACHING FOR IMMIGRANTS IN DENMARK, FINLAND, ICELAND, NORWAY AND SWEDEN

Bergthóra S. Kristjánsdóttir

The teaching of bilingual pupils in Denmark

Bilingual pupils are defined as “children who have a mother tongue other than Danish, and who first learn Danish through contact with the surrounding community, possibly at school”. In the Folkeskole legislation it is thus the children’s mother tongue which entitles them to special attention, not their citizenship.

The public primary and lower secondary school for children in Denmark is termed “the Folkeskole”. Education is compulsory for all children for 9 years, and can be received either at the municipal Folkeskole or at a private school. The Folkeskole comprises an optional pre-school class, which most children, both Danish and bilingual, attend, followed by 1st to 9th classes and an optional 10th class.

In 1996 there were c. 40,000 bilingual pupils of compulsory school age. About 36,000 attended Folkeskolen and c. 4,000 went to private schools. Bilingual pupils constitute c. 7% of the pupil population. The Turkish/Kurdish group is the largest of these, c. 8,600, followed by the group from Bosnia and the former Jugoslavia, c. 5,500.

Bilingual children are registered at the schools in their local district. The municipal council can, however, decide that parents may choose freely among the schools in their municipal area. For pedagogical and resource-related reasons, children can be registered in reception classes or other receptive arrangements in schools other than those in their local district. The scope of specially designed teaching for bilingual pupils, i.e. Danish as a second language and supplementary Danish for special purposes, is always determined by the individual municipal council. For new arrivals and other bilingual pupils with very little Danish, teaching can take place in special classes, in reception classes or, in certain cases, in a one to one situation. For pupils who arrive in Denmark after the age of 14, special classes can be set up in which, in addition to Danish as a second language, the normal 8th to 10th class subjects are also taught. Late arrivals are quite often not integrated into the Folkeskole’s normal classes at all. Bilingual pupils’ total school hours shall correspond to the norm at each class level. Pupils from other schools are placed in the class that corresponds to their school age. However, if particular reasons indicate it, they can, with their parents approval, be placed in a higher or lower class.

The intentions of the Education Act

The current Act on the Folkeskole came into effect on August 1st, 1994. According to the statement of aims it is the task of the Folkeskole inter alia – in cooperation with the parents – to

- familiarize the pupils with Danish culture
- contribute to their understanding of other cultures
- contribute to the all-round development of the individual pupil
- respect man's interaction with nature
- prepare the pupils for active participation, joint responsibility, rights and duties in a society based on freedom and democracy.

The teaching of the school must therefore build on intellectual freedom, equality and democracy (§1. sections 1–3).

The content of the Folkeskole is described in 30 subject papers. The weight given to cross-cultural studies in the new papers can be seen as a good basis for integrating the teaching of bilingual pupils in the work of the school as a whole. In the description of the aims and central knowledge and proficiency areas of the various subjects, working across languages and cultures is stressed. For example:

> "In addition, the pupils shall acquire knowledge about non-Christian religions and philosophies of life with a view to giving them an understanding of other forms of life and attitudes."
>
> (Christian Studies)
>
> "...to further develop pupils' understanding of and attitude to their own culture, other cultures..."
>
> (History)
>
> "...shall deal with culture and the meeting of cultures, including problems in relation to ethnic groups, racism and human rights."
>
> (Social Studies)
>
> "...teaching shall comprise examples of the interaction between man and nature in their own and in foreign societies..."
>
> (Science)
>
> "...teaching shall ...strengthen their international understanding and their understanding of their own culture."
>
> (English)

There are similar cross-cultural descriptions of aims and central knowledge and proficiency areas for almost all subjects in the Danish Folkeskole.

Knowledge of the mother tongue and of one's own culture is described as a good basis for learning a new language, i.e. for Danish pupils to learn new languages, for example (from the curricular recommendations for English):

> "The teaching builds on the fact that pupils already have, from Danish for instance, a proficiency, knowledge and experience in regard to learning, to language and its usage, to concepts, to understanding the world around them...

> Pupils are not beginner users of language. The point of departure must be mother tongue teaching (similarities and differences), pupils general understanding of the world around them...
>
> The pupils shall work with English in English, but they are also required to learn "about English", and to make comparisons between English and Danish in order to develop their language awareness in the broadest sense. In this connection it is important to exploit pupils' curiosity. This will simultaneously support the development of their mother tongue, just as the content can be a joint frame of reference for the two languages.
>
> Teaching should be conducted as far as possible in English. At first by the teacher speaking English as much as possible, but accepting pupils' responses in Danish.
>
> There are areas where the Danish pupils' knowledge of Danish can be transferred more or less directly...in other areas their experience of Danish cannot be transferred..."

But in spite of a Danish Education Act for the Folkeksole which in its formulations does not question pupils' need for their mother tongue, their use of it and their right to it, nevertheless there is an on-going discussion in Denmark, both in educational and political circles, of this fact in relation to bilingual pupils. The same applies to international understanding. Nobody doubts that the Folkeskole should contain cross-cultural aspects. But there is not necessarily agreement on forms of expression when this cross-cultural understanding is to the advantage of the bilingual pupils and their families.

The teaching of Danish as a second language and mother tongue teaching

According to §5 section 7 in the Act on the Folkeskole, the teaching of Danish as a second language can be given to the required extent to bilingual pupils in pre-school classes and in the 1st to 10th classes. Further, the Minister of Education can decide that the bilingual pupils shall have teaching in their mother tongue.

Danish as a second language is described in the Ministry of Education's subject paper no. 18a. Danish as a Second Language. Danish as a second language is described in the same way as for the other subjects and subject areas in the Folkeskolen. That is, there is

- a description of aims, stating <u>why</u> bilingual pupils shall have Danish as a second language,
- a description of <u>what</u> they shall learn in Danish as a second language, and
- a guidance in <u>how</u> the teaching can be conducted.

The teaching of the pupils' mother tongue is described in the same way. It has been approved, but ultimo 1996 not officially published due to a government decision from 1993 not to change the conditions of mother tongue teaching for four years.

Mother tongue teaching is optional for pupils but shall be offered for 3–5 hours per week if i.a. at least 12 pupils have applied and a qualified teacher is available.

The curricular recommendations for Danish as a second language and the bilingual pupils' mother tongue both take as their point of departure pupils' bilingual and bi-cultural situation. Both guides emphasize the interaction between the Danish language and culture and the pupils' mother tongue and cultural background. The statement of aims for mother tongue teaching says that mother tongue teaching strengthens the pupils' basis for learning Danish, for profiting from the school's teaching and for forming opinions and taking action in Danish society.

The integration project

Over a period of four years, from 1994 to 1998, 100 million Danish crowns are earmarked for supporting municipal initiatives in the Folkeskole sector. In 1993 the government set up a committee represented by nearly all ministers. The committee, named the Urban Committee, was given the task of putting forward suggestions for solving problems in urban areas that were characterized by economic, social and other problems. One of the government's aims in this was to strengthen the integration of immigrants and refugees and to counteract racism and racial hatred. The Urban Committee proposed a 30-point action plan, and recommended that the action plan be backed up with economic resources.

One of the points was specifically concerned with bilingual pupils in the Folkeskole. It dealt partly with the possibility of effecting initiatives to promote an alternative distribution of pupils, so that schools with a predominance of bilingual pupils could limit their intake, and partly with the possibility of improving Danish teaching, both for Danish and for bilingual pupils.

When the four-year period expires, c. 200 projects will have been tested in Danish schools. Most of the projects have been directed towards schools with many bilingual pupils. The projects have varied a lot, but a joint feature of all the applications from schools has been a wish to develop and improve their teaching rather than send their bilingual pupils to other schools with fewer bilingual pupils.

For practical purposes, the projects have been divided into three types:

1) Cross-sectional projects. These comprise projects of cooperation extending beyond the Folkeskole, either across the boundaries

of municipality, local council, schools and youth education programmes or of the school as local cultural centre. “Enghøj School as Magnet School” (pages 29–38) is an example of a cross-sectional project.

2) Whole unit projects. These are projects which include parents, infants and other groups as well as the pupils themselves. These projects comprise options for infants, extended parent cooperation, cultural arrangements, publication of information materials, further education of personal groups, extended school library functions or special options under the aegis of youth schools. “Young People on their Way” (pages 97–105) is an example of a whole unit project.
3) School projects. Characteristic of these is the development of teaching content and organisation.

These projects are often delineated by focus on a particular age level in the Folkeskole, for example pre-school and youngest classes, intermediate classes, final classes or teaching of one particular class. An example of the content of these projects is Danish teaching (the differentiation of Danish mother tongue and Danish as a second language), intercultural studies, reading training, assisted homework, materials development or special subject teaching.

The projects have been financed partly by government funds and partly by municipal co-funding. Co-funding of the projects by the government is on the decrease over the four year period. With a growing municipal responsibility for the projects, it is hoped that the projects will continue after the four year period and become a permanent feature in local areas.

All integration projects are evaluated by an external consultant company.

Young bilingual people and infants

There are no particular arrangements or rules with regard to the guidance and progression of young bilingual people from school to education and work. However, within the given framework for school and youth guidance, many municipalities have organised special programmes or options for young bilingual people and their parents, such as an early start of vocational and educational guidance, bilingual guidance, the inclusion of parents, etc. (See article on Young People on their Way – an integration project on graduation to training and vocation by Kirsten Soren and John Vinter Knudsen, pages 97–105)

There is a growing need for a extra efforts for both the young bilingual people and their parents. The group of late arrival immigrants and refugees especially require particular attention. Work is being

done at the moment on more specific options for the 15–25 year-old late arrivals to enable them in the long term to enter youth education and the labour market.

Special attention has also been given to bilingual infants. In 1996 a law was passed on efforts on behalf of bilingual infants. The law called up opposing viewpoints. An overwhelming parliamentary majority expressed the view that the integration of refugee and immigrant children was best served by all children learning to speak Danish before entering school. A small minority and a few representatives from immigrant organisations found the law discriminating, partly because they were worried about sending 3 year-old bilingual children to school, and partly because they did not necessarily feel that ethnic equality was best achieved purely by focusing on the lack of Danish language skills.

Although the law was first passed in 1996, bilingual infants have attended day-care or other institutions for many years. 60% of bilingual infants now attend kindergarten and many municipalities in the recent decade have had play-school options for 10–20 hours weekly for 4–5 year-old bilingual children. Some of the options integrate the mother tongue whilst others focus exclusively on Danish language development. Some municipalities have chosen to offer bilingual infants free whole or half-day places in day-care institutions. The ways in which these institutions integrate language development vary greatly.

In the spring of 1996 the Ministry of Education set up the "Development Centre for the teaching and education of bilingual children and young people". The development centre is a self-owning institution. Its task is to systematically collect, adapt, disseminate and develop knowledge and experience on bilingual children and young people's prerequisites, opportunities and needs in the infant area, in the Folkeskole and in youth education.

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Aims and Central Knowledge and Proficiency Areas. Folkeskole subjects

Curricula. Folkeskole subjects

Subject papers 1–30

Ministry of Education, Folkeskole sector

Nina Rekola

Teaching for immigrants in Finland

In 1997 there were over 75,000 foreigners in Finland, which is about 1.3% of the entire population. Most of the foreigners living in Finland are Russians, Estonians, Swedes, and former Soviet citizens. Of the approximately 14,000 refugees the Somalis are the largest group, followed by former Yugoslavs and Vietnamese. The annual number of applications for asylum has been around 1,000 in recent years.

The total number of immigrant pupils in comprehensive and upper-secondary schools in Finland is about 10,000. As immigrant pupils are counted refugees, applicants for asylum, returned emigrants, immigrants and other foreigners.

Comprehensive school in Finland consists of primary level (classes 1–6) and secondary level (classes 7–9). Children begin school at the age of 7. Around 55% of 6-year-olds take part in pre-school instruction. Foreigners have a right to receive comprehensive schooling, but unlike Finnish citizens attendance is not compulsory. School legislation is being amended on this point.

The goal of education for immigrants is to provide them with the preparedness they need in order to be able to function as equal members of Finnish society and to maintain their own cultural identity. The goal is also to make them bilingual, so that they have a command of either Finnish or Swedish as well as of their own native language.

Immigrant pupils are placed according to their age and/or level of attainment in different classes in the comprehensive school. Most of the immigrants commence their studies in Finnish-speaking schools. They can, however, choose a Swedish-speaking school or a class where instruction is given in some foreign language, usually English. Schools which offer teaching in English or in another foreign language are found in the metropolitan region, but also in other towns and municipalities.

Preparatory schooling

Under the Finnish Comprehensive School Act municipalities can arrange schooling as a preparation for comprehensive school for children who are of school age or pre-school age (i.e. 6 years old). The state reimburses the municipality for the costs of this schooling. During preparatory schooling pupils receive instruction in Finnish as a second language (or Swedish as a second language if they are going to a Swedish-speaking school), instruction in their native language, and also in other comprehensive school subjects depending on the composition of the group. The pupil can be integrated in the Finnish/ Swedish comprehensive school for certain subjects already during the period of preparatory schooling. The preparatory schooling can also be

given entirely or partly in the pupil's native language. The forms of this schooling vary greatly from municipality to municipality. The duration also varies, but the pupil should receive preparatory schooling for at least six months.

Consolidation schooling

Some immigrant pupils come to Finland so late that it is impossible for them to obtain the comprehensive school leaving certificate, or their grades are so poor that they cannot get into the institution of their choice. For such pupils some municipalities arrange supplementary schooling in a so-called tenth class or consolidation class.

Teaching of the native language

A pupil who has a native language other than Finnish or Swedish can take his/her language as the first language in comprehensive school and senior secondary school if the municipality arranges instruction. This possibility is legislated in the Comprehensive School Act and the Senior Secondary School Act. The lessons for this native language teaching are taken mainly from other languages and from the normal timetable resources of the municipality/school. The pupil then studies Finnish or Swedish as the second language. The municipality is not allocated any extra resources.

Teaching of the native language for immigrant pupils can also be arranged as an elective or extra subject in comprehensive school or as a so-called applied course in senior secondary school.

The most usual way of arranging teaching, however, is by means of a state extra resource. A native language group can be formed with four pupils, including pre-school children, and receive two hours teaching a week. The state pays 86% of the costs of the teacher.

The core curricula for the comprehensive school and the senior secondary school contain provision for teaching of the native language for pupils whose native language is a foreign one.

The municipality decides in its curriculum how teaching of the native language for immigrant pupils shall be arranged and with what timetable resources.

In 1996 over 7,000 immigrant pupils were given instruction in a total of 52 different native languages. The most common languages were Russian, Somali, Vietnamese, Estonian and English.

Since 1992 the National Board of Education has arranged a training programme comprising a total of 19 weeks of study for native language teachers in different languages. The training is spread over two years. The fourth group of students commenced their studies in autumn 1996. The goal of the training is to raise the quality of teaching.

Finnish or Swedish as a second language for immigrants – supplementary teaching

In order to be able to integrate into Finish schools and society pupils must learn the language of the country. The immigrant pupil absorbs the school's language of instruction the whole time. In addition there is a need for special instruction in Finnish (Swedish) as a second language. The function of second language teaching is to support the pupil's language development which is taking place the whole time since he/she is living in a Finnish-speaking (Swedish-speaking) environment. During their school career many immigrant children transfer to the regular first-language teaching which is arranged for Finnish-speaking or Swedish-speaking pupils.

The school can arrange instruction in Finnish/Swedish as a second language in various ways, either by taking lessons from the school's normal timetable resources, arranging instruction as an elective or extra subject in comprehensive school or as an applied course in senior secondary school. The most common arrangement, however, is that the extra supplementary teaching resources which the state allocates to the municipality for the supplementary teaching of immigrant pupils are used for second language teaching. This teaching varies greatly in form and also in scope. The municipality lays down in its curriculum how the second language teaching shall be organized.

The core curricula for the comprehensive school and the senior secondary school also contain provision for the teaching of Finnish/ Swedish to immigrant pupils as a second language.

According to the core curricula for vocational education teaching of Finnish/Swedish as a second language for immigrant students is arranged according to need. Similarly teaching of the native language can be arranged for them. The educational institution incorporates the Finnish/Swedish teaching and native language teaching for immigrants in its own curriculum.

Further education for teachers in Finnish as a second language is being arranged continuously.

The Matriculation Examination

The senior secondary school course (2–4 years or 120 weeks of full-time study) in Finland is concluded by the Matriculation Examination which consists of at least four subjects but usually of six subjects. The pupils are then about 18–19 years old. For all Finnish, Swedish or Lapp speaking candidates there are obligatory examinations in the first language (Finnish, Swedish or Lapp), the "long" foreign language and the second national language. In addition the candidate can choose between examinations in mathematics, science and a second foreign language. The Matriculation Examination can also be taken at senior

secondary schools for adults. Immigrant candidates, however, have since Spring 1996 had the right to take an examination in Finnish or Swedish as a second language instead of the first-language examination taken by Finnish- and Swedish-speaking candidates. In Spring 1997 this option was exercised by 90 immigrant candidates. The language of the Matriculation Examination is either Finnish or Swedish depending on the school's language of instruction.

Lapps and Gypsies

In comprehensive school Lapps and Gypsies have the same opportunities to study their native language as immigrant pupils. In addition Lapps in their native region in Lapland can receive instruction in other subjects given in Lappish.

This occurs mostly at the primary level of comprehensive school.

The curriculum

The bases of the curricula for the various stages of school education (comprehensive school, senior secondary school, vocational education) are nation-wide standards which are compiled by the National Board of Education. The national core curricula comprise the goals and central content of teaching for each subject.

Each municipality in Finland must draw up a local curriculum. This curriculum is the starting point for planing, assessment and practical school work. It is based on the national core curricula which at the local level are interpreted, processed and completed to produce a curriculum to describe and develop the practical teaching work in the school.

The school's own teaching curriculum expresses the school's function, special character and educational idea. It also determines the allocation of time between subjects, based on the guidelines prescribed by the Council of State, and in what class instruction in the various subjects is commenced, whether teaching is giving in groups independent of the class, what optional languages are offered at the primary level and what elective subjects at the secondary level, how timetable resources are divided between the compulsory subjects and elective subjects, etc. The curriculum also includes the principles for the school's internal evaluation and decisions concerning the assessment of pupils. The compilation of the curriculum is an active and on-going development process in which all the various interest groups should be involved.

Gudni Olgeirsson

Immigrant instruction in compulsory school (grunnskóli) in Iceland

In recent years the number of immigrants to Iceland has increased substantially and their is great variety in their respective country of origin. The group includes, for example, persons from Nordic countries, Americans, Eastern Europeans, and a fairly large group of Asians. According to the National Registry, just under 4,800 foreign citizens were resident in Iceland in 1995, or almost 2% of the population. This figure does not, however, give a proper picture of the number of bilingual individuals in the country. According to the information from compulsory schools, in 1996 there were more than 300 students in compulsory schools whose mother tongue was not Icelandic (immigrants). They have either been born in Iceland or immigrated to the country and their situation with regard to their command of Icelandic varies greatly; they speak some 40 different languages. The need to provide support for Icelandic children who have lived for long periods abroad has also increased.

In 1992 the Minister of Education, Science and Culture appointed a working group on Icelandic instruction for immigrants. In 1994 a wide-reaching reform of the services provided to immigrant children in the country's compulsory schools and adult education began. The Minister appointed a special project director to oversee matters concerning the education of immigrant children in the country's schools and another who is responsible for adult education, financial allocations were increased and a special consulting group at the Ministry has dealt with immigrant instruction.

On August 1, 1996 the responsibility for compulsory school education, including the overall responsibility for the instruction of immigrant children in these schools, was transferred to local authorities. The special contribution of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture concerning the instruction of immigrants at compulsory school level has thus concluded, and the ministerial project administration has been terminated. The local authorities, however, are required to maintain these and other special educational services which are part of school activities.

It is stated clearly in the Compulsory School Act of 1995 that local authorities are obliged to provide compulsory schooling for all children and youth 6–16 years of age. All children of this age group are, correspondingly, obliged to attend compulsory school. Compulsory school (*grunnskóli*) is a single-level, 10-year programme. Children of linguistic minorities are to begin attending school immediately upon entering the country.

The Compulsory School Act of 1995 includes for the first time provisions on the right of pupils to special instruction in Icelandic if

their mother tongue is not Icelandic. A similar provision can be found in the new Upper Secondary School Act of 1996. A Ministerial Order issued by virtue of the Compulsory School Act, makes more detailed provision concerning instruction in Icelandic and also authorises special Icelandic instruction for pupils whose mother tongue is not Icelandic and a provision indicating that the goal is the active bilingualism of immigrants. Schools are also authorised to offer students in the oldest classes optional instruction in their own mother tongue in accordance with a new Regulation on elective subjects.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture has begun preparations for an overall review of the National Curriculum Guide for compulsory school, along with the Curriculum Guide for upper secondary education, which is to be published in 1998. Formal work on a curriculum for Icelandic instruction for pupils whose mother tongue is not Icelandic has been initiated, and in the next few years instruction in Icelandic as a second-language may become a permanent part of immigrant education in Iceland. Work has also been begun on a curriculum for the Icelandic instruction of adult immigrants, various experiments have been carried out and the Ministry has supported a number of initiatives to provide Icelandic courses for immigrants practically without cost to them.

The principal objective of special instruction in Icelandic is for the immigrants to achieve knowledge of and skills in using the language which will make it possible for them to participate in the instruction provided in Icelandic schools, to understand Icelandic culture and furthermore to participate actively in Icelandic society. It is important that immigrants are trained in using Icelandic under a variety of circumstances and acquire vocabulary in different areas, that they understand everyday Icelandic and are also trained in expressing themselves orally and in writing.

In the capital region, where the numbers of children have been sufficient to form a group, immigrant children have for several years been able to begin their schooling in a special reception section at several compulsory schools immediately upon entering the country. In the reception section the children receive intensive instruction in Icelandic and they participate in a variety of activities in order to integrate them as well as possible into Icelandic society. Their status is assessed regularly and new plans laid, until is considered suitable for the students to transfer permanently to normal compulsory schooling. In practice one year of instruction in a reception section has generally been the rule. Immigrants of varying origin have been placed in the reception section together, but efforts have been made to respect their mother tongue and culture and to encourage their parents to continue to use their mother tongue.

Pupils from other Nordic countries and English-speaking pupils have to some extent been in a special situation in Iceland as compared to pupils whose mother tongue is not Icelandic coming from other language areas. In Icelandic instruction in Danish is compulsory in all schools from the 6th grade onwards, but pupils from Norway or Sweden have been able to study Norwegian or Swedish instead of Danish. This applies both to Norwegian and Swedish pupils and to Icelandic pupils who have resided in these countries. Instruction in English generally begins in the 7th grade.

In recent years emphasis has been placed on instruction of pupils whose mother tongue was not Icelandic. To begin with, the prime emphasis was on instruction in Icelandic as a foreign language (for immigrants). Soon, however, the discussion turned to an increasing extent to the mother tongue of the immigrants and the importance of enabling the students to strengthen their mother tongue. Formal instruction in the mother tongue has, however, been very limited, but parents are encouraged to an increasing extent to maintain and support mother tongue competence. Recently the Ministry supported an experiment in mother tongue instruction for Vietnamese, which is felt to have given good results.

Work is in progress on preparing an overall strategy concerning immigrants moving to Iceland. A committee including representatives from various Ministries has been appointed to present their proposals in this regard. The committee has also acquainted itself with the immigrants' situation, as well as with the policies of neighbouring countries in this area. The committee is to conclude its work later this year.

We Icelanders are standing at the crossroads with regard to the situation of immigrants in the country. It has now been confirmed in new Acts on compulsory and secondary education that pupils whose mother tongue is not Icelandic shall receive special instruction in the Icelandic language (Icelandic as a second language).

With regard to such immigrant instruction it is important to define instruction in Icelandic as a second language within the compulsory school curriculum, develop a comprehensive public policy in this area, educate teachers, publish suitable instructional materials for the pupils and lay down rules on the allocation of instructional periods.

Education for language minorities in Norway

Bodhild Baasland

The compulsory school

In Norway, all children and adolescents aged 7 to 16 years of age have an obligation to attend school. The compulsory school is thus a 9-year school[1].

Since the beginning of the 1970s, the number of immigrants and refugees in Norway has risen considerably. This has implied that the compulsory school has received an increasing share of children belonging to language minorities. In the compulsory school these children are referred to as language minority children or foreign language-speaking children.

The first national survey carried out by Statistics Norway showed a total of 2,544 children from language minorities in the compulsory school in 1977. By the school year 1995/96, this number had increased to 26,190. This group of pupils now accounts for 5% of all the pupils in the compulsory school, with varying shares in the different counties. In Oslo, the group accounted for 25% of the total number of pupils. About 120 different mother tongues have been registered. The largest language minority groups include pupils with Urdu, Vietnamese or Turkish as their mother tongue.

The pupils represent a language, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. The children may have been born in Norway of immigrant parents, or may have come to the country in very early childhood, just before they start school, or after reaching start-of-school age. This means that they enter the school with very different qualifications. Some of the children who arrive in Norway during the compulsory school period are child illiterates, that is to say, children over the age of 10 years who can neither read nor write any language. The pupils may be the children of immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers. A few of them may have come to the country as asylum seeking minors without family.

When designing the education for language minorities it has always been an assumption that the education should be organized in a way that gives these children the same possibilities as other children have to take further education and obtain employment. This means that pupils from language minorities shall have the same opportunities, rights and obligations as pupils with Norwegian as their mother tongue. They also have a right to education adapted to suit their own aptitudes and abilities. Based on the right to have suitably adapted education, the school has introduced special teaching in Norwegian for pupils from language minorities, teaching in the mother tongue, and a possibility of being taught other subjects in the mother tongue until such time as they have sufficient competence in Norwegian to benefit from subject teaching in this language.

[1] As from 1997, children will start school at the age of six years, so compulsory schooling will last for ten years.

In Norway, it is the municipalities that are responsible for initiating and implementing compulsory education. Each municipality shall find the best way of organizing education for the language minority children resident in the municipality. How the education is organized depends on various local conditions, for example, the number of language minority children in the municipality.

The ordinary compulsory education is paid for from the general allocation from the central government to the municipality but, when it comes to special education in Norwegian and education in the mother tongue for children from language minorities, the government has maintained the system of special subsidies. The subsidy received depends on the number of language minority children and the number of language groups in the municipality. The government covers 90% of a fixed hourly rate.

Saami pupils in the compulsory school have special rights and special curricula.

Upper secondary education

Since the introduction of Reform ’94, all adolescents between the ages of 16 and 19 years have a right to three years of full-time upper secondary education leading to a final qualification, either to the necessary competence to proceed to higher education, or a trade certificate or other vocational qualification. It is also possible to obtain documentation of partial qualification. The county municipality, the level responsible for upper secondary education, is required to reserve a certain number of places for adults. A special service established in the county municipality is responsible for following up young persons who have not obtained a permanent job, or who have not applied for or accepted a place in the upper secondary school.

Young persons from language minorities who have completed the nine (from 1997, ten) years of compulsory schooling have the same right to upper secondary education as all other adolescents in Norway, provided they have a valid residence permit. Minors seeking political asylum in their own right may be admitted to upper secondary schooling but do not have the right to complete the school year if their application to stay in Norway is rejected.

The number of language minority students in the upper secondary school is increasing. It is an important goal to ensure that foreign language students are recruited to and complete upper secondary education in the same way as others. It is also important to make it easier for adults with another mother tongue to take upper secondary education, and to give credit for the competence they already possess.

To be accepted for upper secondary education, the student has to have attained a certain level of competence in Norwegian. Language

minority students who have a right to upper secondary education, but have been shown, after professional assessment, to need specially adapted education because of language difficulties, are allowed to spend five years on the education, instead of the normal three years.

A special syllabus has been prepared for Norwegian as second language, corresponding to the syllabus for Norwegian as first language, or mother tongue. Children from language minorities may choose, in consultation with the teacher of Norwegian, which syllabus to follow. In all other subjects the children from language minorities follow the same syllabuses as the other pupils do. Language minority children can also take an examination in their own mother tongue at second language (B-language) or third language (C-language) level, as a substitute for another second or third language. Students who speak a mother tongue that is not normally taught in the school must take the examination as private candidates, in which case they take a written examination only.

The government provides grants for extra language teaching for language minority students who have had little or no education in Norwegian at compulsory school level. The county municipality is compensated at a fixed hourly rate depending on the number of students that fulfil the criteria for such a grant. The money may be spent on supplementary teaching or a two-teacher system, or to establish special groups, classes or introductory courses in Norwegian. The students can either be taught Norwegian or in Norwegian, and theoretically can also be taught their mother tongue or in their mother tongue, but the latter seldom occurs.

When the students have been accepted for upper secondary education, the county municipality is responsible for arranging this education. The students can be offered intensive courses, or extended courses. The language minority students can follow the ordinary education or receive special education as whole-time or part-time participants in courses, or as apprentices or visiting students.

The system of grants also applies to Saami students. These students may take Saami as first language and Norwegian as second language, or vice versa. They may also learn Saami as alternative B or C language.

Mai Beijer

The teaching of minority pupils and pupils from a refugee or immigrant background in Sweden

Documents governing school education

The School Education Act *(Skollag)* and **Regulations and Directives** *(Skolförordningar)* which schools are required to follow -various laws relating to the provision of education.

Curriculum *(Läroplan)* – document laying down objectives, established at national level by government and parliament. The curriculum enshrines the foundation of values on which school education builds, and the objectives and guidelines which schools are to follow in their work.

Curriculum for Compulsory School Education (Lpo 94): junior and lower-secondary school, Saami schools ["Saami" is the more correct term for the Lappish people and their language. Translator's note], schools for the retarded, compulsory school education for the handicapped.

Curriculum for Non-Compulsory Education (Lpf 94): upper-secondary school, schools for the handicapped of upper-secondary age, the National Adult Education programme, adult education for the handicapped.

Syllabuses *(Kursplaner)* – Documents laying down the objectives for individual subjects, established at national level. The instructions they contain are binding in nature, and are formulated by government.

Grading Criteria *(Betygskriterier)* – These are not binding, having rather the character of general guidelines to aid in assessment. This is the first time that such criteria have been formulated in Sweden; their aim is to assist teachers in assessing pupils' knowledge and skills in a uniform, comparable manner.

Grades, Progress Appraisal Interviews *(Utvecklingssamtal)***, but no examinations** – At lower-secondary level grades are only awarded in years 8 and 9 (no grading of pupils at junior level). At upper-secondary level, grades are awarded on completion of the course in question. At least once a term the teacher, the pupil and the guardian(s) of the pupil meet to discuss the pupil's progress, and how the pupil's continued educational and personal development can best be encouraged. On request, the teacher will provide a written report regarding the pupil's school performance; information provided in this way must not have the character of a grade assessment. There are *no examinations* in junior/lower-secondary or in upper-secondary education.

Local Schools Directive *(Kommunal skolplan)* – Document drawn up at municipal level concerning the organisation and objectives of education within the municipality.

Schedule *(Arbetsplan)* – Document drawn up at individual school level. This work schedule is thus local in nature and can, in addition to general goals and objectives, contain descriptions of the way the national subject syllabuses are given specific, local application.

Different school forms

Comprehensive school (Grundskolan)

(junior and lower-secondary school, for ages 7 to 16)

All children in Sweden are entitled to receive education in the state school system. For children who are resident in the country – i.e. including immigrant and refugee children who have been granted a residence permit - school education is compulsory from the autumn term of the year in which they have their 7th birthday. The principle applying to children from families seeking political asylum is that they are entitled but not obliged to go to school. A large number of children start school while they are still six years old. Compulsory comprehensive school education lasts nine years. The formal division of comprehensive school education into junior, middle, and lower-secondary level (i.e. 7–9 year-olds, 10–12 year-olds, and 13–15 year-olds) has been phased out, although people still refer to the different stages. There is a trend towards the re-organisation of schools into what are called "1–9" schools; these schools often also have voluntary classes for 5- and 6-year-olds. The number of pupils from an immigrant background – defined in the statistics as pupils entitled to receive teaching in Mother Tongue Studies – was about 110,000 in the school year 1995/96 (12.7% of all pupils).

Starting in 1995/96 a new national curriculum for compulsory comprehensive school education is being phased in (Lpo 94).

Upper-secondary school (gymnasieskolan)

Municipal authorities in Sweden are obliged to offer all young people aged 16–20 a place in an upper-secondary school, either on one of the 16 national programmes, or on an individual or specially composed programme. Although upper-secondary education is voluntary, almost all young people (just over 98%) continue at this level having completed their compulsory school education. Young people with an immigrant background also continue their studies at this level; the proportion of such students at upper secondary level in 1995/96 was 12.8%. As well as on the Individual Programme, which offers special courses of an introductory nature, we find pupils with an immigrant background on all of the national programmes. The proportion is particularly high on the Business and Administration (18.7%), Handicraft (18.5%) and Health Care (17.3%) programmes. As regards

the more academically oriented programmes, the proportion of pupils from an immigrant background is 10.9% on both the Natural Science and Social Science programmes.

Upper-secondary education is governed by the Curriculum for Non-Compulsory Education (Lpf 94)

Schools for the handicapped, schools for the disabled

Children who are judged not to be able to achieve the educational objectives of comprehensive school owing to mental handicap receive their education in a school for the handicapped. There are comprehensive schools for the handicapped *(grundsärskola)* and, for severely mentally handicapped children who are unable to attend a comprehensive school for the handicapped, special schools for the severely mentally retarded *(träningskola);* both of these types of school provide nine years of compulsory education, with an optional tenth year. There are also upper-secondary schools for the mentally handicapped *(gymnasiesärskola)* with national, special and individually tailored programmes.

Schools for the disabled are intended to meet the needs of children with physical disabilities which prevent them from attending comprehensive school or a school for the handicapped. It should however be noted that the majority of pupils with a physical disability are integrated within the other school forms.

Saami schools (Sameskolan) and integrated Saami education

Pupils from a Saami (Lappish) background can choose to attend a Saami school. The Saami Agency for Education determines which school units may call themselves Saami schools. Municipal authorities may also arrange for what is called “integrated Saami education” (i.e. the study of the Saami language and the presence of Saami elements in the teaching of other subjects) in comprehensive schools, provided they have received authorisation for this from the Saami Agency for Education.

Pupils with Saami as their mother tongue who attend “ordinary” comprehensive/upper-secondary school can study Saami within the framework of Mother Tongue Studies.

Independent schools (fristående skolor)

In addition to the school education provided by the state there are schools run by private persons or organisations; called independent schools. These schools receive grant funding from the state and the respective municipal authority, provided they fulfil the objectives laid down in the national curricula for compulsory comprehensive/upper-secondary education. Some of these schools have a language other

than Swedish as their teaching language; many have a Christian profile, and there are schools with other ethno-religious profiles. The number of independent schools is increasing all the time. It is estimated that by the beginning of the 1996/97 school year there will be 15 Finno-Swedish schools in the country, with roughly as many Arabic-Moslem schools. There are also schools where the pupils are taught in English, German, French, Estonian, and Hebraic.

Pupils from a minority, immigrant or refugee background

Children of compulsory school age from families seeking political asylum

It is important that these children should be provided with a school place as soon as possible. The municipal authority with jurisdiction over the area where such children are living is responsible for ensuring that an appropriate school place is organised for them. The state pays a grant to cover their school education. The children either attend special classes, or are taught together with other newly arrived children who already have a resident permit. The aim is that the lessons they receive should be meaningful, whether or not they subsequently continue their school education in Sweden, return to their native country, or move on to another country. The foundations on which teaching of this category of pupil is to be based are:

- to take the national curriculum for junior and lower-secondary education as the basic starting point, and to provide the pupils with opportunities to further develop their knowledge and skills
- if possible, to provide the pupil with support for the language in which he/she has hitherto acquired knowledge
- to give the pupil the opportunity to learn Swedish so that he/she can learn as much as possible while in Sweden, whether their stay be temporary or permanent
- to provide the pupil with an introduction to Swedish society.

Mother tongue studies

Pupils with a mother tongue other than Swedish are entitled, according to the respective directives governing education in compulsory and upper-secondary schools and schools for the handicapped, to receive teaching in that language. The basic condition is that, in order for the pupil to be entitled to mother tongue tuition, the language must be the language used in daily communication between the pupil and at least one of his/her parents/guardians. Saami and Romany (gypsy) children, and children from the Finnish-speaking Tornedal area of northern Sweden, have the right to receive tuition in their own language even if it is not used in daily communication in the home. The same applies to

adopted children with a mother tongue other than Swedish. Mother Tongue Studies can be organised in the form of

- Language option. The subject replaces studies in a foreign language.
- Individual option. Under the national curriculum (Lpo 94) every pupil has timetabled space to permit him/her to choose a subject to be studied in greater depth.
- School option. Every school has a statutory "free area" of the timetable which can be used to give the school a particular profile.
- Outside timetabled school time. In other words, as an extra-curricular subject.

There are national syllabuses for Mother Tongue Studies at comprehensive level and in schools for the handicapped. To help them in assessing pupils' performance teachers make use of nationally established grading criteria. At upper-secondary level the subject Mother Tongue Studies is made up of three course elements: the Individual and Language Use, Language-Culture-Society, and Active Bilingualism in Practice. For these courses, too, there is a national syllabus and nationally established grading criteria.

In addition to the study of their mother tongue, pupils may receive teaching in some other subjects in the language – a feature called "Study Guidance".

The number of pupils entitled to receive mother tongue tuition in the 1995/96 school year was about 110,000 at comprehensive level and 19 000 at upper-secondary level. The proportion of these pupils who actually followed courses of Mother Tongue Studies was 60,300 (55%) at comprehensive level and 7,160 (37%) at upper-secondary level.

Finnish remains the biggest single language at comprehensive school level; Arabic is now the second largest, followed by Spanish, Persian and the languages of what was formerly Yugoslavia. The largest language at upper-secondary level in terms of number of pupils is Spanish. The proportion of those entitled who actually follow courses of Mother Tongue Studies is highest among pupils whose native language is Greek or Persian (just over 50%). Of pupils whose native language is Finnish or Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian about one quarter of entitled pupils took part in Mother Tongue Studies

Swedish as a Second Language

Pupils who have a mother tongue other than Swedish are entitled to receive teaching in Swedish as a Second Language (SSL). Pupils can now take SSL as an independent school subject in place of the subject Swedish (i.e. Swedish for native-speakers) at both compulsory and

upper-secondary level. As it is a separate subject they are awarded a grade, which is to have the same value as a grade in Swedish, and is, in the same way as Swedish for native-speakers, to provide a qualification for entry to the following stage of education, upper-secondary school or university respectively. During the 1995/96 school year the number of pupils studying Swedish as a Second Language was 61,000.

Reception of newly arrived pupils and others with limited knowledge of Swedish

Newly arrived pupils require special initiatives in order to enable them to benefit from their lessons in school in Sweden. There are also children who, even though they were born in Sweden, have not acquired the Swedish language by the time they start school. The most usual explanation for such cases is that the children live in areas where there are few Swedish-speaking children. For both these categories of pupils municipal authorities can organise special classes usually called “reception classes” or “preparatory classes”. Generally, the pupils in these classes are grouped on the basis of how much Swedish they know or how much previous schooling they have had, and not on the basis of how old they are. Sometimes the pupils are registered to take certain subjects in “Swedish” classes; in such cases they are usually placed in classes which correspond to their age. The length of time pupils need to spend in the preparatory/reception class varies, and their full integration into mainstream education tends to be effected successively. Pupils who come to Sweden at an age when pupils are usually nearing the end of their compulsory school education may be

Ur Skolan i siffror 1996:
Del 2 Elever och lärare

Mother Tongues	No. of pupils entitled to mother tongue studies	Pupils entitled as % of all pupils	Pupils participating in mother tongue studies				Pupils participating in Swedish as a Second Language (SSL)		
			No. of pupils	As % of		As % outside the time table	No. of pupils	As % of	
				all pupils	pupils entitled			all pupils	pupils entitled
10 biggest languages									
Albanian	4 656	0.5	2 610	0.3	56.1	51.6	3 832	0.4	82.3
Arabic	11 980	1.3	7 980	0.9	66.6	57.1	8 365	0.9	69.8
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	12 564	1.3	6 307	0.7	50.2	57.1	9 155	1.0	72.0
English	4 375	0.5	2 427	0.3	55.5	54.4	1 307	0.1	29.9
Finnish	16 724	1.8	7 767	0.8	46.4	37.1	6 004	0.6	35.9
Kurdish	2 931	0.3	1 669	0.2	56.9	59.7	2 177	0.2	74.3
Persian	8 152	0.9	5 694	0.6	69.8	62.6	4 441	0.5	54.5
Polish	4 661	0.5	2 374	0.3	50.9	55.6	1 520	0.2	32.6
Spanish	9 294	1.0	5 703	0.6	61.4	58.4	4 819	0.5	51.9
Turkish	4 763	0.5	2 779	0.3	58.3	61.0	3 546	0.4	74.4
Other languages (133)	25 274	2.7	15 462	1.6	61.2	25.0	12 906	1.4	51.1
Unspecified languages	122	0.0	17	0.0	13.9	35.3	76	0.0	62.3

placed in a younger class to enable them to learn more Swedish before embarking on upper-secondary level studies. If, in addition, the schooling they have had in their native country is deficient, they may stay in the preparatory class for the rest of their time at lower-secondary school.

Young people whose level of knowledge does not correspond to the grade "Pass" in the various subjects studied at comprehensive school should nonetheless be accepted for upper-secondary education; to help such pupils municipal authorities can arrange special classes – called "Introductory courses for young immigrants" – within the framework of the Individual programme. Pupils who begin their upper-secondary education on the Individual programme can subsequently move on to one of the national programmes; the subjects they have studied on the Individual programme can then be counted towards their final school-leaving grades.

Active Bilingualism and Multi-Cultural Competence

The overall goal in the teaching of Mother Tongue Studies and Swedish as a Second Language, throughout the whole of the time immigrant pupils are at school, is active bilingualism. This concept embraces both linguistic and cultural components, both from the pupils' respective mother tongues and from Swedish. Mother Tongue Studies at upper-secondary level is aimed at extending and broadening the knowledge and proficiency gained at preschool and comprehensive level. The objective of bilingualism is very clearly formulated in the syllabus for the upper-secondary level course Active Bilingualism in Practice, where it is laid down that, on completion of the course, pupils are to:

- be able, in everyday contexts, to interpret orally from their mother tongues into Swedish and vice versa
- be able to speak to a large audience in their mother tongue;
- be able independently to read, and form their own opinions and judgements on, texts concerning social life, working life and higher education
- be able, in everyday contexts, to translate from their mother tongue into Swedish and vice versa
- be able to express themselves orally and in writing, in different contexts and addressing themselves to different kinds of listener/reader
- have extended their command of different stylistic registers.

Although not all pupils with an immigrant background achieve these targets in their studies of their mother tongue, these objectives embody the Swedish school authorities' interest in providing pupils whose

mother tongue is not Swedish with the opportunity to work towards achieving an advanced level of proficiency in both of their languages.

Teachers for mother tongue Studies and Swedish as a second language

Since the mid- 1970s training has been provided for mother tongue teachers of various languages. However, this area of teacher-training has unfortunately ground to an almost complete standstill. The primary reason for this is the cutbacks made in funding for Mother Tongue Studies over the last five years. Many teachers who trained as teachers of languages which were spoken by large numbers of immigrants have since become superfluous as there are now much fewer pupils who have those languages as their mother tongue. With regard to the most recent immigrant groups, the entry requirement of a good command of Swedish represents an obstacle that prevents interested, and needed, people from following a course of teacher-training in Mother Tongue Studies. There is an enquiry in progress aimed at examining how the shortfall in qualified teachers of different languages can be remedied.

It is possible to study Swedish as a Second Language both as a university subject and on certain training courses for junior and lower-secondary school teachers. However, many teachers still lack an education in this subject. There are proposals for increasing the possible ways of combining the study of Swedish as a Second Language with all the other subjects and specialisms covered in teacher-training courses.

WRITERS

Gösta Andersson
worked as a nomad teacher at the Jukkasjärvi school for nomadic Saami between 1952 and 1963. Educational consultant to the National Association of Swedish Saami 1964–65. Inspector of nomad schools 1966-67, and thereafter inspector of Saami schools and school inspector, 1967–91.

Address: Språkskolan – the Language School
Repslagaregatan
S-953 85 Haparanda, Sweden
Tel. +46-922-15136

Inger M. Clausen
acts as teacher and school counsellor for bilingual pupils in Hvidovre municipality. In addition, Inger M. Clausen has also acted as instructor on courses for teachers during several years e.g. in the teachers' training institute of Denmark. Inger M. Clausen has written different articles as well as the book: The Multicultural School. Gyldendal 1986. As a teacher she has specialized in social anthropology. This degree has been of great use to her in her work with immigrants and refugees.

Address: Hvidovre kommune
Enghøjskolenn
Bødkerporten 6 A
DK-2650 Hvidovre, Denmark
Tel. +45-3677 4741, fax +45-3677 7121

Iàkovos Demetriádas
was born in Thessalonika, Greece. After studying Economics and Law for four years in his native country he came to Sweden in 1975. He studied Swedish and Greek at the universities of Uppsala and Stockholm, and on the teacher-training programme for mother tongue teachers in Stockholm. He has worked as a teacher of Greek as a mother tongue since 1979. He is an authorised translator, and since 1993 he has been an education officer for Botkyrka municipal authority, where his responsibilities include the assessment of the mother tongue proficiency of pupils from an immigrant background.

Address: Botkyrka kommun
Utbildningsförvaltaren
S-147 85 Tumba, Sweden
Tel. +46-8-5306 1000, Fax +46-8-5306 1294

Ogechukwu Eneh
She is originally from Nigeria. She has lived in Finland for eleven years. A graduate of Education from the University of Helsinki. A mother of two children aged ten and seven. Presently working as a programme manager and a trainer at the University of Helsinki, Vantaa Institute for Continuing Education. She is one of the writers of the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -material.

Address: University of Helsinki, Vantaa Institute for Continuing Education
Lummetie 2 A
FIN-01300 Vantaa, Finland
Tel. +358-9-1912 9058, Fax +358-9-1912 9000

Ingibjörg Hafstad
is school counsellor for minority languages for the whole of Iceland. She has led the development of second language teaching since 1993, first in the Ministry of Culture and Education and now in the municipalities. She has published “Milli menningarheima” a book on migration pedagogics (Between Two Cultures).
Address: Námsflokkum Reykjavíkur
Miðbæjarskóla
Fríkirkjuvegi
IS-101 Reykjavík, Iceland
Tel. +354-5516 491, Fax +354-5623 068
e-mail: ih@rvk.is

Anne Hvenekilde
is professor of Norwegian as a second language at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oslo. She has been involved in a number of projects realted to the teaching of Norwegian for immigrant students in schools and adult education and to the production of teaching materials. She has also has served on several national curriculum committees for Norwegian as a second language. Most of her publications are connected with the teaching and acquistion of Norwegian as second language (in contemporary Norway); as mother tongue abroad (in the USA between 1850 and 1925), and as foreign language (history of textbooks).
Address: Institutt for lingvistise fag
Universitetet i Oslo
Postboks 1102 Blindern
N-0317 Oslo, Norway
Tel. +47-2285 4348, fax +47-2285 6919

John Vinter Knudsen
in addition to being teacher in a folk high school, he is school and youth counsellor as well. Furthermore he is leader of School and youth counselling’s bilingual counselling in Copenhagen. He has belonged to the work team, which has developed the play and videos Young People on their Way.
Address: Nørrevej 44B
DK-3070 Snekkersten, Denmark
Tel. +45-3120 7500, fax +45-3120 1246

Jan Moen
has taken a degree in teaching and specialised in special education. He has worked at Fjell school since 1974. From 1977 he has been school inspector. In 1994 he led a committee, which had to evaluate the supply of education for minorities on all levels of the educational system. The committee presented its report in November 1995:12 “ Education in Multicultural Norway”.
Address: Fjell skole – the Fjell School
Laur Hervigsv. 20
N-3035 Drammen, Norway
Tel. +47-3281 7290, fax +47-3281 3899

Nina Pekkinen
teaches Russian-speaking immigrant children at Peltola School in Vantaa and is also a Russian teacher. She is an Ingrian and came to Finland from Russia in 1990.
Address: Peltolan koulu – the Peltola School
Lummetie 27
FIN-01300 Vantaa, Finland
Tel. +358-9-8393 181, fax +358-9-8394 271

Trinidad Rivera
came to Sweden in 1979 from Argentina, where she had trained as a teacher. Since 1981 she has worked with immigrant children in need of special support; she has been involved in developing teaching, methodology and teaching materials. She is at present with the Swedish Institute for School Education for the Handicapped (known in Sweden as SIH), where she is a specialist in the needs of disabled immigrant pupils.

Address: SIH Solna
Gårdsvägen 7
S-171 52 Solna, Sweden
Tel. +46-8-826 837, Fax +46-8-7059 730

Kirsten Soren
is teacher and school counsellor for language minorities in Frederiksberg municipality. She has belonged to the work team that developed the play and videos Young People on their Way

Address: Fredriksbergs kommun
Pædagogisk Center
Lollandsvej 40 A
DK-2000 Fredriksberg, Denmark
tel. +45-3833 1416, fax + 45-3833 3215

Max Strandberg
worked for ten years as a teacher of middle-school pupils (i.e. aged 10–12) in the multi-cultural Rinkeby area in north-west Stockholm. He currently works as a teacher of handicapped children of lower-secondary age (i.e. 13–15 years) in Rinkeby. He also holds lectures on cross-cultural approaches at the Stockholm School of Education

Address: Århusgatan 67
S-164 45 Kista, Sweden
Tel.+46-8-7527 830

Irmeli Tuomarla
(B.S.Sc., psychologist, special teacher) is a public relations officer at the Ministry of Labour, Division for Migration, editor-in-chief of the magazine MoniTori, which deals with immigrant questions, and leader and responsible editor of the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND (MIKÄMIKÄMAA) -project.

Address: Ministry of Labour, Division for Migration
PO Box 524
FIN-00101 Helsinki, Finland
Tel. +358-9-1856 4302, Fax +358-9-1856 4383

Abdullahi A. Yarrow
teaches a preparatory class for immigrant children in Espoo and has taken part in the Somali and pedagogic working groups of the WHATEVER-EVER-LAND -project. He is studying political sciences at the University of Helsinki.

Other members of the working group: Abdirizak Hassan Mohamed, Daud Ahmedey Mohamed, Nasro Farah Dable, Maija Kajava and Muddle Lilius.

Address: Matinkylän koulu – the Matinlylä School
Tiistiläntie 4
FIN-02230 Espoo, Finland
Tel. +358-9-8034 420

The project team

Bodhild Baasland
Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet/grunnskoleavdelningen – The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs
Postboks 8119 Dep.
N-0032 Oslo, Norway
Tel. +47-2224 7526, Fax +47-2225 2732

Mai Beijer
Skolverket – The National Agency for Education
S-10620 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel. +46-8-7233 200, Fax +46-8-7233 282

Bergthóra S. Kristjánsdóttir
Undervisnings Ministeriet – Ministry of Education and Research
Fredriksholms Kanal 26
DK-1220 København K, Denmark
Tel. +45-3392 5300, Fax +45-3392 5302

Nina Rekola
Opetushallitus – The National Board of Education
PL 380
FIN-Helsinki, Finland
Tel. +358-9-7747 7282, Fax +358-9-7747 7117
e-mail: nina.rekola@oph.fi

Sinikka Vihavainen
Heinolan kurssikeskus – The National Board of Education Centre for Professional Development
Lampikatu 5
FIN-18100 Heinola, Finland
Tel. +358-3-8480 234, Fax +358-3-7154 752
e-mail: svihavai@hkk.fi

Contact in Iceland

Gudni Olgeirsson
Menntamálaráduneyti (Undervisnings-, kultur- og forskningsministeriet)
Sölvhólsgötu 4
IS-150 Reukjavík, Iceland
Tel. +354-5609 500, Fax +354-5623 068
e-mail: gudni.olgeirsson@mrn.stjr.is