

Mother Tongue Education – The Interest of a Nation

A policy study in Sweden 1957- 2017

Nuhi Bajqinca



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND WORK SCIENCE

This doctoral thesis has been prepared within the framework of the graduate school in educational science at the Centre for Educational and Teacher Research, University of Gothenburg

Centre for Educational Science and Teacher Research, CUL Graduate school in educational science
Doctoral thesis 74

In 2004 the University of Gothenburg established the Centre for Educational Science and Teacher Research (CUL). CUL aims to promote and support research and third cycle studies linked to the teaching profession and the teacher-training programme. The graduate school is an interfaculty initiative carried out jointly by the Faculties involved in the teacher training programme at the University of Gothenburg and in cooperation with municipalities, school governing bodies and university colleges. www.cul.gu.se

Nuhi Bajqinca
Department of Sociology and Work Science
University of Gothenburg
Box 711
SE 405 30 Gothenburg
Sweden
nuhi.bajqinca@gu.se

Mother Tongue Education -The Interest of a Nation. A policy study in Sweden 1957 - 2017
Author: Nuhi Bajqinca

ISBN: 978-91-7833-300-4 (Print)
ISBN: 978-91-7833-301-1 (Pdf)
Online: <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/58232>
Copyright: Nuhi bajqinca
Cover: Kushtrim Bajqinca
Print: BrandFactory AB, Kållerød 2019
Gothenburg Studies in Sociology No 68
Department of Sociology and Work Science, University of Gothenburg

Abstract

Title: Mother Tongue Education – The Interest of a Nation. A policy study in Sweden 1957 – 2017

Author: Nuhi Bajqinca

Doctoral dissertation at the Department of Sociology and Work Science, University of Gothenburg, Box 720, SE 405 30, Gothenburg, Sweden

ISBN: 978-91-7833-300-4

Online: <http://hdl.handle.net/2077/58232>

Gothenburg 2019

This doctoral thesis is a policy study about mother tongue education policies as they have developed historically in Sweden. In this thesis mother tongue education refers to mother tongue as a school subject for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate the policies of mother tongue education from 1957 to 2017, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of mother tongue education in the Swedish school system.

The empirical material of the thesis consists of policy texts expressing or shedding light on mother tongue education policies, such as Government Official Reports, Curriculum Committee Reports, and National Curricula. The thesis is based on the analytical concepts of order of discourse and recontextualization to investigate how the mother tongue education discourse(s) as an outcome of discursive struggle are articulated over time, and whether discursive reproduction or change has occurred. An order of discourse forms what I have termed a discursive period.

The thesis shows that Swedish nation-state politics concerning mother tongue education has varied depending on national interests created in specific historical and political contexts, and on

different political intentions 1957-2017. Through studying the re-contextualization of mother tongue education discourse(s) I have delineated four discursive periods. The first period, 1957 to 1965, is characterized by the ideals of cohesiveness and homogenization as a result of consensus between political actors, and a unifying language was seen as an essential part of nation building. The nation state's progressive policies in relation to mother tongue education, equality and bilingualism during 1966 and 1988 were undermined by the marketization of public schools based on the new funding system during the 1990s and 2000s, and by a combination of conservative and liberal ideologies, promoting Swedish language as a unifying value for the nation.

Rhetorically, there is a strong continuity during all discursive periods regarding the perception that mother tongue education is important for all students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. At the same time, mother tongue education, unlike Swedish, is more or less continually valued in relation to what is happening in the outside world – increased migration, diversity, unemployment, etc. – as well as in relation to other school subjects. This thesis has shown mother tongue education to be a highly political issue. Political decision-making as regards mother tongue education functions as a tool for achieving nationalistic interests such as equality for all or exclusion, assimilation, homogenization and “Swedification”, or a respect for ethnic and linguistic diversity.

Key words: Mother tongue education, policy, discourse, order of discourse, nationalism, equality and diversity.

To Shkumbin, Kushtrim & Mentor.

Contents

1.Introduction.....	15
Aim and research questions	17
The provision of mother tongue education	19
Existing research of relevance for this thesis	21
Monolingual, bilingual and multilingual.....	22
Mother tongue – resource or barrier?	24
Bilingual education – a possible ideal?	26
The policy on mother tongue education in Sweden – ambitions and reality	28
Sweden in an international context	31
The support for mother tongue education in international policy documents	35
Concluding discussion	37
Outline of the thesis.....	38
2.The role of language in nation-state building and the welfare state’s dilemma	41
Monolingualism and nation-state building	42
Nation states and minority rights.....	44
Migration, citizenship and the role of language.....	45
Globalization and the welfare state’s dilemma.....	48
From Conservative values to social democratic ideals.....	48
Concluding discussion	51
3.Policy and discourse	53
Policy studies	53
Policy as text.....	54
Policy as discourse.....	55
Studying discursive and social change	58
Concluding discussion	60
4.Methods and material.....	61
Data selection and material.....	61
Analysis procedure	66

Validity and ethical concerns.....	69
5.The strong society – cohesiveness and homogenization as an ideal 1957-1965	73
The Formation of the unity school	73
Bilingualism as potentially harmful inconvenience	78
Mother tongue as a tuition language.....	80
Swedish – one language for all.....	84
One school for all – development theory as ideology.....	86
Fostering free, independent and harmonious individuals.....	88
Fostering good members of the domestic society.....	89
Fostering contacts with far-away people.....	90
Fostering students as national assets of the Swedish homeland	92
Social upbringing through a common cultural heritage and Christianity	93
Concluding discussion.....	95
6.Fostering bilingualism and an intercultural society 1966-1988	99
Labor market migration and the need for mother tongue education	99
An increased understanding of ‘new’ cultures and language	103
Migrant students – as children of new citizens	105
The new social democratic equality: enabling bilingualism and cultural freedom of choice.....	108
The Home Language Reform	112
Mother tongue education important for achieving the goals of equality, cultural freedom and cooperation	116
Bilingual students as resource for intercultural cooperation	119
Mother tongue as resource	122

The position of mother tongue education questioned?.....	124
Concluding discussion	125
7.Decentralization, marketization, integration and the devaluation of mother tongue education 1989-1999	129
Decentralization of the school	130
The introduction of the free school choice.....	132
A new curriculum for the new (public-) market school.....	135
A new funding system and its impact on the positioning of mother tongue education	137
Swedish cultural heritage and language diversity	140
From migration to integration and employability	144
Unifying language important for integration	146
The positioning of mother tongue education.....	149
From home language to mother tongue.....	151
Concluding discussion	152
8.Swedish as a unifying value 2000-2017.....	155
A government plan to improve education equality.....	155
A new (Swedish) language politics	159
Swedish as an official and unifying language	162
Swedish cultural heritage	164
Language and cultural diversity in time of globalization	166
Lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and employability in a new curriculum	168
Mother tongue education as a supportive tool at school	170
Mother tongue education and newly arrived students	173
Concluding discussion	177
9.Discussion and conclusion: Discursive change and reproduction in mother tongue education policy	179

Changes in nation-state politics and implications for mother tongue education	184
Mother tongue education discourse(s) from 1957 to 2017	189
The positioning of bilingual students	192
The positioning of mother tongue education.....	194
Concluding discussion.....	196
Concluding remarks.....	197
Svensk sammanfattning	201
References.....	213

Tables and figures

Figure 1. Policy as struggle.	57
Table 1. The empirical materials of the dissertation from 1957 to 2017.	64
Table 2. The keywords in policy documents from 1957 to 2017.	68
Table 3. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 1957 to 1965.	180
Table 4. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 1966 to 1988.	181
Table 5. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 1989 to 1999.	182
Table 6. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 2000 to 2017.	183

Acknowledgement

During the eight years of my research I have often thought about my role as a researcher of mother tongue education. As an Albanian-speaking migrant to Sweden, I also have another mother tongue than Swedish. When I myself formally came into contact with the Swedish language from Kosovo in the early 1990s, it became apparent to me how powerful language can be when it comes to education and integration in a new culture and society. The same is true – I suppose – for most individuals in Sweden whose mother tongue is not Swedish. In my role of researcher, this aspect was extra important when studying mother tongue education for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish.

Writing this thesis for eight years of my (part-time) research studies, during which I have studied a school subject that I otherwise never taught at school, has been a personal development for me. In writing this thesis I have also partly left my full-time obligation as a schoolteacher in order to approach the same phenomenon from the position of researcher and thereby analytically distance myself from a field I myself was a part of. I will now point out the significance of financing and the framework within which this thesis has been conducted.

Thank you to Borås Stad, which has funded my research project; I'm hopeful that this thesis will be a relevant contribution to school actors and other interest groups in order to gain a deeper understanding of the importance of mother tongue education for all students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. Thank you to CUL, the Centre for Educational Science and Teacher Research. I am thankful for the seminar activities I've taken part in there. I would also like to express my thanks to everyone at the Department of Sociology and Work Science and, above all, to my PhD candidate colleagues. First I would like to thank Jan Carle and Jörgen Dimenäs, who initially guided me through the first years of the

research period. Thank you, Jan Carle, for all the valuable advice and support during the first years. I would particularly like to thank my supervisor, Cecilia Hansen LÖfstrand, who with great commitment has commented on my texts and offered support in many ways during this long process that a thesis entails. Your comments on my text have been important for developing the analysis and content of the thesis. Great thanks also to my co-supervisor, Jan Gustafsson, who has contributed by sharing ideas and reading my texts. Your analytical ability and theoretical knowledge within the field have been invaluable for this dissertation.

I would also like to address great thanks to those who have shared important views during my seminars. First of all, I would like to thank Gabriella Elgenius for her theoretical support. I also wish to thank to Maj Asplund Carlsson for her supportive response to my final seminar. In particular, I want to thank Åsa Wettergren for her constructive and valuable comments on my manuscript presented at final seminar, which has now effectively become a dissertation. Your comments have contributed in an educational and positive way to moving this work forward.

Finally, I want to address great thanks to my family. Thank you, Elhame, for your support and help during the long writing process at home. Many thanks to my sons, Shkumbin, Kushtrim and Mentor, for helping me with reading and offering suggestions about the issues my curiosity demanded. Particular thanks to Kushtrim, who helped me not only by reading the text in an exceptional manner, but also by answering my many questions about all the reasoning and dilemmas I encountered, especially in the final phase of my writing process. Thanks for that, Kushtrim!

1

Introduction

This thesis is about mother tongue education policy for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. It is written at a time when the issue of increased migration to the country, along with the challenges of giving all students equal opportunity in education, is intense. The numerous newly arrived students whose mother tongue is not Swedish arouse the engagement of many people and institutions in society. Schools remain heavily responsible for providing a supportive learning environment for all students, both those with Swedish as their mother tongue and those whose mother tongue is not Swedish. It is the policies regarding mother tongue education for the latter group that form the research area of this thesis. In Sweden, the right to mother tongue education in compulsory school is specified in Educational Acts (SFS 1994:1194; SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185; SFS 2014:458). Mother tongue education is also mentioned in a UN Convention: member states have agreed that students' education should aim to develop and strengthen respect for each student's own culture, language and religion.¹

The Swedish school has long been characterized by the ideal of one school for all, based on equal opportunity for everyone. This ideal is stressed in overall goal formulations and aims as formulated in steering documents such as curricula. Accordingly, mother tongue education for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish takes on a policy dimension. This thesis places the policy on mother tongue education in a larger perspective. How can we understand mother tongue education policies? A starting assumption

¹ See the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in the article 30 of the UNICEF.

is that any policy on mother tongue education is an outcome of negotiations between different stakeholders representing different interests within the Swedish nation state, but that it is ultimately policy actors that are responsible for the creation of policies on mother tongue education.² Such policy actors are primarily Parliament, government authorities and its representatives, politicians and researchers.

Societal changes in the past decades have had far-reaching consequences for schools and education. According to Englund (1995), the gradual disintegration of the public school for all, to the benefit of private alternatives, has resulted in a change of the school as a societal institution. In a comparative perspective, Sweden as a nation state went “from having one of the most centrally planned and uniform school systems in the OECD area into one of the most liberal in terms of decentralization and market elements” and this change “has been faster and more radical than in many other places” (Lundahl et al., 2013:498-499). In this decentralization, responsibility was placed on individual students and on schools as organizations (rather than on the state). As a result of a decentralization of the school in the 1990s, mother tongue education has decreased rapidly in several municipalities since then.

In the Swedish Curriculum (Skolverket, 2011), mother tongue education is associated with the educational opportunities for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish and is often presented with words that have positive connotations. In this sense, Mother tongue education policy signals the right of these students to use more than one spoken and written language. “It also supports – with a legal framework – immigrant children to maintain their mother tongue and culture. But such entitlements are often not well known and, naturally, not fully exercised – notwithstanding they are intended beneficiaries” (Taguma et al., 2010:7). Mother tongue education policy and legislation in Sweden have differed

² For more details regarding policy as struggle see Fulcher (1989:7), Taylor (1997:26), and Fairclough (2010).

from those in many other Nordic countries since the 1970s. For example, in Sweden, mother tongue education is to be offered when a suitable teacher is available and when there are at least five students with a common mother tongue that is not Swedish and is student's daily language of interaction at home (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2014:458). However, in Norway, access to mother tongue education depends on the student's level of knowledge in the Norwegian language, with mother tongue education provided only when bilingual students do not have sufficient knowledge in the Norwegian language; and in Denmark, the right to mother tongue education for students from other EU states has been limited since 2002 (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012:71). In Sweden, alongside the generous official policy there is a counter discourse that reproduces negative attitudes towards mother tongue education. This negative discourse should also be understood in light of a monolingual norm that still exists in Sweden, despite the positive rhetoric towards minority rights (Lainio, 1999, 2013; Spetz, 2012). In this study I focus on Swedish mother tongue education policies as outcomes of (discursive) struggles between national interests as have developed over time.

Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate the policies of mother tongue education from 1957 to 2017, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of mother tongue education in the Swedish school system. Policy texts drawn from the period 1957-2017 are analyzed in order to delineate the overall education discourse concerning mother tongue education for this period. As indicated, the discourse on mother tongue education, here termed 'the mother tongue discourse' is shaped by a political struggle on the topic of mother tongue education. In light of this, the following overall research questions guide the work:

- How have nation-state politics and societal change characterized the positioning of mother tongue education?

This research question has been further operationalized:

- Which discourse or discourses on mother tongue education emerge in policy texts 1957-2017?
- How are students whose mother tongue is not Swedish positioned as subjects in policy texts?
- How is mother tongue education positioned as a school subject in policy texts?

The main objective of the present thesis is to illuminate the Swedish nation-state politics regarding mother tongue education, as well as its implications for mother tongue as a subject and bilingual students' opportunities to acquire mother tongue education. I use the notion of recontextualization of discourses as my analytical tool to point out discursive and policy change. Recontextualization occurs when a discourse "selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order" (Bernstein, 2000:33). Discourses are hence articulated differently in and through processes of recontextualization, and thus, the order of discourse changes. Looking at recontextualization of discourses reveals how an order of discourse has structured a discursive period, and a recontextualization of discourses is a sign of discursive and likely also social, change. How mother tongue discourses are articulated and related to each other in turn reveals how bilingual students are positioned as subjects, and likewise how mother tongue is produced as a school subject in the school system. But an analysis of (changes in) the mother tongue discourse also reveals the Swedish nation-state politics and changes in Swedish society when it comes to views about mother tongue education and students whose mother tongue is not Swedish more broadly.

An analysis of mother tongue policies from 1957 to 2017 must take into account the interests of different stakeholders. There is always a struggle between different policy actors about problem formulations, causes and solutions, a struggle that may lead to new (or changed) policies. In this study, mother tongue education policy is seen as an arena for different actors and interests; actors that draw on different discourses for their own purposes. The policy actors are not individuals or schools, but rather Parliament, the government and its representatives, politicians and researchers. Some of these policy actors have a strong position in creating the policy on mother tongue education, but this tends to change over time. This thesis is unique in that it maps out a long retrospectively historical perspective on mother tongue education policies in Sweden. Exploring the policy on mother tongue education from the 1950s onward will also allow me to convey views about Sweden as a nation state and notions of diversity as have developed over time.

The provision of mother tongue education

In this thesis I study mother tongue education, focusing on implications of the Swedish State's politics and social changes on the status of mother tongue education from 1957 to 2017. In Sweden, the provision of "mother tongue teaching" [modersmålsundervisning], "mother tongue support" [modersmålsstöd] and "study guidance in mother tongue" [studiehandledning på modersmål] together constitute what is commonly known as *mother tongue education*. The provision of "mother tongue teaching" refers to language education for students who are entitled to mother tongue teaching in primary and secondary schools because they have a mother tongue other than Swedish. The local school authorities are responsible for providing mother tongue teaching, when a suitable teacher is available and when there are at least five students with a common mother tongue that is not Swedish and is their daily language at home (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2014:458).

The concept of “mother tongue support” refers to a type of language support that municipalities offer in preschools for children with a mother tongue other than Swedish. This support is provided in the Curriculum for Preschool in order to help preschool children communicate in Swedish as well as in their mother tongue (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1998:6). “Study guidance in mother tongue” is shaped as guidance that is provided to the students who have recently arrived in Sweden, and who do not know Swedish well enough to follow the education in Swedish. Instead, they may have the instruction explained in their mother tongue. This means that if the student’s home language is Albanian, he or she will be able to study, e.g., mathematics or English in Albanian instead of Swedish. It is the school that determines how much, and when, study guidance will be provided (SFS 1994:1194).

The term “mother tongue teaching” is often used synonymously with “home language teaching” [hemspråksundervisning]. The term home language “is used to describe the languages spoken by migrant communities and their descendants living in societies where another majority language is spoken” (Reath Warren, 2017:8). The term “home language teaching”, used in the Swedish education system from 1968 to 1997, has implicitly been perceived as referring to a language used merely in informal situations and in the home environment. Therefore, in 1997 the Government decided to replace this term with “mother tongue teaching” (Prop. 1996/97:110: 27). Along with this change, the Government also replaced the term “home language teacher” [hemspråkslärare] with “mother tongue teacher” [modersmålslärare].³

By introducing these new terms, the Government wanted to signal a strengthened position of mother tongue education towards students, parents and the school staff (Prop. 1996/97:110: 27). Although it has been more than 25 years since the Home Language Reform of 1977, the importance of mother tongue educa-

³ In my empirical materials, the term “home language” [hemspråk] is likewise used until 1997.

tion has not been widely accepted.⁴ The number of students *eligible* to take part in mother tongue education at primary school increased during the period 1989/90-1994/95. However, the proportion of students who *participated* in mother tongue education during this period decreased (Prop. 1996/97:110: 23-24). Similarly, the number of mother tongue teachers in the 1990/91-1994/95 period decreased by 27 percent, which was a significantly greater decrease than that of the total number of teachers (Prop. 1996/97:110: 24). During the academic year 2008/09, almost 18 percent of all students in Sweden had another mother tongue than Swedish. Six years later, in the academic year 2014/15, the number of students whose mother tongue was not Swedish had increased to 24 percent.⁵ It is still a common belief that students whose mother tongue is not Swedish benefit more from learning the Swedish language than from focusing on maintaining their mother tongue.⁶ This thesis will shed light on different beliefs and assumptions about mother tongue education as a school subject and its target group.

Existing research of relevance for this thesis

In this section, I present existing research relevant to this study, focusing on studies on mother tongue education for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish.⁷ I start by discussing monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual conceptualizations of individuals and education. I then present some views in existing research on multilingualism – as a resource or as a “problem” in educational contexts. Thereafter, I discuss the idea of bilingualism as an ideal. After this, I focus on mother tongue education, highlighting a brief

⁴ See also National Agency for Education (2002) [Skolverket, 2002]

⁵ For more details see National Agency for Education (2017) [Skolverket, 2017] available at: <https://www.skolverket.se/statistik-och-utvardering/nyhetsarkiv/2015/nyheter-2015-1.229449/elevkningen-i-grundskolan-fortsatter-1.232753>.

⁶ See for example Skolverket (2002:47).

⁷ I have primarily searched the previous relevant literature using the University Library database ERIC (EBSCO) and the database for Swedish publications (Swepub). Available at: <http://www.ub.gu.se/sok/db/?query=eric>; www.swepub.kb.se.

retrospective view on the ambitions of mother tongue education policies in Sweden. I then discuss Sweden in an international context, focusing on the provision and principles of mother tongue education in different welfare states. Finally, I present the support for mother tongue education by international organizations such as the Organization for European Co-operation and Development (OECD), the European Commission (EC), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Monolingual, bilingual and multilingual

Research on mother tongue education commonly distinguishes between monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual individuals and education. Thus, it is important to discuss the meaning of, and relationships between, these concepts. According to Gorter et al. (2014), individuals who speak one language are monolingual. Those who speak a first and a second language are bilingual. Contrary to bilingual individuals, multilingual individuals speak more than two languages. Similarly, in an educational environment, if instructions are given in a single language the education is termed monolingual. Monolingual education refers to the traditional, historical and political conditions by which the language of the majority population is seen as the only choice in school and other societal domains (Garcia, 2009; Lainio, 2013; Spetz, 2012).

The distinction between bilingual and multilingual education is the use of two versus more than two languages as tools for instruction. In terms of multilingual education, in 1999 UNESCO stated that this meant the use of three languages in education: the mother tongue, the majority language, and an international language (e.g. English, French, or German).⁸ Bilingualism and multilingualism can thus be seen as opposed to monolingual education, whereby a minority is multilingual and the majority is monolingual. Marácz &

⁸ See UNESCO's report regarding mother tongue education. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf>.

Adamo (2017) discuss multilingualism as a phenomenon that constitute challenges to the nation-state. They argue that linguistic diversity is spreading across the globe: “In parallel, the traditional nation-state regime cultivating the ‘one nation-one people-one language ideology’ is weakening, creating room for the celebration of linguistic diversity” (Marác & Adamo, 2017:1).

Gogolin (2001:124) argues that multilingualism is a composition of “languages with more or less legitimacy, higher or lower status, larger or smaller numbers of users, and other aspects of difference.” Gogolin (2001:123) claims that the fact that multilingualism is a widespread reality in European societies has thus far not been recognized – and notes that having a “linguistic and cultural background different from the respective national one serves as a means of exclusion, of prevention from equal access.” Westling Allodi (2007:141) argues the state can be viewed “from a ‘top-down’ perspective, as a controlling authority.” She connects the first perspective to nationalism and homogeneity as a value. In such contexts, those who are depicted as ‘different’ from the homogenous majority risk discrimination and segregation. The state can also be viewed “from a ‘bottom-up’ perspective.” Such a perspective produces policies according to which “individuals and groups preserve their rights to be considered equal, even if they are different.” (Westling Allodi, 2007:143).

In this initial section of previous research, I have discussed monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual conceptualizations of individuals and education. The increasing bilingual and multilingual diversity challenge the traditional welfare states, in particular policies promoting integration of language diversity in an inclusive way. In the next section, I present the phenomenon of mother tongue education as a possible resource for or barrier to students whose mother tongue is not Swedish.

Mother tongue – resource or barrier?

Cummins & Swain (1986) discuss the educational development of bilingual children in Canada. They point out that there is no consensus regarding the relationship between mother tongue and cognitive development in research or among the general public, in the media or in the literature. “Some have argued that bilingualism will necessarily have a negative effect on cognitive development, for example, two labels for each concept will be confusing and result in retarded conceptual development” (Cummins & Swain, 1986, Section I: 3). In contrast to this, “Others have argued that this very same phenomenon will enhance cognitive growth: having two labels will force an early separation of word from its referent” (Cummins & Swain, 1986, Section I: 3). In this context, Cummins & Swain (1986:207) argue that “access to two languages in early childhood can promote children’s meta-linguistic awareness and possibly also broader aspects of cognitive development.” Cummins & Swain (1986:97) describe three important principles that should characterize mother tongue education. The principle *first things first* refer to the idea that the development and maintenance of a child’s first language is essential to his or her sociocultural well-being. The second principle, *bilingualism through monolingualism*, refers to the idea that the languages of instruction should be used one by one rather than simultaneously. By way of the third principle, *bilingualism as a bonus*, they claim that bilingualism is associated with many psychosocial advantages (Cummins & Swain, 1986:97-98).

Hyltenstam & Veli Tuomela (1996:31) claim that mother tongue is not a barrier to knowledge development but rather helps develop knowledge as it involves the use of two different languages. Wayne Thomas & Virginia Collier (1997) in the US espouse the same view. They pay close attention to the school environment in creating the encouraging learning situation. Their findings indicate that it is a time-consuming and difficult process for bilingual students to receive all their schooling in their second lan-

guage. In this context, Wayne Thomas & Virginia Collier (1997) argue that students who have grown up in a bilingual environment have an advantage compared to those who are losing their home language, especially in group work in which teachers and students interact in two languages.

Tagumas et al. (2010:7) emphasize that “compared to their native Swedish peers, immigrant students, on average, have weaker education outcomes at all levels of education. Nearing the end of compulsory education, at age 15, there are very significant performance disadvantages for immigrant students”. According to Taguma et al. (2010), factors explaining this difference are socioeconomic differences, and that bilingual students commonly live in segregated suburbs. Commenting on bilingual students’ mother tongue vs. the “language of schooling”, Cummins (2011:6) concludes that the benefits of bilingual students’ first language are often underestimated: “there are still teachers of the language of schooling who recommend that parents of children with a migrant background should speak the language of schooling also at home or refrain from using another language at home to avoid ‘contamination’ of the language of schooling”.

On the issue of English, Stroud (2002:42-43) claims that “western metropolitan languages have always been regarded as better adapted for technological, scientific and educational uses, on the belief that indigenous languages are less complex and therefore less able to express abstract, referential, and logical thought”. Relating to the same issue, Gorter et al. (2014) claim that the dominance of English over other languages, particularly over minority languages at school, and hence the advantages of being fluent in English in an increasingly more international society makes students and parents become aware of the need to learn more than one language. This means, for instance, that minority students have to achieve proficiency in Swedish and English besides their mother tongue.

Some existing research consider the existence of a mother tongue other than Swedish as problematic, while other research highlights the benefits of bilingualism. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the view of bilingualism and mother tongue education as problematic can be understood as a manifestation of a monolingual norm, characterizing also multilingual societies (Lainio, 1999; Garcia, 2009; Spetz, 2012; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012).

Bilingual education – a possible ideal?

In his report to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency⁹, Stroud (2002) argues that policies on mother tongue education should not only deal with educational matters of language. Rather, attempts should be made to link language development to extracurricular issues such as employment, social well-being, and political participation. For example, “major political stakeholders are becoming increasingly more sensitive to the idea that the successful adoption and dissemination of new technologies depends on the use of local languages, as only these can reach out to the general population” (Stroud, 2002:49). However, the recognition of the values of multilingualism in the local life spheres of individuals and communities requires that local communities themselves actively partake in the ways in which multilingualism is done educationally (Stroud, 2002:52). One important way to achieve this still depends on policy implementation, which Stroud maintains needs to be opened up to an extensive democratic partaking of grassroots organizations (Stroud 2002:54). In this way, community members themselves can become involved in the development of bilingual programs and can have a say in creating a prosperous society; particularly “the marginalized groups which are usually not included in the official labor markets” (Stroud, 2002:50). In this sense, Stroud (2002) concludes that there is an

⁹ “In 1996, SIDA commissioned the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University to produce a report on the ‘State-of-the-Art’ in bilingual and mother tongue education in developing countries” (Stroud (2002:9).

increasing awareness among many people working with bilingual and mother tongue education “that issues of language and education are fundamentally issues of power and marginalization of minority language speakers in globally transformed economies” (Stroud, 2002:9).

Garcia (2009:55) highlights the benefits of bilingualism, not only in terms of linguistics but also in a wider context concerning policy visions across “cultures and worlds”. She argues that “despite a widespread multilingualism (...) we still live in a society dominated by monolingual ideology characterized by limitations, barriers and conflicts” (Garcia, 2009:55). She argues that bilingual education – contrary to the existing second- or foreign-language programs accessible in most schools today – is “the only way to educate students in the 21st century”.

Contrary to bilingual education, “the monolingual policy offers ‘the narrower goals’ of foreign language teaching perspective” (Garcia, 2009:7). In teaching practice, Garcia (2009) endorses “translanguaging”, which in practice can mean that bilingual students may, for example, read in one language and write in another. In this way, teaching through “translanguaging” enables bilingual students to take advantage of their home language. However, “this integrated plural vision of bilingualism requires the re-conceptualization of understandings about the language and bilingualism compared to what exists today” (Garcia, 2009:5). This conclusion is supported by Hyltenstam & Milani (2012), who assert that the multilingualism that exists in today’s societies is a significant resource – something that is often forgotten in public debate. A society that possesses a large number of languages has more opportunities to achieve success in economic and political areas, as well as in cultural and scientific exchanges with the outside world.

Comparing Turkish children’s migrant situation in Germany, Austria and Norway, Yazici et al. (2010) conclude that bilingualism is needed before the bilingual children start school. Providing bi-

lingual teaching programs for children before they start school will mean that their educational chances will increase, and their second-language skills will improve. In this way, bilingual teaching can contribute to developing stronger self-esteem and self-confidence for bilingual children. Such a bilingual education would increase “mutual respect for the cultural values of the second language and play a more positive role in both the home and host community” (Yazici et al. 2010:266).

In sum, this section has revealed a number of benefits regarding mother tongue education that are often forgotten in public debate. In this section, bilingual education is presented as the only way to educate bilingual students in the 21st century. In the section that follows, I present a discussion on the political ambitions and the reality for mother tongue education in Sweden.

The policy on mother tongue education in Sweden – ambitions and reality

In this section I provide a short description of the policy on mother tongue education in Sweden as described in existing research on the topic. Based on data from Sweden, Muncio (1993) discusses the Home Language Reform of 1977, which has been referred to as the first policy to include guidelines for mother tongue education in compulsory school. Muncio (1993) argues that the ambitions presented in this policy have not become reality for the majority of bilingual students. Since the intentions of this reform were formulated too flexibly, they have not been realized, it rather continued the practice that preceded it, even though the reform was directly intended to change this practice. In its formulations, bilingual students were to be given mother tongue instruction as needed (Muncio, 1993). The policy also recommended that migrant parents were to be involved in decision-making concerning their children’s mother tongue education and its organization. In practice, though, parents only received a form once a year about mother tongue education, asking if they wanted such instruction for

their children. The Home Language Reform of 1977 was connected to two of the three objectives of the migration policy at the time, namely equality between Swedes and people of other ethnic backgrounds, and cultural freedom. For example, migrants must be free to decide for themselves how much they want to embrace Swedish culture or preserve their own culture (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996:30).

According to Reath Warren (2017), the Home Language Reform of 1977 gave students whose mother tongue is not Swedish the legislative right to mother tongue education. Furthermore, students who risked failing subjects in school were to be offered additional mother tongue support in the form of study guidance in their mother tongue. The Home Language Reform of 1977 had unanimous support among the political parties at the time; and in today's political landscape, the Sweden Democrats¹⁰ is the only political party opposed to tax-funded mother tongue education. Such relatively strong support for mother tongue education has been crucial, as it has required a serious long-term national commitment. "Teachers and resources for more than 100 languages had to be found, educational seminars on the subject of home language instruction and multilingual study guidance and courses for home language teachers needed to be arranged" (Reath Warren, 2017:13).

Hegelund (2002) compared the policy on mother tongue education in Denmark and Sweden. Hegelund (2002:110) argues that the Home Language Reform of 1977 was the policy that laid the foundation for minority students' mother tongue education rights in Sweden. The reform "granted the first rights to mother tongue education ever given", and put pressure on schools "to evaluate the needs of the immigrant and minority children and offer home language teaching accordingly" (Hegelund, 2002:130). The Home Language Reform was subsequently changed in 1991, and again in

¹⁰ Sverigedemokraterna, a nationalist political party in Sweden, was founded in 1988.

1997. According to Hegelund (2002), the State wanted to raise the status of mother tongue by changing the term “home language” to “mother tongue” in 1997. This change was made because “the term of ‘mother tongue’ was seen to emphasize the parallels between mother tongue education for migrant and minority children and Swedish mother tongue education for majority children” (Hegelund, 2002:131).¹¹

Cabau (2014:421) notes the incongruity between policy and practice in Sweden, connecting the decrease in mother tongue education to the decentralization of the Swedish school system in the 1990s. According to Cabau (2014), chances for minority students to acquire mother tongue education in Sweden still exist today, but because authorities regard mother tongue education to be of minor importance, students whose native language is not Swedish show an unwillingness to receive mother tongue education. In this way, mother tongue education has varied more than any other school subject. Lainio (2013) argues that there is a great deal of documentation showing that municipalities and authorities have not provided mother tongue education when it was required. In this sense, Lainio (2013:90) has shown that “There is at present no structural and long-term implementation of mother tongue education policy that would solve the problems of multilingual students and their native language in Swedish schools”. Hyltenstam & Milani (2012:65) identify difficulties in society such as limited teaching hours, lack of teamwork between mother tongue education and other school subjects, and negative attitudes towards mother tongue education.

This section has revealed the problematic inconsistency between political intentions and the actual implementation of mother tongue education in reality. Insufficient cooperation between mother tongue teachers, school staff and local school actors, as well as some kind of negative attitude towards the subject of

¹¹ See also Lainio (2013)

mother tongue education within and outside schools, are just some of the problems identified and discussed in this section. In the following two sections I present a discussion of mother tongue education in Sweden in relation to an international context, as well as the support for mother tongue education in international policy documents.

Sweden in an international context

The possibility for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish to receive instruction in their mother tongue is greater in Sweden than in other Nordic countries and most other European countries. However, in contrast to the officially positive attitude to mother tongue education in Sweden, there is a negative public opinion, and in schools the subject of mother tongue has low status and a marginalized position (Spetz, 2012). In other Nordic countries, mother tongue education has an even more marginalized position. In Norway, around ten percent of the total population of students has another mother tongue than Norwegian.¹² Students whose mother tongue is not Norwegian have access to mother tongue education in school only as a tool for learning well enough Norwegian to be able to follow the regular teaching at school. During the 1980s there were organized “bilingual classes and introduction classes” for students with another mother tongue than Norwegian, but these “disappeared because teachers were not qualified enough to deal with the situation and teachers from abroad did not have appropriate education”.¹³

An initial comparison between Sweden and Denmark seemingly shows many aspects of commonality. Both countries today have a proclaimed official language, recognize official minority languages, and keep data on the number of non-majority mother tongue stu-

¹² For more details see the OECD organization, available at :
<http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/43901573.pdf>.

¹³ The draft version of SIRIUS, available at: <http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Policy-brief-policies-language-support-all-draft-version.pdf>

dents in primary school. Sweden recognizes the Sami, Meänkieli, Romani, Yiddish and Finnish as national minority languages, while in Denmark, German is the only recognized national minority language. However, besides this obvious difference, the countries also differ in terms of the access to mother tongue education for ethnic minorities. The Home Language Reform of 1977 gave ethnic minorities in Sweden the right to mother tongue education. In comparison, Denmark has a strong emphasis on the aspect of their returning to their country of origin. In a wider policy context, this difference can be seen as closely connected to the strong emphasis by the Danish educational system on the majority language rather than the development of the minority mother tongue.

Globalization and the increase in immigration have contributed to an environment in which neither country advocates monolingualism. Hence, both officially embrace, to different degrees, multilingualism. However, the embrace of multilingualism is often associated with high-status international prestige languages such as English, German, French and Spanish, whereas minorities in Sweden and Denmark often have a mother tongue that is not a prestige language or the majority language. This can possibly be explained by the fact that both countries reflect an ideal centered on the nation state, with a homogenous population. Officially, Sweden views bilingualism as a resource, but mother tongue education is still often relegated to outside school hours (Hegelund, 2002). Interestingly, Denmark has no specific minority language policy, instead relying on minority language issues being dealt with within each ministry as necessary. Such a lack of cohesive policy regarding minority languages has not been beneficial to minorities, on the contrary, it reaffirms the ideal of a homogenous population (Hegelund, 2002).

In Germany, the most privileged language in schools is German itself. It is the highest in the language hierarchy in the country, as “everybody uses German – more or less proficiently. It is accepted by everybody as functioning in nearly every communicative situa-

tion; it is the language of education and literacy, the language of the public sphere, indubitably legitimate” (Gogolin, 2001:124). The next language in the hierarchy (as we have also seen in other country contexts) is English. As for mother tongue education, Gogolin argues that “...Turkish has received what could be named semi-legitimacy in the German school system, as it is taught in many areas as so-called mother-tongue-teaching for immigrants” (Gogolin, 2001:125). The position of ‘semi-legitimacy’ that the Turkish language has obtained in Germany is due to the fact that Turkish is the home language of the main group of migrants in the country. In order to receive mother tongue education in Turkish, students need to have official proof of competence or ability, which is usually in the form of a school certificate. Compared to Sweden, mother tongue teaching in Germany is largely dependent on the migrant community itself. For example, the Turkish community organization helps individual schools by offering mother tongue support for students as well as advising parents and teachers, and building a bridge between students, parents, and individual schools.¹⁴

Bilingual students in Austria have the right to mother tongue as an optional subject in classes after school hours or integrated, with the mother tongue teacher present during regular classes. In Austria, students whose mother tongue is not German represent 16 percent of the total student population.¹⁵ It follows, then, that Austrian school authorities are responsible for the employment of mother tongue teachers. However, when it comes to the state ideology of languages, “Teachers and schools are obliged to follow and act out national state and governmental interests (and power) which are still based on latent ideas of homogeneity (uniformity)...” (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017:89). In this sense, Jessner &

¹⁴ See OECD. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/44192225.pdf>

¹⁵ See also OECD. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/44192225.pdf>

Mayr-Keiler (2017:89) argue that,” Although linguistic diversity and intercultural dialogue have been promoted, Austria’s focus is still on reinforcing the acquisition of the standardised German variety as the single official, national state language”.

Teaching in school programmes is based on the traditional aspect of the standardized German based on the ideal of one language – one nation. In view of this, language skills in Austria are strongly associated with the mastery of German and its substantive use at school education, in terms of both learning and social inclusion. Language competence in German is thus considered to be a significant indicator of educational goals and integration in the Austrian school system. Meanwhile, linguistic skills in so-called weaker dominated languages are not taken into account (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017:88). In some cases when students have a mother tongue with higher status, for example Italian, the situation is different. “Only those bi- and multilinguals that have Italian included in their linguistic repertoire actually make use of Italian in the formal educational context” (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017:94).

McKelvey (2017:78) has the same view, asserting that in Scotland “language teaching often does not take into account the linguistic diversity present—despite the opportunity for a more inclusive approach offered by Scottish Government strategy”. McKelvey (2017:78) claims that “legal instruments and education policy in Scotland provide a promising framework in terms of promoting language learning and multilingualism”. Nonetheless, at the level of implementation policy, according to McKelvey (2017:78) the language teaching in Scotland is not “successful and responding to linguistic diversity among pupils is beset with challenges”.

Comparing the mother tongue education in Sweden and Australia, Reath Warren (2017) argues that both countries are multilingual and have multilingual histories. Mother tongue education, however, goes under different names in the two countries. For example, in Australia the mother tongues of minority people are called “community languages”. Unlike Sweden, “in Australia, re-

sponsibility for the form of education is distributed between different organizations, many of them voluntary and community-based” (Reath Warren, 2017:27-28). Most teachers at community language schools in Australia are volunteers. In this sense, Reath Warren (2017:23) argues that Australian language policy has moved away from the policy of language diversity towards a more monolingual approach in recent years, because “the diversity of languages in Australia was problematic, and it was necessary to focus on languages which had a broader national interest instead”. Although multilingualism is increasing in schools in both Sweden and Australia, there is still a widespread monolingual view of teaching in many schools in both countries. Mother tongue education is often given lower priority than the majority language in both countries (Reath Warren, 2017).

In conclusion, then, this comparison may illustrate the ideology of the nation state being present in many countries. Like the mother tongue education in Sweden, other countries’ mother tongue education also takes place outside the regular school day or weekend and includes a few lessons per week. On the other hand, however, in an international perspective it appears to be uncommon for schools as in Sweden to receive state grants for mother tongue teaching, for it to follow a National Curriculum, and for it to not be based on volunteer work.

The support for mother tongue education in international policy documents

The OECD is the organization that supports policymakers in making their policies and in creating their strategies regarding mother tongue education in their respective member states. According to the OECD, “in Sweden, differences in socio-economic background and speaking a different language at home account for a large part of the performance gap between native and migrant stu-

dents at age 15”.¹⁶ The OECD promotes mother tongue education as an important resource for migrant students’ normal school life. Mother tongue education is seen as something all migrant students should have access to at school. Instead, in reality, in many member states mother tongues are often seen as more a problem than a resource. Under existing practices, bilingual students are allowed to take classes in their mother tongue as an optional language at school, but they rarely do, since schools do not encourage students to do this. “School leaders and teachers often do not feel qualified or sufficiently supported to teach students with multicultural, bilingual and diverse learning needs”.¹⁷ For example, in Denmark, “schools do not encourage students and it was also reported by students and parents that employers do not value knowledge of non-European languages”.¹⁸

Support for mother tongue education is also available at the European Union (EU) level. Rhetorically, the European Commission has expressed itself in numerous documents on multilingualism as an asset, and advocates for the promotion of minority languages as well as regional languages. The EU’s language policy is guided by the motto ‘united in diversity’. This diversity will, according to the EU, promote mobility, intercultural understanding and competitiveness. Communication in the EU, where linguistic diversity is taken for granted, thus holds key importance not only for everyday life but also for the cultural respect among all EU citizens.¹⁹

According to UNESCO, the term “mother tongue” is often used in policy statements and is often referred to as the language an individual identifies with, or the language an individual learns

¹⁶ Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/oecdnotesonmigranteducationinparticipatingcountries.html>.

¹⁷ For more details see OECD. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/school/44870913.pdf>.

¹⁸ See also: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/44855206.pdf>.

¹⁹ For more details see The European Commission. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_5.13.6.html.

first either by using it the most or having greater competency in. UNESCO states that the use of a student's mother tongue as the vehicle of instruction is an essential component of competency in the second language as well. In this sense, "in many cases, instruction in the mother tongue is beneficial to language competencies in the first language, achievement in other subject areas, and second language learning".²⁰ As such, mother tongue education should cover both the teaching *of* and the teaching *through* this language. In its 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, UNESCO highly stressed the importance of mother tongue when it comes to the promotion of cultural diversity. For example, in Article 6 it is stated that there should be "respect for the mother tongue, linguistic diversity at all levels of education", and that multilingualism should be promoted from an early age in education.²¹

Concluding discussion

To sum up, existing research suggests that mother tongue education in itself does not necessarily have to be good or bad thing. Nevertheless, several studies have concluded that it is beneficial to bilingual students. Previous research has also pointed out challenges of mother tongue education policy goals, indicating that the ambitions presented in policy on mother tongue education have not turned into reality for most bilingual students.

There have also been studies on mother tongue education that place Sweden in relation to a number of welfare states in Europe and Australia. This research shows that mother tongue education in these countries also takes place outside the regular school day like it does in Sweden. As mentioned, it appears uncommon (as opposed to the case in Sweden) for the mother tongue education in the other countries to receive state grants, follow a National

²⁰ The UNESCO available at:
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf>.

²¹ The UNESCO available at:
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf>.

Curriculum, and not be based on volunteer work. Whereas previous research lacks a longer retrospective perspective on mother tongue education policies in Sweden, this policy study contributes to such a perspective on how the political ambitions and social changes have impacted the status and positioning of mother tongue education in Sweden, based on empirical material stretching from 1957 to 2017.

The extent and span of this study shed light on the Swedish nation-state political ambitions and how they have changed over time, and to some extent why, as well as the policy implications of discourses on mother tongue education and bilingual students' learning opportunities. The long retrospective perspective in this thesis also contributes to a greater understanding of mother tongue education as an arena of national interest. This thesis will make visible the Swedish welfare state's ways of managing migration, and integration as a policy goal, language diversity, and education policy 1957-2017.

Outline of the thesis

Chapter 1 has provided an introduction and an overview of the research area, and presented the aim and the research questions. I have also discussed existing research of relevance for my study. In Chapter 2 I discuss the welfare state's dilemma between the nation state, nation building and the role of an official and unifying language on the one hand, and migration, globalization and the need for mother tongue education policy on the other. In Chapter 3 I present the concept of policy and discourse. In Chapter 4 I discuss the study's methods, empirical materials and implementation.

Chapter 5 is the first empirical chapter characterizing the period of formation of the unity school, also referred to as 'one school for all'. During the period 1957 to 1965 the societal discourse was driven by the idea of the strong society, which aimed to give all children and young people equal educational opportunities, regardless of their place of residence or other external conditions.

In Chapter 6 I discuss the period 1966 to 1988, when mother tongue education gained its first momentum in policy change towards bilingualism and intercultural education as an ideology.

In Chapter 7 I analyze mother tongue education policy of the years between 1989 and 1999, when the decision was taken regarding the school's municipalization and decentralization as well as free school choice.

Chapter 8 is characterized by a discussion on conservative and liberal ideology, offering all citizens an integrated official language politics as a unifying value for the nation based on fundamental standards of democracy and human rights. The new Swedish language politics was moreover expected to enable individual integration, lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and employability, as stated in the new goals in the National Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011).

The presentation of results, encompassing four chapters, forms the foundation for the final discussion in the ninth and final chapter.

2

The role of language in nation-state building and the welfare state's dilemma

In this chapter I initially focus on the phenomenon of monolingualism and the role of language in nation-state-building. After this, I discuss the nation state and its relation to minorities. This is followed by an overview of migration, citizenship, and the role of language. As seen in Chapter 1, nation states embrace multilingualism to different degrees but continually emphasize that maintaining the official language is important for nation-state-building. It is through the ideology of monolingualism, one people-one language, that a homogeneous population is to be constructed, which is seen to be an important aspect of nation-state-building. For nation states, then, an official language is regarded as a necessary and cohesive tool.²² On the other hand, globalization and migration lead people to move across nation-state boundaries. Under these conditions, a nation state's preference to define the role of an official and unifying language is challenged by migration, globalization, and the increasing multilingualism in society.

Subsequently, I discuss globalization and the welfare state's dilemma of adhering to national interests and managing global events: on the one hand, the connection between monolingualism and nation-state-building; and on the other, the increasing importance of integrating minority languages as a result of globalization and multiculturalism. This dilemma brings to the fore the is-

²² See also Westling Allodi (2007).

sue of mother tongue education policies. These are produced while balancing the different political forces of nationalist conservatism, social democratic ideals of diversity, and market-oriented cosmopolitanism. Studying mother tongue education as part of a greater social context makes visible the political forces as well as the interest(s) of the nation.

Monolingualism and nation-state building

The role of language was distinguishably different during the 19th century compared to previous centuries. Anderson (2006) emphasizes the role language played in nation-building in mid-19th-century Europe, and especially its significance in building state bureaucracies. Prior to the 19th century the role of language followed a gradual, ‘bottom-up’, spontaneous development. During the 19th century the role of language within a nation became more idealistic and self-cautious, and was often driven by nationalism, no longer a gradual bottom-up development. The use of administrative languages highlights this difference (Anderson, 2006:42-46).

Prior to the 19th century, authorities, pursued by officials in their own communication, only used the administrative language. In stark contrast, during the 19th century the administrative language was imposed on the population as a whole. This illustration bears a resemblance to the printed languages of today’s modern nations. In the case of many Anglo-Saxon nations, the printed language is the common language among the population, used in daily communication and conversation. It was seen to unify people, easing conversation in areas where, for example, many varieties of English were spoken. Necessarily, the specific printed language remained ‘closer’ to one or more dialects spoken, which in turn elevated these above other dialects (Anderson, 2006).

For other nations, predominantly African (typically post-colonial nations), the printed language was not the common language among the population but was rather exclusive, used by only a few within the nation. Still, the importance of the printed lan-

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN NATION STATE-BUILDING AND THE WELFARE STATE'S DILEMMA

guage was that in many ways it was the foundation of the nation-building efforts. The printed language enables a nation to effectively function politically, economically, and socially. A unified language promotes cohesion and the idea of a shared culture (Wright, 2004). Speaking the language of a nation is regarded as a symbol of the integration within that nation. The unified language of the nation distinguishes it from its neighbors. Similarly, Smith (1996) argues that the state is not only a geographic territory. The notion of the sharing of one and the same language, culture and tradition is an important element in building a national identity. The idea of the unification of language is hence central to nationalism.

Gellner (1983) looks at nationalism from a historical perspective, emphasizing the significance of a shared formal education system, contributing to cultural homogenization. Furthermore, a shared language also contributes to homogenization. The idea (and the goal) of a homogenous population within the boundaries of the nation state is based on an assumption that the population within a nation state is similar in terms of culture and language. However, Gellner (1983:1) shows that nationalist *sentiment* commonly arises when the State's political unity fails to include all members of the nation. Hylland Eriksen (2002) also sees nationalism as being based on the idea of a cultural homogeneity among the members of a nation, and the idea of a marked difference between its own members in relation to other groups, which then become outsiders. In conclusion, then, central to nationalistic sentiments as well as nation-state-building is thus the ideal of monolingualism and the idea of a common language functioning as a unifying force in general and regarding processes of nation-state-building in particular.

6

Nation states and minority rights

Theories of nation-state-building discuss the relationship between minority and majority ethnic groups within the nation state. The basic meaning of the terms “majority” and “minority” is numerical, of course, but the difference between majorities and minorities are primarily a matter of power and influence. According to Oaks (2001:81), the relationship between the state and minorities in Europe has been characterized by different combinations of multicultural and assimilation policies. Nation-state borders were commonly drawn with no regard to the minority’s interest in ethnic and linguistic cohesion (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012:22).

Kymlicka (1995) points out that citizenship involves treating minorities the same as majorities. The problem, according to Kymlicka (1995), is that political life has an inescapably national dimension, whether it involves the distribution of power or the language authorities use when they, for example, make decisions on education policy. The ethnic majority group often decides the ethnic symbols of the country, based on its language, history or tradition. The construction of the national and cultural identity of the ethnic majority group is highly intertwined with the building of the nation state, which of course benefits the members of the majority group. It is therefore important to prevent discrimination by giving minorities and other disadvantaged groups in society autonomy and rights (Kymlicka, 1995). The rights of minority groups should be consistent with the rights of the majority within the nation state. Moreover, the stability of welfare states in modern democracies in Western Europe with an increasingly multicultural population is not based solely on justice; it is also based on the majority’s attitudes towards citizens with different national, ethnic or religious identities.

A democratic society, according to Kymlicka, should recognize minority rights by promoting the same opportunity to exercise one’s own language, culture and religion, in the same way as the members of the majority do. Group rights such as territorial au-

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN NATION STATE-BUILDING AND THE WELFARE STATE'S DILEMMA

tonomy, veto rights, guaranteed representation in institutions, and language rights could help minorities achieve equal rights (Kymlicka, 1995:175). On the issue of rights, Hylland Eriksen (2002) argues that it is important to distinguish between nationality and ethnicity, asserting that ethnicity is not possible without distinguishing between “us” and “them”, because ethnicity presupposes this imagined division; i.e., between groups that regard each other as culturally distinctive. In this tension between “us” and “them”, the actors of the majority population have the power to set the agenda, and hence also shape the language policies and the education system. Hylland Eriksen (2002:123) claims that even though policies of assimilation are framed as helping minority groups achieve equal rights in order to develop their social position, such policies often result in suffering and a loss of self-esteem for minorities, who are taught that their own culture and tradition are of no value.

Migration, citizenship and the role of language

Migration, in the larger societal context, refers to the movement of people, goods and services between states. It obviously has effects on people's language conditions, regardless of whether the migration has political, economic, or social reasons (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012:24). Like many other West European countries, Sweden allowed almost free labor migration in the 1950s and 1960s, with migrants coming from the neighboring Nordic countries and southern Europe. Towards the end of the 1960s, however, the immigration policy changed, and non-Nordic labor immigration ceased:

There was also a realization among politicians, policy makers, service providers and citizens at large that many labor migrants had come to stay regardless of perhaps early intentions to work there a few years and the return home. (Gruber & Rabo, 2014:59).

Migration to Sweden in the post-war period has mainly been a function of the Swedish economic and social situation and of the Swedish migration policy, which has changed over time (Nilsson, 2004:7). Brubaker (1994) points out that “states are by nature exclusionary because they are only to a lesser extent open to the citizens of other states. Sweden in this case is not the exception but like most others, as we have seen it is a state with a migration control”.²³ Non-Nordic labor migration was regulated in the late 1960s. The influx of refugees was significantly reduced in the late 1980s, and the refugee policy became even more restrictive in the 1990s (Johansson, 2005:17). The regulation of migration into the country was perceived as a “protection” of the welfare of its inhabitants. This may result in, for example, more and more countries in the Western world increasingly trying to prevent and reduce migration in order to preserve the welfare of their own nation. Migration control also carries an increased risk of nationalism, as a result of migrants being positioned as unwanted individuals in society (Johansson, 2005:19). Much of the Swedish nation state’s fear regarding the migration issue was migrants’ perceived lack of integration into Swedish society. In order to facilitate integration, a new language policy was established in the 1970s, enabling migrants to learn Swedish (Lundh & Olhsson, 1994).

Swedish citizenship confers freedoms and rights, but also obligations. The right of non-citizens to vote and be elected in local and regional elections was granted under the Social Democratic Government in 1975, but these individuals must have been residents in the municipality and registered in Sweden for the past three years. The Social Democratic ideology is based on a nation state as a given entity, and citizens’ rights regarding citizenship are connected to the fact that individuals have to live (legally) in the country for a certain period of time (Prop.1975/76: 187).

²³ See Brubaker (1994) in: Johansson (2005:14).

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN NATION STATE-BUILDING AND THE WELFARE STATE'S DILEMMA

The Moderate Party [Moderaterna] raised the issue of language testing as a precondition for attaining citizenship during the 1994 elections. The same issue was later raised by Lars Leijonborg, leader of the Swedish Liberal Party [Folkpartiet], when he launched his politics on integration during the parliamentary elections of 2002 (SOU 2006: 52). Contrary to this, the Swedish legislation regarding attaining citizenship entailed that immigrants should maintain their home language rather than be forced into a linguistic adjustment when attaining Swedish citizenship (Milani, 2008). In this respect, Milani (2008) argues that a requirement of language testing for attaining citizenship would legitimize the segregation of certain groups from both the public and symbolic spheres in Sweden as a nation state. For similar reasons, Parliament did not (and does not) require any level of language proficiency as a precondition for attaining Swedish citizenship (Lag, 2001: 82). The requirements that explicitly emerge in the Act on Swedish Citizenship of 2001 (Lag, 2001:82) essentially express the premise that a person who has an appropriate so-called residence time in Sweden should have the opportunity to become a Swedish citizen. Formally, according to Swedish Citizenship Act of 2001 (Lag 2001:82), Swedish citizenship is regarded not only as an issue of formally belonging to Sweden as a territory and a nation, but also as a matter of civil rights and obligations whereby people live and work together.

In the Swedish welfare state, citizens have certain rights and obligations towards each other, such as the individual's duty to pay taxes and, in exchange, receive a guarantee of free education and other social rights. The Swedish nation state is thus seen as the only existing legal guarantor of the civil rights of its citizens (SOU (2013: 29).

To conclude, "Swedish" is defined as important in the sense of participation in Swedish society. Proficiency in the Swedish language is then viewed as an important aspect of integration into

Swedish society that individuals living in Sweden should strive to achieve (Lag, 2001:82).

Globalization and the welfare state's dilemma

This subsection comprises an overview of globalization and the welfare state's dilemma. On the one hand, increased migration is making almost every state more multiethnic by nature. On the other hand, nationalism is also increasing, with more and more national groups in all parts of the world mobilizing to emphasize nationalistic sentiments and national identities. Kymlicka (1995) describes the late 20th century as both the age of migration and the age of nationalism. Similarly, Anderson (2006:46) argues that globalization and the diversity of human languages have created a new form of imagined community, which in turn forms the foundation for the modern nation.

Researchers tend to see this new politics of difference as a risk to liberal democracy. Kymlicka (1995) claims that demands on minority groups are legitimate in liberal democracies emphasizing rights of individual freedom and social justice. The basic commitment of liberal democracies should be the freedom and equality of its individual citizens, in order to assure political and civil rights for all people regardless of their background. Hence, the welfare state's dilemma could, and should, be handled peaceably and justly (Kymlicka, 1995:34). Efforts to integrate minorities depend on political forces such as nationalist conservatism, market-oriented cosmopolitanism, liberal ideology, and traditional social democratic ideals of language equality and minority rights (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Lundahl, 2005). Minority language rights therefore vary between welfare-state regimes.

From Conservative values to social democratic ideals

Esping-Andersen (1990:22) classified modern welfare states based on how their welfare regimes work. Social democratic welfare states' objective is to provide equal education for all, and liberal

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN NATION STATE-BUILDING AND THE WELFARE STATE'S DILEMMA

welfare states' regimes are characterized by a high degree of marketization of school whereby education is generally treated as a product in a market (Esping-Andersen, 1990:22). In social democratic welfare regimes, certain services such as schools and education are transformed from products consumed in a market to social rights for all (Esping-Andersen, 1990:22). This means that everyone has the right to welfare service based on the principle of equal opportunities for all individuals. Social rights in conservative welfare states are characterized by the preservation of traditional values whereby the role of one people-one language is essential. The ideology of conservatism is based on maintaining the traditional values of the language, history and culture of the nation. Conservatism is central to the ideas of nationalism. Speaking the language of the nation is considered to be a symbol of the integration within the nation, built on the ideology of monolingualism: one people-one language.

Traditional values of monolingualism and cultural homogeneity are central to national thinking. According to Gellner (1983), the idea of the nation entails a population that shares many similarities in terms of the unifying and culturally homogenizing roles of the educational system. The ambition of nationalist conservatism is to promote the values of a shared language and common traditions to be transferred from one generation to the next. However, as mentioned, such values are gradually being challenged by increasing language diversity and cultural plurality (Kymlicka, 1995:193).

Mother tongue education policies are developed by nation states in relation to different political interests, such as nationalist conservatism, market-oriented cosmopolitanism, and social democratic ideals of diversity. The increase in language diversity within the nation states, however, does not mean that they, and their adherent ideas of national language, national identity and nationalism, are no longer relevant. Many nation states face difficulties in managing the increase in cultural and language diversity (Oaks,

2001:25). Generally, they are facing a dilemma: on the one hand the state is enforcing its interest by, e.g., safeguarding its official and unifying language, while on the other, globalization and migration are creating a multicultural population which in turn increases the need to manage language diversity in society. In a sense, nation states are making efforts to respond to the tension between the national and the global.

In the social democratic ideology of equality, knowledge of several languages tends to be framed as desirable, and as a resource for national and international development. However, in social democratic welfare practices there is a ranking hierarchy among languages. As I will show in this study, during the 1990s the Social Democratic Government introduced Swedish as the unifying language of the nation. This language policy, according to Lainio (2013), contributed to an increasing distance between mother tongue for bilingual students and mother tongue for the majority, Swedish students. Similarly, Jessner & Mayer-Keyler (2017:94) claim that mother tongues have different statuses; for example, Italian and German are highly valued languages in Austria. The opportunity for integration for students whose mother tongue has a low status is heavily reduced.

To conclude, in Sweden's history, the 1950s to the early 2000s comprises an interesting period when it comes to the policy on minority rights. "For most of the post-war period, Sweden has been a salient example of social democratic welfare systems, characterized by general welfare policies and high social solidarity" (Lundahl, 2005:12). People have become aware, in a completely different way, that we live in a global society where the nation, the nation state, is influenced by globalization and the global economy. During these decades, Sweden has developed from a relatively homogeneous country into the multicultural nation it is today (Eilard, 2008:21).

Concluding discussion

In this chapter I have presented an overview of the role of language in relation to the welfare state's dilemma. Researchers see nationalism as a phenomenon based on the idea of a cultural homogenization of the nation, while at the same time contributing to excluding minorities from the nationalistic –in-group identity; the “we” of the nation. Nationalist conservatives see language as important in relation to nation, nation-building and citizenship, since the nation state is ideologically based on the ideal of language homogeneity. Uncontrolled migration is therefore viewed as a threat to the welfare state and its ability and capacity to preserve a homogenous population and a strong common identity.

As globalization and migration are assumed to affect and challenge the welfare state negatively, conservative nation states tend to exclude citizens of other states. An increased control over migration risks mobilizing nationalistic sentiment and positioning migrants as undesirable individuals within the state's borders. An increased multicultural population as a result of globalization and migration increases the need to manage language diversity in society. The traditional social democratic ideals have the objective of ensuring diversity and the language rights of all individuals, due to its ideological principles of equality and democratic citizenship, whereas the ways of accommodating multilingualism in market-oriented cosmopolitanism are based on the needs of the market economy rather than on the goals of traditional social democratic policy, which promotes diversity and equality for all.

Policy and discourse

Policy studies

This thesis is a policy study on mother tongue education policies as they have developed historically in Sweden. Critical discourse analysis is the methodological approach. As highlighted in Chapter 2, policies on mother tongue education are ideologically produced and are created in specific historical and political contexts, which means that policy depends on the time and context in which they are produced. Therefore, this policy study is focused on discursive aspects, from a historical perspective, with particular focus on how politics and social change have impacted mother tongue education policies in Sweden. With this perspective, the investigation of policies on mother tongue education as texts and as discourse becomes important as it sheds light on the ideological dimension of the development of mother tongue policies, as well as on how governing institutions, governments and their representatives, have shaped the politics of mother tongue education.

Policies are commonly constructed within various levels of an education system. Most often, policy studies are carried out from, either a top-down, or a bottom-up perspective (Gustafsson, 2003:30). Ball (2006) suggests a combination of these two perspectives and speaks of the policy circle, whereby policies are negotiated and transformed like a spiral. Although Ball (2006) makes a distinction between policy as text and policy as discourse, he argues that it is not about choosing one or the other but rather both, and that they are embedded in each other (Ball, 2006:44). In my study, policy actors such as government and its representatives, politicians and researchers are influential in the creation of mother tongue education policies. Policy texts express the ideologies of

policy actors and, simultaneously, produce (ideological) discourses. At the same time, discourses enable state actors to think and formulate policies on mother tongue education.

By looking at policy as discourse by analyzing the language use, I intend to illuminate how mother tongue and its target group, bilingual students, are ideologically constructed and positioned. In turn, this has implications for bilingual students' opportunities to receive mother tongue education at school. Mother tongue education can be constructed as a phenomenon that needs to be accommodated within the Swedish welfare state. On the other hand, the Swedish nation state also promotes Swedish as the official and unifying language, and as important for nation-building and national identity. The challenges this dilemma poses are balanced differently between the various political interests throughout the history of mother tongue education in Sweden. The goal of analyzing the texts is thus to delineate discourses in policy texts that make possible the production of the mother tongue education policies.

Policy as text

The empirical material of this thesis consists of policy texts expressing or shedding light on policy constructions of mother tongue education policies with different objectives historically from 1957 to 2017. I assume that policy texts on the education of students whose mother tongue is not Swedish express political goals and objectives. The point in time at which a policy on mother tongue is produced reflects national interests, such as the Swedish state's views on migration, migrants, integration, diversity and globalization, shaping both the content of and the language used in policy texts.

My understanding of policy as text is based on a social constructionist and discursive perspective, on how the language structures our understanding about mother tongue education; this means that I systematically analyze policy texts in light of their

historical, cultural, political, and social context (Taylor, 1997). I analyze policy texts as contextually dependent, assuming that social change has an impact on the status of mother tongue education in the Swedish school system. Ozga (2000) distinguishes between analysis *for* policy and analysis *of* policy. The former concerns creating a basis for policy and policymakers, while the latter involves the analysis of policies. In this study I focus on the analysis *of* policy, using theories of discourse.

Pointing to the complexity of policy, Ball (1993:11) argues that “policies have their own momentum inside the state; purpose and intentions are re-worked and re-oriented over time”. The objectives and intentions policymakers express regarding mother tongue education in the policy as text are assumed to be more than mere information. As such, they are ideological documents created in a specific political context and therefore reveal more or less the context in which they are written.

At times, political actors emphasize the need of one official and unifying language. For example, at such times, speaking the language of the nation is highlighted as a symbol of integration into society. At other times, the goal of integrating migrant and minority students by providing mother tongue education is emphasized as crucial. On the basis of policy as text, then, it will be possible to see the Swedish nation state’s dilemmas in managing language diversity as well as the outcomes. Inherent in the development of mother tongue education policy is the balancing of different political ideologies.

Policy as discourse

In this study, discourse refers to a systematic way of thinking and talking about a particular subject, which structures practices (actions) in relation to mother tongue education. According to Ball (2006), discourses determine not only what can be said and thought, but also who can speak as well as when and with what authority. Discourse produces a framework of meaning within

which policy is produced, spoken and believed. Fairclough (2010:3) describes discourse as a kind of language, which represents social groups and relations between social groups in a society. Discourses must be placed in a social context because discourse is something that exists beyond individuals. It exists between people, in society, and thus not (only) inside individual heads. When discourses shape actors' interests, they also form these very interests. According to Fairclough (2010), the relationship between policy texts and discourses is dialectical, in a sense that discourses both constitute policy texts and are constituted by them.

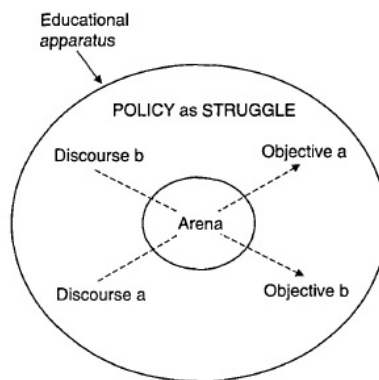
In my study, discourse(s) are the particular ways of writing and speaking about, and ways of understanding, mother tongue education in Sweden. Looking at policy as discourse includes a discursive understanding of how mother tongue education and bilingual students have been constructed as a target group for mother tongue education. It means that the constructions that are created in a policy as discourse have very real implications for mother tongue education as a subject, and for bilingual students in terms of their positioning in society and their access to mother tongue education. Discourse analysis of mother tongue education policies can thus help produce an understanding of the politics and the social change that have impacted the status of mother tongue education over time. Fairclough (2010) argues that an analytical approach also implies the assumption of a dialectical relationship between power and a discourse:

The power of, for instance, the people who control a modern state (the relations between them and the rest of the people) are partly discursive in its character. For example, it depends on sustaining the legitimacy of the state and its representatives, which is largely achieved in discourse. (Fairclough 2010:4)

Fairclough (2010:4) speaks about power and discourse as intertwined yet different elements. "Yet power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power – they are different but not discrete, they flow into each other". In this study, I include the perspective of

power in two senses. Firstly, I regard the production of mother tongue policy as an arena for political actors that strategically draw on different available discourses in the struggle for power to formulate policies. Secondly, the mother tongue policy formulations that are the outcomes of the discursive struggle have very real implications for mother tongue education as a subject and for bilingual students' opportunity to acquire mother tongue education. Fulcher (1989) points out that, in the struggle between different actors of competing objectives, discourses are drawn on purposefully (Fulcher, 1989:7). Figure (1) below illustrates policy discourse as an arena where groups of actors claiming different interests draw on different discourses in the struggle for power.

Figure 1. Policy as struggle.



Source: Fulcher, 1989:4

As in the figure above, this struggle between different discourses is presumably ongoing at all levels of the education system. Similarly, as regards the policy on mother tongue education there are different discourses that comment on the same thing, i.e. mother tongue education. There is a struggle over which discourse should be

drawn on when formulating policy goals. There are many policy actors, such as government representatives, politicians and researchers, who claim an interest in formulating policy texts. Different policy actors position mother tongue education and bilingual students in different ways.

Discourses on mother tongue education and bilingual students can be understood as a complex interaction between the political ideologies of traditional conservatism, market-oriented ideologies, and social democratic ideals of diversity (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Lundhal 2005). Different ideological efforts in times of globalization and increased multiculturalism have implications for the shape of mother tongue education and the access of its target group – bilingual students – to it. Studying policy discourses on mother tongue education can thus provide us with valuable knowledge of how Swedish welfare-state politics and social changes have impacted the positioning of mother tongue education during different historical periods.

Studying discursive and social change

The policies on mother tongue education change over time. As mentioned, this can be due to globalization and migration, leading people to move across nation-state boundaries. It can also be due to sociopolitical change at the government level. The latter makes its mark on mother tongue education policy in terms of the type and character of the discursive policy formulations available. I draw on the concept of recontextualization to investigate how the mother tongue education discourse(s) as an outcome of discursive struggle are articulated over time, and whether or not discursive change has occurred. When several discourses are articulated in the mother tongue education policies of a specific period, an order of discourse is constituted. In this thesis, an order of discourse forms what I have termed a *discursive period*. Delineating discursive periods enabled me to identify periods of reproduction and periods of change of mother tongue education policy.

Fairclough (2010) defines an order of discourse as a set of discourses and the relationship between them – how they are interrelated is crucial (Fairclough, 2010: 359). In my study, I refer to orders of discourse as discursive periods within which discourses can be delineated. The way the discourses are articulated, and how they relate to each other, reveals for example how discourses have structured a certain discursive period. With the help of the concept of recontextualization, I then analyse each discursive period in order to draw conclusions about change and reproduction.

As mentioned, discursive struggles occur when different discourses are drawn on in formulating policy on and solutions for the same thing, i.e. mother tongue education (Taylor, 1997; Fulcher 1989). A market discourse, for example, has been articulated in markedly new ways, in the educational context. An established public school discourse for all has been challenged by a new market discourse (Englund, 1995; Lundahl et al. 2013). That discourses become marginalized does not mean they have disappeared, but that they have played less of a role in a certain context. They may however show up in another context, meaning then that they have persisted. For example, the traditional discourse of Christian values that was dominant in the 1960s became marginalized in the 1970-80s when the discourse of bilingualism grew strong. The discourse of Christian values and Western humanism withstood this change, and showed up again during the discursive periods of 1990s and 2000s.

I focus on how nation-state politics have had an impact in terms of change in policy formulations, as well as how discourses have contributed to a change or reproduction of mother tongue education policy over time. Fairclough (2010:78), referring to Bernstein (1996), argues that “every time a discourse moves, there is space for ideology to play”. Fairclough (2010) points out that orders of discourse are always to some extent unstable and open to change. If discourses within an order of discourse are articulated in a similar way in relation to each other and over time, this indicates

discursive reproduction. A difference in terms of how discourses are articulated, and how they relate to each other, is likely to produce a new order of discourse and, hence, with it comes both discursive and social change. When discourses on mother tongue education appear in new contexts, they are articulated in either a new or a traditional way. Articulations of discourses in new ways could be interpreted as signs of social change, whereas traditional articulations could be interpreted as signs of (social and discursive) reproduction.

Concluding discussion

In Chapter 3 I have described my theoretical framework and methodological approach. My key concepts are order of discourse and recontextualization. The principle interest of this thesis has been to analyze the policies of mother tongue education from the 1950s to the present, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of mother tongue education in the Swedish school system. The discursive policies' aspects that Ball (2006) and Fairclough (2010) point out are important for my study's purpose and research questions. In the following chapters, I will analyze policy texts concerning mother tongue education. In turn, the policy texts simultaneously express, are, and produce discourses.

Methods and material

In this chapter I present the selection of empirical materials, the empirical materials actually sampled, and the analysis procedure. Finally, I discuss validity and ethical considerations related to the choices made during the research process. The empirical material consists of different types of policy texts; these can be described as authoritative policy documents, which comprise formulations about the objectives of mother tongue education. In order to gain a deeper understanding of particular formulations in the curricula and the Curriculum Committee Report and the policy discourse on the subject of mother tongue education at a particular point in time I have analyzed the policy texts that constitute the ideological foundation for the National Curricula, namely Government Official Reports.

This gave me the opportunity to delineate the ideology underlying the steering documents, National Curricula. This helped me to investigate how mother tongue education is produced and how political ambitions and objectives bear a stamp on its production. This way of analyzing my empirical materials also made it possible to see whether there were periods of reproduction or social change for mother tongue education.

Data selection and material

The first step, in order to get familiarized with the available material, was to read a great number of policy texts discussing or shedding light on mother tongue education in Sweden since the 1950s. I also did this in order to be able to make informed sampling decisions, and after an initial reading I made a systematic selection of empirical materials. Based on the primary insights, the starting

point for my study became the work of the so-called 1957 School Committee.²⁴ Radical school reforms were initiated based on the work of this Committee, which produced a number of reports, all included in the series of Swedish Government Official Reports (SOU) and published in the period 1960-1961. Due to the scope of the possible empirical material, it was necessary to make an informed selection of empirical materials, producing a limited enough sample to address within the framework of this thesis and at the same time extensive enough to gain an in-depth understanding of the topic.

To produce such a sample, I excluded materials dealing with education for adult migrants. The documents selected for the purpose of analysis include Government official Reports, Curriculum Committee Reports, and the National Curricula. I have made this selection as curricula do not occur in a vacuum but are preceded by ideological documents, which in turn can be seen as the result of compromises in Parliament. Curricula are preceded by Curriculum Committee Reports and Government Official Reports, in which ideology can be discerned.²⁵ Government Official reports and Curriculum texts are analyzed together, as I view these documents as an integrated part of mother tongue education policy as discourse. I have done this purposefully in order to show how motives and arguments regarding mother tongue education policies have changed. In the selection process I have also included other types of policy documents, for example Government Directives (Dir.), Government Propositions (Prop.), Educational Acts, and reports published by National Agency for Education as well as the School Inspectorate Reports. The ambition has been to include a wide range of policy texts that have impacted mother tongue

²⁴ The 1957 School Committee published the following Government Official Reports: SOU 1960:41; SOU 1960:13; SOU 1961:30, and SOU 1961:31.

²⁵ According to the University Library of Borås, Sweden (personal communication, 28 december 2018) there is no available translations (from Swedish into English) regarding the titles of each document. I therefore write the publishing year and the number of, i.e. Government Official Report as in the Table 1.

education and students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. Most of the documents included in this study, however, consist of Government Official Reports that, together with Government Propositions and so-called Department Reports (Ds), are the earliest in the policymaking process. As authoritative texts, the text types included in my sample play a central part in the political negotiations on the status and positioning of mother tongue education in Sweden. All Government Official Reports from 1957 to 1999 were taken from the National Library of Sweden's Digitized Archives in PDF format.²⁶ The latest Government Official Reports from 1999 to 2017 was taken from Parliament's website, also in PDF format.²⁷ To find the parts that concerned mother tongue education, I used the automatic search function and searched for keywords and phrases. Once a keyword or a phrase relevant to my research questions were identified in the text, the passages near the text were also read in-depth in order to be analyzed. In this phase I read the material in-depth and noted recurring keywords. The question of mother tongue was acknowledged the very first time in the Government Official Report of 1966 (SOU 1966:55). Through studying the recontextualization of discourses I have identified *four* discursive periods and let the document texts form chronological start- and endpoints for each discursive period (Table 1). The periods are: 1957-1965: 1966-1988: 1989-1999: and 2000-2017.

Table 1 below contains two columns: the left one presents the types of documents, and the right one contains the names of each document that is the focus of analysis. For example, the starting point for my data sampling and collection is the 1957 School Committee. This Committee published four reports during the period 1960-1961. After this I have grouped the Educational Act of 1962 (SFS 1962:319) and the National Curriculum for Compul-

²⁶ Available at: <https://regina.kb.se/sou/>.

²⁷ Sveriges riksdag, available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/statens-offentliga-utredningar/sou-2004-73-_GSB373.

sory School of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), which are assumed to lay the basis for compulsory school (1957-1965).

Table 1. The empirical materials of the dissertation from 1957 to 2017.

Discursive period 1957-1965	
Government Official Reports (SOU)	The 1957 School Committee Reports: SOU 1960:13. Bilaga 2 [Swedish Government Official Report, Appendix 2] SOU 1960:41 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1961:30. Bilaga 6 [The Swedish Government Official Report, Appendix 6] SOU 1961:31 [Swedish Government Official Report]
Educational Act	SFS 1962:319. Skollag. [Educational Act]
National Curricula	Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962. <i>Läroplan för grundskolan</i> , Lgr 62. [National Curriculum for the Compulsory School 1962]
Discursive period 1966-1988	
Government Official Reports (SOU)	SOU 1966:55 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1971:51 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1972:83 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1974:69 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1983:57 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1984:55 [Swedish Government Official Report]
Government Propositions	Prop. 1975:15/26 [Government Proposition] Prop. 1975/76: 118 [Government Proposition] Prop. 1985/86:98 [Government Proposition] Prop. 1988/89:4 [Government Proposition]
National Curricula	Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969. <i>Läroplan för grundskolan</i> , Lgr 69. [National Curriculum for Compulsory School 1969] Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969 II Reviderad läroplan för grundskolan [National Curriculum – II Revised Edition 1973] Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980. <i>Läroplan för grundskolan 1980</i> . [National Curriculum for compulsory School] Skolöverstyrelsen, 1988b. <i>Läroplan för grundskolan 1980</i> . Kommentarmaterial. [National Curriculum for Compulsory School – Commentary Material]
Government Letter	Regeringens skrivelse 1981/82:196. Bilaga 2 [Government Letter, Appendix 2]
Discursive period 1989-1999	

METHODS AND MATERIAL

Government Official Reports (SOU)	SOU 1990:44 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1992:94 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 1996:55 [Swedish Government Official Report]
Government Propositions	Prop. 1991/92:95 [Government Proposition] Prop. 1997/98:16 [Government Proposition] Prop. 1990/91:18 [Government Proposition] Prop. 1996/97:110 [Government Proposition]
Government Inaugural Speech	Regeringsförklaring 1991 [Government Inaugural Speech 1991] Regeringsförklaring 1994 [Government Inaugural Speech 1991]
Educational Acts	Skollag SFS 1994:1194 [Educational Act] Skollag SKOLFS 1994:1 [Educational Act]
National Curricula	Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994. <i>Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet, förskoleklass och fritidshemmet</i> , Lpo 94. [National Curriculum for Compulsory School] Utbildningsdepartementet, 1998. <i>Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet, förskoleklass och fritidshemmet</i> , Lpo 94. [Curriculum for the Compulsory School System, the Preschool Class and the Leisure-time Centre – Lpo 94]
Discursive period 2000-2017	
Government Official Reports (SOU)	SOU 2002: 27 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 2004: 74 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 2007:28 [Swedish Government Official Report] SOU 2013: 29 [Swedish Government Official Report]
Government Acts	Regeringsdirektiv Dr. 2000: 66 [Government Directive] Regeringens skrivelse 2001/02:188 [Government Letter] Regeringsdirektiv Dr. 2006:19 [Government Directive]
Government Inaugural Speeches	Regeringsförklaringen 2000 [Government Inaugural Speech]
Government Propositions	Prop. 2005/06:2 [Government Proposition] Prop. 2008/09: 87 [Government Proposition] Prop. 2014/15:45 [Government Proposition]
National Curricula	Skolverket, 2011. <i>Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011</i> . [Curriculum for the Compulsory School System, the Preschool Class and the Leisure-time Centre 2011]
Educational Acts	Skollag SFS 2009: 600 [Educational Act] Skollag SFS 2009: 724 [Educational Act] Skollag SFS 2010:800 [Educational Act] Skollag SFS 2011:185 [Educational Act] Skollag SFS 2014: 458 [Educational Act] Skollag SKOLFS 2016:2 [Educational Act]

National Agency for Education, The Schools Inspectorate Reports and Press release	Skolverkets rapport 2002 [National Agency for Education] Skolverkets rapport 2008 [National Agency for Education] Skolverkets rapport (2017) [National Agency for Education] Skolverkets pressmeddelande 01 11 2006 [National Agency for Education, Press release 01 11 2006] Skolverkets pressmeddelande 15 02 2017 [[National Agency for Education, Press release 15 02 2017] Skolinspektionens rapport 2009:3 [School Inspectorate] Skolinspektionens rapport 2010:16:7 [School Inspectorate] Skolinspektionens rapport 2016 [School Inspectorate]. ²⁸
---	---

The number of documents analyzed in each chapter varies depending on the specific political, historical and social situation characterizing mother tongue education at the time, perhaps due to the increasing complexity – either of the subject of mother tongue education or of society at large—or both. For the purpose of clarity, I have written the titles of each document, translated into English and shown in brackets.

In total, the empirical materials consist of eighteen Government Official Reports, nine Educational Acts, six National Curricula, eleven Government Propositions, three reports by National Agency for Education, and other types of policy documents such as Government Directives, Government Inaugural Speeches, Schools Inspectorate Reports, and other Government Letters and Press Releases.

Analysis procedure

The empirical material in this thesis was analyzed in detail, using critical discourse analysis by Fairclough (2010) and Mulderrig (2008). According to Mulderrig (2008), keywords are essential for any type of critical discourse analysis, but particularly when analyzing texts in a historical perspective and a policy perspective.

²⁸ The government appointed this Schools Inspectorate based on Diarienummer 01-2016:8479

Mulderrig (2008:152) argues that even though using a keyword approach “do not track in detail the fate of particular words, they do generate an overall picture of the particular discourses”. Mulderrig (2008:151) “examines the trajectory of the most textually prominent discourses in UK education policy from a historical perspective”. In my study, keywords, described as a collocation of certain prominent words used recurrently, help delineate discourses in texts. From a critical discourse analysis perspective, keywords are more than individual words and their meanings. A set of commonly used and prominent keywords forms a discourse.

In this study, keyword analysis is used for the purpose of tracing shifts in language use over time (Mulderrig, 2008). The “keyness” of keywords points not only to frequency but also to salience or the prominence of particular sets of words during a certain period. I have used keyword analysis, as one aspect of my critical discourse analysis, to trace changes over the period of the 1950s to today in the vocabulary used in mother tongue education policy (Mulderrig 2008).

In my analysis I focused on keywords expressing the ideology of mother tongue education of the time. Then I looked at how multilingual students were positioned as subjects and how mother tongue was positioned as a school subject. For example, during the first discursive period, dating from 1957 to 1965, there was a high frequency of and prominence given to terms like *social fostering*, *monolingual*, *cohesiveness*, *culturally homogenous nation*, *the Swedish homeland*, *Nordic community*, *Western worldview*, *individual talents*, *students as national assets*, and *the “savage stage”*, together suggesting, I would argue, an assimilation discourse, and indicating ideals of cohesion and the unity of the nation. All students were assumed to be ethnic Swedes and Swedish was assumed to be their first language (Eklund, 2003).

By contrast, in the subsequent period from 1966 to 1988, an intercultural discourse is suggested, as a result of the use of the following set of keywords: *active bilingualism*, *home language*, *intercul-*

tural exchange in society, equal opportunity, maintain cultural identity, away from uniformity, and bilingual students as new citizens. In a similar manner, during the period 1989-1999, keywords such as *decentralization, free school choice, new language politics, common national fond, Christian tradition, cohesive cement, diversity, and integration policy* gained prominence, emphasizing a unifying discourse of the nation.

Many phrases and keywords in this period were associated more generally with the phase of decentralization and free school choice. Although various prominent keywords were reproduced in the period 2000-2017, many frequent and salient keywords indicated more economic policy interests such as *lifelong learning, entrepreneurial teaching, performance, and newly arrived students*, suggesting not only an emphasis on students' results at school but also an increased focus on the integration and employability of citizens. Globalization and migration were claimed to be pushing aside the Swedish language and as a result, a new official language policy aimed at strengthening the Swedish language was developed.

Table 2. The keywords in policy documents from 1957 to 2017

1957-1965	1966-1988	1989-1999	2000-2017
<i>Fostering, monolingual, cohesiveness, homogeneous nation, Swedish homeland, Western worldview, Nordic community individual talents, students as national assets, the "savage stage"</i>	<i>Active bilingualism, home language, intercultural exchange in society, equal opportunity, maintain cultural identity, away from uniformity, bilingual students as new citizens</i>	<i>Decentralization, municipalization, free school choice, new language politics, integration policy, responsibility, Christian tradition, cohesive cement, hold together, diversity, unifying the multi-cultural Swedish nation</i>	<i>Performance, clear educational goals, lifelong learning, entrepreneurial education, Swedish being pushed aside, language diversity, newly arrived students</i>

Table 2 aims to illustrate keywords in the policy documents analysed. to the purpose and material of my study. The analysis revealed a recontextualization of dominant discourse(s), along with several marginalized discourses, that together have structured the

order of discourse in each discursive period. When policy discourses on mother tongue education are recontextualized in a new historical context, discourses are either reproduced or changed.

As mentioned, texts are in many ways based on previous texts, i.e. intertextuality. According to Fairclough (2010), the concept of intertextuality is relevant as it can show the language use in policy texts over time. For example, in my study intertextuality shows how the language use in the National Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) is based on the 1957 School Committee, and that the language use in the National Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) is based on the Curriculum Committee Report of 1992 (SOU 1992:94). Common to the analysis of all policy texts is that I have read the texts with a focus on sets of keywords that implicitly or explicitly expressed signs of social change or reproduction. In this manner, it was possible to understand how discourses have changed during the period of 1957 to 2017.

Studying the recontextualization of discourses enabled me to delineate four discursive periods. The first period, 1957 to 1965, is characterized by cohesiveness and homogenization as a result of consensus between political actors. The second period covers 1966 to 1988, and the third comprises 1989 to 1999. These two periods are characterized by social change. The fourth period, comprising 2000 to 2017, is characterized by a combination between conservative and liberal ideologies, promoting Swedish language as a unifying value for the nation.

Validity and ethical concerns

In social science research, policy texts are often studied in order to gain knowledge about society and how this affects people's thoughts and actions. Within the social science tradition, the requirement of ethical considerations is always stressed. In this study I have relied on Habermas' understanding of validity in discourse analysis as interpreted by Cukier et al. (2003). According to Cukier

et al. (2003:241), Habermas provides four validity claims for the interpretation of texts and the analysis of discourses: *truthfulness*, *sincerity*, *clarity* and *legitimacy*. With the claim of *truthfulness*, it is meant that statements of actors have to be factual and not misrepresented.

The claim of *sincerity* presupposes that the author is honest. The *clarity* claim refers to intelligibility, if language is understandable and without jargon (Cukier et al. 2003: 241). The claim of *legitimacy* relies on the author making the assumptions guiding the interpretations explicit (Cukier et al. 2003: 241). I have reflected on how I can include Habermas' validity claims in my research process. In the text below I present some of the steps I have taken in order to increase the truthfulness, sincerity, clarity, and legitimacy of my findings.

The *truthfulness* in this study is seen as produced in policy texts through various recurring authoritative statements. From the perspective of my research, it is not a matter of interpreting texts in terms of 'right' or 'wrong' but rather of ensuring transparency and that statements are not misrepresented. Truthfulness then requires analysis to be done, based on the principles that the theoretical and methodological approach provides. I have tried to reduce the impact of my own values so as to ensure *truthfulness* in the interpretation of my empirical materials. For example, even though I have another mother tongue than Swedish, I aspire to have neither any positive nor negative preconceptions about the policy statements interpreted, but I do discuss potential implications of the statements. In my role as researcher, I have also attempted to distinguish between my personal values and the knowledge that is generated in the research process without being influenced by my own foregone conclusions, and to remain impartial towards both the data material and the methods themselves.

The claim of *sincerity* has been a focus of mine while carrying out the study and its analysis. I have attempted to be honest to the reader about my research process by carefully describing and mo-

tivating the selection of materials, and have shown how the analysis has been carried out. In order to ensure as high sincerity as possible, I have explained why some conclusions are drawn or results are claimed. Silverman (2010) recommend sincerity and transparency in terms of analysis procedure, which I have tried to accomplish.

According to Cukier et al. (2003:241), there are many ways of achieving the claim of *clarity*, for example by using clear and intelligible language, and avoiding using jargon or terminology that is not commonly familiar. In order to increase clarity, I have explained the meaning of keywords, or sets of keywords, in intelligible ways, to give the reader an overall picture of particular discourses. As an aspect of clarity, I have also illustrated the analysis procedure (Table 2).

As for the claim of *legitimacy*, the texts were read in-depth to allow for their analysis. I have aimed to shed light on the underlying ideological meanings in mother tongue education policy and I have tried to make the assumptions guiding my interpretations explicit. I have also supported my conclusions with citations and references, which enables readers to form an opinion of their own about the trustworthiness of my interpretations. It was also a matter of arguing for the method I have chosen. I have aspired to build my analytical approach on the principle of ethics. Similarly, Tracy (2010:247) claims that questions related to ethics in doing research “are no easy questions” and requires that we “constantly reflect on our methods and the data worth exposing”.

To conclude, the difficulty regarding ethical concerns arises, as I understand it, when the researcher puts his or her foregone conclusions and personal values into the research. Including one’s own partial and personal values is defined as “bias”. My role as a schoolteacher and a researcher can be said to be distinctive, in the sense that I am studying a topic, which I myself am a part of. When I write my thesis, I do it as a researcher, which means that I am in a sense studying my own school arena, but from a different

perspective. My roles as schoolteacher and researcher hopefully complement each other. Being both a schoolteacher and a researcher of mother tongue education often raises concerns about how to make my analysis results as useful as possible for mother tongue education. My hope is that the empirical results of this study will contribute to the discussion about mother tongue education in a broader social context.

In sum, in this chapter I have described the selection of empirical materials, and the analysis procedure. I also discussed the study's validity and my ethical considerations related to the choices made during the research process. In the following I present my first empirical chapter, in which I discuss the policies of mother tongue education during the discursive period 1957 to 1965, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of mother tongue education.

5

The strong society – cohesiveness and homogenization as an ideal 1957-1965

The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate the policies of mother tongue education 1957-2017, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of mother tongue education in the Swedish school system. In this chapter I initially describe the process leading up to the formation of the unity school, also referred to as ‘one school for all’. I then shed light on ideas about the need to foster students in Swedish schools during the discursive period of 1957-1965. Moreover, I discuss the characteristics of mother tongue policy during this historical period as well as the discursive enhancement of the Swedish language as a language for all. Lastly, I present my concluding comments.

The Formation of the unity school

In the late 1950s, Social Democratic Prime Minister Tage Erlander introduced the concept of the strong society. It was thought that a precondition for the strong society was that all citizens in Sweden should have access to free education and health care, and enjoy a certain degree of social security. Furthermore, the strong society was a secular welfare society under a strong state and municipal public management (Egidius, 2001). In this society all students and young people, regardless of their place of residence, would have equal educational opportunities. Prior to 1957, Sweden had a parallel school system: one school for the common people and another

er for the social elite (Marvin, 1973: 208). Because of the inequalities this system reproduced, the state initiated school reform in order to *unify* the school system. The school was to provide students with a basic education, which was seen to include such knowledge and the kind of values that were assumed to be important for their personal development and their ability to influence and take leading positions in society (SOU 1961:30). With this school reform, the Government also hoped to raise the general level of education and create better educational opportunities for previously disadvantaged groups of students (Richardson, 2010: 114-118).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Lundahl et al. (2013:502) argues that in social democratic regimes, traditionally “the state is largely responsible for steering and reforming the education system, by issuing detailed regulations relating to curricula, teaching funding, and evaluation”. In 1957, the Government appointed a committee to make proposals for improvements to the educational system (Marvin, 1973: 210). The idea was that a new school system would bring an end to the deeply divided society of the time. The committee took the name *The 1957 School Committee*.

The proposals the Committee presented in its 1961 report were largely the result of a political compromise between all political parties in Swedish Parliament. This was a compromise that the Committee had achieved at a meeting in Visby, the so-called Visby Agreement of 1960 (Egidius, 2001:84). The compromise was made possible by the opposition parties the Moderate Party (Moderaterna), the Centre Party (Centerpartiet) and the Liberals (Folkpartiet) having their interests met, mainly the need for a clear division of students between the junior level (lägstadiet) and senior level (högstadiet) of compulsory school (Egidius, 2001:84).

What all political parties could also agree on was that *the unity school* would be the only compulsory school, both teaching the theoretical subjects that students aiming for higher education would need, as well as providing the vocationally oriented programs that

were necessary for students aiming for employment in an increasingly industrialized Sweden (Egidius, 2001:84). This agreement was an outcome of a policy struggle between the actors of Conservative opposition parties, advocating that the task of the school was to enable strong individual knowledge performance, and the new Social Democratic Government, which depicted the school as an arena for democratic fostering in a strong welfare society (Egidius, 2001).

When the Committee had been appointed, it worked for several years to prepare its final reports, which in turn paved the way for the introduction of a new nine-year compulsory school for all students. The Committee was asked to re-evaluate the purpose of the school and schooling in Sweden: “the 1957 school committee was to conduct required investigation into the objectives of the school and its purposes in society and to re-assess the curriculum contents and methods as to their appropriateness for the introduction of the young generation into society” (Marvin, 1973: 210). The Committee summarized the results of its final report in a number of public Government Official Reports. Its proposals for primary schools are included in the series of Swedish Government Official Reports published in 1960-1961.

The School Committee proposed that the new school form would be called *the unity school*, which was then seen as an important educational institution for nation-building providing equal opportunities for all from 1957 onward. This has been referred to as one of the most essential school decisions of the 20th century in Sweden (Richardson, 2010). The establishment of the unity school was based on the keywords *one school for all*. It was seen as an important social institution for the creation of a strong welfare society. The overall goal when introducing the unity school was the creation of a strong secular society, under a strong state and municipal public leadership (Egidius, 2001:84). The Committee also reexamined the previous parallel school system since Sweden, like

many other West European countries had a parallel school system until 1957 (Marvin, 1973: 208).

The ideal of one school for all was meant to meet the ideal of creating a school where all students' individual needs – irrespective of class or social background – would be met. Previously, differentiation had occurred on a class basis, manifested in the separation of students into elementary school and junior secondary school. According to Englund (1995), the unification of all school forms into one school for all occurred in the light of an emerging modern society with a pronounced demand for a well-functioning material welfare and a strong focus on individualized education (Englund, 1995:184).

The Government Official Reports of the 1957 School Committee did not discuss mother tongue education for students whose mother tongue was not Swedish. In the unity school, the term “mother tongue” referred to Swedish, rather than – as today – referring to the languages of students whose mother tongue is *not* Swedish. As Reath Warren (2017:13) has observed: “Mother tongue was originally the name of the subject which today is called Swedish”. In the documents emanating from the work of the Committee, nothing can be found suggesting that there were other languages in the country than Swedish. Mother tongue, i.e. learning to read and write Swedish, occupied a central position in school education policies. Imparting good knowledge and skills in reading and writing in Swedish came to be seen as one of the most important tasks of the Swedish education system:

In doing so, the schools should not only focus their activities on training the individual student's linguistic expression and encouraging him to take part in activities that enable him to use and develop his language skills during leisure time; it is also necessary to develop the teaching with thought to the fact that the predominant mission of language is social – that is, it serves to create contact, communication and community. At the same time, it is a means of influence. This must imply that demands should be placed on the objectivity, clarity, immediacy, and beauty of the linguistic expression. (SOU 1961:30:166)

As mentioned, in the earliest documents of this discursive period, it is hence not indicated anywhere that there are other languages spoken by members of society than that of the majority, i.e., Swedish. It was not made explicit that there were in fact migrants and minorities present in Sweden at the time. The goal of the school, to provide social upbringing for all students regardless of place of residence, was formulated in educational policy documents. The aim of the unity school was to “organize education and social upbringing for all, regardless of place of residence and other external conditions, and effective access to equal educational opportunities” (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen 1962:14).

As already mentioned, accommodating the language diversity in society as well as the needs of domestic minorities and migrants to continue learning their mother tongue, was not discussed by the Committee. However, in two Government Official Reports from 1961 (SOU 1961: 30; SOU 1961: 31) and the new National Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), indirectly made clear that there was a Finnish-speaking population in Sweden at the time. In Swedish municipalities where the majority population was Finnish, it was possible for the Finnish language to be provided as an optional subject in Grades 7 and 8:

In a municipality with a Finnish-speaking population, *Finnish* may be included as an optional subject and replace another subject in the optional groups 7: 3 by 2-3 hours, and 8: 3 by 2 hours a week. (SOU 1961:30: 339)

In a municipality with a Finnish-speaking population, *Finnish* may be included as an optional subject and replace another subject in the optional groups 7: 3 by 2-3 hours, and 8: 3 by 2 hours (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962:119)

In the above, a manifest intertextuality emerges, which Fairclough (2010) defines as instances in which the previous text is explicitly present in the current text. As we can see, the quoted text excerpt from Government Official Report is virtually identically reproduced in the text of the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga

Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962). Such *manifest* intertextuality shows language reproduction. The option to learn Finnish hardly meant any recognition of the importance of mother tongue education, as it could only be studied in Grades 7 and 8 for a couple hours a week. The Finnish-speaking population has long been arguing for an increased Finnish teaching in order to be recognized as a minority group in Sweden (Lainio, 1999). Besides the recognition of the Finnish-speaking community, the school situation of nomadic Sami students was also given attention.

Bilingualism as potentially harmful inconvenience

The language diversity was hence not discussed much in the unity school period (1957-1965). I will look more closely at the Government Official Report of 1960 (SOU 1960:41), which was the only policy text of the period in question that presented some standpoints on bilingualism. The Government Official Report (SOU 1960:41) describes a history of the language situation of the Sami, especially emphasizing how minority students would best learn Swedish and thus become bilingual (Hyltenstam & Tomela, 1996:158). The report deal with the question of whether bilingualism is harmful or beneficial to students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. Its first part depicts bilingualism as “inconvenient” and possibly even harmful, while, positive aspects of bilingualism are mentioned in the second part. In terms of the “inconvenience” and potential harmfulness of bilingualism, the Government Official Report of 1960 (1960:41) states that:

Bilingualism is, as is known, a reality for many peoples in different parts of the world. Its meaning, not least its inconvenience, has been studied in-depth by psychological, sociological and linguistic research in several countries. The question of whether bilingualism seems harmful, i.e. ‘confusing’, to the mindset and holds back the development of intelligence, has led to a large number of studies, although no unanimity on this has been found (SOU 1960:41: 70)

This discourse of bilingualism can be delineated with keywords such as *inconvenience*, and *potentially harmful* in that it leads to confusion and underdeveloped intelligence. Furthermore, bilingualism is portrayed as a phenomenon that affects many nations around the world. The phrase above – “Bilingualism is, as known, a reality for many peoples” – constructs bilingualism as a complication to be dealt with in many parts of the world, including Sweden. The confusion, and possibly even harm, that bilingualism was seen to bring about was in turn associated with problems that bilingual students were assumed to experience:

The most substantial concern of bilingualism is the difficulty of keeping the two languages distinct. If he does not succeed in this, ‘disturbances’ occur; the languages fade into each other. This phenomenon is currently called interference, which is defined as ‘deviations from one language’s norms, which occur in the speech of bilingual individuals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language’ (Weinreich).²⁹ These disturbances, which together constitute the so-called accent, are of many types and entail pronunciation, tense, word choice, word sequence, syntax, etc. (SOU 1960: 41: 71)

As the quote above indicates, bilingualism is discussed in terms of the deviations and disorders it supposedly brings about in an individual. Being bilingual is portrayed almost as a functional impairment among ethnic minority groups in the process of learning to speak and write in Swedish:

The language we speak and write is inextricably linked to our way of thinking and feeling that content and expression form an inseparable entity. It is not just the outer form, which changes from language to language, but the concepts themselves that are structured differently depending on language conventions and systems. People do not think the same way in different languages, as the terms are not identical. Teaching in a foreign language means that the entire abstract and cultural thinking we need in

²⁹ The authors of this Government Official Report refer to the researcher (Weinreich). For more details, see the original reference in the Government Official Report of 1960 (SOU 1960:41:71).

order to raise ourselves over the wild stage is conveyed through a language that is foreign to the natural environment of the young people and lacks connections in the child's consciousness and experiences. On the other hand, this foreign language lacks an expression of the special needs, conditioned by local conditions, of native traditions and notions. The native never gets used to expressing in writing that which is central to his most intimate environment. Such people will typically never completely master any language, with all the consequences this deficiency has on their intellectual development and opportunities in general. (SOU 1960:41: 74)

The basic view expressed here is that bilingual students will usually “never completely master” Swedish as a second language, and by implication will never rise above the “wild stage”. Learning Swedish as a *foreign language* also implied learning a different and new way of thinking and feeling. The noticeable keyword *wild stage* generates an overall picture that teaching bilingual students Swedish, as a second language is problematic, but necessary for their intellectual development and assimilation. According to Hyltenstam (1999: 183), it was characteristic of the 1960s education policy in Sweden that “migrants and minority students” were assumed to “not have the semantic depth in the same way as Swedish students have, or that bilingual students have in their first language”. Hylland Eriksen (2002:123) argues that policies of assimilation have often been implemented with the best of intentions, as they were believed to help minority groups to achieve equivalent rights and improve their social position or standing in society.

Mother tongue as a tuition language

The Government Official Report of 1960 (SOU 1960:41) also points out the positive aspects of education in the student's mother tongue. This Report (SOU 1960:41) refers to a UNESCO report discussing positive aspects of students' learning in their own mother tongue:

The best tool of teaching is the student's mother tongue. If a second language, due to the circumstances, has to be the language of instruction in higher classes, it does not necessarily follow that this should be done from

THE STRONG SOCIETY – COHESIVENESS AND HOMOGENIZATION AS AN IDEAL 1957-1965

the beginning; it should be introduced gradually. The student's acquisition of this second language is not delayed when the mother tongue is used for the initial teaching process. (SOU, 1960:41:74)

The authors of Government Official Report thus reproduce the arguments in the UNESCO report and as such provide, in a sense, a more balanced perspective on bilingualism. In the Government Official Report of 1960 (SOU 1960:41:74) as a whole, the possibility of mother tongue education is discussed in a manner that serves the purposes of the nation state: assimilation of minority students in the Swedish education system. The alleged positive aspects of mother tongue education are taken into account, however:

Some researchers have found assertions of the disadvantages of bilingualism to be one-sided and exaggerated, and have instead pointed to its positive aspects. Firstly, the mastery of two languages often gives insight into two more or less different cultures, thus widening one's experience and enriching one's life. It is also emphasized that bilingual people have favorable conditions for further language learning; they are practically trained in the speaking and thinking of two languages, constantly changing from one to the other. So-called 'moving' language proficiency makes it easier for the bilingual individual to learn a third language than for the monolingual one to learn a second (SOU 1960:41:71)

By pointing out the benefits of bilingualism, it is claimed that the disadvantages of bilingualism had been exaggerated. It is suggested here that students can learn in both languages in school. Previous research on bilingualism, which I accounted for in Chapter 1, emphasizes that bilingual students often find it easy to learn even a third language³⁰ and that there are, furthermore, "no studies showing that a consistent bilingual education would give negative results" (Hyltenstam, 1999: 185).

³⁰ For broader information regarding the benefits of mother tongue education for bilingual students' learning see, for example, Cummins (1986, 2011), Garcia (2009), Thomas & Colliers (1997), Hyltenstam (1996, 1999), Lainio (1999, 2013), Jessner & Mayr-Keiler (2017), and McKelvey (2017).

Nevertheless, organizing mother tongue education is regarded as difficult. For example, it is claimed that “in some ways, a bilingual group of students poses on society difficult problems”, so that the education system needs to figure out how the school is to teach bilingual children in the best possible way:

In some respects, a bilingual group poses difficult problems for society. One such problem is how the school should best provide education for children who are or will be bilingual. This issue is particularly difficult in areas such as the Sami living area in Sweden, where the population is linguistically heterogeneous, i.e., composed of a majority and a minority in mixed settlements. (SOU 1960:41: 71)

Mother tongue education during the first years of schooling was considered, but as it would necessarily entail “multiple modifications to the school programs” it was seen as “obviously out of the question”:

The actual circumstances would of course imply multiple modifications to the school program; the Sami language ever becoming a tuition language [at school] is obviously out of the question. (SOU 1960:41: 75)

Giving Sami children the right to use their mother tongue as their main tuition language at school was seen as “obviously out of the question”. Instead, mother tongue education was to be used as a helpful tool at school. In the lowest grades, teaching should be provided in the mother tongue. Swedish should not be the main tuition language until children were eight to ten years of age (SOU, 1960:41:74). The ambition was to use the Sami children’s mother tongue only until they had learned Swedish. Parents were told that such a language arrangement would be beneficial for their children, as their mother tongue instruction would not in any way delay their learning of Swedish:

If parents are concerned that the acquisition of the second language [Swedish] will be delayed because of the initial teaching in the mother tongue, the school should try to convince them that they need not be afraid, and try to persuade them to accept mother tongue education [SOU 1960:41:74]. The aim should be: Sami in the beginning as a language to aid

THE STRONG SOCIETY – COHESIVENESS AND HOMOGENIZATION AS AN IDEAL 1957-1965

the newcomer at school; special teaching in the new language, Swedish, very early; gradual introduction of Swedish as the language of instruction. The parents should be informed that such an arrangement is beneficial to the overall outcome of the school education and that it does not have to be detrimental to the child's learning of Swedish. (SOU 1960:41: 75)

The authors of the 1960 Report (1960:41) further argue that:

The student's work with the Swedish language should include a comparison moment, focusing on the significant differences between the Swedish and Sami languages in order to determine what causes his accent when speaking Swedish. He must practice keeping the two languages apart; it is only by doing so that he can learn to speak either or both of them (...) The best proficiency in Swedish ought to be gained through a 'qualified bilingualism', which demands that even the student's native Sami language is to some degree nourished at school. (SOU 1960:41:76)

Learning Swedish should be done through "a qualified bilingualism". Successively, students whose mother tongue was not Swedish were to master Swedish as a schooling language in order to take part in the mainstream education process. The Sami students' mother tongue was not to be used as a schooling language, rather, the goal was the gradual introduction of Swedish as the main language of instruction:

The question of the Sami children's opportunity to learn Swedish will be further explained here. One would like to think that the most efficient way is simply to let them attend school with children who do not speak Sami and acquire the new language through them. Experience also shows that many Sami children who have come to a Swedish-speaking environment have managed to learn quite a great deal of Swedish in a short time. However, two conditions are required for such a result. Partly, the young Sami children should be so few and so spread, preferably only a few in each class, so that a Sami-speaking group cannot form and isolate itself from the majority peers. And partly, the dominant spoken language in the students' community must be Swedish. (SOU 1960:41:75)

Since the objective was the successive introduction of Swedish as a second language, the solution was to "simply let them attend school with non-Sami children in order to acquire the new lan-

guage”. In order to enable this integration of the bilingual students, there was to be “only a few in each class” and they should live in communities where the majority of Sami would have to “be Swedish”. In this way, the school authorities attempted to increase the opportunities for Sami students to learn Swedish. There is a concern about learning Swedish in the most efficient way, which at the same time positions the mother tongue as less valuable than Swedish. It is implicitly perceived as a hindrance to the goals of inclusion in the ordinary school:

The fact that some children cannot bring their mother tongue to school and into the classroom, either as a school subject or as a conversational language it is perceived as less valuable than the new language one’s teacher and comrades speak. With such an inferior position of the mother tongue, which is such an important element in the childhood environment, it is likely that a sense of insecurity and rootlessness is created, which can hardly be beneficial for personal development (SOU 1960:41: 72)

This positioning of the inferior status of mother tongue is seen to lead to a sense of inferiority, insecurity and rootlessness for many minority students. Anderson (2006) argues that the idea of a nation presupposes a community between all citizens, in the past as well as the future. The nation state cannot be imagined otherwise. Much of the concern of Swedish nation state regarding this language policy was the issue of assimilation into the Swedish school system, which minority students living in Sweden needed to attain. In conclusion, the message to the minority students was that, in a long run, they would need to leave their mother tongue behind in order to learn Swedish as soon as possible.

Swedish – one language for all

The idea of the school as not only a tool for the fulfillment of individual education goals but also as an important societal institution for the social upbringing of children into good citizens, however, did place great emphasis on the importance of a shared Swedish language. The goals to be achieved were thus strongly con-

nected to a clear and correct usage of Swedish, in terms of both speech and the writing process:

Language is important for the individual's personality development as well as for the communication between people. It can be said to constitute 'the foundation for human growth'. Seeking the promotion of students' language development during school is therefore one of the most important tasks of the school. (SOU 1961:30: 166) ³¹

Along with this, the Swedish language in teaching contexts is mentioned as the first language of all students – irrespective of their linguistic background. The mastery of Swedish is depicted as “*the foundation for human growth*”. Swedish is positioned as crucial for the fulfillment of educational goals as well as the goal of human growth:

If the language difference reflects a cultural difference, one can expect the classroom to become heterogeneous in terms of the students' experience to which the teacher must relate; the basic rule of pedagogy, which states that teaching should be based on the accessible and familiar, becomes difficult to realize in cases in which the whole class does not have a certain fundament of shared experience. In cases in which students with a mother tongue other than the language of instruction have *partly* learned Swedish before starting school, the situation is of course somewhat better, provided that the teacher adapts the pace of the lesson to this group of students. (SOU 1960: 41: 73, italics added by author)

Bilingual students did not have the benefits of using their mother tongue in fulfilling their educational goals, because the idea was to cultivate an environment in which “the whole class” could “have a certain fundament of shared experience”. The unifying monolingual policy, emphasizing assimilation, was seen as the only option for social upbringing and education in schools in Sweden. “It was about a relatively un-reflected approach towards other languages – the majority language was considered to be the only natural language to be used” (Lainio 2013: 70). Richardsson (2010) claims

³¹ In this quotation the text authors are referring to the Swedish language.

that the language needs of migrant students at first was not experienced as a major problem. The attention was thus not at all directed to migrants' language needs in the curriculum of 1962. "The practical efforts were rather aimed at completely teaching children to understand and speak Swedish, the objectives were the complete assimilation into the Swedish society" (Richardsson, 2010: 219). In a related manner, Eklund (2003) argues that "up to the middle of the 1960s, it was assimilation and Swedification that were on the policy agenda for both domestic minorities and migrants, although this ideology was not formulated in any migration, minority, or education policy goals" (Eklund, 2003: 137). The motives behind this Swedification politics, which has historically been aimed at domestic minorities, can be seen as an aspiration to strengthen the idea of national unity, but the ambitions of welfare politics have also been conducive to these assimilation aspirations (Lainio, 1999; Hyltenstam, 1999; Borevi, 1998 in: Eklund, 2003: 137).

One school for all – development theory as ideology

The 1957 School Committee argued that children's psychological development levels and abilities vary with age. The Committee furthermore assumed that children differed in terms of intelligence, and wanted this to be investigated. The ideology of the time was based on development theory, assuming that individual development occurs spontaneously, and independent of the surrounding environment (SOU1992: 94: 71). The idea was that schools should adapt the teaching according to individual children's abilities and needs:

In order to achieve its goal of comprehensively utilizing the individual student's developmental opportunities, the school must adapt its teaching to the students' abilities, conditions and needs. The requirement for differentiation derives from the differences between students in these respects. (SOU 1961:30:118)

THE STRONG SOCIETY – COHESIVENESS AND
HOMOGENIZATION AS AN IDEAL 1957-1965

This resulted in recommendations that students be able to study different sets of subjects, or courses of varying difficulty within the same subject. Students could be taught within the framework of their class in groups or individually, according to their abilities and interests:

Regarding the issue of differentiation, several aspects can be distinguished. Individual differentiations include the developmental conditions of students at different ages, effects of differentiation based on students' knowledge acquisition and general fostering, and differentiation in providing students guidance in order to achieve the appropriate education goals, as well as a number of many other differentiation aspects of a more special nature for the school forms that are currently responsible for a differentiated education at this age level of compulsory school. (SOU 1961:30:117)

As is evident from the quotations above, the discussion regarding the individualization of teaching that occurred was not directed at students' linguistic needs. The text authors above pointed out the importance of acknowledging not only the differences between individual students but also those within any single student:

The concept of individual differences contains two essentially different types of differences. One kind is called *interpersonal* and refers to differences *between* different individuals in a particular characteristic. The second type concerns differences *within* an individual, in terms of the different individual characteristics, i.e. *intra*-individual differences. (SOU 1961:30: 9)

The Committee thus argued for the need of research on significant *intra*-individual differences, meaning that individuals are often more talented in some areas of subjects and less talented in others (Lundgren, 2002:236):

Differences can thus be distinguished not only between individuals, but also between different characteristics within one and the same individual. The latter kind of differences, the so-called *intra*-individual differences, is also important in designing the differentiation aspect. The more the individual's prerequisites vary between different individual talents and the more his interests in different occupations differ, the greater the need to

give the differentiation a form that accommodates different interests of individual students. (SOU 1961:30: 118)

The quote above shows that there can be great differences within the same individual in terms of motivation and capability for knowledge development (SOU 1960:13). The school reform was to bring an overall unification to the school system. Despite the important role given to the issues concerning students' individual needs in the School Committee, mother tongue education was not taken into account.

Fostering free, independent and harmonious individuals

The 1957 School Committee was to complete its work in good time in order to enable a legislative decision at the 1962 parliament session. In the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) the policy aspirations of one school for all materialized. The key objective in this curriculum was that the individual student should be at the center of all educational activities, but how can we understand “individual” in this context? In the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) the individual is positioned as a student who has different talents, abilities, and interests. The task of the school is seen to be that of enabling each individual's personal development, to produce individuals who are “free, independent and harmonious”:

The individual student stands at the center of the school's fostering activities. Helping each student to comprehensive development is the focal point for the work of the school. This means that, with due regard for the student's human dignity and knowledge about his own individual nature and conditions, the school shall strive to promote his personal maturation into a free, independent and harmonious person (...) in one school for all, where the greatest possible consideration is to be given to the individual student's interest and ability, the performance requirements within one and the same class must vary. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 13- 17)

THE STRONG SOCIETY – COHESIVENESS AND HOMOGENIZATION AS AN IDEAL 1957-1965

By positioning students using the words “his” and *his own individual nature*, the curriculum implicitly suggests that the individual is male. Implicitly, then, the school promotes (only) “his” personal development into a free, independent and harmonious citizen. Furthermore, the individual is positioned as an active citizen in society. That is, the school should strive to make students complete and independent individuals:

Thus, the notion of fostering includes not only the teaching itself and its content but all the different aspects that influence the individual, such as the school work and the school life in all its forms, which the school should take advantage of. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 14)

As such, the educational goals of the school were a combination of education and social fostering with the aim of unifying society. Education entailed not only the teaching and its content, but also all other aspects by which the school and society influenced the individual student.

Fostering good members of the domestic society

A dominating discourse during the period depicts the school as a key institution in society and as responsible for making students into productive members of society. By way of education, students were to become good citizens of a democratic society:

The school is a part of society. If it is to succeed in fostering its students to become good members of society, it must give them knowledge about society and strengthen their affinity with it. (Lgr 62: 14)

Students are thus positioned as future good citizens of the country. The school was furthermore seen as responsible for teaching students’ Christian norms and values, each child was to be socialized into a Christian worldview:

The school, by teaching courses on Christianity and subjects of social- and nature-oriented studies, will bring students into the surrounding reality, and seek in the past an illumination of the relationship between past and present, as well as orient them in the issues of life philosophy. (Lgr 62: 15)

As the wording above indicates, the school was expected to provide an overall social fostering and education based on the common frame of reference for all citizens – irrespective of ethnic background. The arguments regarding students' individual differences were focused on heterogeneity based on the theory of psychological development regarding students' individual abilities and needs. The formation of the unity school was seen as important for the creation of the strong society, providing equal opportunities for all.

This policy was driven by a strong desire to raise the general level of education, indicating the creation of better educational opportunities for previously disadvantaged social groups of students. In the new Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), the individual student was assumed to be at the center of all educational activities. The individual was positioned as a student who had different talents, abilities, and interests. The school was then given the responsibility of “promoting his personal fostering into a free, independent and harmonious citizen” who can operate and maintain the democratic society (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 13).

Fostering contacts with far-away people

As depicted in the Curriculum of 1962, the individual is also to relate to the outside world and ‘far-away societies’, and be taught the values of having good relations with such societies. By way of education, students were to develop “a greater understanding of people’s lives and conditions within other, far-away societies, and teach them the importance of good relationships between peoples and international cooperation.” (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962:18). The curriculum bears a stamp of a monocultural perspective, in that it suggests by implication that the importance of gaining knowledge and understanding of people’s lives and conditions concerns only people who are *far away*. It does not apply to, e.g., the lives and living conditions of minority groups within the

THE STRONG SOCIETY – COHESIVENESS AND
HOMOGENIZATION AS AN IDEAL 1957-1965

country. It was considered necessary to develop an understanding of people who were at a distance. Learning foreign languages was also a requirement of the time. Students were expected to impartially gain knowledge about different peoples, their cultures, religions, traditions, and living conditions:

Among many other things, this purpose is promoted if the students are led to a living knowledge of people's environments and living conditions in different parts of our earth. The teaching should further contribute to the creation of actual knowledge based on understanding, tolerance, and respect for people with different skin colours, languages, beliefs, customs, and concepts of society. (SOU 1961:30: 177)

The importance of being able to speak more than one language was directed at international contact in a global perspective, at foreign peoples' cultures, languages, and living traditions "in different parts of our earth". Furthermore: "Mobility in society and [...] contacts between nations" were seen to characterize Sweden at the time, which in turn was seen to "place demands on the ability to master one or more foreign languages" (SOU 1961:30:104). Here, the word "foreign" represents otherness. "They" were assumed to be different in terms of language, culture, norms and values, as compared to ethnic Swedish people.

Being able to speak more than one language was thus strongly linked to students' presumed future contact with far-away people on the planet, while the school's activities were monoculturally oriented. The individual who is absent in the curriculum is the student with an ethnic, linguistic, or cultural background other than Swedish. When it comes to first-language teaching, this did not extend to students with a mother tongue other than Swedish. An understanding of the importance of good relations between peoples leading different lives and experiencing different conditions was emphasized. However, this was an expressed ambition only in contacts with far-away people, which is why this ambition in no way challenged the monolingual Swedishness.

Fostering students as national assets of the Swedish homeland

In the Government Official Report of 1961 (SOU 1961:30), the idea of one common society for all is an expressed goal, and as such it was seen to be important that school system provide students with both an education and social upbringing. Students' individual talents at this time came to be regarded as national assets that needed to be safeguarded in the same way as natural resources:

Talent is beginning to be regarded as a national asset, and is to be used in the same way as natural resources. Society has generally become more complicated, and therefore requires a longer orientational preparation before young people can enter into their adult duties. (SOU 1961:30: 104)

According to the quote above, maintaining students' talents in the long term would entail an investment by society as a whole. The Curriculum of 1962 specifies the social fostering of students to allow them to embrace the democratic principles of tolerance, cooperation and equality between the sexes as well as nations and ethnic groups:

The school's social fostering should therefore establish and further develop such characteristics of students that, in a time of strong development, can support and strengthen democracy's principles of tolerance, cooperation, and equal rights between sexes, nations and peoples. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962:18)

In this context, the policymakers at the time did not take into account that there were students *within* Sweden with bilingual competence and talent. On the contrary, it was assumed that all students in Sweden would reach an understanding of the values of being part of the Nordic community and the homeland:

Based on the study of the home community and Swedish society, teaching should aim to create an understanding of the values of the Nordic community, international cooperation, and peace between nations. (SOU 1961:30: 177)

Sweden and the homeland were linked to the common values of the Nordic community. Students in Sweden with an ethnicity other than Swedish were not mentioned in the Government Official Report of 1961 (SOU 1961:30). This indicates an overall unawareness of policymakers regarding the presence of bilingual students in Sweden, as the only aspects mentioned (and that teaching must be adapted to) were students' talent, intellectual ability, and class background. In the main, the Government Official Report of 1961 (SOU 1961:30) and the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) position students as national assets of the country, to be taught how to become good citizens in a country of free, independent, harmonious people – irrespective of their linguistic or cultural background. This gives the school an image as a unifying institution that was meant to develop education and social upbringing strongly based on monolingual policy in a strong welfare society.

Social upbringing through a common cultural heritage and Christianity

Within the framework of traditional monocultural arguments, the school was positioned as an institution that was strongly connected to the nation and its cultural heritage. In this context, cultural heritage was considered significant and was seen as a precondition for school education and teaching, as is clearly evident in the following quote:

The interaction between school and society must be such that the school not only fulfils a social function that corresponds to society's current needs, but also in the long term becomes a positive creative force in social development. As a social institution, the school's task is largely conveying the cultural heritage and passing it on. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 14)

The school as a social institution was thus given the responsibility to convey and cultivate the Swedish and Nordic cultural heritage

based on Christian norms and values. The keywords in this discourse are cultural heritage and Christianity. A Swedish cultural heritage based on Christian tradition, as it was argued, has an impact on social life. Hylland - Eriksen (2002) also emphasizes national and cultural homogeneity as an ideal that is connected to cultural similarities within the nation state. The common Swedish cultural standpoint was to be a (shared) point of reference for all members of society:

Religion belongs to the reality to which the school has to orient and provide knowledge about. The Christian religion is an essential part of the foundation of the ethical and social values of our society on which our co-existence is based. Knowledge of Christianity is necessary for understanding Western culture and social life, both in the past and in the present. The school's religious education must therefore, in our cultural environment, primarily be a teaching of Christianity: the content of biblical writings, the history and denominations of Christianity, and Christian beliefs and ethics. Knowledge of the non-Christian religions is also included in the orientation the school should provide. (SOU 1961:30: 176)

The wording regarding teaching the subject of Christian knowledge in compulsory school is found in the general part of the curriculum (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962):

Christianity is an essential part for the basis of the religious, ethical, and social values on which our culture, society and coexistence are based, and knowledge about it is necessary for understanding Western culture and social life in past times as well as today. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen: 221)

On the other hand, the necessity for students to gain the knowledge of the non-Christian religions is also pointed out. Nevertheless, the requirement to understand the Western culture and society in a historical context is strongly emphasized:

The school's religious teaching must therefore, in our cultural environment, primarily be a teaching of Christianity, but knowledge of non-Christian religions is also included in the orientation the school should provide. This is particularly important at a time when contacts between peoples and cultures are becoming increasingly lively and increasingly necessary. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 221)

Preserving the Swedish cultural heritage became an important educational goal, for the fostering of common values on which society was to be based. This is further emphasized in “Goals and Guidelines” in the introduction to the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962):

Through its ethical fostering, the school will give him a good idea of the moral norms that must apply in the interrelationship between people and that uphold the rule of law in a democratic society. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 16)

One of the keywords of this policy was the respect of common values in terms of society, tradition and cultural heritage. A reproduction of a monocultural norm can be found in many contexts, here in the view that the Swedish school must foster its students into good citizens in order to strengthen cohesion in society. Good knowledge of the common national values was seen to be of great importance for the individual’s social upbringing and education, across the Government Official Report of 1961 (SOU 1961:31) and the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962). The concept of the Swedish language in this period is seen as static, not influenced by other languages, cultures or societal formations. Swedish was also expressed in connection to the school’s task of transmitting the (mono) cultural heritage to future generations (SOU 1961:30; Eklund, 2003: 179).

Concluding discussion

In this chapter I have delineated the overall mother tongue education discourse characterized by an order of discourse entailing the discourse of the strong society, the discourse of conservative values, and a monolingual discourse. The discourse of the strong society was formed by the keywords *social fostering*, *free*, *harmonious*, and *students as individual talents and national assets*, supported by a discourse of conservative values formed by the keywords *homogeneous nation*, *cultural heritage*, *the Swedish homeland*, *Nordic community*, and

Christian worldview; this along with a monolingual *unity school* whereby the monolingual discourse was formed on keywords such as *Swedish as unifying language*, *certain fundament of shared experience*, *bilingualism as a harmful inconvenience*, and *wild stage*.

The discourse of the strong society characterized the period of formation of the unity school, also referred to as one school for all. According to this discourse, the state politics on the school's mission was to support students' personal development as a free, independent and harmonious people, that is, to educate good members of society who can operate in and maintain the democratic society. Not only was the unity school expected to create good members of society, it should also offer connections with more distant social formations of far-away people, which in no way challenged the monolingual unity school. To promote and encourage this, schools must take advantage of individual talents since they were seen as an asset to society, as national assets that needed to be maintained in the same way as natural resources. Preserving the national values would be conveyed by the ethical values that are applied in Swedish society. The discourse of conservative values based its rhetoric on the importance of Swedish cultural heritage and the valuable understanding of the homeland and the Nordic community. The basic view expressed by the monolingual discourse was a unifying principal of a cohesive language in a strong welfare society. Bilingualism was connected to the problems bilingual students were assumed to experience, as they "never completely master" Swedish as a second language. In some way, "bilingual students put society in front of difficult problems" (SOU 1960:41: 71).

For bilingual students, studying Swedish as *foreign language* was seen to imply a new way of thinking and feeling. It was assumed that minority students had to learn Swedish so as to be able to "rise above the wild stage". However, educating students in a mother tongue other than Swedish during regular school activities was seen as obviously out of the question. Instead, mother tongue

education was to be used as an auxiliary tool at school. Parents' concern in this sense was not that minority students wanted more mother tongue education, instead, they wanted their students to have access to the Swedish language and school system. Bilingualism was thus positioned as an obstacle to the goals of assimilation, and Swedish was seen as "*the foundation for human growth*" for all students.³² Like Anderson (2006), Gellner (1983) emphasizes that the idea of homogeneity is manifested in terms of similarities in a population when it comes to standardization and educating citizens, especially the role of language since industrialization. "Social and linguistic inclusion was accounted for in the pre-globalization age by the nation-state ideology implementing the one nation-one people-one language doctrine into practice" (Maráč & Adamo, 2017:1).

Hence, the role of mother tongue education was viewed with suspicion with thought to the strong unifying principal of one nation-one language in a strong society. Instead, mother tongue education was to be used as a helpful tool at school for only so long as it took to learn Swedish. To sum up, the recontextualization of mother tongue education discourse shows that the political discourse of the strong society, along with a discourse of conservative values, encouraged the creation of a strong welfare society. Similarly, the monolingual and monocultural discourses were based on the notion that all students in Sweden were linguistically and culturally ethnic Swedes and that Swedish was their cohesive and unifying language. As a result, this discursive period from 1957 to 1965 is characterized by cohesiveness and homogenization since the monolingual unity school, as an arena of interest, was largely the result of a political consensus between all political actors in Swedish Parliament.

³² SOU 1961:30: 166.

6

Fostering bilingualism and an intercultural society 1966-1988

In this chapter I analyze mother tongue education policy in a period during which mother tongue education gains its first momentum of policy change. I initially present an introduction regarding the increase in labor migration to Sweden, and in the following sections I present a discussion characterizing the start of mother tongue education in Sweden. Lastly, I present a concluding discussion.

Labor market migration and the need for mother tongue education

In order to meet the labor market demands, Sweden like many other West European countries allowed almost free labor immigration in the 1950s and 1960s. Migrants came from the neighboring Nordic countries and southern Europe. The idea was not that labor migrants would stay in Sweden for a long time, but rather that they would return to their home countries when the labor market no longer needed workers. The majority of labor migrants during this period, however, came to live their working lives in Sweden. Many migrants arrived from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Finland, and other Nordic countries. The military coup in Greece, the Vietnam War, the persecution of Polish Jews, and the Prague Spring protests of 1968 led to an increase in refugees to Sweden (SOU 2004: 74: 30). Consequently, the number of people with a mother tongue other than Swedish increased. During the period of the “1960s and 70s Sweden’s official political and ideological attitudes towards migration and the language education response to immi-

gration shifted” (Reath Warren, 2017: 13). Sweden went from a policy of assimilation to one of pluralism and multiculturalism. “Multiculturalism has been promoted by way of three types of policies (i) the constitution, (ii) language-in-education policies, and (iii) citizenship policies” (Milani, 2008:29). According to the Government Official Report of 1996 (SOU 1996:55), when migration policy was designed in the early 1970s the state needed to distance itself from the previously prevailing view. As a result, new ideas about the importance of labor migrants gaining “immediate access to welfare state membership on the same basis as natives, so as not to undermine core principles of universal egalitarianism” began to develop Borevi (2014: 710). That is, the Government Official Report of 1966 (SOU 1966:55) practically marked the start of mother tongue education in Sweden.

Furthermore, as pointed out by Borevi (2014:710), a fundamentally new Swedish model for migrant integration developed in the 1970s, according to which “the general ‘integration logic’ of the welfare state was valid also for immigrants and their families”. Viewed in the broader societal context, the legal right to mother tongue education granted to children of migrants in 1966 was a result of the increase in foreign workers in society (SOU 1966:55). Migrants were now given the opportunity to receive mother tongue education. Efforts were aimed at giving them full access to schools and facilitate integration in society. This led to an increased demand for mother tongue education for students whose mother tongue was not Swedish. The increase in migrant children, along with the challenges involved with giving all students equal opportunity, affected schools since the welfare state was to provide equal education for all. Esping-Andersen (1990:22) emphasizes that social democratic welfare states have the objective of providing equal education for all individuals in society. The Social Democratic Government pushed the introduction of mother tongue education in order to include students from different social backgrounds. The Swedish welfare state aimed to both facilitate

migrant students' inclusion in Swedish society and, by way of providing mother tongue education, enable good contact with people in their home country:

Two different types of measures in the school area can be considered for migrant children: partly, measures to ease the children's adaptation to the Swedish school system, e.g. the organization of support in learning Swedish; and partly, measures that would allow the children to maintain contact with their parents' [home countries'] cultural environment, e.g. the introduction of education in the children's [respective] mother tongues. (SOU 1966:55: 234)

As mentioned, mother tongue education was now acknowledged for the very first time, in a Government Official Report published in 1966 (SOU 1966:55). This document was the first to distance itself from the previous assimilation school policy, which until 1965 had been based on the linguistic and cultural assimilation of minority students (see Chapter 5) (SOU 1966:55: 72). This policy change led to new legislation, which in 1966 gave bilingual students in Sweden the right to apply for mother tongue education. At the time, mother tongue education was predominantly provided to minority students whose mother tongue was Finnish or Estonian, mainly in the municipalities with a majority Finnish-speaking population (SOU 1966:55). Mother tongue education for bilingual Finnish and Estonian students was given a special position. The motivation for this was further described in the Government Official Report of 1966 (SOU 1966:55:237):

There are only two language minorities who have a special position in this context and whose problems must therefore be treated in a separate way, namely the Finnish- and Estonian-speaking groups in Sweden. The Finnish-speaking group occupies an exceptional position because of its size and proximity to Finland. For reasons of reciprocity, consideration should also be given to the laws and supports that in Finland satisfy the interests of Swedish speakers. The Estonian group has proven to be strongly committed to issues of education, and has – largely with its own resources but also with support from the Swedish state and municipal authorities –

created educational opportunities for its children. Equivalent support for other migrant minority groups is however missing. (SOU 1966:55: 237)

However, at the same time the opportunity to learn mother tongue was also made possible for many other bilingual students whose mother tongue was, for example, Italian, Latvian, Polish, Hungarian, or German. In these cases, churches organized mother tongue education, sometimes in the form of “afternoon schools, which are also open to Swedish students” (SOU 1966: 55: 246). Both churches and various types of ethnic associations “provided supplementary tuition mainly in their respective mother tongue, but also in other subjects related to the history and culture of each of these countries” (SOU 1966: 55: 246). The organization of mother tongue education was different depending on the school and municipality. The common form of this education was organized as an optional school activity once or twice a week. Commonly, the opportunity for migrants to learn mother tongue education was scheduled outside the ordinary school timetable:

Some supplementary education has been organized by parents or various minority associations, which have generally funded this education themselves. The organization of this activity is very different in different groups and in different locations. The most common form of such supplementary teaching can be found in so-called complementary schools, which operate once or twice a week during the school year, but holiday courses also occur. (SOU 1966:55: 246)

This new approach enabled migrant students to participate in their mother tongue education outside ordinary school time. Nevertheless, minority students gaining sufficient knowledge of Swedish as the schooling language was seen as the crucial issue. Measures were taken to facilitate “children's adaptation into the Swedish school system by organizing and supporting the special education in Swedish language”, while at the same time efforts were made to teach children in their mother tongue as a way of enabling them “to maintain contact with their parents’ home countries and cultures” (SOU 1966:55: 234). As a result, migrants had been given

the opportunity to develop their own linguistic and cultural heritage, but only within the framework of the basic values of the mainstream community (Brantefors, 2011). The organization of mother tongue education hardly meant any substantial use of it in the students' daily activities. At least rhetorically, it was a significant message to bilingual students and their parents, namely the recognition of their home language and their cultural background originating in their country's history, geography and culture, with no need to "become Swedish".

Lundahl et al. (2013:501) emphasize that "... free, high quality education should be provided, regardless of the student's background". Concretely, this meant that migrants were enabled to have the same linguistic and cultural opportunities, rights and obligations as the rest of the population. Compared to the discursive period of 1957-1965, the discussion presented in the Government Official Report of 1966 (SOU 1966:55) signaled a fundamental change, suggesting that there were other students in society than merely those with Swedish as their mother tongue. With the serious discussion of mother tongue education in the Government Official Report of 1966 (SOU 1966:55), the government policy change towards bilingualism and intercultural society was evident.

An increased understanding of 'new' cultures and language

In the new Curriculum of 1969 one notes that many concepts are undergoing changes, not only in terms of their meaning, but also in how new formulations that are used indicate something else. That is, the new National Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) does not discuss social upbringing or Swedish cultural heritage in the same way as the previous Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) does:

In its mission, the school as a social institution has to a great degree the task of conveying the cultural heritage and passing it on. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 14)

These formulations were reformulated in the new curriculum of 1969 in a way that signals a change in cultural values:

The school must also provide students with perspective on the changeability of society in order that they may better understand the conditions of our time and convey the valuable aspects of the past. (Skolöverstyrelsen 1969: 11)

As seen above, the words emphasized in the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) – “conveying the cultural heritage and passing it on” – are replaced by the new keywords in the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969): “convey the valuable from the past”. This language change signifies another way of looking at cultural matters. This new discourse in the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) indicates a change towards a comprehensive understanding of our time in relation to the values of the past.

The new phrasing signals that the school should not only teach the majority’s cultural heritage but also increase the understanding of other minority groups in society. For example, the Finnish language was included in the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen 1969). Finnish students were now mentioned, as Finnish-speaking students, and it was stated that the aim of teaching them Finnish was to help them “preserve and develop their mother tongue” (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969: 216). Finnish students were hence positioned as individuals who needed to maintain and develop their mother tongue in the same way as the majority-speaking students. Besides, in the previous Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), the matters of religious teaching were strongly connected to the understandings of *Western culture*, meaning Christianity was portrayed as the foundation not only of religious values but also of the “ethical and social values” characterizing the Swedish culture (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962: 221).

The keywords *Western culture* and *cultural heritage* no longer exist in the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969). Instead, the gaze was directed towards other people's cultures and values. With regard to the teaching, the school:

should strive to move away from the unilateral national and Western European perspectives. Instead, it should strive to seek openness, even to the views and values of other cultures, in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969: 48)

The new sets of words show a move away from their older objective of assimilation and the preservation of the uniquely Swedish or Nordic. Now, the goal was to give students in Sweden a comprehensive understanding of other cultures' views and values. The schools were given the responsibility of trying to move away from the uniformly national, Nordic and Western European perspectives. Rather, teachers were to strive to understand, and teach students about, the views and values of other cultures (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969: 48).

Migrant students – as children of new citizens

In the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), the keywords used have the goal of including everyone, irrespective of language background. There are numerous differences in several paragraphs between the previous Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) and the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969). They both discuss the individual student based on development theory, including the school's role in relation to the individual student's development. In the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) it is stated that it is the task of the school "to help and stimulate each student in order to get the best education and to develop the student's essential conditions, both as an individual and as a citizen of a democratic society". However, it is also stated that it is of great importance to "widen the student's awareness about the national community and the outside

world” (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969: 12). Interestingly, the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) signifies a *new* approach to migrant students, speaking of them as *new citizens*. They are now (but were not in the past) mentioned in the general part of the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), where they are positioned as children of new citizens:

Since attitudes to the outside world are formed very early in children’s understanding, already in the first years of education the school should connect the teaching with international conditions in the outside world [...]. The school can also assume that more and more students are coming into contact with foreign environments and beliefs through *the children of new citizens*, who have joined Swedish society through immigration. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969: 48; italics added by author)

Moreover, the issue of gender was introduced as an important social category. In this sense, different aspects of equality between men and women in all fields of society, as well as students’ responsibility regarding international cooperation, were emphasized as crucial. According to the guidelines and objectives of the Curriculum of 1969, the school was to “promote equality between genders” as well as “promote students’ sense of international co-responsibility” (Skolöverstyrelsen 1969: 42). The Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) thus no longer implicitly constructs individual students as males with a Swedish ethnic background. Also, students with different languages and ethnicities are mentioned explicitly and migrant students are referred to as children of new citizens. Previously, differences between students were only discussed in terms of their different class backgrounds and individual abilities.

In the new Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), the problem of language development for students whose mother tongue was not Swedish was more noticeable. The opportunity for supportive teaching in the Swedish language and in their own home language was discussed (Richardson 2010: 219).

The recognition of migrant students as *children of new citizens* was as a result of the significant increase in labor migrants in society. In the late 1960s there was "...a realisation among politicians, policy-makers, service providers and citizens at large that many labour migrants had come to stay regardless of perhaps early intentions to work there and then return home" (Gruber & Rabo, 2014: 59). The embrace of their home language and cultural expression occurred subsequently, as the state needed to provide equal education for all. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), "Sweden started to develop a specific policy approach to promoting immigrants' integration into Swedish society already in the 1960s" (Borevi, 2014:710). The children of new citizens and their presence in Swedish schools were also assumed to contribute to the internationalization of the school so that more (Swedish) students would come into contact with foreign individuals and environments. "The late 1960s is also a period with great interest in and concern about internationalization and international solidarity." (Gruber & Rabo, 2014: 58).

In the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), an educational goal was to increase international understanding and cooperation among students (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969: 48). All these new elements give the impression that students with an ethnicity other than Swedish have now begun to be acknowledged in the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969). Implicitly, then, the teaching became more related to the broader values and elements of new citizens in the country of Sweden. The fact that mother tongue education started being introduced in the Government Official Report of 1966 (SOU 1966:55) and partly in the new Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) indicated discursive changes regarding the new languages in the schools and society, but there was still a long way to go.

The new social democratic equality: enabling bilingualism and cultural freedom of choice

From 1966 to 1976, Sweden had Social Democratic Government. During this period, according to Englund (1996), a discourse of non-segregation and the equality of all people of Sweden as a democratic society dominated. The Government, in connection with a proposal submitted by Parliament (Prop. 1968: 142), appointed an investigation committee in order to encourage migrants' adaptation in various areas of society. The committee delivered its results in three appendices in 1971, 1972 and 1974 (SOU 1971:51; SOU 1972:83; SOU 1974:69).³³ The Inquiry suggested that minority issues would be merged with migrant issues, and the Government approved. From then on minority policy came to be an integrated part of migration policy, seen in the Swedish state basically not distinguishing between migrants and domestic minorities (Borevi, 1998:173). Migrants became new ethnic minorities in the new country, similar to the national minorities. According to the investigation committee above, an assimilation policy was no longer sustainable, as it would increase the risk of cultural conflict due to the increased number of migrants in society. Instead, the policy of cultural interaction between the minority and majority cultures was adopted, based on the view that cultural interaction enriches society as a whole (SOU, 1971:51).

As I will account for later in this chapter, the migration policy was promoted through the keywords *equality*, *freedom of choice*, and *cooperation* (Lundh & Olhsson, 1994). Equality meant that migrant groups should have living conditions equal to those of the rest of the population. This meant that migrants should have a material standard of living equivalent to that of Swedes, and be able to in-

³³ The Immigrant Inquiry, appointed in 1968, submitted its partial reports in three appendices: Appendix 1 addressed education in Swedish for immigrants (SOU 1971: 51); Appendix 2 was an interim report on a public interpreting service (SOU 1972: 83); and Appendix 3; Was an mmigrant inquiry (3) regarding immigrants and minority issues, which was delivered to the Government in 1974 (SOU 1974:69).

tegrate into society through education in the Swedish language. But in addition to this, it was considered important that migrants and their children be given the opportunity to maintain and practice their own language and culture in the same way as the majority population could preserve and develop theirs. The main focus was to promote guidelines for the new integration policy as well as mother tongue education:

In 1968 the state adopted a decision on the teaching of children who belong to linguistic minorities. Immigrant children in compulsory school can receive special support in education during an introductory period. They can also receive some education in their own mother tongue during ordinary school hours. A development project is under way in order to implement the 1968 decision in practice. (SOU 1971:51:9)

As indicated above, the state wanted to support education for migrant children in primary school already from the initial phase, by stimulating students to become bilingual:

It is essential that the teaching of immigrant children in compulsory school, already in the introductory stage, focus on encouraging the children to become bilingual. An investment in training in Swedish should be made parallel to the training in their own mother tongue. (SOU 1971:51:9)

Hence, migrant students were to have access to Swedish language education and mother tongue education in parallel. It was emphasized that:

Such an investment in Swedish language education neither needs nor shall mean to make it impossible for these children to maintain and develop their native language. According to the opinion of the Immigrant Inquiry, it is also in society's interest that the immigrant children be given the opportunity to become bilingual. (SOU 1971: 51: 59)

The new mother tongue education policy was outlined in a Government Proposition in 1975 (Prop. 1975: 26). The Social Democratic Prime Minister at the time, Olof Palme, outlined the overall goals and guidelines for future migrant and minority policies. Migration and minority policy, it was argued, should be characterized

by an effort to achieve goals of equality between migrants and Swedes (Prop. 1975/26: 1). These equality goals were based on the idea that migrants need to be provided with mother tongue education. This was seen as a central aspect of the nation state’s obligation to provide equal opportunities for all groups in society, and equality between migrants and Swedes. As Lundahl et al. (2013:501) showed, social democratic welfare states emphasize “social and cultural functions of education”, and education “is expected to make a crucial contribution to social inclusion and democratic citizenship”. Efforts were made by the Social Democratic Government to support migrant students’ equal opportunities and access to mother tongue education. It was emphasized that:

Immigration and minority policies should be characterized by an effort to achieve equality between immigrants and Swedes. Immigrants and minorities should be given the opportunity to choose the extent to which they want to embrace Swedish cultural identity or maintain and develop their original identity. (Prop. 1975/26: 1)

In this Proposition, the replacement of the earlier so-called “Swedification” policy was expressed.³⁴ What clearly emerges is that the Government introduced a series of new keywords signaling changes regarding equal opportunities in education, including mother tongue education and its organization in schools. The Government proposed mother tongue education for every migrant child or migrant student whose parents wanted it:

Municipalities should be obliged to provide mother tongue education, but the education should be optional for the student. A significant increase in the current teaching hours (two hours a week) for home language is necessary. Home language teaching should be designed like teaching in a native language. The eligibility to participate in home language teaching should include all children whose parents report that the child’s home language is a language other than Swedish, and that they want such an education. (Prop. 1975/26: 20)

³⁴ See also Veli Tuomela (2002)

Each municipality was to consult the so-called migrant organizations, as well as students and parents, and organize mother tongue teaching in the way that best met the students' development needs. The introduction of mother tongue education in the students' daily school activities was intended to promote equality for "all groups in society":

... all groups in society must have equal opportunities to maintain and develop their mother tongue and to exercise cultural activities. Immigration and minority policy should therefore aim to give members of linguistic minority groups the opportunity to express their own linguistic and cultural identity within the framework of a community of interest, which comprises all of Swedish society. (Prop. 1975:26: 15)

This new policy included the rights of migrants to maintain and develop their native language and cultural identity. Related to the same issue, Lundahl et al. (2013: 501) emphasize that "social democratic education policy traditionally focuses on fostering equality, fairness and public service. Providing equal educational opportunities is seen as crucial both for promoting social justice and for enhancing economic, social and individual development." For example, the set of keywords in the quotation above – "*all groups in society* must have *equal opportunities* to maintain and develop their *mother tongue* and to exercise cultural activities" – contribute to constructing bilingual students as having the same rights as any other citizen in the country to maintain their language and culture.

Intercultural goals were intended to create equality between *migrants* and *Swedes* (Prop.1975: 26: 21). Thus, the new integration policy of the early 1970s enabled cultural freedom and the possibility for mother tongue education for all bilingual individuals who wanted such an education, i.e. the possibility to choose one's own language and cultural identity. The encouragement of mother tongue education at schools became more open, migrants were meant to have opportunities, rights and obligations in the same way as the majority population. This educational policy towards an

embrace of mother tongue education can also be viewed in relation to the support of the Council of Europe (1983), which I will account for later in this chapter.

The Home Language Reform

The Home Language Reform of 1977 was introduced when the Social Democratic Government proposals on mother tongue education were passed by Parliament (Prop. 1975/76). The proposition included mother tongue teaching for migrant children if a language other than Swedish was a living element in their daily home environment (Prop.1975/76:118: 1):

The right to home language training and home language education is proposed for all students in preschool, compulsory school and upper secondary school whose home language other than Swedish is a living element in their home environment. It is proposed that the municipality be obliged to provide home language education for every migrant student whose parents request it. The municipality shall also be obliged to inform migrant students and their parents of the possibility to choose home language instruction. (Prop.1975/76:118: 1)

In connection to this, the Home Language Reform of 1977 was launched as an extension of the guidelines previously launched by the Social Democratic Government. Coming into force on July 1, 1977, the Home Language Reform was the first policy to include the Social Democratic guidelines for mother tongue education in Sweden, and it required a commitment to significant infrastructural and pedagogical reform. The Reform was motivated by a discourse on students' opportunity to express themselves both emotionally and intellectually, in both languages, and was intended to promote their intellectual development, thus, mother tongue education and bilingualism were not, as in earlier periods, seen as harmful (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980: 58):

Children's psychological development emphasizes strong motivation for individuals to develop their own language and culture at this stage of life. In addition, a developed first language and a developed cultural affiliation

are important for a child's ability to later learn a new language and understand a new culture. (SOU, 1983:57: 28)

Students' individual development was thus seen to be strongly associated with children's ability to learn a new language and later understand a new culture (SOU 1983:57: 28). This new migration policy was considered important for achieving equality between Swedes and people of other ethnic origins, as well as cultural freedom of choice (Hyltenstam & Tuomela 1996:30). A clear distinction regarding the ability to choose was made between *adult* migrant and *child* migrant. According to the Government Official Report, there is a:

clear difference between the adult immigrant's and the immigrant child's ability to choose between Swedish cultural identity, on the one hand, and to preserve and develop his or her own language and culture on the other. This difference is of great importance for the school's responsibility regarding immigrant children. (SOU, 1983:57: 28)

According to Government Official Report, then, the responsibility for choosing whether or not to develop one's own mother tongue and culture should not be placed on migrant students as children, but rather on the school and adults. The school's responsibility to support migrant children in choosing to develop their mother tongue and cultural heritage was seen as crucial. It was assumed that, whereas adults are able to make their own active choice, children are not. It was thus seen to be the school's responsibility to ensure that children developed their own culture and language until they were old enough to make their own choices. A developed first language and cultural affiliation would increase a child's ability to learn a new language (Swedish) and to understand a new culture. The report explains that:

The immigrant child, in early childhood, is still in a phase of developing the first language and a cultural orientation in relation to his or her parents and the immediate environment. The child must be able to communicate with his or her parents during the important growing years, and must later

be given the opportunity to maintain and develop this language. (SOU 1983:57: 28)

State funding was granted to the Swedish municipalities, which were then obligated to organize mother tongue education. By way of the Reform, the intent was to increase mother tongue education in primary and secondary school. As highlighted in chapter one, the reform was also in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Member states had agreed that children’s education should aim to develop and strengthen respect for the child’s own cultural identity and language, and promote cultural freedom of choice.³⁵ State funding was granted in proportion to the number of students and teaching hours in order to promote students’ development of their mother tongue(s) to become actively bilingual and develop a sense of belonging to more than one language and culture. This ideology was moreover based on the research outcomes, claimed. The Social Democratic Government Proposition of 1975 (Prop. 1975:26), which indicated that bilingualism promotes the student’s educational goals:

Based on research findings concerning language development and bilingualism, the objective of the education of immigrant children should be to promote active bilingualism. This should also be applied in preschool, regarding which there is a need for continued research on language training for immigrant children. In order to promote active bilingualism, it is also important that specially trained home language preschool teachers lead home language training. (Prop. 1975/26: 20)

Contrary to the period of the early 1960s, when bilingualism was assumed to be “inconvenient” and even potentially harmful, in the discursive period of 1966-1988 it was believed to promote bilingual students’ intellectual and emotional development. In contrast, as shown in Chapter 5, nomadic Sami students were positioned as natives and as such were portrayed as perhaps forever stuck in a

³⁵ “Minority or indigenous children have the right to learn about and practice their own culture, language and religion. This right applies to everyone; here, the Convention highlights it in instances in which the practices are not shared by the majority of people in the country”. (UNCRC Article 30).

“savage stage”. The entire abstract and cultural thinking the Sami needed in order to learn Swedish was seen as foreign to their natural environment. Implicitly then, bilingual students were seen as a problem insofar as they could not fully master the Swedish language. Contrary to the period of the early 1960s, the policymakers in the discursive period of 1966-1988, according to the Government Proposition above (Prop. 1975:26: 20), encouraged a bilingual education in order to create students with double language competence. In this sense, Borevi (2014) argues:

“... the Swedish immigrant policy of the 1970s (...) contained rather radical multicultural goals. Aiming to avoid previous forms of ethnic ‘Swedifying’ (directed in particular at the Sámi minority), the policy was now oriented towards affirming and supporting immigrants’ ethnic identities” (Borevi, 2014: 711).

It was increasingly argued that the teaching of migrant students should be done in their own home language. According to Richardson (2010: 219), the lively debate that took place in the late 1960s over home language generated a new vision regarding bilingualism. It was believed that bilingual education was necessary for migrant students’ linguistic and social development as well as social aspects, and that their education should be equivalent to that of Swedish students.

In a related manner, Hyltenstam & Tuomela (1996:14-15) argue that the public debate over the organization of home language education was particularly lively during the 1970s in the daily press, migrant newspapers and educational daily press, but “[n]one of the participants in these debates was against the home language education”. In the end, state funding for mother tongue education was granted at all stages of school levels. Before the Home Language Reform began being implemented, the municipal school actors were able to decide whether they wanted to organize home language for students with a mother tongue other than Swedish (Skolverket, 2002). As a result of the Home Language Reform, the

municipalities received government grants in order to provide home language education and to inform teachers, school staff and parents about the importance of mother tongue education:

The state grant should be paid in proportion to the number of teaching frameworks. Supportive education for immigrant children should also be extended. Extended education for home language and supportive education should be considered for students in upper secondary school. (Prop.1975/26: 21)

Subsequently, it was believed that mother tongue education would prevent future difficulties and other problems in Swedish schools at large. At the same time, however, the state not only wanted to ensure that migrants would receive some kind of *supportive teaching*, but also that they would have access to linguistic opportunities similar to those of the majority population in general. That is, the discussion on mother tongue education took another direction. The embrace of this education became important both for the cognitive development of bilingual students and for the fostering of equality in the education system overall (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012).

Mother tongue education important for achieving the goals of equality, cultural freedom and cooperation

The overall objectives concerning mother tongue education and migration policy were established in the Government Propositions in 1968 (Prop. 1968: 142; SOU 1968: 196). “Four years later, a comprehensive ‘immigrant and minority policy’, which was to be guided by ‘equality, freedom of choice and partnership’, was unanimously approved by the Swedish Parliament” (Borevi 2014: 710). Due to achieving the new reform guidelines set out in its 1975 Proposition (Prop. 1975: 26), the Social Democratic Government formulated its objectives based on three keywords: *equality*, *cultural freedom of choice*, and *cooperation*. The keyword *equality* emphasized that members of linguistic minority groups would have the opportunity to maintain their own linguistic and cultural identity, just like

all other members of society. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), “The new policy was heavily influenced by the universal welfare state principles also renowned as the social democratic welfare state regime” (Borevi, 2014: 710). The essential preconditions for achieving the goal of *equality* entailed that migrants would be able to access work, housing, social care, and education on the same conditions as the population in general. Hence, the level of migration should be adjusted to fit society’s ability to provide work, housing, care, and education. In this sense, *equality*:

means that immigrants will have the same opportunities, rights and obligations as the rest of the population (...). A prerequisite for achieving the equality goal is that immigration is constantly adapted to society’s opportunities to provide immigrants with work, housing, social care, and education under the same conditions as the rest of the population. Thus, a basic point of departure in Swedish immigration policy should be, as has been the case to date, that immigration should not counteract desirable developments in other areas of society. A labor market assessment regarding future immigration should therefore take into account whether there are unemployed groups in the country that should first be given employment. (Prop. 1975/26: 15)

The second keyword cultural freedom of choice, as described below, entails that members of linguistic minorities have the right to choose the extent to which they want to maintain and develop their mother tongue and culture of origin:

The goal of freedom of choice means that members of linguistic minorities residing in Sweden should, through social efforts, be given the opportunity to choose the extent to which they want to maintain and develop their cultural and linguistic identity. This assumes that the various immigrant groups receive financial and other support in developing their cultural activities, and that the public cultural life in Sweden better responds to the needs that have arisen through immigration. (Prop.1975/26: 15)

The notion of cooperation is described as mutual tolerance, collaboration and solidarity between the minority and majority com-

munity groups in society, meaning that minorities have not only rights but also obligations to actively participate in society:

The objective of cooperation means that cooperation should be established between immigrant and minority groups and the majority population. The goal includes mutual tolerance and solidarity between immigrants and the Swedish-born population. The cooperation assumes that minorities become – and are perceived as – equal partners in society. It also means that immigrants should be committed to societal issues and that it should be easier for them to actively participate in political and trade union work. Immigrants and language minorities must be involved in the design of decisions that affect their situation. (Prop. 1975/26:15-16)

The realization of the objective of cooperation meant that migrants were to be given better opportunities to actively participate in political life in Sweden, and the possibility to partake in decision-making on matters affecting their own social situation as well as in the organization of language activities targeting them. As Borevi (2014:711) argues, “Besides the goal of fostering social equality, referred to earlier, the new immigrant policy should also promote immigrants’ ethnic identity formation”.

By introducing the keywords of *equality*, *cultural freedom of choice* and *cooperation* the state aimed to respond to society’s current needs, but also in the long term to signal positive changes for the development of (the future) society.

“This new ‘multicultural’ aim guided the introduction of new reforms, including support for journals produced in immigrant languages, mother tongue instruction in the public school system and financial support for ethnic organisations” (Borevi, 2014: 711).

Consequently, the state invested in mother tongue education to ensure that migrant students did not have any less opportunity in their education than majority students did (Borevi, 2014). An important element in achieving this ambition was the solidarity and coexistence between the minority and majority students. In a similar vein, Kymlicka (1995) emphasizes that the freedom and equality of minority groups in a society should be adequately protected

by the state through offering equal opportunity to attain their goals. In Sweden, this was seen to be best achieved through “mutual tolerance and solidarity between migrants and the ethnic majority people” (Prop.1975/26:15-16). The objectives of equality and cooperation were also a result of violence in schools and in society at large, where aggression, bullying and discrimination occurred:

Structural violence in school and society often leads to aggressiveness against the third party. Too many immigrants and their children can testify to harassment, bullying and discrimination, not least in school. That it can, and does, also happen to Swedish students is no excuse. It must be a most important task of the school to respond to all such manifestations. Further, the emergence of prejudices and negative attitudes, which by extension could lead to bullying and discrimination, should be thwarted and prevented. This is a very important part of intercultural education. (SOU 1983:57: 264)

With thought to preventing any such manifestations, solidarity and coexistence were viewed as an important part of intercultural education. As such, the knowledge and understanding about different languages and cultures in Swedish society were seen as crucial. It was also to be ensured that language and cultural minorities in Sweden would be able to maintain and develop their own home language and culture, while at the same time having the same social and educational standards as any other Swedish citizen (Prop.1975/76:118: Prop. 1975:26). To sum up, as Milani (2008:29) has observed, in 1975 Sweden underwent what one could call a political turn from assimilation policy to pluralism and language diversity.

Bilingual students as resource for intercultural cooperation

During the period of 1976 to 1982, the Conservative Government was in power in Sweden. In 1981, the Government appointed an

investigation regarding the organization of migrants' education and their mother tongue education. Then in 1982, Sweden elected Social Democratic Government. The Government Official Report of 1983 (SOU 1983:57) under this new Government suggested the application of intercultural teaching in the overall education system. Their new linguistic vision was also in line with the educational strategy for migrants that was supported by the Council of Europe (1983):³⁶

Countries of origin and receiving countries should work together to create a rightful place for immigrants and their children in education and culture (...) Teaching programs, materials and situations should be increasingly designed to dynamically integrate immigrants' cultural contributions in the various countries of Europe by aiming to achieve an intercultural dimension in teaching. (SOU 1983:57: 156)

The resolution recommended that member states, and particularly their education ministers, support migrant education based on the European policy above. The intercultural approach in the overall education system indicated a new trend in terms of migrant education, which until 1966 had been unilaterally focused on teaching strongly based on a monolingual policy. Instead, the state now invested in teaching based on bilingualism and cooperation between majority and minority students. The school placed great emphasis on basic intercultural standpoints for all students. In a Government Official Report from 1983, it is stated that:

Access to different cultures must be developed and made accessible to, and for the enjoyment and benefit of, all. In a unified school, the focus on the future must be common and the entire study environment characterized by cultural interaction. This is a cornerstone of intercultural education... (SOU 1983:57: 27)

Students' own language and cultural backgrounds could now be included as a starting point for school activities in the broader context of the school system. The syllabus of almost every school sub-

³⁶ At a conference in Dublin in 1983, the European Ministers of Education adopted a resolution on immigrant education (SOU 1983:57: 156).

ject incorporated intercultural elements (SOU 1983:57: 265). That is, migrant students were now positioned as a resource, contributing to good intercultural relations. Furthermore, these students along with their parents were positioned as a great resource as they contributed to connections with many other cultures and countries: "Immigrant students and their parents can be a great asset to convey knowledge of other countries' cultures" (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980: 33). The migrant students' own languages and cultural backgrounds could now be drawn on in school activities. For instance, they were given the opportunity to tell about or show something from their country. This also meant that their home language became an object of interest, and not least their backgrounds were seen as a resource for Swedish society:

It is the school's mission to educate students so that they feel solidarity with other countries, peoples and cultures. It is also the school's mission to educate students to understand and feel affinity with minority groups in our own country. Intercultural education concerns every child and every adult in school – and also outside in the society - even though there may not be immigrants in school or outside in the society. (SOU, 1983:57: 265)

Based on the final proposals of the Social Democratic Government, made in the Report of 1983 (SOU 1983:57), in February 1985 Parliament made the decision to put into practice intercultural teaching at all stages of the education system. That is, a clear overall intercultural perspective concerning everyone in school – and also outside in the society, and even the right to mother tongue education, which was reformulated and reinforced in the new National Curriculum of 1980 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980). In this sense:

The school's work in promoting immigrant students' bilingualism is demanding. In addition to teachers choosing the content and working methods, they should also plan how the two languages – the home language and Swedish – can best be used and developed. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1988b: 24)

The discourse on bilingualism positions bilingual students and their cultural background, as well as mother tongue education as an asset in and for the Swedish society. Although promoting bilingualism is depicted as a demanding task, the bilingualism of minorities is claimed to be an asset in Sweden, particularly on the labour market or for the labour market purposes.

...an opportunity for the student to be able to speak two languages and have a double cultural competence. It is an asset for society to have people with this competence in the country, for example in the public sector and the services sector, and not least within the export industries. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1988b: 16: 40)³⁷

The intercultural approach was also meant to counteract negative attitudes and prejudices towards bilingualism. Teaching should thus aim to increase understanding and relations across language boundaries. This was, of course, in line with the school's goals to encourage positive attitudes towards migrant (and minority) languages. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1988b: 26)

Mother tongue as resource

When the revised edition of the Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969) was published in 1973³⁸, it depicted home language education as a prerequisite for learning Swedish

...the teaching of home language is essential to these students. The clearer the concepts and the larger the vocabulary the pupil has acquired in his own language, the better prerequisites he has to learn the new language. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 69 II: 10-11)

Moreover, mother tongue education was positioned as a resource promoting students' intellectual development. Previously (see

³⁷ Kommentarmaterial (Lgr 80): Hemspråksklasser och sammansatta klasser. av Skolöverstyrelsen (Bok) 1988. This commentary material was published by the School Administration Board (SÖ), which was appointed by the Government.

³⁸ Revised Edition of National Curriculum of 1969 (Lgr 69). Läroplan för grundskolan består av en allmän del (Lgr 69 I) och en supplementdel (Lgr 69 II), båda utfärdade av SÖ enligt förordnande i Kungl Maj:ts brev den 29 maj 1969 [Revised Edition of National Curriculum of 1969, Lgr 69].

Chapter 5), mastery of the Swedish language was considered “a common ground for human growth” for all individuals – irrespective of linguistic background. In the Curriculum of 1980 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980), instead, it is stated that mother tongue education “provides the basis of the child’s emotional, linguistic and intellectual development” (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980: 58). Hence:

Students with another language than Swedish have the right to receive an education equivalent to that of other students. While strengthening the students’ language development, the school also needs to actively make the most of their cultural heritage. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980: 16)

By promoting mother tongue education, policy actors wanted to create bilingual citizens with double culture competence who could take responsibility for the development of society regardless of their language background. That is, teaching would now promote languages and cultures other than the majority (Swedish) language. Moreover, bilingual students could also use the textbooks and literature in their own mother tongue:

In schools with many children from language minorities, it is not least important that there are teaching materials and literature in these students’ home languages as well. (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980: 55)

This was an important step towards creating bilingual and intercultural schools, and enabling students to feel at home in two cultures. From being mentioned as an obstacle to the goals of integration, bilingualism is now instead valued as a *resource* for schools and society. According to the commentary material in the Curriculum of 1980 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1988:41), “the majority speaking people should thus be not merely tolerant towards bilingualism but appreciative and positive. All languages are of equal value”. This, of course, is not to say that mother tongue education has become equal to the majority (Swedish) language, but still, the curricula from this period explicitly point out the importance of mother

tongue education for bilingual students. In addition, mother tongue education was to be taught at schools for the majority's sake as well, as they would thereby learn about languages and cultures other than the Swedish.

The position of mother tongue education questioned?

From 1976 to 1982 Sweden had Conservative Government. In the Government's Letter of 1981/82 (Regeringens skrivelse, 1981/82:103), Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin raised several concerns about mother tongue education in Sweden. This Letter (Regeringens skrivelse, 1981/82:103) emphasized the need to better clarify the motives behind the teaching of home language. The Prime Minister argued that the associations providing home language teaching could improve their work if a distinction were made between what was called minority policy and home language policy. Besides this, he argued that "one could question whether it is good to allow teaching in so-called home language classes to continue at upper primary school as it may happen that you leave Swedish primary school without having been taught Swedish" (Regeringens skrivelse, 1981/82:196).³⁹ In a related manner, Borevi (2014 713-714) argues that "two government-appointed investigations criticized the goal of actively helping immigrants maintain their ethno-cultural identities, arguing that this in effect risked jeopardizing their swift and successful integration into the Swedish labor market and mainstream society". The concern was that the inclusion of mother tongue instruction at school would hamper migrant students' acquisition of the Swedish language:

In our view, there is good reason to take into account these risks (...). Children's home language education should not, e.g., involve scheduling that result in a reduced number of teaching hours in Swedish. (SOU 1984:55:263)

³⁹ For more details see Government Letter (1981/82:196) [Regeringens skrivelse 1981/82:103; Bilaga 2 – Komittéberättelse 1982, Del II :196].

This discussion, raised by Fälldin, ultimately resulted in a Government Bill in 1986, declaring that, “the immigrant policy does not aim at supporting immigrants as collective identities. Measures should solely target individuals, aiming at promoting their integration as full members of society” (Borevi, 2014: 714). In the Government Proposition of 1985/86 (Prop.1985/86: 98:1), the then Prime Minister Olof Palme argued that the guidelines regarding the nation state’s migration policy made by the Social Democratic Government in 1975 still remained firm. According to Lundahl et al. (2013:501), “social democratic education policy traditionally focuses on fostering equality, fairness and public service”. With regard to the effects of the Social Democratic policy enabling language equality, by way of mother tongue education and the view of bilingualism as a resource, the decades 1966-1988 became a period in which migrant students and mainstream community students, in different ways, became aware of the presence of bilingualism and the new citizens in society.

Concluding discussion

In Chapter 6 I have delineated the overall mother tongue education discourse. This was a new order of discourse structured by a strong social democratic equality discourse and a discourse promoting bilingualism and cooperation. The equality discourse was formed by the keywords *active bilingualism*, *intercultural exchange in society*, *equal opportunity*, *maintain cultural identity*, *away from uniformity*, and *bilingual students as new citizens*, supported by a discourse of bilingualism formed by the keywords *active bilingualism*, *bilingual education*, and *bilingual students*.

The social democratic equality discourse built on arguments of equality goals and social inclusion for all individuals in society. “Immigrants and their children were to be given a real possibility to retain their own language, practice their cultural activities and maintain contact with the country of origin” (Borevi, 2014: 711).

According to the discourse of bilingualism, mother tongue is considered important for enabling linguistic equality in education. Bilingualism is presented in curriculum as a resource for students' linguistic and intellectual development (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980: 58). Explicitly, bilingual students were also seen as a resource insofar as they could convey knowledge about other countries and languages, to transfer knowledge and experience of other cultures and languages to the majority. The discursive change gains momentum in 1966, when students were given the right to mother tongue education.

Contrary to the discursive period of 1957-1965, schools were given the responsibility to implement an intercultural pedagogy and active bilingualism in the overall education system. The state politics encouraged migrants to actively participate in society and a conflict-free coexistence between ethnic groups. Policy texts in this discursive period made clear that there were other students in society than simply the native Swedish-speaking majority ones. The social democratic welfare state's politics of this period officially abolished the former assimilation policy (1957-1965) (Prop. 1975: 26).

As Milani (2008), Hyltenstam (1996), and Lundahl et al. (2013) have shown, the new policy of equality and language diversity was enabled by the historic parliamentary decision of 1975.⁴⁰ Further changes were made due to research on bilingualism. The intercultural approach in the overall education system indicated, then, a new strategy, which until 1966 had been unilaterally focused on the strong society based on monolingual Swedishness. Towards the end of this discursive period more conservative voices were raised, claiming that mother tongue education would lead to deficiencies in terms of the acquisition of the Swedish language, which in turn was seen to jeopardize the successful integration of minority students into the Swedish labor market.

⁴⁰ For more details see Prop. (1975:26).

All in all, the recontextualization of mother tongue education discourse has henceforth shown that the monolingual and monocultural discourses that characterized the period of 1957-1965 were challenged by a new bilingual discourse in the period of 1966-1989. The strong social democratic equality discourse along with a bilingual discourse promoted equality, social inclusion and active bilingualism in the overall education system and in society. The goals of equality were based on the idea that migrants needed to be provided with mother tongue education. This was seen as a central aspect of the nation state's obligation to ensure equal opportunities for all groups in society, and equality between migrants and Swedes. Hence, it can be concluded that this period, from 1966 to 1988, is characterized by a marked change in the positioning of mother tongue education.

7

Decentralization, marketization, integration and the devaluation of mother tongue education 1989-1999

In this chapter I initially describe the school reforms completed during the years around 1990. I then describe the decentralization of the school, the establishment of the free school, and the new National Curriculum for the new (public-) market school. Then, I account for the municipalization of the school and the parallel change to the state funding of the school system. Thereafter I discuss the discursive change from home language education to mother tongue education and notions of cultural diversity, and the accompanying assumption of the need for Swedish as a unifying language of the nation. I show that the outcome of this was the introduction of a new national policy positioning Swedish as the unifying language of the nation, in the name of integration and employability. A parallel change was made to the government's migration policy, also motivated by the need for integration and employability. Lastly, I present a concluding discussion.

Compared to previous periods, that of 1989-1999 was characterized by substantial school reforms. The Government introduced the possibility for all parents to choose which school to enroll their children in, a new curriculum, and further changes to the education policy such as the decentralization of the school and municipalization based on a new funding system. During this period, Sweden went from having one of the most centrally planned

school systems to having the most generous legislation, in terms of giving free schools throughout the country the right to public funding (Blomqvist & Rothstein, 2000:164).

Decentralization of the school

In the parliamentary elections of 1988, Sweden elected a Social Democratic Government. The Government's national school politics was characterized by optimism. The strong state steering of the school system, i.e. a relatively extensive regulation of the school, rested on a desire to guarantee nationwide equality in education for all (Prop. 1988/89:4:6). However, in its proposition of 1988/89 (Prop.1988/89:4) the Government emphasized that it was necessary to delegate responsibility for the school to municipalities and individual schools. An increase in local responsibility would, it was argued, foster a (local) commitment to adjusting the education to local conditions. In government texts of the time, individual schools, students and staff were depicted as the most important actors, in terms of making decisions about school activities (Prop. 1988/89:4).

According to the Government, a decentralization of the school system was a precondition for better adaptation to local conditions, and would increase individual participation. The Government Proposition of 1991/92 (Prop. 1990/91:18) based its proposals on the results of a Government Official Report published in 1990 (SOU 1990:44, *The Study of Power and Democracy in Sweden*). This report (SOU 1990:44) paved the way for the change to municipal law regarding the school funding system. According to the report, a central steering model as well as an ineffective large public sector was not compatible with the demands of individual citizens in Swedish society.

An individual opportunity for citizens to participate in school choice was seen as democratically necessary in order to increase individual rights and responsibilities (SOU 1990:44: 15). The profound policy change towards the decentralization of decision-

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

making to local authorities was hence motivated and legitimized with reference to democratic principles. In the Government Official Report of 1990 (SOU 1990:44), it was stated that school is the area where citizens feel they have the least ability to participate. The Report thus proposed a limitation of public sector services and an increase in private ownership when it comes to government-funded welfare services.

The Social Democratic Government proposed new principles for the steering of the school, from central to local government, in 1990/91 (Prop. 1990/91:18). This entailed that Parliament and the Government should steer the school system by setting national goals. The municipalities were assigned the responsibility of realizing the goals set by Parliament and the Government (Prop. 1990/91:18: 20). The idea was that the responsibility for steering would move from the so-called state-regulated school system to municipalities and individual schools (Prop. 1990/91/18: 15). It was assumed that decentralization would lead to a better use of resources and create good quality and equality in education.

In a decentralized school system there was not the same need for a proactive government steering of the school. Such a decentralized school system would enable a more flexible pluralistic school system: a school characterized by different forms of ownership or school providers (Prop. 1991/92:95). Local actors themselves could plan activities following national education goals. The Government insisted that both free schools and public schools needed to maintain satisfactory quality in terms of knowledge and skills:

I believe it is important that parents and children be given as much freedom as possible when choosing between different types of schools. However, a prerequisite is that the education is of the highest quality in terms of knowledge and skills. (Prop. 1991/92:95: 11)

As in the case of public education, it is important that the quality of the pedagogical activities of independent schools be continually monitored and evaluated. (Prop. 1991/92:95: 13)

According to the perspective outlined above, a changing society requires a flexible school system by which teachers, principals and students have the opportunity to adapt the teaching in accordance with local requirements and conditions. Lundahl et al. (2013:497) argue that during the last two decades “the Swedish public sector and education system have been radically and extensively transformed in a neo-liberal direction, a move that was preceded by extensive decentralization of decision-making from the state to municipalities and schools”. According to the Government Proposition defined in Prop. (1991/92:95), national requirements regarding the adequate quality of education would be assured through government inspections and quality assessment.

The Swedish way of managing bilingualism from the 1970s to the 1980s was challenged by the marketization of the school in the 1990s. As a result, the Swedish school system underwent a rapid municipalization, decentralization and free school reform.

The introduction of the free school choice

In September 1991, Sweden elected a new Conservative Government, a four-party Government in which the Moderate Party [Moderaterna], the Christian Democrats [Kristdemokraterna], the Centre Party [Centerpartiet] and the Liberal Party [Folkpartiet] formed a coalition government. In his Government Declaration, the new Conservative Prime Minister Carl Bildt focused on the strengthening of Sweden “as the nation of knowledge”, as well as the right of all individuals to freely choose their school:

The school and education policy will be focused on strengthening Sweden as a nation of knowledge. In the 1990s, we will create Europe’s best school. Everyone will be given the right to choose their school freely. The

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

public contributions will in principle follow the student. (Regeringsförklaringen, 1991) ⁴¹

In addition to the goal of creating Europe's best school, the Conservative Government argued for the (public-) market school, declaring that, "the time of collectivism is over".⁴² Contrary to the Social Democratic actors, which suggested equal access to welfare services throughout the country, the most significant change in this Conservative Coalition Government was that the the renewal of Sweden was to be based on a market principle. In the Government Declaration, it was stated that:

All too often, the state and the public sector have been regarded as the same as society. But now *the time of collectivism is over*. In our Sweden, society will always be larger than the state. We strive to make the 1990s a decade of change and *renewal for Sweden*. (Regeringsförklaringen, 1991; italics added by author)

When the new Conservative Government was established, the school reforms initiated by the previous Social Democratic Government of 1989-1991 were even more intensely continued. The new Minister of Education, Beatrice Ask, introduced the establishment of free schools and more generous legislation that gave free schools right to the public financing on much the same terms as the public schools throughout the country. Ask additionally proposed a school choice that enabled parents and students to "choose between *all* preschools and compulsory schools within their municipality – public as well as free schools, and upper secondary education, their choice is extended to the whole country" (Lundahl et al. 2013:504). The government's main argument for the national, coherent funding of independent schools in the same

⁴¹ Available in the final paragraph of the Government Declaration (1991). Downloaded 2017-03-25 from: <http://www.svenskatal.se/19911004-carl-bildt-regeringsforklaringen-1991/>.

⁴² See Regeringsförklaring (1991)[The Government Inaugural Speech, 1991]

way as public schools was that all parents and students should be able to participate by making their own individual school choice:

The ambition should be not only that students and parents shall be able to choose between municipal and free schools, but also that the principles of freedom of choice and the financial means that follow the student's choice and that are described in this Proposition shall also apply to the greatest possible degree within the municipal school system. (Prop. 1991/92:95:7)

The ability of students and parents to make a free school choice is considered necessary in terms of increasing citizens' participation within the education system. According to the government, the free school choice and equal conditions between independent schools and public schools were necessary in order to create a school with a variety of school programs and education profiles. With the school choice, the government expected to create competition between schools, with higher quality and improved efficiency within the school system:

I also believe that a stimulating competition between different schools, with different orientations and different ownership forms, can in turn contribute to raising the quality throughout the entire school system. Increased diversity in the school's area also enables multiple interests to be met (...). With greater freedom of choice and more room for a school's profile, better motivations for cost-efficiency can be created. (Prop. 1991/92:95: 9)

The free school reform throughout the school system was a result of a market orientation. According to this market discourse, a Swedish school system with a variety of school ownerships, individual profiling of schools, and different education programs, can offer more choices for individual citizens (Prop. 1991/92:95: 9). In this way, the new school reforms would be able to better adapt the education system to individual requirements and rapid societal changes, while at the same time improving cost-efficiency. By establishing school choice in the school sector, in its Proposition of 1991/92 (Prop. 1991/92:95) the Government also aimed to satisfy the interests of private school actors.

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

As the school choice would furthermore increase the number of schools with different confessional beliefs and values compared to Swedish society, in its proposition the Government suggested that the core values of Swedish society must be strongly respected. Local control of individual schools and teachers would support the adaptation of teaching according to individual needs. The Curriculum Committee argued that the possibility of school choice is a prerequisite for increased individual responsibility of and influence by students and parents:

...people's increased competence to question and demand influence has increased the pressure from citizens to gain local influence over what has previously been perceived as an arena of central government decision-making. This can be seen as a basis for reforms regarding responsibility for and governance of the school. Among the most recent examples of reforms in schools aimed at more influence are the recent decisions regarding independent schools. (SOU 1992:94: 118)

As indicated above, the decentralized governance of the school is essentially connected to citizen participation by making their own school choice. Local control, private choice, flexibility, and cost-efficiency in the school system in a time of rapid social change were assumed to be basic needs. Such a school system, according to the Government, would provide better opportunities to increase individual responsibility and adapt the school to individual needs (Prop.1991/92: 95). Contrary to the perspective outlined in the Curriculum Committee Report of 1992 (SOU 1992:94), Westling Allodi (2007:137) claims that "The adaptation to the local administrators may give rise to differences in services that threaten pupils' rights to an equitable education."

A new curriculum for the new (public-) market school

To enable school reforms, the Government appointed a Curriculum Committee (SOU 1992: 94) in February 1991, which was tak-

en over by the Conservative Government at the change of government in September 1991. In December 1991, additional directives were given to the Committee (Dir. 1991:117).⁴³ These directives largely followed the earlier ones given by the Social Democratic Government, but more modifications were made with the purpose of developing “Europe’s best school” (Regeringsförklaringen, 1991). The Committee summarized the results in its final report in September 1992 (SOU 1992:94). It proposed a new National Curriculum, which was realized in 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994), emphasizing the inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, and equality between women and men. The Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) was intended to set out the national goals for individual schools, but not state more precisely the way in which the goals were to be achieved or which teaching approaches to choose to apply:

The curriculum shall state the national objectives, but it shall not, unlike in the past, give instructions for how to reach the targets, i.e. choice of teaching material, working approach, or method. (SOU 1992:94:17)

According to the Curriculum Committee, the new curriculum gave students the opportunity to have, and thus made them responsible for, their own individual work and day-to-day schoolwork. Such individualization was considered necessary to allow students to discover their unique individuality, and to actively participate in their own education. As discussed above, the individual students’ opportunity to influence their own education was manifested:

The participation and influence of students and their parents over the students’ education are expressed in, among other things, the right to choose the school and the profile of the education. In addition, the possibility for students to make individual choices within the framework of the educa-

⁴³ The new directives include a curriculum, timetables, and syllabi for elementary school, as well as curricula for upper secondary school and municipal adult education. The assignment thus no longer covers goals and guidelines for childcare (SOU 1992: 94: 329). For broader details, see Appendix 2 of the Curriculum Committee Report (SOU 1992:94: 329).

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

tion constitutes an important form of influence which should be strengthened. (SOU 1992:94: 15)

Student and parental responsibility for and influence over their schooling included the right to choose their school based on the educational profile of schools. As Lindahl et al. (2013:499) showed, “the work of schools is now orchestrated by new managerialism, and school curricula and educational assessment have been reformed in order to enhance employability, raise academic performance and increase effectiveness”. The Conservative Prime Minister furthermore argued for a strengthening of the role of language throughout the education system:

Programs will be developed to raise the quality of all levels of the school. The position of language throughout the education system will be strengthened. A new curriculum for compulsory school with a clear knowledge profile will be developed. A new grading system, whereby the grades measure knowledge and that has more steps than today, will be introduced as soon as possible. (Regeringsförklaringen, 1991)

The formulations presented in the Declaration above also indicate a clear knowledge profile and a new grading system. The new curriculum was designed based on the idea that there was an urgent need to substitute central steering of the school with individual responsibility.’

A new funding system and its impact on the positioning of mother tongue education

The municipalization of the school was carried out during the economic crisis Sweden experienced in the early 1990s. At a time of financial savings, the Government believed that its reforms would lead to a more cost-efficient education system. Based on these ideas, the Government proposed a new funding system. Attempts to strengthen the state budget led to sharp cuts in state funds dedicated to local governments. This affected the public

sector, particularly the public school system. Now all municipalities were granted general, instead of targeted, funding. The general funding system meant that the state granted each municipality a general sum of money in proportion to the number of pupils within the municipality in question. The previous state funding exclusively dedicated to mother tongue education was then incorporated into the general funding system. The Government would no longer steer the use of the public funds through targeted state funding. In practice, this led to cuts in spending for the part of the teaching, which was not compulsory.

As the state funding system went from a targeted system to a general funding system, municipalities lost state funding for mother tongue education. Since there was no targeted state funding system for the provision of mother tongue education, municipalities were no longer obliged to provide it. At the same time, the municipalities were exposed to extensive savings requirements (Skolverket, 2002: 29). Taken together, this led to a sharp decrease in mother tongue education in the early 1990s.

The share of students entitled to mother tongue education and participating in it was at its highest in 1986, when 68 percent of students entitled to this education participated in it (SOU 1996:55:185). In this period of 1989-1999, no more than 50 percent of all eligible students attended mother tongue education (SOU 1996:55:185). During this period, mother tongue teaching hours also decreased. The subject of mother tongue education disposed of only 30-60 minutes a week, and attendance was voluntary. This means no more than a maximum of 360 hours for a student in the course of a year. In comparison, Swedish (or Swedish as a second language) and English in compulsory school disposed of 1,490 and 480 hours per year, respectively. During this period, parents and mother tongue students criticized the fact that mother tongue as a school subject entailed only a couple of lessons per week:

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

In relation to the objective of *home language teaching*, this criticism is not unfounded. The subject is also not a part of the syllabus, and the schedule's regulations do not specify a time frame. (SOU 1992:94: 278; italics added by author) ⁴⁴

Evidently, the Curriculum Committee confirms that this criticism was not groundless, since mother tongue education was taught outside the regular curriculum, but the Curriculum Committee (SOU 1992:94) suggested that schools themselves should be able to organize mother tongue education:

Our suggested timetable contains guaranteed teaching hours for certain compulsory subjects. The timetable also specifies hours for local timetables and students' personal choices. With such a timetable there are good opportunities to organize teaching in home language education and Swedish as a second language that satisfies students' needs. (SOU 1992:94: 278)

To meet students' needs, the Curriculum Committee proposed a number of alternative solutions that may be shaped locally within the school schedule, and in agreement with the student's personal choices. The positioning of mother tongue education is formulated in the Curriculum Committee Report of 1992 (SOU 1992:94). According to it, mother tongue education, which was at that time called home language education was to be provided if a language other than Swedish was a living element in a student's daily communication at home, and if the student had basic knowledge in his/her mother tongue:

For students for whom a language other than Swedish is a daily language of communication, home language teaching shall be organized if the student has basic knowledge of this language, and needs and wishes to receive education in it. (SOU 1992:94: 277)

⁴⁴In this Curriculum Committee Report from 1992 (SOU 1992:94), as well as in all other empirical materials, the term "home language" [hemspråk] was used until July 1997.

The wording above illustrates that the policy regarding the provision of mother tongue education was based on three principles: the first is connected to the student's daily use of the language in question at home; the second is connected to the student's individual level of knowledge of his/her mother tongue; and the third concerns the student's personal need and aspiration to participate in what was, at the time, referred to as *home language education*. For a student to be entitled to this education, all three principles were to be fulfilled. In cases in which bilingual students did not satisfy the requirements as stated in the provision policy cited above, it was likely that they were not allowed to attend mother tongue education. Thus, in the Curriculum Committee Report of 1992 (SOU 1992:94) mother tongue is positioned as the student's home language that was (exclusively) spoken on a daily basis at home, and not in school or other social institutions.

Swedish cultural heritage and language diversity

All the parties of the Conservative Coalition Government clearly wanted to win acceptance for their programs and values. The Christian Democrats [Kristdemokraterna] wanted to reintroduce the strengthened position of Christian values in education that had existed in the 1960s (SOU 1961:30:176; Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962). After a compromise between all coalition parties, the definition of Christian values in the new Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) was considerably toned down (Egidius, 2001). The Christian values were now formulated as following:

The inviolability of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, the equal value of all people, gender equality, and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable are the values the school shall shape and convey. In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is done through the individual's fostering to justice, generosity,

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

tolerance and responsibility. (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994:5; SKOLFS 1994:1)⁴⁵

This statement in the Curriculum of 1994 illustrates the return to the formulations of the first discursive period in the unity school Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962) stressing the importance of the Christian tradition in education (see Chapter 5). In the Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994), in a subsection on the international perspective and the importance of international understanding and solidarity, it is at the same time stated that students should reach an understanding of the values of cultural diversity:

An international perspective is important in order to see one's own reality in a global context and to create international solidarity as well as prepare for a society with frequent contacts across cultural and national borders. The international perspective also means developing an understanding of the cultural diversity within the country. (SKOLFS, 1994:1: 3)

Hence, a growing mobility across national borders would help individuals understand cultural diversity within Sweden. Nearly the same text is reproduced in the curriculum for compulsory school:

The internationalization of Swedish society and the growing mobility across national borders places high demands on people's ability to live with and realize the values that lie in cultural diversity. (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994: 5)

Both the Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) and Educational Act (SKOLFS, 1994:1) construct internationalization as something that is connected to the individual needs of the people within the Swedish nation. Although both the Curriculum and the Educational Act (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994; SKOLFS, 1994:1) advocate for the importance of knowledge and

⁴⁵ Available at:
www.skolverket.se/regelverk/skolfs/skolfs?_xurl_=http%3A%2F%2Fwww5skolverket.se%2Fwtpub%2Fws%2Fskolfs%2Fwtpubext%2Ffs%2FRecord%3Fk%3D258.

understanding concerning diversity in society, they mostly concern the values of international understanding and solidarity in a global perspective. In this discursive period, of 1989 to 1999, there was a significant change in the role of language diversity compared to the views that characterized the social democratic equality discourse of the 1970s-1980s. Previously (Chapter 6), the state actors wanted to take responsibility for bilingual citizens with double language competence and promote such competences. The state could then take the responsibility for the development of language diversity that existed in schools regardless of students' linguistic or cultural background. Then, it was stated that students "with a language other than Swedish have the right to receive equivalent education with other students" and that "the school must actively take advantage of their cultural heritage" (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980:19).

At the time, the teaching was based on active bilingualism, cooperation, coexistence and equal opportunities in order to promote the inclusion of migrants in Sweden. The discourse of equality and intercultural cooperation, together with the presence of many students with different ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, had an impact on all staff training (SOU 1983:57:22-23). And in the curriculum, it was stated that "The school shall seek to establish solidarity with disadvantaged groups within and outside the country. It must actively promote the inclusion of the immigrants of our country in society" (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980:19).

In contrast to the 1980s, during this period of 1989-1999 the school is positioned as an institution teaching individual responsibility and choice making, in relation to the market discourse, and traditional values based on the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism. In the 1990s, increasing language and cultural diversity within Sweden as a nation was seen as a dilemma: it was argued such an increase required "a strong anchorage in your own culture, history and language" and, at the same time, the creation of broader identities, namely "an identity that can include and relate to not only the specific Swedish but also to a Nordic,

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

European and extremely global identity” (SOU 1992:94: 89). In the Curriculum Committee Report of 1992 (SOU 1992:94) language diversity was seen as enabling Swedish citizens to understand others’ cultures and values, the increase in language and cultural diversity within Sweden was seen to challenge the nation’s interest in maintaining its own culture, history and language (SOU 1992:94). This in turn caused the debate on the importance of Swedish cultural heritage to become as prominent as it did during the 1960s. Although the documents of the 1990s (SOU 1992: 94; Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) advocate for the importance of knowledge of different cultures, the individual (migrant) student is positioned as responsible for maintaining his or her mother tongue knowledge and preserving his or her cultural heritage. It is hence ultimately not seen as the responsibility of the state:

The main responsibility for these other cultural heritages, how they are managed, developed and transferred to subsequent generations, always lies primarily on the individuals themselves and not the state. (SOU 1996:55: 353)

In a democracy like Sweden, the government cannot place obstacles in the way of people’s desire to live their own lives, as long as no laws or regulations are violated. The right of the individual to join together with others also applies when making their own ethnic and cultural expressions. (SOU 1996:55: 353)

In this period, the necessity for migrants and minority students to express their own cultural values is primarily the concern of the individual him- or herself. As in the quote above, the Government cannot put obstacles in the way of how people live their own lives, as long as no core values or regulations of Swedish society are *violated*. This wording gives the impression that migrants have the right to, and are free to, express their own culture as long as they in no way challenge the majorities culture, norms and values.

From migration to integration and employability

Elections to Sweden's Parliamentary Assembly were held on September 1994. The outcome was that Sweden, after three years of Conservative Coalition Government, established Social Democratic Government (Aylott & Bolin 2007). In his inaugural speech, the new Social Democratic Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson stressed that the core values of Swedish democracy are the ideas of equal rights and the integrity of all people. "Therefore, discrimination, xenophobia and racism must be combated wherever such tendencies occur" (Regeringsförklaringen, 1994). Carlsson claimed that the Sweden of today is a multicultural society: "We must jointly prevent society from being split between people from different countries and cultures. Everyone in our society must now be mobilized to fight segregation and increase integration" (Regeringsförklaringen, 1994).

In order to improve the integration of all individuals in society, in November 1994 the Government appointed a committee to analyze Swedish migration policy. In its report (*Sweden, the Future and Multiculturalism* – SOU 1996:55), the committee presented a comprehensive overview regarding the migration policy. The committee proposed new goals and guidelines for migration policy, including home language education for students whose mother tongue was not Swedish.

The Government criticized the previous migration policy for singling out a certain category of people in society, and changed the policy's name from *migration* policy to the policy of *integration* and *employability*. These new keywords signaled the importance of integrating all individuals into Swedish society. The new Social Democratic Government furthermore discussed the problem of exclusion from the labor market:

The most extensive problem for both those who are affected and for Swedish society as a whole is the weak contact with working life that can be found in many groups. An exclusion from the labor market and a permanent dependence on welfare is a problematic reality for many. The

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

Committee highlights statistics in the report regarding how especially immigrants suffer from unemployment both regularly and structurally. (SOU 1996:55:12)

In its Proposition of 1997/98 (Prop. 1997/98:16), the Government considered the concept of *'immigrant'* to be old and it was completely rejected. The Government based its Proposition on the results of Government Official Report made public in 1996 (SOU 1996:55). The new integration policy, replacing the previous migration policy, was intended to include equal rights and opportunities for all individuals, regardless of their linguistic background. *Integration* should therefore, unlike *migration*, be the concern of the entire population:

The objectives of integration policy shall be equal rights and opportunities for all irrespective of ethnic and cultural background, a community with the diversity of society as its foundation, and a social development – characterized by mutual respect and tolerance – that everyone, no matter their background, shall be a part of and responsible for. (Prop. 1997/98:16)

In the integration policy, the target group would no longer be a certain category of people who had earlier immigrated to Sweden. Measures of integration should instead be directed at all individuals in Sweden with both “natives and migrants” being given “good prospects for success in life”, but as it was argued, it was ultimately “the individual, and the family, or the group who consciously or unconsciously chooses to be integrated” (SOU1996:55: 76). That is, integration and employability were ultimately seen as the result of one’s own choices.

The previous integration politics contained collective solutions that positioned migrants as *a group* without considering their individual needs and responsibilities (SOU 1996:55). The motives behind the policy change from migration to integration policy were largely due to labor market actors that pointed out certain ethnic groups as disadvantaged in the labor market. In this sense, the

Government aimed to integrate individual migrants into society – irrespective of their language background. Thus, the new idea of individual responsibility was believed to increase the employability of integrated individuals in a unified society. The new policy was still aimed at migrants as *a group*, but they were to be subjected to a *general policy* directed at the whole of the Swedish population (Prop. 1997/98:16:19-20). In order for them to be integrated under the same conditions as the majority population, the state politics specified an increased emphasis on school effectiveness, mainly based on the Swedish language and its substantial use:

Being able to speak and understand Swedish facilitates integration. Therefore, everyone who is a permanent resident of Sweden should have knowledge of the Swedish language. (Prop. 1997/98:16: 55)

Knowledge in Swedish was seen to lead to an increased integration of migrant students in Sweden. The Government proposed (Prop. 1997/98:16) that the integration policy be strongly directed towards individual responsibility to learn Swedish, and become integrated and employable.

Unifying language important for integration

The notions of integration and employability place great emphasis on a substantial use of the unifying language for integration in society. The Government Official Report of 1996 (SOU 1996:55) discussed a growing concern regarding the position of the Swedish language in areas where many migrants lived. It was argued that many students did not speak proper Swedish, as a result of segregation, i.e., because they lived in areas where they only spoke their home languages, and had very few contacts with the (ethnic) Swedish society:

Knowledge in the Swedish language appears to be the issue in the field of education that presents the greatest concern today. The ability to speak Swedish is the only prerequisite for both participating and earning a living, and thus having a stronger position in society (...). Language learning takes time, and those who have relatively recently arrived in Sweden naturally

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

cannot have had the time to learn Swedish well; but even those who have lived a long time in their new homeland have obvious gaps in their knowledge. (SOU 1996:55: 375)

The mastery of Swedish was seen to provide opportunities for active participation in mainstream society and higher education. Education in Swedish was seen as a means for national cohesion and employability. The degree of one's mastery of cultural codes and knowledge about the majority's social institutions was seen to be of great importance for individuals' integration in "majority's societal institutions":

Minority members must learn to master the majority language. For example, it is knowledge of the majority language and knowledge of the majority society that provide opportunities for participation in society and access to higher education. The degree of mastery of cultural codes and the knowledge and skills found in the majority societal institutions, school, and preschool is therefore of great importance to individuals' opportunities. (SOU 1996:55:177)

As indicated above, a high level of proficiency in Swedish was viewed as important to enable the active participation of students and young people who have a mother tongue other than Swedish. The fulfillment of the goals of integration and participation came to be highly connected to sufficient knowledge of a unifying language – Swedish – and thereby also to the fulfillment of the integration goals for the individual. In this sense, the school should provide "good" knowledge of Swedish so that migrant students would have the opportunity to benefit from school teaching and participate in social life:

Students with a foreign background should be given such a *good Swedish* education that they have the opportunity to take part in school education so that they can prepare for adult life; participate in social life, and have opportunities to earn a living on the same terms as other students. (SOU 1996:55:377; italics added by author)

Learning good Swedish in order to fulfill one's educational goals and thereby be integrated into society became not only an opportunity for individual students, but also an obligation, in order "to make one's own living on the same terms as other students". The Government considered that, in cases in which migrants do not learn "good" Swedish, this is a serious social concern for the whole of society:

That immigrants living in Sweden learn Swedish appears not only as an important goal in itself, but also as a means of reaching other, more overall, and goals. Knowledge in Swedish is central to immigrants' integration in Sweden. Immigrants' not learning Swedish well enough is a serious social problem and is by no means merely a school or education issue. (SOU 1996:55:174)

The discourse on knowledge of Swedish as cohesive for the nation emphasized the importance of mastering the language as a precondition for all individuals to integrate in order to be employable and gain a stronger position in society. The idea of a common language aims to unify the nation by creating a sense of belonging to one group (Swedes). As Westling Allodi (2007:143) observed, "The definition of nation includes the concept of *equality-as-uniformity as a value and a goal to work for*". In this context, the need for one common language for the whole of society was strongly stressed:

That everyone living in Sweden has a common language is also a prerequisite for *holding together* the multicultural nation and creating bridges between different peoples. The Committee therefore wishes to strongly emphasize the importance of Swedish education and to strengthen the conditions of the Swedish language *as cohesive cement*. (SOU 1996:55:375; italics added by author)

The Swedish language as a unifier of the nation is positioned as *cohesive cement* for all people living in Sweden. Thus, it is necessary for everyone living in Sweden to have a unifying language in order to *hold together* the multicultural nation and create bridges between different communities. According to the perspective outlined throughout the Government Official Report of 1996 (SOU

1996:55), it is the migrant him- or herself who first needs to learn the unifying language in order to be integrated, which in turn shows an increased individual responsibility. The basic view expressed in the Report (SOU 1996:55) is a unifying principle of one common language that holds together the Swedish multilingual nation.

The positioning of mother tongue education

As an effect of the considerable difficulties that emerged as concerns mother tongue education during the early 1990s as a result of financial savings and a new funding system. The Government raised concerns about what was then referred to as home language education and the worsening working conditions for teachers of mother tongue education:

The working conditions for home language teachers have greatly changed. Many municipalities apply a system using a central pool of home language teachers, whose services are offered to the schools. Teachers often teach students from several grades and several schools together. Home language teachers are thus usually not included in the school's work teams, which means that co-planning and collaboration with other teachers is impossible. These conditions have negative consequences for students' language learning and knowledge development in the home language. (SOU 1996/55:190-191)

The lack of cooperation between mother tongue teachers and other teachers at schools caused difficulty in coexistence and cooperation between mother tongue teaching and the rest of the ordinary teaching:

The most serious consequence is that *the signals given to the surroundings become negative*. The ordinary teaching that is organized during the school day is valued more highly than that which is excluded. This makes it clear to everyone *that home language education is not as important as other school subjects*. (SOU 1996:55:190; italics added by author)

Hence, mother tongue as a subject is positioned as a less important, low-status school subject in comparison to all other school subjects. The formulation I have added in italics above explicitly indicates that mother tongue education is not viewed as important as the rest of the day-to-day activities at school. In its Proposition of 1996/97 (Prop. 1996/97:110), the Government indicated that mother tongue education was voluntary and was therefore scheduled after school hours: “It is natural that voluntary education is organized after the regular school day and is perhaps the only way to organize teaching groups” (Prop. (1996/97:110, 23-27). In its Proposition (Prop. 1996/97:110) the Government suggests that this is the only way to provide mother tongue education. The quotation below illustrates a pedagogic dilemma when it comes to home language education in general. The existence of positive effects of this education on students’ education is regarded with suspicion:

Analyses of the advantages and disadvantages of home language in school are hard pressed to constantly keep track of all the other factors that contribute to school results. Thus, *it is difficult to make science-based statements* about the effects of home language teaching on other school work. However, the Committee nonetheless asserts that home language education can be motivated partly as a part of the introduction, as a newly arrived student may need to receive some teaching in his or her home language while learning Swedish, and partly as an aspect of the affirmation of the multicultural society. (SOU 1996/55: 375-376; italics added by author)

Hence, the “effects of home language...in the school” are questioned. The provision of home language education is motivated partly as part of the introduction of newly arrived students. As is evident, the Government Proposition (Prop. 1996/97:110) positions mother tongue education as an auxiliary subject, which facilitates the introduction of “newly arrived” students in Swedish, and their learning of the Swedish language:

The research shows, among other things, that home language is needed in order to support the development of the student in the home language. Home language teaching is also needed in order to support the learning of

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

Swedish, since a qualified development of the first language facilitates the learning of the second language. (Prop. 1996/97:110: 25)

The degree of skill in the Swedish language determined the status of the mother tongue. Thus, the fulfillment of the educational goals in school and in working life is connected to the importance of knowing the Swedish language. The mother tongue is regarded as a kind of supportive tool at school.

From home language to mother tongue

The Government offers a description of a number of specific initiatives within the field of Swedish and mother tongue education. In its Proposition (Prop. 1996/97:110), it states that the term “home language” has been used in the Swedish school system since 1968. This term positions students’ mother tongue as a language spoken only at their homes and as a language used merely in informal settings:⁴⁶

The term home language has implicitly implied the language spoken in the student’s home. This conjures thoughts of a language that can only be used in informal contexts. The Government believes that a change in terms is in line with the strengthened position of this subject in the new curriculum. A name change can also reinforce the importance of the subject for students, parents, and school staff. The Government therefore intends to replace the term *home language* with *mother tongue*. (Prop.1996/97:110:27; italics added by author)

Hence, in its Proposition the Government recommended that the term “home language” [hemspråk] be replaced with “mother tongue” [modersmål]. It was believed that this change would enhance the importance of the subject for students, parents, and school staff. The Government made this replacement in July 1997. In addition, the Government emphasized the need to raise the status of mother tongue education with thought to bilingual stu-

⁴⁶ For more details, see Chapter 1 Section 1.1.1.

dents' learning and communication. On the other hand, mother tongue education was facing significant financial, organizational and administrative problems (SOU1996: 55; Prop. 1996/97:110). According to Lindberg (2007:77), the provision of mother tongue education is conditioned, it is offered “outside the regular curriculum, at the close of the ordinary school day”, with mother tongue teachers “ambulating between different schools” and “marginalised and isolated, due to limited social contact with other teachers”. As Borevi (1998) argues, the issues that are associated with the teaching of majority students seem to be regarded as more important than those that are associated with minority students.

Concluding discussion

In Chapter 7 I have delineated the overall mother tongue education discourse, characterizing a new order of discourse structured by a market discourse, the discourse of Swedish language, a discourse of integration, and traditional values. The so-called (public) market discourse that began to be visible already in 1989 was formed by the keywords *free school choice*, *decentralization*, *municipalization and individual responsibility*, *employability*, and *integration policy*. The (public) market discourse built on arguments of responsibility, competitiveness and effectiveness. The state aimed to achieve a school system with fewer regulations and clearer goals based on the principles of free choice, competitiveness among schools, cost-efficiency, and increased individual responsibility. Students and their parents were enabled to make free school choices, among public as well as free schools. In order to integrate everyone in society, the Government changed the so-called *migration policy* to *integration policy*. The keywords *cultural heritage*, *Christian tradition*, *Western humanism*, *Nordic community* and *cultural diversity* formed the discourse of traditional values. The assumptions of the discourse of traditional values were that the values of the Swedish Christian tradition and humanism are, or should be, a common national “fundament”.

DECENTRALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, INTEGRATION
AND THE DEVALUATION OF MOTHER TONGUE
EDUCATION 1989-1999

The recontextualization of mother tongue education discourse has shown that the discourse of bilingualism of the Social Democratic welfare regime 1970s-1980s was challenged by a new discourse, that of the (public-) market school 1989-1999. The state, as the only existing guarantor for education, was no longer responsible for mother tongue education. This education had lost its former position and was now faced with significant economic problems (Prop. 1996/97:110:23-27). As Esping-Andersen (1990:22), Lundhal (2013) have shown, welfare states' market economies are characterized by a high degree of responsabilization whereby school is generally treated as a market. Hence, the positioning of mother tongue education was heavily dependent on the welfare state's economy. When the discourse of the (public-) market school gained a strong position, the discourse of mother tongue education, which now depended on municipal funds, changed along with a devaluation of mother tongue education (Prop.1996/97:110:23-27). Mother tongue was positioned as clearly subordinate to the Swedish language (as well as to all other school subjects). Swedish was to be the *unifying language* and *cohesive cement* for *holding together* the nation. The school as an arena was to convey a cultural heritage based on the discourse of traditional values upholding the Christian tradition and Western humanism. Hence, the discursive period of 1989-1999 was characterized by social change Sweden as a nation, a welfare-state market economy and the demands of individual citizens, in terms of integration and employability.

Swedish as a unifying value 2000-2017

During the period of 2000-2017, the mother tongue education discourse entailed a focus on a new cohesive language politics characterized by a combination of conservative and liberal ideologies that together promoted the Swedish language as a unifying value. In this chapter, to begin with, I discuss the government's development plan regarding preschool and compulsory school education. I then discuss a new official (Swedish) language politics characterized by a tension between national interests and global events. I furthermore discuss the ideas about Swedish cultural heritage inherent in these politics. During this period the keywords *lifelong learning*, *entrepreneurship* and *employability* entered the new curriculum, and mother tongue education became a supportive tool for the learning of other school subjects. Additionally, mother tongue support for newly arrived students, commonly referred to as study guidance in mother tongue, became an issue on the political agenda. The chapter ends with concluding comments.

A government plan to improve education equality

In September 2000, in his inaugural speech Social Democratic Prime Minister Göran Persson stressed that the first parliamentary session of the new millennium was assembled in a time of confidence and optimism for the future of the nation. Unemployment was low, growth was high, and Sweden was claimed to be at the forefront of the economic development (Regeringensförklaring, 2000). Equal rights and equal opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic, religious or cultural background, were the core values of

the nation, Persson claimed: “In our multicultural nation, the Swedish language is a cohesive factor for human freedom and life chances” (Regeringensförklaring,, 2000: 7). Against this background, the Government wanted a school where all individual students would receive a good education, a school where students of different backgrounds and experiences could come together. The Government presented a development plan regarding pre-school, school and adult education, with which they hoped to improve the general level of school quality and strengthen everyone’s right to knowledge and education (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188). Access to a good school and education was claimed to be a fundamental right for all; of great importance not only for the individual citizen but also for the nation. The Government (2001/02:188) furthermore claimed that a well-educated population broadened the democracy, enabled prosperity, and strengthened Sweden’s competitiveness. The keyword *lifelong learning* was introduced as a symbol of (the importance of) post-secondary education for young people:

Globalization also means increased demands for change in working life. A good and broad basic education provides the prerequisites for quick change, learning new things, and advancing. Those who have a short education are becoming increasingly vulnerable and have a hard time finding or retaining work. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188: 6)

More people will benefit from lifelong learning, and at the same time broader opportunities will be given to young people to choose to continue studying after secondary school. Increased diversity in the supply of post-secondary education will benefit individuals, the education system, consumers on the labor market, and social development in a broader perspective. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188:58)

Lifelong learning was seen as especially important for municipalities characterized by social and ethnic segregation. In the so-called segregated areas there was, according to a Government Letter of 2001 (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188), an overrepresentation of students who had difficulty attaining educational goals. Special attention was to be given to the schooling of students with a back-

ground other than Swedish, and a lack of knowledge in the Swedish language was seen as a cause of a lack of integration. According to the government perspective outlined above, “particular attention [had] been paid” to all students with a mother tongue other than Swedish to allow them to develop knowledge of Swedish in order to improve their grades in all school subjects. Mastery of the Swedish language was seen as very important. The government actors also intended to increase access to libraries for migrant students, in order to encourage their reading and language development. The language development was considered significantly important:

For children with an immigrant background, language development is central in order to later be able to digest teaching in all subjects. A high-quality Swedish language education, good access to libraries, and incentives for reading are essential measures for the successful development of the languages. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188:34)

Swedish language teaching of high quality and a substantial use of the Swedish language (by speaking and reading it), it was hoped, would elevate the position of students with Swedish as their second language become comparable to those with Swedish as their mother tongue. The discourse of mother tongue education was based on two basic underlying assumptions:

Mother tongue education fills an important function for these students as a support for both the mother tongue and Swedish. A well-functioning mother tongue contributes to a secure identity, which facilitates all learning. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188: 34-35)

The first underlying assumption was that mother tongue education supports the learning of the Swedish language. The second underlying assumption was that this, in turn, improves all learning and helps students with a foreign background achieve the learning goals. As a result of the considerable problems during the 1990s, as accounted for in the previous chapter, in 2001 the Social Democratic Government decided to give National Agency for Educa-

tion the mandate to investigate mother tongue education in kindergarten, compulsory school, and upper secondary school:

...to continuously follow the results in elementary school and analyze the reasons why students do not reach the goals. Particular focus has been on students of foreign background. This work provides support for action at both the national and the local level. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188: 9)

The final results of the investigation were made public in May 2002. In its report (Skolverkets rapport, 2002), National Agency for Education recommended improvements to mother tongue education and stressed its important role in helping students with a mother tongue other than Swedish fulfill their educational goals:

National Agency for Education concludes that it is necessary to strengthen the preschool's opportunity to help students with a mother tongue other than Swedish develop active bilingualism. Research and experience show that the learning of Swedish is facilitated if the child has been given the opportunity to work with conceptualization in the mother tongue spoken at home while doing a great deal of work in the Swedish language. (Skolverket, 2002: 71)

According to National Agency for Education (Skolverket, 2002), mother tongue education in its current form was being taught in different ways across the country. National Agency for Education (Skolverkets, 2002) stated that it was necessary to strengthen the preschool opportunities to help students with a mother tongue other than Swedish develop active bilingualism. Learning Swedish would be facilitated if a student developed his or her mother tongue first, or in parallel. Mother tongue education was thus seen as a supportive tool in the process of learning the Swedish language and achieving education goals. This, in turn, was seen as the "key to Swedish society":

All students and adolescents who grow up in Sweden and attend Swedish school have a self-evident right and obligation to learn Swedish. The Swedish language *is the key to Swedish society*, to participation and to affiliation. *For learning Swedish, one needs support in one's mother tongue.* All students and young people have a self-evident right to their own mother tongue and

their own identity. The school shall therefore promote the learning and development of every student's own mother tongue. (Skolverket, 2002:72; italics added by author)

Mother tongue was thus seen as important for bilingual students, in that it supports their learning and development. In its Letter, the Social Democratic Government stated that:

...a student should be able to learn other subjects in his or her mother tongue *before the student has sufficiently good knowledge of the Swedish language* to be able to attend the ordinary education. The school's multilinguistic work shall be supported. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188: 35; italics added by author)

Mother tongue was then explicitly constructed as a tool for the learning of other school subjects, to be used only "before the student has sufficiently good knowledge of the Swedish language". Learning Swedish was the overall goal for all individual students, irrespective of their linguistic background.

A new (Swedish) language politics

As a result of political ambitions to raise the general level of quality in education, a new (Swedish) language politics was created, in which Swedish was positioned as "a cohesive factor for human freedom and life chances" in the Government Inaugural Speech of 2000 (Regeringsförklaringen, 2000: 7).⁴⁷ A new integrated Swedish language politics emphasized the cohesive force of proficient knowledge of the Swedish language, as a force to keep cultural groups together, not through a shared and common descent or lineage but through a good knowledge of the Swedish language. Efforts were made to enable everyone living in Sweden to learn good Swedish. In the Government Proposition (Prop. 2005/06:2), it was stated that:

The Government considers that a cohesive Swedish language policy is required to promote the Swedish language, so that everyone in Sweden will

⁴⁷ See also The Government Directive (Dir 2000:66)

be given the opportunity to acquire it [...]. This language policy should take into account the overall language situation in the country. It also includes that anyone with a language other than Swedish needs to maintain and develop their mother tongue. (Prop. 2005/06:2:1)

The language policy hence aimed to strengthen the position of Swedish as a cohesive language for the whole nation without denying students with a foreign background to develop their mother tongue. The Government argued that a unifying Swedish language politics would lead to individual integration – irrespective of (cultural or linguistic) background. The need for the new language politics positioning Swedish as the official language in the country was also motivated by a fear of Swedish being “pushed aside by more dominant languages”:

Swedish is a very well described and documented language, both contemporary Swedish and the language of earlier periods. Furthermore, there is a rich and lively body of literature in the Swedish language. Swedish is also one of the EU's official languages. However, the Swedish language, like many other languages, in the long term, as the Committee points out, *risks being pushed aside by more dominant languages* in certain areas of society in light of the development of society. (Prop. 2005/06:2:15; italics added by author)

Based on these concerns, the Government proposed that Parliament further reinforce the position of the Swedish language, as it was viewed as a bearer of Swedish identity and culture in general:

By tradition, the Swedish language the language used in Sweden, and is thus the most important identity and culture bearer. Swedish is the dominant language within the country's borders, and the common language for communication and participation. The Swedish language is therefore of the greatest significance for Sweden and the people who work and live here. Therefore, a starting point for a unifying Swedish language policy is that Swedish should be the main language – the common language of society. (Prop. 2005/06:2:15)

In the Government Proposition, it is said that the cohesive force of the Swedish language contributed to a common shared identity and culture within the national borders. The goal of this new and

integrated (Swedish) language politics was not seen to be in opposition to the development of a globalized society, but would instead provide conditions for taking full advantage of Swedish as well as minority languages, as presented in the text below:

The country's main language is Swedish, and the national minority languages are Finnish, Meänkieli, Yiddish, Romani Chib, and Sami. [...]. Knowledge in and about several languages is a great asset. We assert that a strong common language will provide the conditions for taking full advantage of the diversity of languages and cultures that exist within the country. (Prop. 2005/06:2:16)

The need to accommodate the language diversity in society was emphasized, and was viewed as a resource for the multilingual Swedish nation. The Swedish language, however, was regarded as an official and unifying language for the whole nation. With this new (Swedish) language policy, the state was making an effort to respond to the tension between the national and the global. Lindberg (2009) argues that it was the perceived risk of increased globalization and the increasing mobility over national borders that led to the position of the Swedish language being strengthened. Students and parents were becoming aware of the need to learn Swedish as it was seen as a precondition for democratic participation and communication in public life:

Losses in the usage areas of the Swedish language can reduce the possibilities for transparency and democratic participation and control. A lack of Swedish terms and expressions can create communication problems in society and also affect the attitude towards our own language. (Prop. 2005/06:2:16)

The perspective delineated in the excerpt above shows the perceived risk of the Swedish language being pushed aside and the attempts made by the state to respond to the challenges of having many languages in society, as a result of globalization. According to Milani (2007:5), this concern was “symptomatic of nation-state dynamics related to the processes of transformation that are often

referred to in the concomitant literature under the term of globalisation”.

Swedish as an official and unifying language

In 2006 Sweden elected a new Conservative Coalition Government, promoted as the Alliance for Sweden and focused on job creation and tax cuts.⁴⁸ This election marked the end of a 12-year governing period by the Social Democrats. This then enabled the four-party alliance to form a coalition government. When this new Government was established, it argued that the current Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) did not provide comprehensible goals needed for schools and students (Prop. 2008/09: 87:7). To improve goals and knowledge requirements, the Government appointed an investigation inquiry (Dir. 2006:19).⁴⁹ The inquiry summarized the results in its final report, made available in May 2007 (SOU 2007:28- *Clear Goals and Knowledge Requirements in Compulsory School*). Based on the results of this investigation, the Government prepared a Proposition (Prop. 2008/09: 87) regarding a new curriculum.

The Government believed that the Swedish school could achieve significantly better results by designing a new curriculum for compulsory school, which should include compulsory national tests in Grades 3, 6 and 9 of compulsory school, as well as a new grading system. The language policy also emphasized the importance of strengthening the Swedish language as a cohesive language for the whole nation. Based on an earlier Social Democratic Proposition in 2005/06 (Prop. 2005/06:2), the new Conservative Government proposed that Parliament further reinforce the position of the Swedish language. This meant that its status was raised from that of a national language to that of an official language protected by law. The law would also include the national minority languages and Swedish Sign Language. Swedish was formally

⁴⁸ Downloaded (2018-03-17) from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380701276477>.

⁴⁹ See Appendices 1-2 in SOU 2007:28.

awarded the status of an official language in the Language Act (2009: 600) of 2009:

4§ Swedish is the main language of Sweden.

5§ As the main language, Swedish is society's common language, to which everyone living in Sweden should have access, and which should be used in all areas of society.

6§ The public has a special responsibility for the use and development of Swedish.

The national minority languages

7§ The national minority languages are Finnish, Yiddish, Meänkieli, Romani Chib, and Sami.

8§ The public has a special responsibility to protect and promote the national minority languages.

Swedish Sign Language [teckenspråk]

9§ The public has a special responsibility to protect and promote Swedish Sign Language (Språklag, 2009:600)

The Language Act (Språklag 2009: 600) declared that Swedish was an official language for all citizens, that could be used in all segments of society. According to Laino (2013:71), “this was the first time that Swedish language by law – that is, not only *de facto* but also *de jure* – was recognized as the main official language in Sweden”. The notion that all people within the nation state must share a language is common in nationalist thinking, as accounted for by Gellner (1983), Smith (2006), and Anderson (2006), stating that this is essential to the construction of a shared ethnicity and nation-building. Esping-Andersen (1990) also underlines that conservative welfare states commonly emphasize the role of an official and unifying language. As in the first discursive period of 1957-1965, the school subject of the Swedish language for ethnic Swedish students was no longer called home language but rather first language. This language policy of 1990-2000 contributed to the increasing distance between mother tongue for bilingual students

and mother tongue for the majority ethnic students, commonly known as first language, i.e. Swedish (Lainio, 2013). This process of elevating the status of the Swedish language intensified during the discursive period of 2000-2017, appointing Swedish as the official language by law.

Swedish cultural heritage

What happens in the world also affects national developments within nation states' borders. Despite internationalization and an increasing mobility over national borders, the nation state has not played out its role (Johansson, 2005). The Swedish Government regarded the historical dimension and knowledge about the nation's democratic values as essential knowledge for all students:

The Government therefore considers that the historical dimension is necessary to provide all students with a common frame of reference and core competence in our democratic society. A common core of historical knowledge is important and should apply to all students. (Regeringens skrivelse, 2001/02:188: 37)

Historical knowledge of Sweden would constitute a common frame of reference, a common core for all. The school as a social institution was given the responsibility to convey the knowledge of Swedish language, history, and cultural heritage, and should also provide support for families regarding the social upbringing of their children. In this new Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011), the conservative Christian values are built on arguments of cultural heritage based on the same particular sets of keywords as in the previous Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) and even earlier in the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962):

Education and fostering are in a deeper sense a matter of transferring a cultural heritage – values, traditions, languages, knowledge – from one generation to the next. The school will thus serve as a support for families in their responsibility for the children's education and development. (Skolverket, 2011: 9)

Education and fostering is in a deeper sense a matter of transferring a cultural heritage – values, traditions, languages knowledge – from one generation to the next. The school will thus serve as a support for families in their responsibility for the children’s education and development. (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994:7)

The quotes illustrate how cultural heritage, tradition and language (Skolverket, 2011; Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) are built on the same keywords and formulations in both curricula when it comes to the responsibility for the social upbringing of children. As previously discussed (Chapter 7), the traditional values and cultural heritage in the documents referenced above can also be found in those of the early 1960s (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962):

The interaction between school and society must be such that the school, through its work, not only fulfils a social function that corresponds to society’s current needs but also in the long term becomes a positive creative force in social development. As a social institution, the school’s task is largely *conveying the cultural heritage and passing it on*. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962:14; italics added by author)

Knowledge about Swedish cultural heritage is assumed to further one’s social development. Already in the first discursive period of the 1960s, it was emphasized that it is the task of the school as a social institution to embrace cultural heritage and pass it on to all children in Sweden. Apart from the second discursive period of the 1970s-1980s, when the social democratic equality ideology promoted language diversity and social solidarity, cultural heritage was claimed to be important in all the other three discursive periods (the 1960s, 1990s and 2000s). The ambition of the state politics to pass on values and traditions from one generation to the next appears to be positioned in the same way in the new Curriculum of the 2000s (Skolverket, 2011) as in the previous Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994). According to this discourse:

The inviolability of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, the equal value of all people, gender equality, and solidarity with the vulnerable and weak are the values the school shall shape and convey. In accordance with *the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism*, this is done through the individual's fostering to justice, generosity, tolerance and responsibility. (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994:5; italics added by author)

The inviolability of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, the equal value of all people, gender equality and solidarity with the vulnerable and weak are the values the school shall shape and convey. In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is done through the individual's fostering to justice, generosity, tolerance and responsibility. (Skolverket, 2011:7)

The description of basic democratic values is exactly the same in the Curricula of 1994 and 2011: both emphasize traditional values and the Christian tradition. A series of policy documents from the 1990s onward expressed a strong desire to pass the cultural heritage forward to everyone living in Sweden. This can be viewed as a phenomenon that shows a political consensus between Conservative Governments in terms of traditional values for the discursive periods of the 1960s, 1990s and 2000s.

Language and cultural diversity in time of globalization

Sweden as a multilingual society is discussed in the policy documents in relation to an increased mobility and globalization.

Linguistically diverse or multilingual societies are increasing worldwide. This has mainly to do with processes of globalization and Europeanization. Universal norms and standards in order to protect linguistic and cultural identity are spreading around the globe. (Marącz & Adamo, 2017:1)

The speaking of many languages by many citizens with roots in different parts of the world is regarded as a resource for international contacts and global development. Knowledge about being a multilingual society is depicted as necessary, and knowledge of several languages is likewise highlighted as desirable when it comes to international contact more or less in all four discursive periods.

The differences among discursive periods (the 1960s, 1970-1980, 1990 and the 2000s) lie rather in the approach to the diversity in society within national borders. Multilingualism in the documents of the 2000s appears to be positioned approximately the same as in the documents of the 1990s (SOU 1992:94; Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994; SKOLFS 1994:1). That is, language and cultural diversity were for the most part connected to the internationalization and globalization of society. The school's mission is the same in the Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011) and the Educational Act of the 1990s (SKOLFS, 1994:1). Increases in mobility and language diversity are depicted as something students should learn about in order to gain a global perspective. Students should also gain an understanding of the values of the multilingual diversity in Swedish society, as is clearly evident in the following quotations:

An international perspective is important in order to see our own reality in a global context, and to create international solidarity as well as prepare for a society with frequent contacts across cultural and national borders. The international perspective also means developing an understanding of the cultural diversity within the country. (Skolverket, 2011: 9-10)

An international perspective is important in order to see our own reality in a global context, and to create international solidarity as well as prepare for a society with frequent contacts across cultural and national borders. The international perspective also means developing an understanding of the cultural diversity within the country. (SKOLFS 1994:1:3)

This manifest emphasized international solidarity across nation-state borders. This can be likened with the first discursive period (1957-1965), whereby students were to gain an impartial understanding of "living conditions in different parts of our earth" and feel solidarity with far-away societies (SOU 1961/30:177). Already in the first discursive period of the 1960s, it was emphasized that the school as a social institution had an obligation to give students an understanding of "peoples' lives and conditions within other, far-away societies" (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962:18).

The motivation of the state politics to create international understanding and solidarity across cultures and nations in relation to the Swedish reality and cultural diversity was likewise seen to be necessary in the discursive periods of the 1990s and 2000s as well. Although both the Educational Act and the National Curriculum (SKOLFS, 1994:1; Skolverket, 2011) advocated knowledge and understanding about Sweden as a multicultural society, they constantly stress the importance of the values of international understanding and solidarity based on a global perspective *outside* the country.

It is thus notable that nation states seem to be in a kind of tension between the national and the global – regarding nation-building and the role of a unifying official language on the one hand, and globalization, migration, and meeting the needs of language diversity in an inclusive way on the other (McKelvey, 2017). However, Johansson (2005:32-33) argues that this tension does not mean that the national is in opposition to the global, but that these should rather be seen as two different ways of looking at global development. In order to meet the challenges that increasing internationalization and globalization present today, the state politics aimed to improve communication in Sweden and promote a Swedish identity by elevating Swedish to the position of the country's official language.

Lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and employability in a new curriculum

The new National Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011), contrary to that of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994), introduced the keywords *lifelong learning* and *entrepreneurship*. That is, lifelong learning and entrepreneurship were mentioned for *the very first time* in the educational goals of the new Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011). The keywords outlined below define the school as an institution that promotes students' development and lifelong *desire* to learn. According to this discourse, the *desire* to learn should not

end when one's school education is completed. Notable examples of this can be found in the quotations below:

The School Act (2010: 800) states that education in the school system aims at students acquiring and developing knowledge and values. It is to promote all students' development and learning, as well as a *lifelong desire to learn*. (Skolverket, 2011: 7; italics added by author)

The school shall stimulate students' creativity, curiosity and self-confidence, as well as their desire to test their own ideas and solve problems. Students shall be given the opportunity to take initiative and responsibility, and to develop their ability to work both independently and with others. The school shall thereby help students develop an approach that *promotes entrepreneurship*. (Skolverket, 2011: 9; italics added by author)

In the second example, the keyword *entrepreneurship* is described as a kind of curiosity, a new way to encourage students. The school's mission should be to encourage students' "creativity, curiosity and self-confidence, as well as their desire to test their own ideas and solve problems". The mission of the school, according to this economic discourse, was to develop an entrepreneurial approach. The keywords *lifelong learning* and *entrepreneurship* emerged here as a way to adjust the school system to the labor market (Dahlstedt & Hertzberg, 2011:180). In this way, education would teach students to move forward in creating their own work and thus contribute to their own development and to the economy at large. This process was driven by a perceived need to improve school performance, increase effectiveness, and enhance employability.

To promote this, the school was to create opportunities for students to learn new things and become employable. The economic keywords were based on the arguments of individual responsibility for lifelong learning and employability in the labor market, as well as social developments within a broader perspective. With an emphasis on the keywords *lifelong learning*, *entrepreneurship*, *employability* and *integration*, the responsibility was placed on individual students and parents rather than the state and society. Dahlstedt & Hertzberg (2011:185) argue that several policy docu-

ments from the 1990s onward express a strong desire for lifelong learning and entrepreneurship as possible alternatives for young people to enter the labor market.

The gradually increased emphasis on lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and employability in educational contexts illustrates the way policymakers reasoned about the role of education in society in the 2000s. School effectiveness, in terms of the fulfillment of individual goals, placed great emphasis on the Swedish language. Moreover, the new educational goals, in terms of entrepreneurial education, lifelong learning and entrepreneurship in Sweden, were linked to labor-market and liberal ideology. The terms linked to labor-market signaled a strong ideological influence in the curriculum (Dahlstedt & Hertzberg, 2011:185). This market-oriented education policy furthermore promoted Swedish as an official and unifying language. Thus, the importance of Swedish proficiency was emphasized as crucial in the multilingual Swedish society. The ways to accommodate bilingualism in Swedish welfare practices were now based on the needs of the market economy, rather than on the goals of traditional social democratic ideals of diversity, multilingualism and equality.

Mother tongue education as a supportive tool at school

Mother tongue education is positioned as a tool for helping bilingual students get a good start in their second language, Swedish. Already in the early 2000s, when the Social Democratic Government was still leading the country, mother tongue education was seen as a tool for assisting in the learning of other school subjects. However, for bilingual students the positioning of mother tongue was associated with complications mainly characterized by financial and planning difficulties, which meant that only half of all bilingual students participated in mother tongue education (Skolverket, 2006). According to the quote below, schools still encountered problems in organizing mother tongue education, due to difficulty

finding suitable teachers and because the teaching was often provided after the ordinary school day. For example, a press release by National Agency for Education in 2006 stated:

In the 2005/2006 academic year, 15 percent of all students in compulsory school were eligible for mother tongue education. Only half of these students participated in mother tongue education. One reason why more are not taught in their mother tongue is the difficulty finding suitable teachers. Another reason is that the teaching is often provided after the end of the ordinary school day, and lacks contact with teaching in other subjects. (Skolverkets, 2006)⁵⁰

Learning mother tongue, or “allowing students to receive a part of their education in their mother tongue”, was assumed to improve learning other school subjects, e.g. Mathematics. As the quote below indicates, in its Proposition the Government highlights a number of experiences in which the subject of Mathematics has been taught via students’ mother tongue:

Many students with a foreign background who come to Sweden late in their school career may possess good subject knowledge from their home countries. Before they have enough knowledge in the Swedish language to fully digest the teaching in various subjects, it could have positive effects to allow students to receive a part of their education, for example Mathematics, in their mother tongue. Efforts in various parts of the country have shown good results. (Prop. 2005/06:2: 40)

The Government believed that learning Swedish was enabled by mother tongue education. Previous research has highlighted the benefits of teaching in two languages, which practically meant that bilingual students would read in one language and write in another (Garcia, 2009). In this discursive period, the degree of skill in the Swedish language determined multilingual students’ access in their mother tongue education.

The expressed political ambitions under the Conservative Coalition Government regarding the support and development of mother tongue education was still characterized by scarce financial

⁵⁰ Available at: www.skolverket.se/sb/d/203/a/5218.

support, few teaching hours, and very limited support for bilingual activities. The report made public by National Agency for Education in 2008 stated that mother tongue education was largely an external activity in relation to other teaching activities at school:

Mother tongue education as a subject appears to be a highly external activity in relation to the school, even though it is provided within the school building and is dedicated for school students. (Skolverket, 2008:18)

In being an external activity organized outside the school's ordinary schedule, mother tongue education did not encourage any cooperation between mother tongue education teachers and those teaching other subjects. Also, municipalities had difficulties organizing mother tongue education because they did not have *suitable* teachers. The rhetoric of emphasizing the difficulties involved in the provision of mother tongue education was based on the same arguments as in the 1990s (see Chapter 7). The same dilemma concerning the provision of mother tongue education is discussed in both the 1990s and the 2000s. More recently, the National Schools Inspectorate of 2010 (Skolinspektionen, 2010) concluded that mother tongue education was living its own life without a connection to other school activities. Rhetorically, there were however positive attitudes towards mother tongue education:

There is certainly a generally positive attitude in both preschools and schools regarding students developing a functioning multilingualism, and both staff and school management understand the importance of mother tongue education for the children's language and knowledge development. (Skolinspektionen, 2010:16:7)

On the other hand, students' knowledge in their mother tongue was rarely discussed when meeting with parents about the individual student's progress in school, and regular staff felt it was difficult to help students improve their knowledge in their mother tongue. As concluded in the report by National School Inspectorate, this led to the following goals of mother tongue education not being met.

The teaching in mother tongue has the aim that students with a language other than Swedish will develop their language so that they can build strong self-esteem and a clear perception of themselves and their life situation. (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994:24)

The teaching in the subject of mother tongue shall have the aim that students will develop knowledge in and about their mother tongue (...). The teaching will help students acquire knowledge of their mother tongue's structure and become aware of the importance of their mother tongue for their own learning in various school subjects. (Skolverket, 2011: 87)

The positioning of mother tongue in the latest Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011) is formulated differently than in the previous Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994). In the Curriculum of 2011, mother tongue education is positioned as a means to learn other school subjects.

Mother tongue education and newly arrived students

Recently a new term, or target group, has been introduced in relation to mother tongue education: “newly arrived students”, i.e. students who have recently arrived in Sweden from other parts of the world. According to the Conservative Coalition Government Memorandum (Ds. 2013:6), the newly arrived student is a student who has lived abroad and now resides, or is deemed to reside, in Sweden. The Memorandum (Ds. 2013:6) specifies how the reception and education of newly arrived students in compulsory, secondary, and upper secondary schools was to be regulated. The education of newly arrived students entailed being gradually channeled into an “ordinary” class in the Swedish school, in turn seen as crucial for the integration of newly arrived students.

In December 2014, Sweden elected a new Social Democratic Government, which proposed (Prop. 2014/15:45) that the Educational Act (SFS 2010:800) be modified so as to include the so-called newly arrived students and their integration into society. The definition of “newly arrived student” was included in the Educational Act of January 2016:

‘Newly arrived’ shall refer to a person who has lived abroad and is now a resident of or deemed to be resident of the country, and who has started his/her education here later than the autumn term of the calendar year in which the person reaches the age of seven years. A person shall no longer be considered newly arrived after four years of schooling in this country. (Prop. 2014/15:45: 18; SKOLFS 2016:2).

It was also stated that newly arrived students’ participation in preparatory class should be discontinued as soon as the individual student was deemed to have sufficient knowledge to participate in the ordinary education. In any case, teaching in the preparatory classes should not last longer than two years. A student would no longer be considered a newly arrived student after four years of schooling in Sweden (Prop. 2014/15:45). The Government argued that schools must take into consideration that newly arrived students are a heterogeneous group with individual needs. According to the Government Proposition of 2014/15 (Prop. 2014/15:45), most newly arrived students lack knowledge of the Swedish language. Proficiency in Swedish was seen as crucial for the fulfillment of their educational goals in all school subjects. Furthermore, a mastery of Swedish would enable active participation in the ordinary school teaching. The students needed to concentrate on the schooling language, Swedish, in order to be integrated into the ordinary teaching process. The teaching time in their schedule, including student’s elective subjects, was redistributed in favor of Swedish or Swedish as a second language. The teaching of Swedish as a schooling language was obviously more highly prioritized compared to the newly arrived students’ education in their mother tongue. This subordinated position of mother tongue education continued even as regards the study guidance in the mother tongue. Mother tongue guidance refers to the that students who cannot speak Swedish should be able to receive instruction in their own mother tongue:

The task has also included the investigation of how the school structures should best be designed so that newly arrived students and students with a mother tongue other than Swedish can best learn Swedish, and how stu-

dents with another mother tongue than Swedish can best be supported in their knowledge development in all school subjects through support in their mother tongue. (Prop. 2014/15:45:69)

Hence, in relation to “newly arrived students” the focus was not on their mother tongue education but they could receive support in their mother tongue to develop their knowledge in (other) school subjects.

[...] students who it is judged would benefit from focusing particularly on the Swedish language for a limited period of time. The reason why specifically Swedish is the subject that should be given a special position is that knowledge in Swedish enables learning in all other school subjects. (Prop. 2014/15:45:39)

The learning of the second language, Swedish, was prioritized for newly arrived students, as proficiency in Swedish was assumed to improve learning in all other school subjects. The idea was that newly arrived students would benefit from focusing only on learning Swedish instead of their mother tongue, as it was believed to help newly arrived students integrate into society. However, the Government suggests in its Proposition that it was the schools themselves that were to create the best possible opportunities for newly arrived students to learn Swedish quickly:

It is the responsibility of the school to organize the teaching of newly arrived students so that they are given the opportunity to develop knowledge in all school subjects while at the same time learning the Swedish language. One way to address this need may be to provide study guidance for students in their mother tongue; another way might be to use a language and knowledge developmental approach in the teaching. Sometimes, however, the assessment is that the student's needs would best be met by to some degree prioritizing teaching in Swedish or Swedish as a second language. (Prop. 2014/15:45: 38)

Emphasizing concerns in terms of teaching and learning Swedish in the most efficient way is comparable to the views expressed already in the first discursive period of the 1960s. Efforts to give the Swedish language a special position in schools position newly

arrived students' mother tongue as less valuable than Swedish. The positioning of newly arrived students was not always based on their individual needs; instead, general solutions were advocated. In the latest report from National School Inspectorate, made public in 2017, the situation for mother tongue had not been changed. Despite the fact that municipalities and schools were obliged to provide study guidance in students' mother tongue, this was obviously not realized:

Students who need study guidance in their mother tongue have a right to it. This right applies as in the case of special support in general. In 2016, as in previous years of supervision and review, the National School Inspectorate has found that principals have had difficulty recruiting study supervisors and providing study guidance to the extent necessary to meet the needs of newly arrived students. (Skolinspektionen, 2016:36)⁵¹

In this discursive period of the 2000s, for the purpose of the integration of newly arrived students, schools were to take into account each student's individual language needs. At the same time, mother tongue education was not assumed to be as important as other school subjects (Skolinspektionen, 2016: 36). Upholding the newly arrived students' right to study their mother tongue or receive guidance in their mother tongue at school was evidently not prioritized. And when mother tongue support was not provided, newly arrived students ran the risk of failing in several school subjects (Skolinspektionen, 2016: 36). In sum, realizing the obligation for schools and municipalities to provide mother tongue education and guidance was not assumed to be as important as educating newly arrived students in the Swedish language. According to the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL, 2015), it was stated in 2015 that the number of newly arrived students in compulsory school was still increasing.

During this period, the Social Democratic Government suddenly changed its migration policy, significantly reducing the num-

⁵¹ The Government appointed the Schools Inspectorate based on Diarienummer 01-2016:8479.

ber of asylum seekers in the country in 2015. According to a press release by National Agency for Education in 2017 (Skolverket, 2017), the radical increase of newly arrived students in 2015 significantly reduced in 2016. According to the Government Letter made public in 2016 (Regeringens skrivelse, 2016/17:206:7), the radical increase in migration into the country was seen as a rapidly increasing burden in Sweden, and it was assumed that the situation would worsen even more if nothing were done.

Concluding discussion

In this discursive period, I have delineated the overall mother tongue education discourse characterized by a combination of conservative and liberal discourse that together promoted the Swedish language as a unifying value. The discourse of mother tongue education was formed by keywords such as *mother tongue education as a supportive tool*, focusing on *newly arrived students* and the *Swedish language first*.

The discourse of a new Swedish language politics was formed by the keywords *an official language*, *proficiency*, *cohesive language*, *international perspective* and *globalization*. This discourse was characterized by a certain combination of conservatism and liberal ideology. According to the conservative ideas, integration in a multilingual Swedish nation state was assumed to be possible by way of a common language, Swedish, similar to the 1960s – while at the same time some efforts were made to meet the needs of diversity in terms of liberal ideology of entrepreneurial education: lifelong learning and entrepreneurship. The new keywords *lifelong learning*, *entrepreneurship* and *employability* emerged here, both as a contemporary way of learning things and as the adjustment of the school system to the labor market and globalization of the 2000s (Skolverket, 2011). The discourse of conservative values was formed by the keywords *Christian ethics* and *Western humanism*, based on *fundamental values* of democracy and human rights (Prop, 2005/06:2:15). Conservative Christian values were mentioned in

the Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994), and also earlier in the 1960s. Along with this, the liberal rhetoric on entrepreneurial education, as an adjustment to the labour market situation and globalization, was presented in the Curriculum.

To conclude, the recontextualization of mother tongue education discourse reveals that in the period of 2000 - 2017 the discourse of mother tongue education, as a result of discursive struggle, was marginalized. The new discourse of the Swedish language gained an even stronger position in this discursive period, as the Swedish language was legislated as an official language. The school was to provide study guidance in the mother tongue(s) of the newly arrived students, but had not fulfilled this obligation, and their learning of Swedish was highly prioritized, for them to learn other school subjects.

9

Discussion and conclusion: Discursive change and reproduction in mother tongue education policy

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate the policies of mother tongue education from 1957 to 2017, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of mother tongue education in the Swedish school system. I have done this through the delineation of what I term the mother tongue education discourse, which explicitly or implicitly expresses ideological standpoints in relation to mother tongue education in Sweden. The discourse of mother tongue education is actually not one discourse, but is rather formed by several. The delineation of mother tongue education discourse produces knowledge of the dominant conceptions and the ways of understanding, thinking and talking about mother tongue education and its target group, and about how this understanding has changed over time. The analysis of mother tongue education as discourse contributed to an understanding of mother tongue policies and how, and to some extent why, they have changed over time.

The thesis is based on the analytical concepts of order of discourse and recontextualization. As mentioned, I draw on the concept of recontextualization to investigate how the mother tongue education discourse(s) as an outcome of discursive struggles are articulated over time, and whether discursive reproduction or change has occurred. An order of discourse forms what I have

termed a discursive period. Delineating discursive periods enabled me to identify periods of reproduction and periods of change of mother tongue education policy. By way of analysis I have identified four discursive periods, devoting a chapter to each one. Every chapter thus points out an order of discourse, and discusses the extent to which it has brought about discursive and social change or reproduction. Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 below reveal the process of change of mother tongue education discourse over time. In every table below, each column presents a set of discourses that have structured an order of discourse, as well as the set of keywords that have formed each discourse.

Table 3. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 1957 to 1965.

The discursive period 1957-1965				
The strong society – cohesiveness and homogenization as ideal	The discourse of the strong society	The discourse of conservative values	The monolingual discourse	The discourse of mother tongue education
<i>Keywords</i>	<i>Social fostering, free, harmonious, and students as individual talents and national assets</i>	<i>Homogeneous nation, cultural heritage, the Swedish homeland, Nordic community and Christian worldview</i>	<i>Swedish as a cohesive and unifying language and certain fundament of shared experience needed</i>	<i>Natives, bilingualism as a harmful inconvenience, savage, and Swedification of Sami children</i>

The discourse of the strong society, the discourse of conservative values, and the monolingual discourse structured the order of discourse during the first period, 1957-1965. The discourse of the strong society, based on a certain idea of a homogenous nation, gained a strong position within the order of discourse. The keywords *Swedish as a cohesive and unifying language, certain fundament of shared experience* and *savage* indicated a kind of cohesion and unity of

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

the nation, suggesting, I would argue, an assimilation policy. Hylland-Eriksen (2002:123) argues that nation states choose to implement assimilation policies with the best of intentions, as such policies are commonly believed to help minority groups integrate. The discourse of mother tongue education, based on Swedification, regarded bilingualism as an inconvenience, and even (at least potentially) harmful to the intellectual development of the individual student. This discursive period from 1957 to 1965 is characterized by homogeneity and cohesiveness as the discourse of the strong society, along with the monolingual unity school, was the result of a political consensus between all political actors in Swedish Parliament.

Table 4. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 1966 to 1988.

The discursive period 1966-1988				
Fostering bilingualism and intercultural society	The social democratic discourse of equality	The discourse of bilingualism	The discourse of equality, cultural freedom and cooperation	The discourse of mother tongue education
<i>Keywords</i>	<i>New migrant policy, away from uniformity, intercultural society, cooperation, and equality</i>	<i>Active bilingualism, bilingual education, bilingual students, and cognitive development emotionally and intellectually in both languages</i>	<i>All groups in society, equal opportunities, maintain and develop cultural identity, mutual tolerance, coexistence, and solidarity</i>	<i>Bilingual students as children of new citizens, and home language education for each migrant student whose parents want such teaching</i>

During the second discursive period, 1966 to 1988, the order of discourse changed, with the discourse of the strong society losing its dominance in 1966. As labor migration and mobility into the country increased, a new order of discourse structured by a strong social democratic equality discourse and a discourse of bilingualism based on the keywords *new migration policy* and *bilingual education* grew strong. The opportunity for bilingual students to express themselves both emotionally and intellectually in both languages was assumed to be important for their language development.⁵² Additionally, the results of this reveal, as Milani (2008:29) argues, that Sweden went from an assimilation policy in 1957-1965 to a pluralistic ideology during the 1970s.

Table 5. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 1989 to 1999.

The discursive period 1989-1999					
Decentralization, marketization, integration and the devaluation of mother tongue education	The discourse of the public-market school	The discourse of Swedish language	The discourse of traditional values	The discourse of integration	The discourse of mother tongue education
<i>Keywords</i>	<i>Free school choice, decentralization, municipalization, and individual responsibility</i>	Unifying language, cohesive cement, hold together the nation	<i>Cultural heritage, Christian tradition, Western humanism, and Nordic community Cohesive cement,</i>	<i>Migration policy, integration policy, employability, and integration</i>	<i>Mother tongue as daily language at home – a home language</i>

⁵² See the Curriculum of 1980 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980:58).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

The social democratic discourse of equality, that was dominant during the 1970s and 1980s, was challenged by a new order of discourse in the period of 1989 to 1999. In the name of integration and employability, the discourse of the public-market school, based on the keywords *decentralization*, *municipalization*, and *free school choice*, positioned Swedish as a unifying language for *holding together* the nation. The new discourse of cultural heritage was based on assumptions about the importance of valuing a Swedish Christian tradition and a Western humanism. The discourse of integration based on the new keyword *employability* also became influential. Lundahl (2005) argues that the Swedish way of managing the increase in language diversity in Social Democratic welfare practices was challenged by the marketization of the school during the 1990s. Schools in a welfare state's market economies, according to Esping-Andersen (1990:22), are generally treated as a product in a market among other goods. The consequence of this, additionally, indicates to me that the position of mother tongue education in the country was directly related to the needs of the welfare state's economy.

Table 6. The order of discourse for mother tongue education during the period of 2000 to 2017.

The discursive period 2000-2017				
Swedish as a unifying value	The discourse of a new Swedish language politics	The discourse of cultural heritage	The discourse of entrepreneurial education	The discourse of mother tongue education
<i>Keywords</i>	<i>An official language, proficiency, cohesive language, and international</i>	<i>The historical values of the nation as the fundamental values of democracy</i>	<i>Lifelong learning, entrepreneurship, and employability</i>	<i>Supportive tool for learning all other school subjects, and focus on</i>

	<i>and global perspective</i>	<i>and human rights</i>		<i>newly arrived students' learning and integration</i>
--	-------------------------------	-------------------------	--	---

The discursive period of 2000 to 2017 is characterized by a combination of a conservative and liberal discourse that together promoted the Swedish language as a unifying value. The new keywords *lifelong learning*, *entrepreneurship* and *employability* emerged here, both as a contemporary way of learning things and as the adjustment of the school system to the labor market and globalization of the 2000s. The increase in migration and globalization during this time highlighted the perceived need to legislate Swedish as an official national language, contributing to national cohesion and a common identity and culture. Integration in a multilingual Swedish nation state was assumed to be possible by way of a common language, Swedish. As Kymlicka (1995) and Anderson (2006) argue, the age of globalization and human diversity is creating nation states more multilingual in nature. With keywords such as *mother tongue education as a supportive tool*, focusing on the *newly arrived students* and the *Swedish language first*, it is apparent that mother tongue education was marginalized. At the same time, the discourse of conservative Christian values is built on arguments of the importance of the Swedish cultural heritage based on the same particular sets of keywords as in the previous Curriculum of 1994 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) and even earlier in the Curriculum of 1962 (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962).

Changes in nation-state politics and implications for mother tongue education

This thesis has shown that the Swedish nation-state politics concerning mother tongue education has varied depending on national interests created in specific historical and political contexts, and by different political regimes. There have been different motives and efforts for the integration of mother tongue education through

different periods from 1957 to 2017. Empirically, it was possible to identify one period, 1957-1965, characterized by the ideals of cohesiveness and homogenization as a result of a consensus between all political actors. The following two discursive periods indicate changes in the status of mother tongue education. The last discursive period of the 2000s is characterized by a certain combination of conservatism and liberal ideology promoting Swedish as a unifying value for the nation.

The change that has been identified includes the new goals for mother tongue education in 1966-1988, the devaluation of mother tongue education in 1989-1999, and mother tongue education as a supportive tool focusing on newly arrived students' learning goals in the 2000s. As Oaks (2001:25) reveals, welfare states still struggle to manage language diversity as a result of an increasingly multicultural population. The period of 1957 to 1965 was characterized by the discourse of the strong society, which built on ideas about the desirability of strong welfare policy ambitions in the interest of building a strong nation. Several theories of nation-building (see Chapter 2) highlight the history of the nation and the school system, as well as other policies for managing ethnic and religious minorities, as crucial instruments for nation-building (Gellner 1983; Hylland Eriksen 1998; Smith 1996; Anderson 2006).

The most explicit example of the school system's role in nation-building is the creation of the unity school. In the implementation phase of the unity school, it was the students' social background and a presumed Swedishness that form the subject of discussion. The unity school, based on the keywords *one school for all*, was intended to meet the ideal of creating a school where all students' individual needs would be met, irrespective of class or social background. In this period, the term "mother tongue" thus referred to the Swedish language. It did not – unlike today – refer to the languages of students whose mother tongue was not Swedish. Within

the discourse of the strong society, mother tongue education for students whose mother tongue was not Swedish was barely discussed at all. However, Finnish-speaking students were discussed, as were the nomadic Sami students.

The policy actors of this particular time constructed bilingualism as a “complication” to be dealt with. With the keywords *homogenous nation*, *Swedish homeland* and *unifying language*, it became apparent to me that the nation state placed great emphasis on a homogenization of society through a unifying common language. Gellner (1983) defines homogeneity in terms of national thinking, which includes the idea that the population should have great similarities, for example by way of a shared formal education system and a shared language, together unifying and homogenizing the population.

The first change happened during the increase in labor migration to Sweden in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The political motives as regards mother tongue education changed due to the higher numbers of labor migrants’ children in society, and because the ideology of the Social Democratic regime, stressing the importance of equal education for all, was gaining momentum (Borevi, 2014:710). Based on a framing of bilingual students as children of new citizens, a new mother tongue education politics developed. Borevi (2014:711) argues that the immigrant policy of this period “contained rather radical multicultural goals”, implemented to avoid earlier efforts to ‘Swedify’ minorities.

The increase in (labor) migration to Sweden and internationally meant that for the first time there was a public debate on bilingualism in the Swedish news media, migrant newspapers and the educational daily press, in which many researchers also participated. Hyltenstam & Tuomela (1996:15) emphasize that “None of the participants in these debates was against the home language education.” This new debate also runs parallel to the social democratic ideas of the 1970s, positioning bilingual students as a resource for schools and Swedish society, through their international contacts.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

Hence, the Swedish state aimed at a more inclusive policy and towards mother tongue education as a school subject for bilingual students.

The Home Language Reform was introduced in 1977, becoming the first Swedish policy to include guidelines for mother tongue education in compulsory school (Municia 1993; Hylténstam & Tuomela, 1996; Hegelund, 2002; Reath Warren, 2017). This new education policy was explicitly expressed in Government Propositions of 1975 (Prop. 1975: 26; Prop.1975/76:118). Despite this general trend, in 1983 the Conservative Prime Minister questioned the policy of mother tongue education at school, based on a concern that it would hamper migrant students' acquisition of the Swedish language. Despite this opposition, the Social Democratic Government that followed did not change the policy on mother tongue education, the social democratic equality politics introduced in the early 1970s remained unchanged. As mentioned, Esping-Andersen (1990) has shown that social rights in social democratic welfare societies have the objective of providing equal education for all. My analysis results reveal that such social democratic welfare practices were challenged at the beginning of the 1990s.

The second social change became concrete in connection with the decentralization of the school in 1991, when the welfare-state politics introduced the new school policy based on a new funding system. During the 1990s the public-market school and conservative ideas based on arguments on cultural heritage characterized education policies. The Swedish welfare state, with a large public sector, was described as an obstacle to economic growth, private initiatives and individual citizens' influence in a welfare society. The (public) markets and free school choice were considered essential for Swedish democracy and a more efficient production and provision of welfare services. The keywords – *decentralization, munic-*

ipalization and *free school choice* – were very prominent during this period. Lundahl et al. (2013:499) show that, by this time, the work of the school was “orchestrated by new managerialism” with the goal, to enhance employability and that this change was faster and more systematic compared to many other countries. Here, then, the status of mother tongue education moved from being a state matter to becoming the responsibility of the individual as well as local school authorities. This educational policy was initiated by the Social Democratic Government in 1989, but was developed more intensively by the Conservative Government in 1991-1994.

The municipalization of school, as well as the economic stagnation Sweden experienced in the 1990s, caused problems for mother tongue education. My results indicate that the severe challenges to mother tongue education were even more connected to negative attitudes toward this education, marketization, and the introduction of a new funding system. This new state politics for mother tongue education in the 1990s meant that the focus moved from mother tongue being an important school subject in itself (1970-1980) to the perception that bilingual students’ learning and integration are best achieved if they learn Swedish.

In the last discursive period of the 2000s, mother tongue education was positioned as a supportive tool. With the increased migration and globalization of the 2000s, mother tongue education was constructed in a manner that best served the purposes of students’ integration goals, focusing on learning for newly arrived students. By introducing a new official (Swedish) language politics, the state made Swedish an official language by law, along with the national minority languages and Swedish Sign Language. The increased migration and globalization, which resulted in a decision to legislate Swedish as the official national language, meant the marginalization of the mother tongue education. At the same time, Swedish for migrants, for particular newly arrived students, was stressed as essential in order to achieve Swedish welfare and integration policy goals. According to Dahlstedt & Hertzberg (2011:185), equally

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

important during the 2000s were the new keywords *lifelong learning* and *entrepreneurship*. Through these keywords, an adjustment was made of the school system towards the labor market as expressed in the new National Curriculum of 2011 (Skolverket, 2011).

Mother tongue education discourse(s) from 1957 to 2017
Mother tongue education bears a stamp of policy actors who have been the most influential in creating the policy on mother tongue education at any particular time. The discourses that emerged in policy texts say a great deal about assumptions in Sweden concerning mother tongue as a subject, as well as students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. Under the whole investigation period of 1957 to 2017, it is shown that the nation-state politics regarding both migrants' education and their integration are invoked in mother tongue education discourses. As previously pointed out, it was not only that the nation-state welfare policy ambitions and the homogenization process in 1957-1965 focused on the strong society, these processes often led to the ambitions of cohesiveness by way of a unifying language.

In the documents emanating from the work of the 1957 School Committee, nothing can be found to suggest that there were other languages than Swedish in the country; mother tongue education was not taken into account in the Committee at this time. The Swedish language played a major role in the field of nation building. Smith (1996) argues that not only is a nation state a geographic territory, the construction of one people sharing one and the same language, culture and tradition are also important elements in building the nation. With the keywords *social fostering*, and students as *individual talents* and *national assets*, it became apparent that the state actors took the position that all students spoke Swedish and that Swedish was their mother tongue. A precondition for the strong society was that all children had access to free education

and health care, and enjoy a certain degree of social security. Anderson (2006) describes that nation-state-building relies on the social and cultural unification of the members of the nation. The homogenization process of the nation has had implications for mother tongue education, which was considered to make students' integration difficult. Organizing mother tongue education was seen to be problematic. It was claimed that, "in some ways, a bilingual group of students poses difficult problems for society" (SOU 1960:41:71).

During the very late 1960s and the early 1970s, mother tongue education became a subject of discussion. The new discourse on the need for this education was initiated "as a result of the increase in foreign workers in society" (SOU 1966:55). This, in turn, also helped initiate a discussion on language rights for groups other than the ethnic majority population. The discourse of mother tongue education contributed to a political interest in language differences between minority groups and the majority population. The Social Democratic Government formulated new policy goals for migration policy in 1975. With the introduction of new keywords such as *equality*, *freedom of choice* and *cooperation*, the social democratic equality discourse grew strong enough to challenge the monolingual discourse that had dominated in the early years of the 1960s. Similarly, Esping-Andersen (1990), Milani (2008), and Lundahl et al. (2013) have shown that social democratic welfare states have the objective of providing linguistic diversity and equal education for all individuals in society.

During the second half of the 1960s and into the 1970s, a debate on bilingual students had a strong impact on mother tongue education. The Government admitted that bilingualism would characterize the country's future education system. In 1975, Parliament decided that Sweden would build an equal society, regardless of individuals' language background. The equality argument was thus clearly invoked in the mother tongue education discourse as well. As I have found, Hyltenstam & Milani (2012) argue that

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

the mother tongue discourse contributed to the positioning of bilingual individuals as resources in society of the time period.

The mother tongue education discourse was undeniably affected by the public-market discourse introduced by the decentralization of the school system in 1990. In addition, mother tongue education and intercultural education were influenced by the conservative discourse based on assumptions about the importance of Christian ethics and Western humanism in 1991-1994. Regarding the traditional values, Gellner (1983) argues that the ideal of homogeneity is central to nationalistic thinking involving the population having great similarities in terms of culture and language as a basis for political legitimacy. Contrary to the previous social democratic ideology of language diversity, the social democratic welfare practices from the 1990s mainly defined the mother tongue education as an integration issue. There emerged a discourse of integration formed by the keywords *integration policy* instead of *migration policy* for all individuals whose mother tongue was not Swedish. It was suggested that migrant students should wholeheartedly focus on employability and integration into Swedish society. The integration policy largely depended on labor market actors, which pointed out certain ethnic groups as disadvantaged in the labor market (SOU 1996:55).

The emergence of an intensive integration policy was accompanied by the discourse on the importance of a unifying Swedish language. Education in Swedish was seen as a means to achieve national cohesion and employability. The most explicit examples of such integration ideas appear in connection with a discussion in the Government Official Report of 1996 (SOU 1996:55) and following Government Proposition of 1997 (Prop. 1997/98:16). This discourse contributes to portraying Sweden in the light of a monolingual norm by conferring the Swedish language a central value in the country's education system and in its society in general (Lainio,

2013). The image of Sweden in the light of a monolingual norm is also explicitly reflected in all discursive periods except the second in 1970-1980. In the discursive periods of the 1990s and the 2000s, the discourses of the public-market school and the unifying Swedish language had a very strong impact on the discourse of mother tongue education. The mother tongue education discourse was clearly positioned as subordinate to that of the Swedish language, as it was seen to be the *cohesive cement* in order to *hold together* the nation.

During the discursive period of the 2000s, the discourse of mother tongue education was based on the keywords *newly arrived students* and the objective of their learning Swedish quickly. At this time, mother tongue support was seen as something that would contribute to the learning of all other school subjects for students whose mother tongue was not Swedish. The mother tongue education discourse at this time also recovers much of the conservative Christian values that we saw in the 1960s. These values were manifested in and by a discourse of cultural heritage, citizenship and Swedish as the official language of the country. The discourse of cultural heritage, built on the keywords *historical values of the nation*, was an expression of a traditional approach to cultural issues. Similarly, Esping-Andersen (1990:22) shows that social rights in conservative welfare states are characterized by the preservation of a traditional policy in which the role of an official and unifying language is seen as crucial.

The positioning of bilingual students

The positioning of bilingual students in policy texts has changed over the period 1957-2017. The positioning of students whose mother tongue is not Swedish has depended on the challenges the Swedish welfare society has faced in terms of increased migration and international mobility, as well as which political regime dominated. According to Hylland-Eriksen (2002), the distinction between those who are seen to belong to “us” and those considered

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

to belong to “the others” is closely linked to ideas about language and ethnicity that exist in society. Prior to 1965, students whose mother tongue was not Swedish were assumed not to “have the semantic depths” in Swedish as they did in their first language. It was assumed that minority students had to learn Swedish so as to be able to “rise above the savage stage”. Interestingly, the same students were positioned as the children of new citizens in the National Curriculum of 1969 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), and as resources for intercultural teaching in the 1970s and 1980s. The positioning of bilingual students appears in the debate on bilingualism in the 1970s, when the Social Democratic regime aimed to create a so-called intercultural society. The idea was that the languages and cultures of new citizens, as well as knowledge about their home countries, would be beneficial to all students at school. The notion that new citizens were important went hand-in-hand with the discourse on what was called home language education at the time, constructing mother tongue education as having positive effects on knowledge development. The opportunity for bilingual students to express themselves both emotionally and intellectually in both languages was assumed to be important for their language development. The intention, thus, was that all students, regardless of their language background, would have equal opportunities in an intercultural society.

During the years 1989 to 1991, when the decision was made regarding the school’s municipalization, decentralization and free school choice, a marketization of the public school occurred and conservative ideas were prominent. In order to fight segregation and improve integration the nation state, based on the keyword *employability*, renamed the policy from “migration policy” to “integration policy”. In the 2000s, individual (migrant) students were positioned as responsible for maintaining their mother tongue knowledge and preserving their own cultural heritage, which is

thus ultimately not seen as the responsibility of the state. The culture and mother tongue knowledge of minority students primarily became the concern of the individual.

The positioning of bilingual students in school and society during the 2000s was connected to the adjustment of the education system towards the labor market (Dahlstedt & Hertzberg, 2011:180). According to the Conservative Coalition Government Memorandum of 2013 (Ds. 2013:6), newly arrived students were to learn Swedish in order to best fulfill the integration policy goals. Swedish was given a special position, and knowledge in Swedish was seen to enable learning in all other school subjects.

The positioning of mother tongue education

The positioning of the subject of mother tongue education in policy texts is shown to be an outcome of national ideologies and interests over time. In a comparative perspective, mother tongue education as a school subject went from being positioned as a “complication” having to be dealt with in many parts of the world in 1957-1965, including Sweden, to a position of being a resource for the school and in society during the 1970s and 1980s. The position of mother tongue education grew stronger in the 1970s and 1980s. During this period the importance of mother tongue education for bilingual students was made explicit. The share of students entitled to mother tongue education and participating in it was at its highest in 1986, when 68 percent of students entitled to this education participated in it (SOU 1996:55:185). The position of mother tongue education deteriorated during the discursive period of 1990s, and has an even more marginalized position during the 2000s.

In the nation - building during the period of the strong society 1957-1965 the Swedish language was seen as the only natural and logical thing in society and the teaching process. Bilingualism was implicitly perceived as a hindrance to the goals of social and linguistic inclusion, and Swedish was seen as “the foundation for

human growth” for all students. For bilingual students, studying Swedish was seen to imply a new way of thinking and feeling. Hence, the position of mother tongue education was viewed with suspicion in contrast to the strong unifying principal of one nation-one language in a strong society. Parents’ concern in this sense was not that minority students wanted more mother tongue education, but that they wanted their children to have access to the Swedish language and school system. Instead, mother tongue education was positioned as an auxiliary tool at school for only so long as it took to learn Swedish. Monolingual and monocultural discourses 1957-1965 were based on the notion that in Sweden all students were linguistically and culturally ethnic Swedes and that Swedish was their cohesive and unifying language (Eklund, 2003).

Many researchers (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996; Municio, 1993; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Lainio 2013) have shown that the devaluation of the then home language education has often been attributed to the 1990s and associated with Sweden’s economic stagnation. The position of home language education was marginalized as it was offered outside the regular curriculum, at the close of the ordinary school day. The “home language” was perceived as a language used merely in informal situations at home (Prop. 1996/97:110; SOU 1996:55). In July 1997, home language was still regarded as a less important and low-status school subject compared to all other subjects. The Government’s expectation at this particular time was that if it changed the term *home language* to *mother tongue*, the image of this education would be improved.

During the 2000s mother tongue education bears even more serious problems when it comes to both the education itself and study guidance in mother tongue for newly arrived students. There is still a common belief that students whose mother tongue is not Swedish would benefit more from learning Swedish than from developing their mother tongue. Garcia (2009:55) argues that “de-

spite a widespread multilingualism (...) we still live in a society dominated by monolingual ideology”. Hyltenstam & Milani (2012) point out that multilingualism is a significant resource — something that is often forgotten in the public debate in Sweden. The ways of positioning mother tongue education in Swedish welfare practices are now based on the needs of the market economy and the Swedish language as a unifying value, rather than on the goals of traditional social democratic ideals of diversity, multilingualism and equality.

Concluding discussion

This thesis maps out a long historical perspective on mother tongue education policy in Sweden. The principle interest has been to analyze the policies of mother tongue education from 1957 to 2017, focusing on how Swedish nation-state politics and societal change characterized the status and positioning of this education in Sweden. The thesis has shown that the construction of mother tongue education policy is the result of national interests created in specific historical and political contexts, and by different political ideologies of the periods. The construction of mother tongue education over time appears to be closely connected to the political intentions that have been influential in creating the policy on mother tongue education. During 1957-1965, the Swedish nation-state politics was constructed on the homogeneity in national thinking, whereby the role of a unifying language was seen as an essential part of nation building. The mother tongue education discourse, dominating the public debate from 1966 to 1988, clearly weakened in the 1990s and 2000s. The nation state’s progressive policies in relation to mother tongue education, equality and bilingualism during 1966 and 1988 were undermined by the marketization of public schools during the 1990s and 2000s, and by a discourse on lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and employability.

A discourse on the integration of bilingual students into the ordinary school process and society was equally strong in all dis-

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

cursive periods 1957 - 2017. Rhetorically, there was also a strong continuity during all discursive periods regarding the perception that mother tongue education is important for all students whose mother tongue is not Swedish. At the same time mother tongue education, unlike Swedish, is more or less continually valued in relation to what is happening in the outside world – increased migration, diversity, integration, unemployment, etc. – as well as in relation to other school subjects. Interestingly, seen from a historic perspective, a somewhat static understanding of mother tongue education appears to be reproduced. It is no longer seen as a possible resource, and active bilingualism in society is not promoted, as was the case in the 1970s-1980s.

The social democratic equality discourse based on active bilingualism from the 1970s -1980s is almost unseen in the later discursive periods of the 1990s and 2000s. Instead, the goals of a new cohesive and official (Swedish) language politics and integration are clearly dominant, similar to the period of the late 1950s and the early 1960s. It is relevant to ask whether mother tongue education in its present form has chances to succeed when it is continually deprioritized as a school subject for students whose mother tongue is not Swedish.

Concluding remarks

This thesis contributes to new insights into the positioning of mother tongue education, characterized by the Swedish nation-state politics and social changes that have occurred from 1957 to 2017. A long retrospective perspective of Swedish nation-state policy intentions regarding mother tongue education contributes to an understanding of this education as an arena of different national interests, whereby the Swedish welfare state needs to manage language diversity and the integration of migrants.

The extent and span of this study illuminates the Swedish nation state's political ambitions and how, and to some extent why, they have changed over time. The results of the study can provide a deeper understanding of mother tongue education and how it can serve as a prism illuminating the Swedish national policy discourses, and the implications of this for mother tongue education as a subject and bilingual students' opportunities to acquire mother tongue education in Sweden. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that this study not only contributes to an increased awareness of the links between dominant governmental discourses, the position of mother tongue education, and bilingual students' learning opportunities. It also contributes to knowledge about Swedish society, Sweden as a nation state, and nationalistic self-images of "Swedes", "immigrants" and notions of multilingualism as developed over time.

I find it greatly relevant for further research to include comparative studies between the Swedish mother tongue education policy and the policy on mother tongue education internationally. Few previous studies have applied a comparative perspective on mother tongue education.⁵³ It would also be useful to compare mother tongue education in Sweden with such education policies in other countries to reveal the variations in policy. Further research on mother tongue education, aimed at studying differences in policy is needed. Comparative knowledge about policies on mother tongue education would perhaps enable a reconceptualization of the understanding of bilingualism which is important because of an increasingly multilingual school population, combined with the fact that Sweden as a welfare state and schools as social institutions have the objective of providing minority rights in an inclusive way. An inclusive vision and policy requires a reconceptualization of today's mother tongue education.

⁵³ See for example Hegelund (2002); Reath Warren (2017).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: DISCURSIVE CHANGE AND
REPRODUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION
POLICY

The inclusion of mother tongue education in the way described in previous research, as a possible ideal of the 21st century have been shown to be a challenging task. This thesis has shown mother tongue education to be a highly political issue. Political decision-making in this area functions as a tool for achieving nationalistic interests such as equality for all or exclusion, assimilation, homogenization and “Swedification”, or a respect for ethnic and linguistic diversity.

Svensk sammanfattning

Denna doktorsavhandling är en policystudie om modersmålsutbildning och hur policys för den har utvecklats historiskt i Sverige. Med modersmålsutbildning avses utbildning i modersmålet som ett skolämne för elever vars modersmål inte är svenska. Det övergripande syftet är att undersöka modersmålsutbildningens policy från 1957 till 2017 med fokus på hur den svenska nationalstatens politiska intentioner och samhällsförändring har präglat statusen och positioneringen av modersmålsutbildningen i det svenska skolsystemet.

Det empiriska materialet i denna avhandling består av olika typer av policytexter som ger uttryck för de politiska ambitioner och samhällsförändringar som har präglat modersmålsutbildning historiskt från 1957 till 2017. Policytexter analyseras för att avgränsa den övergripande diskursen om modersmålsutbildning under denna period. De specifika dokument som har valts ut för analysen innefattar statens offentliga utredningar, läroplanskommittérapporter och läroplaner. Diskursen eller diskurserna om modersmålsutbildning, här benämnd som "modersmålsutbildningsdiskursen", är formad av en politisk kamp om ämnet modersmål och mer generellt, hanteringen av mångfald i det svenska samhället.

Följande övergripande forskningsfrågor har styrts arbetet: Hur har den svenska nationalstatens politiska intentioner och samhällsförändring präglat statusen och positioneringen för modersmålsutbildning i det svenska skolsystemet? Denna forskningsfråga har operationaliserats: Vilken diskurs eller diskurser om modersmålsutbildning framträder i policytexter 1957 - 2017? Hur har elever vars modersmål inte är svenska positionerats som subjekt i policytexter? Hur har modersmålsutbildning positionerats som skolämne i policytexter?

Det empiriska materialet analyseras genom att avgränsa vad jag kallar för modersmålsutbildningsdiskursen, som uttryckligen eller implicit visar de utbildningspolitiska intentionerna för modersmålsutbildning i Sverige. Diskursen om modersmålsutbildning är inte en diskurs, utan består av flera diskurser. Avgränsningen av modersmålsutbildningsdiskursen ger kunskap om de framträdande uppfattningarna och sätten att förstå, tänka och tala om modersmålsutbildning och dess målgrupp, och hur det har förändrats över tid. Genom att undersöka modersmålsutbildningens policys från 1957 till 2017 har det varit möjligt att analysera utbildningspolitiska intentioner och föreställningar som har formulerats om Sverige som en nationalstat och uppfattningar om mångfald som har funnits över tid. Avhandlingen är baserad på analytiska begrepp som diskursordningen och rekontextualisering för att urskilja diskursiva och utbildningspolitiska förändringar i relation till modersmålsutbildningens policy.

Teoretiska utgångspunkter

Den teoretiska grunden för studien är huvudsakligen baserad på språkets roll i nationalstatens byggande och välfärdsstatens dilemma. Avhandlingen ser därför språket som viktigt i förhållande till nationen, nationsbildning och medborgarskap, eftersom nationalstaten ideologiskt bygger på ett ideal om homogenitet.

Gellner (1983) förklarar nationalism ur ett historiskt perspektiv och betonar betydelsen av ett gemensamt formellt utbildningssystem som bidrar till kulturell homogenisering. Samtidigt, när den mångkulturella befolkningen ökar som en följd av globaliseringen och migrationen ökar också behovet av att hantera den språkliga mångfalden i samhället. Det traditionella socialdemokratiska idealet syftar till att ge rättigheter åt minoriteterna samt respektera den språkliga och kulturella mångfalden för alla grupper utifrån ideologiska principer om jämlikhet och demokratiskt medborgarskap. Medan ideologin att ta emot och hantera flerspråkighet i ett marknadsorienterat välfärdssamhälle bygger på marknadsekonomins

behov, snarare än på målen för traditionell socialdemokratisk policy, som främjar jämlikhet och mångfald för alla (Lundahl, 2013; Borevi, 2014).

Modersmålsutbildningens policys är således ideologiskt producerade och skapade i specifika historiska och politiska sammanhang, vilket innebär att de är avhäniga av den tid och sammanhang där de producerades. Därför är denna policystudie inriktad på diskursiva aspekter ur ett historiskt perspektiv, med särskild fokus på hur svenska nationalstatens policy ambitioner och samhällsförändringar har präglat statusen och positioneringen av modersmålsutbildning i Sverige. Min förståelse av begreppet policy som text grundas på ett diskursivt perspektiv om hur språket strukturerar vår förståelse om modersmålsutbildning, vilket innebär att jag systematiskt analyserar policytexter mot bakgrund av deras historiska, kulturella, politiska och sociala sammanhang.

Med detta perspektiv i fokus blir analysen av modersmålsutbildningens policy som text och som diskurs viktig eftersom det belyser den ideologiska dimensionen av utvecklingen av modersmålsutbildningens policy, liksom hur statens institutioner, regeringar och deras representanter har format politiken om modersmålsutbildning över tid. I min studie är policyaktörer parlamentet, regeringsrepresentanter, politiker och forskare som är inflytelserika i skapandet av modersmålsutbildningens policy. Policytexter uttrycker ideologier av policyaktörer, vilka därefter, producerar (ideologiska) diskurser. Samtidigt möjliggör diskurserna för policyaktörer att tänka igenom och formulera policyn för modersmålsutbildning. Genom att undersöka policy som text och diskurs belyser studien hur modersmål som policy är ideologiskt konstruerad och positionerad.

Enligt Fairclough (2010) är förhållandet mellan policytexter och diskurser dialektiskt, genom att diskurser både konstruerar policytexter och konstrueras av dem. I den här studien avser diskursen ett systematiskt sätt att tänka och tala om modersmålsutbildning. Genom att analysera policy som diskurs innefattar det en förståelse

om hur elever vars modersmål inte är svenska har konstruerats som en målgrupp för modersmålsutbildning. Det innebär att de konstruktioner som skapas i policy som text och diskurs har konsekvenser för modersmålet som ämne och tvåspråkiga elevers positionering i samhället. Analysen av modersmålsutbildningens policy kan därmed bidra till att skapa en förståelse om hur politik och samhälle har påverkat modersmålsutbildning över tid.

Analysen av modersmålsutbildningens policy mellan 1957 och 2017 utgår från att det finns olika policy aktörer med skilda intressen. Det finns således en kamp mellan olika aktörer om problemformuleringar, orsaker och lösningar, en kamp som kan leda till både policyreproduktion eller policyförändringar. Aktörerna i denna studie är inte individer eller skolor, utan policyaktörer som parlamentet, regeringsrepresentanter, politiker och forskare.

I denna studie avses modersmålsutbildningens policy som en arena för de olika policyaktörernas intressen som strategiskt utgår från olika diskurser för sina egna ändamål. Avhandlingens centrala analytiska begrepp är diskursordningen och rekontextualisering. Jag använder rekontextualisering för att undersöka hur modersmålsutbildningsdiskurs (er) som ett resultat av diskursiv kamp uttrycks över tid, och om huruvida diskursiv reproduktion eller förändring har ägt rum. Enligt Bernstein, (2000: 33) uppstår rekontextualisering när en diskurs ”tillskrivs selektivt, flyttar, refokuserar och avser andra diskurser utgöra sin egen ordning eller ordningar”. När flera diskurser om modersmålsutbildningen rekontextualiseras tillsammans inom en viss period formas en diskursordning. I denna studie formar en diskursordning, vad jag har kallat, en *diskursiv period*, vilket gör det möjligt för mig att identifiera perioder av reproduktion och förändring av modersmålsutbildningens policy. Fairclough (2010:359) definierar en diskursordning som en uppsättning av diskurser där relationen mellan dem är avgörande.

Hur olika diskurser är rekontextualiserade, och hur de är relaterade till varandra, formar en ny diskursordning och därmed sker både diskursiva och sociala förändringar. När diskurser om mo-

modersmålsutbildning rekontextualiseras i nya sammanhang formuleras diskurser antingen på nytt eller på ett traditionellt sätt. Rekontextualiseringen av diskurserna på ett nytt sätt kan tolkas som tecken på social förändring, medan rekontextualiseringen av diskurser på ett traditionellt sätt kan tolkas som tecken på (social och diskursiv) reproduktion. Det sätt som diskurser är uttryckta och hur de relaterar till varandra visar hur till exempel diskurser har strukturerat en viss diskursiv period. Med hjälp av rekontextualisering analyserar jag sedan de diskursiva perioderna för att dra slutsatser om förändring och reproduktion.

Metod

Det empiriska materialet i denna avhandling analyserades genom kritisk diskursanalys av Fairclough (2010) och Mulderrig (2008). I min analys fokuserade jag på nyckelord som visar på policytexternas intentioner för modersmålsutbildning över tid. Ur ett kritiskt diskursanalysperspektiv utgör mer än det enskilda ordet och innebörden av det specifika ordet ett nyckelord. En uppsättning av vanliga och framträdande nyckelord formar en diskurs. Jag har analyserat nyckelorden i policytexternas språkbruk som används i modersmålsutbildningens policy för att spåra förändringar under perioden från 1957 till 2017. Analytiskt har intertextualitet varit till hjälp för att spåra de framträdande orden, eller framstående sökord. Uppsättningen av nyckelord hjälpte mig att lyfta fram språkbruket som har formulerats under perioden 1957 - 2017. Denna analysmetod var relevant eftersom den visade hur diskurser uppstod och förändrades genom olika perioder, vilket visade hur en diskursordning har karakteriserat en diskursiv period. På detta sätt blev det möjligt för mig att se om det uppstod perioder av reproduktion eller perioder av social förändring för modersmålsutbildning.

Resultat

Avhandlingen har visat att den svenska nationalstatens policy om modersmålsutbildning har präglats av olika politiska intentioner och samhällsförändringar som har skapats i specifika historiska och politiska sammanhang 1957-2017. Det har funnits olika motiv för integration för modersmålsutbildning genom olika perioder från 1957-2017. Empiriskt har avhandlingen identifierat fyra diskursiva perioder. Den första diskursiva perioden är 1957-1965. Den andra diskursiva perioden omfattar 1966-1988 och den tredje diskursiva perioden omfattar 1989-1999. Den fjärde diskursiva perioden avser 2000-2017.

Den första diskursiva perioden, 1957-1965, präglas av sammanhållning och homogenisering som ideal till följd av konsensus mellan politiska aktörer i riksdagen, och ett förenande språk sågs som en väsentlig del av nationalstatsbyggandet. Perioden 1957-1965 kännetecknas av en samhällsdiskurs, som byggdes på idéer om omfattande välfärdspolitiska ambitioner i syfte att skapa den starka nationen. Under denna period har begreppet modersmål relaterats till det svenska språket. Det relaterades inte - som idag - till elever vars modersmål inte var svenska. Undantaget var det finskspråkiga elevernas modersmål och det samiska språket. Nationalstatens policy vid denna tid framställde tvåspråkighet som en "komplikation" som skulle hanteras i Sverige. Den statliga utbildningspolitiken från 1957 till 1965 positionerade eleverna och deras personliga utveckling som fria, självständiga och harmoniska individer, som goda samhällsmedlemmar som kunde verka i och upprätthålla det demokratiska samhället. Skolorna skulle dra fördel av eleverna som enskilda talanger, eftersom dessa sågs som en tillgång för samhället, nationella tillgångar som behövs på samma sätt som naturresurser. Elever vars modersmål inte var svenska antogs inte "ha det semantiska djupet" i svenska språket på samma sätt som på sitt första språk. Det antogs att minoritetselever fick lära sig svenska för att kunna "höja sig över vildens stadie". Med nyckelorden, *homogen nation*, *svenskt hemland* och *förenande språk* blev det uppenbart

att nationalstaten lagt stor vikt vid homogenisering av samhället via ett gemensamt språk.

Den andra diskursiva perioden mellan 1966-1988 präglas på idén att tvåspråkiga elever skulle ges möjlighet till modersmålsutbildning. De politiska motiven för modersmålsutbildning förändrades på grund av ökningen av arbetskraftsmigranternas barn baserad på att den socialdemokratiska ideologin som betonade vikten av lika utbildningsmöjligheter för alla grupper i samhället, växte sig stark. Detta betraktades som en central aspekt av nationalstatens skyldighet att tillhandahålla lika möjligheter för alla grupper i samhället såsom jämlikhet mellan tvåspråkiga elever och elever vars modersmål var svenska. Andelen elever som var berättigade och deltog i modersmålsundervisning under 1957-2017 var som högst 1986, då 68 procent av de elever som hade rätt till denna utbildning deltog i den (SOU 1996: 55: 185).

Den tredje diskursiva perioden 1989-1999 kännetecknas av marknadsekonomi och enskilda medborgares krav på integration och anställbarhet. Nationalstatens progressiva politik i förhållande till modersmålsutbildning, jämlikhet och tvåspråkighet under 1966 och 1988 försämrades genom marknadsanpassning av den offentliga skolan baserad på det nya finansieringssystemet under 1990-talet. Sverige som en välfärdsstat med en stor offentlig sektor beskrevs som ett hinder för ekonomisk tillväxt, privata initiativ och enskilda medborgares inflytande. Kommunaliseringen av skolan och det fria skolvalet genomfördes. Utbildningspolitiken karakteriserades av konservativa idéer som baserade på argumenten om kulturarv, kristen etik och västerländsk humanism. Kommunalisering av skolan samt den ekonomiska stagnation som Sverige hade på 1990-talet ledde till svårigheter för modersmålsutbildningen vilken blev klart underordnad det svenska språket.

Det empiriska resultatet i denna avhandling visar att de allvarliga utmaningarna för modersmålsundervisning också var kopplade till negativa attityder mot modersmålsutbildning, marknadisering av skolan och införandet av ett nytt finansieringssystem. Denna

nya utbildningspolitik för modersmålsutbildning på 1990-talet innebar att fokus flyttat från modersmålet som ett viktigt skolämne 1970-1980 till uppfattningen om att tvåspråkiga elevernas lärande och integration uppnås bäst om de lär sig svenska (Skolverket, 2002).

Den sista diskursiva perioden 2000-2017 präglas av en viss kombination av konservatism och liberala ideologier som främjade svenska språket som ett förenande värde för det multikulturella samhället. Under 2000-talet har modersmålsutbildningen ännu allvarligare problem när det gäller både själva modersmålsutbildningen och studiehandledning på modersmål för nyanlända elever. De insikter som denna avhandling bidrar med, visar emellertid att modersmålsutbildning som ett skolämne inte antogs vara lika viktigt som det svenska språket. Staten introducerade en ny officiell (svensk) språkpolitik med svenska som ett officiellt språk (enligt lag), inklusive de nationella minoritetsspråken och teckenspråk året 2009. Den växande migrationen och globaliseringen framhävde behovet av att lagstifta om svenska som det officiella nationella språket, vilket innebar att modersmålsutbildningsdiskursen marginaliserades. Modersmålsutbildning fungerade som ett verktyg för att lära sig det svenska språket såväl som alla andra ämnen i skolan. Samtidigt betonades svenska för migranter, i synnerhet nyanlända elever, som en förutsättning för att uppnå integrationspolitiska mål. Positioneringen av tvåspråkiga elever i skolan och samhället under 2000-talet var vidare kopplat till anpassningen av utbildningssystemet mot arbetsmarknaden.

Avslutande diskussion

Under hela empiriska perioden 1957-2017 bär modersmålsutbildningen en stämpel av policyaktörer som på olika sätt har varit inflytelserika i skapandet av modersmålsutbildningens policyn vid en viss tidpunkt. I ett jämförande perspektiv gick modersmålsutbildning som ett skolämne från att vara positionerat som en ”komplikation” i likhet med förhållandet i många delar av världen 1957-

1965, däribland Sverige, till en position som en resurs för tvåspråkiga elever under 1970-talet och 1980-talet. Modersmålsutbildningens ställning växte starkare under 1970-talet och 1980-talet och in i 1990-talet, men har en ännu mer marginaliserad betydelse under den fjärde diskursiva perioden 2000-talet.

De nationella, statliga välfärdspolitiska ambitionerna och homogeniseringsprocessen under 1957-1965, fokuserade inte bara på det starka samhället, utan dessa processer ledde ofta till ambitioner om sammanhållning genom ett enande språk. Den enspråkiga ideologin grundades på uppfattningen om att svenska var det sammanhängande och förenande språket för alla elever i samhället. Modersmålsutbildning skulle användas som ett av verktygen under den tid som minoritets elever skulle lära sig svenska. Som ett resultat av ökning av arbetskraftsmigranternas barn vars modersmål inte var svenska under andra delen av 1960-talet infördes den socialdemokratiska idén om att de måste förses med modersmålsutbildning. Detta betraktades som en central aspekt av nationalstatens skyldighet att tillhandahålla lika möjligheter för alla grupper i samhället samt jämlikhet mellan migranter och svenskar. I början på 1970-talet hade debatten om modersmålsundervisningens betydelse för tvåspråkiga elever inletts. Den socialdemokratiska regeringen syftade till att skapa ett så kallat interkulturellt samhälle. Tanken var att de *nya* medborgarnas språk och kulturer samt kunskap om deras hemländer skulle vara till nytta för alla elever i skolan. Bilden om de nya medborgarna gick hand i hand med diskursen om tvåspråkighet, vilket byggdes på att modersmålsutbildning har positiva effekter på kunskapsutveckling. Regeringen slog fast att tvåspråkighet skulle karakterisera det framtida utbildningssystemet i landet.

Riksdagen beslutade 1975 att Sverige skulle byggas på ett jämställt samhälle, oberoende av individens kulturella eller språkliga bakgrund (Prop. 1975: 26; Prop.1975/76:118). Min analys visar att jämlikhetsargumentet som förekom i social demokratisk ideologi 1970-1980 förändrades i början på 1990-talet då modersmålsut-

bildningsdiskursen främst blev en integrationsfråga. Under åren mellan 1989 och 1991, då beslutet om skolans kommunalisering, decentralisering och fria skolvalet fattades, skedde en marknadsanpassning av den offentliga skolan, och konservativa idéer blev mera framträdande. För att bekämpa segregation och förbättra integrationen bytte den socialdemokratiska regeringen begreppet från *migrationspolitik* till *integrationspolitik*.

Integration blev nyckelordet för alla individer som inte hade svenska som modersmål. Personer vars modersmål inte var svenska skulle helhjärtat inrikta sig på anställbarhet och integration i det svenska samhället. Under den diskursiva perioden 2000-2017 har modersmålsutbildningen marginaliseras ännu mer, både när det gäller modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledning på modersmål för nyanlända elever. Modersmålsundervisning som skolämne inte antogs vara lika viktigt som svenska. Diskursen om modersmålsutbildning byggdes på nyckelordet *nyanlända elever* och deras målsättning för att snabbt lära sig svenska. Modersmålet som ämne framställdes som ett ämne som bäst bidrar till elevernas inläring av andra skolämnena. Diskursen för modersmålsutbildning präglades också av de konservativa värderingar som vi har sett på 1960-talet om kulturarv, medborgarskap och en ny sammanhängande språkpolitik.

Under 2000-talet positionerades elever vars modersmål inte var svenska som ansvarsfulla individer som själva kan bevara modersmålet och sitt eget kulturarv, något som i slutändan inte sågs som statens ansvar. Kultur och modersmålskunskap blev i första hand en angelägenhet för individen själv. Modersmålsutbildningen i den svenska välfärdsstaten byggdes på marknadsekonomi och svenska språkets roll som ett sammanhållande värde snarare än det traditionella socialdemokratiska idealet om jämlikhet, mångfald och flerspråkighet.

Sammantaget har denna avhandling undersökt ett långt retrospektivt historiskt perspektiv på modersmålsutbildningens policy i Sverige. Huvudsyftet med avhandlingen var att analysera moders-

målsutbildningens policy från 1957 till 2017, med fokus på hur den svenska nationalstatens politiska intentioner och samhällsförändring har präglat statusen för modersmålsutbildning i Sverige. Avhandlingen har visat att konstruktionen av modersmålsutbildningens policy i policytexter är ett resultat av nationella intressen som skapats i specifika historiska och politiska sammanhang, och av tidens olika politiska intentioner. Diskursen om integration av tvåspråkiga elever i samhället och i den ordinarie skolprocessen har varit lika stark i alla diskursiva perioder från 1957 till 2017. Om man ser från ett historiskt perspektiv, tycks en något statisk inställning om modersmålsundervisning återges. Enligt Lainio (1999:138), ”finns det en uppenbar skillnad mellan den offentliga retoriken och det resultat den lett till i praktiken”.

Retoriskt, fanns det en stark kontinuitet under alla diskursiva perioder 1957-2017 när det gäller uppfattningen om att modersmålsutbildning är viktig för alla elever vars modersmål inte är svenska. Samtidigt var modersmålsutbildningen, till skillnad från svenska, mer eller mindre ständigt värderad i förhållande till vad som hände i omvärlden, ökad migration, mångfald, integration, arbetslöshet etcetera, liksom i förhållande till andra skolämnen. Modersmålsutbildning ses inte längre som en möjlig resurs för aktiv tvåspråkighet i samhället, vilket skedde under 1970–1980. Istället var diskursen om integration och sammanhängande språkpolitik liknande perioden 1950–1960 uttryckligen framträdande under 1990-talet och 2000-talet.

Sammanfattningsvis bidrar denna avhandling till nya insikter om svenska nationalstatens modersmålsutbildningens policy och samhällsförändringar från 1957 till 2017. Det långa historiska perspektivet på den svenska nationalstatens policy om modersmålsutbildning bidrar till förståelsen av ämnet modersmål som en arena av olika nationella intressen. Omfattningen och spännvidden i denna studie har belyst den svenska nationalstatens politiska ambitioner i denna fråga och hur, och till viss del, varför de har förändrats över tid. Studien har också belyst konsekvenserna av nat-

ionella politiska diskurser för modersmålsutbildning och tvåspråkiga elevers möjligheter till modersmålsundervisning. Det förefaller därför rimligt att dra slutsatsen att denna studie inte bara bidrar till ökad förståelse när det gäller sambandet mellan framträdande policydiskurser, modersmålsutbildningens status och tvåspråkiga elevers tillgång till modersmålsundervisning, utan också bidrar till en ny insikt om det svenska samhället, Sverige som nationalstat, den nationalistiska självbilden av "svenskar", "invandrare" och föreställningar om flerspråkighet som har utvecklats över tid. Denna avhandling har visat att modersmålsutbildning är en viktig politisk fråga. Politiskt beslutsfattande när det gäller modersmålsundervisning fungerar som ett verktyg för att uppnå nationella intressen såsom jämlikhet för alla eller utanförskap, assimilering, homogenisering och "försvenskning", eller respekt för etnisk och språklig mångfald.

References

- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Aylott, N. & Bolin, N. (2007). Towards a two-party system? The Swedish parliamentary election of September 2006. *West European Politics*, 30(3), 621-633.
- Ball, S.J. (2006). *Education policy and social class: the selected works*. London: Routledge.
- Ball, S.J. (1993). What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes, *Discourse*, 13(2), 9–17.
- Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research and Critique* (revised ed.). Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Blomqvist, P. & Rothstein, B. (2000). *Välfärdsstatens nya ansikte: demokrati och marknadsreformer inom den offentliga sektorn*. Stockholm: Agora.
- Borevi, K. (1998). Svensk invandrapolitik under (om)formulering. *Politica*, 30(2), 168–183.
- Borevi, K. (2014). *Multiculturalism and welfare state integration: Swedish model path dependency*, *Identities*, 21(6), 708-723.
- Brantefors, L. (2011). *Kulturell Fostran – En didaktisk studie om talet om kulturella relationer i texter om skola och utbildning*. (Doctoral thesis, Uppsala Studies in Educational Science, 1). Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliansis.
- Cabau, B. (2014). Minority language education policy and planning in Sweden. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 15(4), 409-425.
- Cukier W., Bauer R., & Middleton C. (2004). Applying Habermas' Validity Claims as a Standard for Critical Discourse Analysis. In Kaplan B., Truex D.P., Wastell D., Wood-Harper

- A.T., DeGross J.I. (Ed.), *Information Systems Research*, 234-254. Boston: Springer.
- Cummins, J. & Swain, M. (1986). *Bilingualism in education: aspects of theory, research and practice*. London: Longman.
- Cummins, J. (2011). *Putting the Evidence Back into Evidence-based Policies for Underachieving Students*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Dahlstedt, M. & Hertzberg, F. (2011). Den entreprenörskapande skolan. Styrning, subjektskapande och entreprenörskapspedagogik. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*, 16(3), 179–198.
- Direktiv 2000:66. *Handlingsprogram för det svenska språket*. Beslut vid regeringssammanträde den 5 oktober 2000. Stockholm: Kulturdepartementet.
- Direktiv 2006:19. *Översyn av grundskolans mål- och uppföljningssystem m.m.* Stockholm: Utbildnings- och kulturdepartementet.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The critical Study of Language*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman.
- Egidius, H. (2001). *Skola och utbildning i historiskt och internationellt perspektiv*. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Eilard, A. (2008). Modern, svensk och jämställd. Om barn, familj och omvärld i grundskolans läseböcker 1962–2007, (Doctoral thesis, Malmö Studies in Educational Sciences, 38). Malmö: Malmö högskola.
- Eklund, M. (2003). Interkulturellt lärande. Intentioner och realiteter i svensk grundskola sedan 1960-talets början, (Doctoral thesis, Luleå Studies in Educational Sciences, 34). Luleå: Universitetstryckeriet.
- Englund, T. (1995). *Utbildningspolitiskt systemskifte*. Stockholm: HLS förlag.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

REFERENCES

- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gogolin, I. (2002). Linguistic and Cultural Diversity in Europe: A challenge for educational research and practice. *European Educational Research Journal*, 1(1), 123–138.
- Gorter, D., Zenotz, V., & Cenoz, J. (2014). *Minority Languages and Multilingual Education: Bridging the Local and the Global*. Berlin: Springer.
- Gruber, S. & Rabo, A. (2014). *Multiculturalism Swedish Style: shifts and sediments in educational policies and textbooks* Policy Futures in Education, 12(1), 56-66.
- Gustafsson, J. (2003). *Integration som text, diskursiv och social praktik. En policyetnografisk fallstudie av motet mellan skolan och förskoleklass*. (Doctoral thesis, Gothenburg Studies in Educational Science, 199). Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
- Göteborgs Universitetsbibliotek: ERIC (EBSCO); Swedish publications (Swepub) Available at:
<http://www.ub.gu.se/sok/db/?query=eric>;
www.swepub.kb.se
- Hegelund, L. (2002). A comparative language policy of analysis of minority mother tongue education in Denmark and Sweden. *Copenhagen studies in Bilingualism*, 33(1). Danish University of Education: Copenhagen.
- Hylland-Eriksen, T. (2002). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*. Falun: Nya Doxa.
- Hyltenstam, K. & Toumela, V. (Eds.) (1996). *Tvåspråkighet Med förhinder? Invandrar- och minoritetsundervisning i Sverige*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Hyltenstam, K. (red.) (1999). *Sveriges sju inhemska språk – ett minoritetsperspektiv*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Hyltenstam, K., & Milani, T. M. (2012). Flerspråkighetens socio-politiska och sociokulturella ramar. In K. Hyltenstam, M. Axelsson, and I. Lindberg (Ed.), *Flerspråkighet: en forskningsöversikt*, 17–152. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet.

- Jessner, U., & Mayr-Keiler, K. (2017). Why context matters: Social inclusion and multilingualism in an Austrian school setting. *Social Inclusion*, 5(4), 87–97.
- Johansson, C. (2005). *Välkomna till Sverige? Svenska migrationspolitiska diskurser under 1900-talets andra hälft*. Malmö: Bokbox Förlag.
- Justitiedepartementet (2001). Lag (2001:82) *Om svenskt medborgarskap*. Stockholm: Justitiedepartementet L7. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/lag-200182-om-svenskt-medborgarskap_sfs-2001-82
- Kulturdepartementet (2009). Lag (2009:724) *om nationella minoriteter och minoritetsspråk*. Stockholm: Kulturdepartementet. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/lag-2009724-om-nationella-minoriteter-och_sfs-2009-724
- Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen (1962). *Läroplan för grundskolan*. (Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsens skriftserie 60). Stockholm: Kungliga Skolöverstyrelsen.
- Kungliga Biblioteket. Stockholm: *Digitaliserade SOU:er - 1922-1999*. Available at: <http://regina.kb.se/sou/>
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lainio, J. (1999). Språk, genetik och geografi-om kontinuitetsproblematiken och debatten om finska som minoritetsspråk. In Hyltenstam, K. (ed.), *Sveriges sju inhemska språk- ett minoritetsspråkperspektiv*, 138–204. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Lainio, J. (2013). Modersmals erkända och negligerade roller. In M. Olofsson (Ed.), *Symposium 2012: Lärarrollen i svenska som andraspråk*, 66–96. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitets Förlag.

REFERENCES

- Lindberg, I. (2007). Multilingual Education: a Swedish Perspective. In Carlson, M., Rabo, A. & Gök, F. (Ed.), *Education in 'Multicultural' Societies—Turkish and Swedish Perspectives*, 71-90. Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.
- Lundahl, L. (2005). A Matter of Self-Governance and Control The Reconstruction of Swedish Education Policy: 1980-2003. *European Education*, 37(1), 10-25.
- Lundahl, L., Erixon, I., Holm, A., & Lundström, U. (2013). Educational marketization the Swedish way. *Education Inquiry*, 4(3), 497-517.
- Lundgren, U. P. (2002). Utbildningsforskning och utbildningsreformer. *Pedagogisk Forskning i Sverige*, 7(3), 233-243.
- Lundh, C. & Ohlsson, R. (1994). *Från arbetskraftsimport till flyktinginvandring*. Stockholm: SNS.
- Marącz, K. & Adamo, S. (2017). Multilingualism and social inclusion. *Social Inclusion*, 5(4), 1-4.
- Marvin C. Alkin (1973). Analysis of national curriculum and instructional reform: Application to Sweden. *International Review of Education*, 19(2), 208-217.
- McKelvey, R. (2017). Language Provision in Education: A View from Scotland. *Social Inclusion*, 5(4), 78-86.
- Milani, T. M. (2008). Language testing and citizenship: A language ideological debate in Sweden. *Language in Society* 37(1), 27-59.
- Mulderrig, J. (2008). Using keywords analysis in CDA: evolving discourses of the knowledge economy in education. In: Jessop, B., Fairclough, N., & R. Wodak (Ed.), *Education and the Knowledge-based Economy in Europe: Educational Futures: Rethinking Theory and Practice*, 149-169. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Municio, I. (1993). *Svenske skolpolitik under intryck av två diskurser: nationell självförståelse och demokratiskt credo, i Invandring, forskning politik*. Stockholm: Ceifo.

- Nilsson, Å. (2004). *Efterkrigstidens invandring och utvandring, Demografiska rapporter 2004:5*, Stockholm, Statistiska centralbyrån.
- Oaks, L. (2001). *Language and national identity: comparing France and Sweden*. Amsterdam: Benjamin Publication.
- OECD. *Reviews of Migrant Education - Norway*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/43901573.pdf>
- OECD. *Reviews of Migrant Education - Austria*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/44192225.pdf>
- OECD. *Reviews of Migrant Education - Denmark*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/44855206.pdf>
- OECD. *Notes on Migrant Education in Participating Countries*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/oecdnotesonmigranteducationinparticipatingcountries.htm>
- OECD. *Closing the gap for immigrant students: Policies, Practice and Performance*. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/school/44870913.pdf>
- Ozga, J. (2000). *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested terrain*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Prop. 1975:26. *Om riktlinjer för invandrar- och minoritetspolitiken m.m.* Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/regeringens-proposition-om-riktlinjer-for_FY0326
- Prop. 1975/76:187. *Om kommunal demokrati, ny kommunallag m.m.* Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-kommunal-demokrati-ny-kommunallag-mm_FZ03187
- Prop. 1975/76:118. *Om bemspråksundervisning för invandrarbarn*. Available at: <https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-bemspraksundervisning-for-invandrarbarn-FZ03118>

REFERENCES

- [lagar/dokument/proposition/om-hemspraksndervisning-for-invandrarbarn_FZ03118](https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-hemspraksndervisning-for-invandrarbarn_FZ03118)
- Prop. 1985/86:98. *Om Invandrarpolitiken*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-invandrarpolitiken_G90398
- Prop. 1988/89:4. *Om skolans utveckling och styrning*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-skolans-utveckling-och-styrning_GC034
- Prop. 1990/91:18. *Om ansvaret för skolan*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-ansvaret-for-skolan_GE0318
- Prop. 1991/92:95. *Om valfrihet och fristående skolor*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/om-valfrihet-och-fristaende-skolor_GF0395
- Prop. 1996/97:110. *Vissa skolfrågor m.m.* Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/vissa-skolfragor-mm_GK03110
- Prop. 1997/98:16. *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden – Från invandrarpolitik till integrationspolitik*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/sverige-framtiden-och-mangfalden-fran_GL0316
- Prop. 2005/06:2. *Bästa språket – en samlad svensk språkpolitik*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/basta-spraket--en-samlad-svensk-sprakpolitik_GT032
- Prop. 2014/15:45. *Utbildning för nyanlända elever – mottagande och skolgång*. Available at: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/utbildning-for-nyanlinda-elever-mottagande-och-skolgang_GH0345

agar/dokument/proposition/utbildning-for-nyanlanda-
elever-mottagande-och_H20345

Reath Warren, A. (2017). *Developing multilingual literacies in Sweden and Australia Opportunities and challenges in mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance in Sweden and community language education in Australia*. Stockholm: Department of Language Education, Stockholm University.

Regeringsförklaringen 1991. *Regeringsförklaringen lästes upp av statsminister Carl Bildt inför Sveriges riksdag den 4 oktober 1991, och markerade tillträdandet av Regeringen Carl Bildt*. Available at: <http://www.svenskatal.se/19911004-carl-bildt-regeringsforklaringen-1991/>

Regeringsförklaringen 1994. Riksdagen. Stockholm. Available at: <https://www.regeringen.se/informationmaterial/1994/10/regeringsforklaringen-7-oktober-1994/>

Regeringsförklaringen 19 september 2000. Riksdagen. Stockholm. Available at: <https://www.gov.se/informationmaterial/2000/09/regeringsforklaringen-19-september-2000/>

Regeringens skrivelse 2001/02:188. *Utbildning för kunskap och jämlikhet – regeringens utvecklingsplan för kvalitetsarbetet i förskola, skola och vuxenutbildning*. Riksdagen. Stockholm. Available at: <http://data.riksdagen.se/fil/7386314a-0d28-4874-9a6b-944d5bfa18a8>

Regeringens skrivelse 1981/82:103; Bilaga 2 – Kommittéberättelse 1982, Del II: 196. Stockholm: Justitiedepartementet. Available at: https://riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/skrivelse/198182103_G503103/html

Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:206. *Riksrevisionens rapport om lärdomar av flyktingsituationen hösten 2015 - beredskap och hantering*. Stockholm: Justitiedepartementet. Available at: <https://data.riksdagen.se/fil/787F1613-2B08-491D-B26B-13BBB4387835>

REFERENCES

- Richardson, G. (2010). *Svensk utbildningshistoria Skola och samhälle förr och nu*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- SFS 1962:319. *Skollag*. Kungl. maj:ts kungörelse om läroplan för grundskolan m. m. Riksdagen. Stockholm.
- SFS 1994:1/194. *Skollag*. Grundskoleförordningen om läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet. Available at:
http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/grundskoleforordning-19941194_sfs-1994-1194 Downloaded 2017-02-13
- SFS 2010:800. *Skollag*. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartement.
- SFS 2011:185. *Skollag*. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartement.
- SFS 2014:458. *Lag om ändring i skollagen 2010:800*. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartement.
- Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing Qualitative Research*. 3rd ed. London: Sage.
- SKOLF 1994:1. Senaste lydelse av: *Förordning om Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet (Lpo 94)*. Available at: <http://databas.infosoc.se/lag/1891>
- SKOLF 2016:2. *Utbildning för nyanlända elever*. Skolverkets Allmänna Råd med kommentarer. Available at:
https://www.skolverket.se/sitevision/proxy/publikationer/svid12_5dfee44715d35a5cdfa2899/55935574/wtpub/ws/skolbok/wpubext/trycksak/Blob/pdf3576.pdf?k=3576
- Skolinspektionen. (2009:3). *Utbildning för nyanlända elever - rätten till en god utbildning i en trygg miljö*. Stockholm: Skolinspektionen 2009. Available at:
<https://www.skolinspektionen.se/globalassets/publikationer/granskningsrapporter/kvalitetsgranskningar/2009/nyanlanda/nyanlanda-elever.pdf>
- Skolinspektionen. (2010). *Språk- och kunskapsutveckling för barn och elever med annat modersmål än svenska*. Stockholm: Skolin-

- spektionen 2010. Available at:
<https://www.skolinspektionen.se/sv/Beslut-och-rapporter/Publikationer/Granskningsrapport/Kvalitetsgranskning/Sprak--och-kunskapsutveckling-for-barn-och-elever-med-annat-modersmal-an-svenska/>
- Skolinspektionen. (2016). *Undervisning och studiemiljö i fokus*. Stockholm: Skolinspektionen 2017. Available at:
<https://www.skolinspektionen.se/globalassets/publikationssok/regeringsrapporter/arsrapporter/arsrapport-2016/arsrapport-skolinspektionen-2016.pdf>
- Skolverket. (2002). *Flera språk- fler möjligheter. Utveckling av modersmålsstöd och modersmålsundervisning*. Rapport till regeringen 15 maj 2002. (Dnr. 01 01:2751). Stockholm: Skolverket.
- Skolverket. (2006). *Skolverkets lägesbedömning 2006: Svenskundervisning för elever med utländsk bakgrund måste bli bättre*. Stockholm: Skolverket. Available at:
www.skolverket.se/sb/d/203/a/5218 (pressmeddelande 01 nov. 2006).
- Skolverket. (2008). *Med annat modersmål - elever i grundskolan och skolans verksamhet*. Stockholm: Skolverket. Available at:
<https://www.skolverket.se/publikationer?id=2116>
- Skolverket. (2011). *Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet*. Stockholm: Skolverket.
- Skolverket. (2016). *Utbildning för nyanlända elever*. Stockholm: Skolverket. Available at:
https://www.skolverket.se/sitevision/proxy/publikationer/svid12_5dfce44715d35a5cdfa2899/55935574/wtpub/ws/skolbok/wpubext/trycksak/Blob/pdf3576.pdf?k=3576
- Skolverket. (2017). *Uppföljning av språkin introduktion*. Stockholm: Skolverket. Available at:
https://www.skolverket.se/sitevision/proxy/publikationer/svid12_5dfce44715d35a5cdfa2899/55935574/wtpub/

REFERENCES

- [ws/skolbok/wpubext/trycksak/Blob/pdf3770.pdf?k=3770](https://www.skolverket.se/statistik-och-utvardering/nyhetsarkiv/2015/nyheter-2015-1.229449/elevokningen-i-grundskolan-fortsatter-1.232753)
- Skolverket. (2017). *Elevökningen i grundskolan fortsätter*. Available at: <https://www.skolverket.se/statistik-och-utvardering/nyhetsarkiv/2015/nyheter-2015-1.229449/elevokningen-i-grundskolan-fortsatter-1.232753>
- Skolöverstyrelsen (1969a). *Läroplan för grundskolan*. Lgr 69. Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget.
- Skolöverstyrelsen (1969b). *Läroplan för grundskolan II*. Supplement. Svenska. Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget.
- Skolöverstyrelsen (1980a). *Läroplan för grundskolan*. Allmän del: mål och riktlinjer, kursplaner, timplaner. Stockholm: Liber Läromedel/Utbildningsförlaget.
- Skolöverstyrelsen (1988b). *Läroplan för grundskolan, Lgr 80*. Kommentarmaterial. *Hemspråksklasser och sammansatta klasser*. Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen.
- Smith D. A. (1996). Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism. *International Affairs*, 72(3), 445–458.
- SOU 1960:41. *Samernas skolgång*. Betänkande avgivet av 1957 års nomadskolutredning. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.
- SOU 1961:13. *Grundskolan*. Betänkande avgivet av 1957 års skolberedning VI. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.
- SOU 1961:30. *Grundskolan*. Betänkande avgivet av 1957 års skolberedning VI. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.
- SOU 1961:31. *Läroplaner för grundskola och fackskolor*. Förslag angivna av 1957 års skolberedning VII. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.
- SOU 1966:55. *Skolgång borta och hemma. Utlandssvenska barns skolgång – skolinackordering – skolgång för vissa minoriteters barn*. Betänkande angivet av 1964 års utlands- och internatsko-leutredning. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.

- SOU 1971:51. *Invandrarutredning 1. Invandrarnas utbildningssituation. Förslag om grundutbildning i svenska för vuxna invandrare.* Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet.
- SOU 1972:83. *Invandrarutredningen 2. Tolk.service - Nordisk språkkonvention. Bilaga 2.* Stockholm: Inrikesdepartementet.
- SOU 1983:57. *Olika ursprung – gemenskap i Sverige. Utbildning för språklig och kulturell mångfald.* Huvudbetänkande av språk och kulturarvsutredningen. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
- SOU 1974:69. *Invandrarutredning 3. Invandrarna och minoriteterna.* Huvudbetänkande av invandrarutredningen. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
- SOU 1984:55. *I rätt riktning. Etniska relationer i Sverige.* Slutbetänkande av diskrimineringsutredningen. Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet.
- SOU 1989:13. *Mångfald mot enfald.* Slutrapport från kommissionen mot rasism och främlingsfientlighet. Stockholm: Arbetsdepartementet.
- SOU 1990:44. *Demokrati och makt i Sverige.* Maktutredningens huvudrapport. Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget.
- SOU 1992:94. *Skola för bildning.* Betänkande av läroplanskommittén. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
- SOU 1996:55a. *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden.* Slutbetänkande från Invandrapolitiska kommittén. Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet.
- SOU 2004:74. *Utlänningslagstiftningen i ett domstolsperspektiv.* Stockholm: Justitiedepartementet.
- SOU 2006:52. *Slutbetänkande av Utredningen om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering.* Stockholm: Kulturdepartementet
- SOU 2007:28. *Tydliga mål och kunskapskrav i grundskolan - Förslag till nytt mål- och uppföljningssystem.* Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.

REFERENCES

- SOU 2013:29. *Det svenska medborgarskapet*. Nytänkande av Medborgarskapsutredningen. Stockholm: Regeringskansliets förvaltningsavdelning.
- Spetz, J. (2012). Modersmålsundervisning - På barriaden och i marginalen, s 61–72. In: *Språk i Norden* (2012). Tema: *Morsmål, andrespråk, nabospråk og fremmedspråk*. *Nettverket for språknemndene i Norden*.
- Stroud, C. (2002). *Towards a Policy for Bilingual Education in Developing Countries*. New Education Division Documents No. 10. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.
- Write, S. (2004). *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalisation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sverigedemokraterna (2018). Available at: <https://sd.se>
- Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (SKL). *Nyanlända barn och elever*. Available at: <https://skl.se/skolakulturfrid/forskolagrundochgymnasieskola/nyanlandabarnelever.3087.html>
- Taguma, M., Kim, M., Brink, S. & Teltemann, J. (2010): *OECD Reviews of Migrant Education. Sweden*. Paris: OECD.
- Taylor, S. (1997). Critical policy analysis: exploring contexts, texts and consequences, *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, 18(1), 23–35.
- Thomas, W. & Collier, V. (1997). School effectiveness for language minority students. *National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE)*, 9(1), 6-96.
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight “big□tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(1), 837–851.
- Tuomela, V. (2002). *Modersmålsundervisningen – en forskningsöversikt*. Bilaga till rapporten *Flera språk–fler möjligheter*. Utveckling av modersmålsstöd och modersmålsundervisning – ett regeringsuppdrag. Stockholm: Skolverket.

- UNESCO (2003). *Education in a Multilingual world*. Available at:
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf>
- UNICEF (Article 30). *Children of Minorities/Indigenous groups*.
Available at:
https://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Rights_overview.pdf
- Utbildningsdepartementet (1994). *Läroplaner för det obligatoriska skolväsendet och de frivilliga skolformerna: Lpo 94: Lpf 94*. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
- Utbildningsdepartementet. (1998). *Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet*. Lpo 94. Anpassad till att också omfatta förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet. Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet.
- The European Commission. Available at:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_5.13.6.html
- The European Union. *Sirius Network, Draft Literature Review, 2013*.
Available at: <http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Policy-brief-policies-language-support-all-draft-version.pdf>
- Westling Allodi, M. (2007). Equal Opportunities in Educational Systems: the case of Sweden. *European Journal of Education*, 42(1), 133-146.
- Yazıcı, Z., Binnur G. . & Philip G. (2010). How bilingual is bilingual? Mother-tongue proficiency and learning through a second language. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 18(3), 259–268.

**DOKTORSAVHANDLINGAR VID INSTITUTIONEN FÖR SOCIOLOGI OCH ARBETSVETENSKAP
FR O M 1995**

59. Börjesson, Mats: *Sanningen om brottslingen. Rättspsykiatri som kartläggning av livsöden i samhällets tjänst under 1900-talet.* 1995.
60. Ljung, Margareta: *Lyft jorden mot himlen - växande i kvinnogrupper och kvinnliga nätverk.* 1995.
61. Björkemarken, Mariann: *Implementeringsanalys som komplement vid utvärdering - en fråga om perspektiv och förklaring.* 1995.
62. Håkansson, Kristina: *Förändringsstrategier i arbetslivet.* 1995.
63. Blomsterberg, Marianne: *Garanterade karriärer? Om social styrning och sysselsättningspolitik för ungdomar.* 1996.
64. Kohlström, Gulli: *Identitetsförändring vid anpassning till funktionshinder/handikapp.* 1996.
65. Larsson, Patrik: *Hemtjänsten ur tre perspektiv - En studie bland äldre, anställda och ledning.* 1996.
66. Oskarsson, Hermann: *En klasstrukturs uppkomst och utveckling. Akureyri 1860-1940.* 1996.
67. Thörn, Håkan: *Modernitet, sociologi och sociala rörelser/Rörelser i det moderna: Politik, modernitet och kollektiv identitet i Europa 1789-1989.* 1997.
68. Einarsdottir, Torgerdur: *Läkaryrket i förändring. En studie av den medicinska professionens heterogenisering och könsdifferentiering.* 1997.
69. Åberg, Jan-Olof: *Det rationella och det legitima. En studie av utvärderingars teori och praktik.* 1997.
70. Pham Van Bich: *The Changes of the Vietnamese Family in the Red River Delta.* 1997.
71. Lalander, Philip: *Anden i flaskan. Alkoholens betydelser i olika ungdomsgrupper.* 1998.
72. Eriksson, Birgitta: *Arbetet i människors liv.* 1998.
73. Bartley, Kristina: *Barnpolitik och barnets rättigheter.* 1998.
74. Nordström, Monica: *Yttre villkor och inre möten. Hemtjänsten som organisation.* 1998.
75. Stier, Jonas: *Dimensions and Experiences of Human Identity. An Analytical Toolkit and Empirical Illustration.* 1998.
76. Jerkeby, Stefan: *Slutna cirklar. Om civila moståndsrörelser i Norge och Danmark 1940-45.* 1999.
77. Oudhuis, Margareta: *Vägen till jämlikhet. En analys av den svenska arbetarrörelsens syn på effektivitet och emancipation i arbetslivet.* 1999.
78. Johansson, Anna: *La Mujer Sufrida - The Suffering Woman. Narratives on Femininity among Women in a Nicaraguan Barrio.* 1999.
79. Theandersson, Christer: *Jobbet - för lön, lust eller andra värden.* 2000.
80. Carle, Jan: *Opinion och aktion. En sociologisk studie av ungdomar och miljö.* 2000.
81. Öhrn, Ingbritt: *Livet, identiteten och kronisk sjukdom. En socialpsykologisk studie av unga vuxna diabetiker.* 2000.
82. Mossberg Sand, Ann-Britt: *Ansvar, kärlek och försörjning. Om anställda anhängvårdare i Sverige.* 2000.
83. Berglund, Tomas: *Attityder till arbete i Västeuropa och USA. Teoretiska perspektiv och analyser av data från sex länder.* 2001.
84. Larsson, Bengt: *Bankkrisen, medierna och politiken. Offentliga tolkningar och reaktioner på 90-talets bankkris.* 2001.
85. Blomquist, Bo: *Förskolebarnets relation till sin familj. Förändrade förutsättningar och föreställningar 1950-1990.* 2001.
86. Hansen, Lars: *The Division of Labour in Post-Industrial Societies.* 2001.
87. Björk, Micael: *Upplösningens dialektik. Bildningsmål och politisk modernitet i Sverige kring sekelskiftet 1900.* 2002.
88. Gustafson, Per: *Place, Place Attachment and Mobility: Three Sociological Studies.* 2002.
89. Rigné, Eva Marie: *Profession, Science, and State - Psychology in Sweden 1968-1990.* 2002.

90. Persson, Anders: *I kräftans tecken. En historiesociologisk studie av cancerforskningens samhällseliga villkor i Sverige och USA under 1900-talet*. 2002.
91. Brnic, Anita: *Speaking of Nationality. On Narratives of National Belonging and the 'Immigrant'*. 2002.
92. Korp, Peter: *Hälsopromotion - en sociologisk studie av hälsofrämjandets institutionalisering*. 2002.
93. Sobis, Iwona: *Employment Service in Transition: Adaptation of a Socialist Employment Agency to a Market Economy. A Case Study of Lodz, Poland 1989-1998*. 2002.
94. Hellum, Merete: *Förförd av Eros. Kön och moral bland utländska kvinnor på en grekisk ö*. 2002.
95. Carlson, Marie: *Svenska för invandrare – brygga eller gräns? Syn på kunskap och lärande inom sfi-undervisningen*. 2002.
96. Hansson, Agneta: *Praktiskt taget. Aktionsforskning som teori och praktik – i spåren efter LOM*. 2003.
97. Engdahl, Oskar: *I finansvärldens bakre regioner. En studie om finansiella offshore-marknader och ekonomisk brottslighet*. 2003.
98. Rolandsson, Bertil: *Facket, informationsteknologin och politiken. Strategier och perspektiv inom LO 1976-1996*. 2003.
99. Schedin, Stefan: *Ekonomisk ojämlikhet. Inkomstfördelning och inkomstskillnader i Sverige under 1980- och 1990-talen*. 2003.
100. Morner, Claudia G: *Självständigt beroende. Ensamstående mammors försörjningsstrategier*. 2003.
101. Wennerström, Ulla-Britt: *Den kvinnliga klassresan*. 2003.
102. Wingfors, Stina S: *Socionomyrkets professionalisering*. 2004.
103. Tursunovic, Mirzet: *Fostran till demokrati: Tre sociologiska delstudier av bosniska ungdomars politiska socialisering*. 2004.
104. Thörn, Catharina: *Kvinnans plats(er) – bilder av hemlöshet*. 2004.
105. Alinia, Minoo: *Spaces of Diasporas: Kurdish Identities, Experiences of Otherness and Politics of Belonging*. 2004.
106. Chronholm, Anders: *Föräldraledig pappa – Mäns erfarenheter av delad föräldraledighet*. 2004.
107. Seldén, Daniel: *Om det som är. Ontologins metodologiska relevans inom positivism, relativism och kritisk realism*. 2005.
108. Winell-Garvén, Irene: *Vägen till Parnassen. En sociologisk studie av kvinnligt konstnärskap i Sverige 1864-1939*. 2005.
109. Engström, Pär: *Samtal och ledarskap. En studie av medarbetarsamtal i grundskolan*. 2005.
110. Löfstrand, Cecilia: *Hemlöshetens politik – lokal policy och praktik*. 2005.
111. Eydal, Guðny Björk: *Family Policy in Iceland 1944-1984*. 2005.
112. Ekbrand, Hans: *Separationer och mäns våld mot kvinnor*. 2006.
113. Eriksson, Ylva Ulfsdotter: *Yrke, Status & Genus. En sociologisk studie om yrken på en segregerad arbetsmarknad*. 2006.
114. Flisbäck, Marita: *Att lära sig konstens regler. En sociologisk studie av osäkra framtidsinvesteringar*. 2006.
115. Berntsson, Paula: *Läraryrket, förskollärare och statushöjande strategier*. 2006.
116. Latta, Mia: *Public Transfer and Private Help. Support Networks of Marginalised and Poor individuals in Sweden in the 1990s*. 2007.
117. Persson, Sofia: *Läraryrkets uppkomst och förändring. En sociologisk studie av lärares villkor, organisering och yrkesprojekt inom den grundläggande utbildningen ca 1800-2000*. 2008.
118. Bengtsson, Mattias: *Individen stämplat in. Arbetet, facket och lönen i sociologisk belysning*. 2008.
119. Sjöstrand, Glenn: *Gåvan i Gnosjö. Företagares relationer i ett industriellt distrikt*. 2008.
120. Pellbring, Mats: *Laissez-faire, systemkritik eller reformism? En studie av den svenska opinionsbildande globaliseringsdiskursen i dagspress, 1992-2001*. 2008.
121. Bjarnason, Tómas: *Social Recognition and Employees' Organizational Support*. 2009.

122. Jagudina, Zaira: *Social Movements and Gender in Post-Soviet Russia: The Case of the Soldiers' Mothers NGOs*. 2009.
123. Ranagården, Lisbeth: *Lärares lärande om elever – en sociologisk studie om yrkespraktik*. 2009
124. Shmulyar Gréen, Oksana: *Entrepreneurship in Russia: Western ideas in Russian translation*. 2009
125. Eriksson, Bo G: *Studying ageing: Experiences, description, variation, prediction and explanation*. 2010
126. Karlsson, Anette: *I moderniseringens skugga? Om förändring och identitet i två administrativa serviceyrken*. 2010
127. Wasshede, Cathrin: *Passionerad politik. Om motstånd mot heteronormativ könsmakt*. 2010
128. Bergström Casinowsky, Gunilla: *Tjänsteresor i människors vardag – om rörlighet, närvaro och frånvaro*. 2010
129. Jonsson, Christer: *I fädernas och mödrars spår. Landsortsungdomars identitetsutveckling och vuxenblivande i ett livsformsperspektiv*. 2010
130. Söderberg, Johan: *Free Software to Open Hardware: Critical Theory on the Frontiers of Hacking*. 2011
131. Hedenus, Anna: *At the end of the Rainbow – Post-winning life among Swedish lottery winners*. 2011
132. Uhnö, Sara: *Våldets regler. Ungdomars tal om våld och bråk*. 2011
133. Daoud, Adel: *Scarcity, Abundance and Sufficiency: Contributions to Social And Economic Theory*. 2011
134. Wahlström, Mattias: *The Making of Protest and Protest Policing: Negotiation, Knowledge, Space, and Narrative*. 2011
135. Holgersson, Helena: *Icke-medborgarskapets urbana geografi*. 2011
136. Ericson, Mathias: *Nära inpå: Maskulinitet, intimitet och gemenskap i brandmäns arbetslag*. 2011
137. Malmqvist, Karl: *Offentlighetens gränser: Fem kultursociologiska studier av kontroverser kring litterära självframställningar i Sverige, 1976–2008*. 2012
138. Larsson, Jörgen: *Studier i tidsmässig välfärd – med fokus på tidsstrategier och tidspolitik för småbarnsfamiljer*. 2012
138. Backman, Christel: *Criminal Records in Sweden. Regulation of Access to Criminal Records and the Use of Criminal Background checks by Employers*. 2012.
139. Gunnarsson, Andreas: *Unleashing Science Popularisation: Studies on Science as Popular Culture*. 2012.
140. Kantelius, Hannes: *Inhyrningens logik – konsekvenser för individ och organisation*. 2012.
141. Westberg, Niklas: *Meddelanden från enskildheten – En sociologisk studie av ensamhet och avskildhet*. 2012.
142. Calvo, Dolores: *What Is the Problem of Gender? Mainstreaming Gender in Migration and Development Policies in the European Union*. 2013.
143. Widigson, Mats: *Från miljonprogram till högskoleprogram – plats, agentskap och villkorad valfrihet*. 2013.
144. Puaca, Goran: *Educational choices of the future. A sociological inquiry into micro-politics in education*. 2013.
145. Björk, Lisa: *Contextualizing managerial work in local government organizations*. 2013.
146. Naldemirci, Öncel: *Caring (in) Diaspora: Aging and Caring Experiences of Older Turkish Migrants in a Swedish Context*. 2013.
147. Lovén Seldén, Kristina: *Europafacklig samverkan. Problem och möjligheter*. 2014.
148. Petersson, Jesper: *Geographies of eHealth: Studies of Healthcare at a Distance*. 2014.
149. Peixoto, Anna: *De mest lämpade – en studie av doktoranders habituering på det vetenskapliga fältet*. 2014.
150. Stretmo, Live: *Governing the unaccompanied child – media, policy and practice*. 2014.
151. Miscevic, Danko: *Bortom scenen - en sociologisk studie av frilansande skådespelares villkor*. 2014.

152. Liljenberg, Mette. *Distributed Leadership in Local School Organisations. Working for School Improvement?* 2015.
153. Nordlander, Erica. *On the Mechanisms of Social Inequality. Studies of young people's educational outcomes, social participation, and well-being.* 2015.
154. Nordholm, Daniel. *Organising for School Improvement at the Middle Tier. Studies on Temporary Organisation.* 2015.
155. Vulkan, Patrik. *The Microfoundations of Flexicurity. Employees' well-being and attitudes to labour market policy in a Swedish and Nordic welfare state setting.* 2016.
156. Corin, Linda. *Job demands, job resources and consequences for managerial sustainability in the public sector – A contextual approach.* 2016.
157. Borelius, Ulf. *Om befrielsesteologins uppkomst i Latinamerika. En sociologisk analys av religiös förändring.* 2016.
158. Törnberg, Anton. *The Wicked Nature of Social Systems – A Complexity Approach to Sociology.* 2017.
159. Reichenberg, Olof. *A Mechanism Approach to the Sociology of Teachers' and students' Actions: Teaching Practice, Student Disengagement and Instructional Materials.* 2017
160. Lydahl, Doris. *Same and different? Perspectives on the Introduction of Person-Centred Care as Standard Healthcare.* 2017.
161. Björk, Sofia. *Gender and emotions in family care – Understanding masculinity and gender equality in Sweden.* 2017.
162. Wallinder, Ylva. *Imagined Independence. Institutional Conditions and Individual Opportunities in European Labour Markets.* 2018
163. Andersson, Pia. *Making Room for Complexity in Group Collaborations: The Roles of Scaffolding and Facilitation.* 2018
164. Bajcinca, Nuhi. *Mother tongue education – The Interest of a Nation. A policy study in Sweden 1957-2017.* 2019.

GÖTEBORG STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY

1. Furåker, Bengt (ed): *Employment, Unemployment, Marginalization. Studies on Contemporary Labour Markets.* Department of Sociology, Göteborg University/ Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm 2001.
2. Berglund, Tomas: *Attityder till arbete i Västeuropa och USA. Teoretiska perspektiv och analyser av data från sex länder.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2001.
3. Larsson, Bengt: *Bankkrisen, medierna och politiken. Offentliga tolkningar och reaktioner på 90-talets bankkris.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2001.
4. Blomquist, Bo: *Förskolebarnets relation till sin familj. Förändrade förutsättningar och föreställningar 1950-1990.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2001.
5. Hansen, Lars: *The Division of Labour in Post-Industrial Societies.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2001.
6. Gustafson, Per: *Place, Place Attachment and Mobility: Three Sociological Studies.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
7. Rigné, Eva Marie: *Profession, Science, and State – Psychology in Sweden 1968-1990.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
8. Persson, Anders: *I kräftans tecken. En historiesociologisk studie av cancerforskningens samhällseliga villkor i Sverige och USA under 1900-talet.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
9. Brnic, Anita: *Speaking of Nationality. On Narratives of National Belonging and the 'Immigrant'.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
10. Korp, Peter: *Hälsopromotion - en sociologisk studie av hälsofrämjandets institutionalisering.* Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.

11. Sobis, Iwona: *Employment Service in Transition: Adaptation of a Socialist Employment Agency to a Market Economy. A Case Study of Lodz, Poland 1989-1998*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
12. Hellum, Merete: *Förförd av Eros. Kön och moral bland utländska kvinnor på en grekisk ö*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
13. Carlson, Marie: *Svenska för invandrare – brygga eller gräns? Syn på kunskap och lärande inom sfi-undervisningen*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2002.
14. Hansson, Agneta: *Praktiskt taget. Aktionsforskning som teori och praktik – i spåren på LOM*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2003.
15. Engdahl, Oskar: *I finansvärldens bakre regioner. En studie om finansiella offshore-marknader och ekonomisk brottslighet*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2003.
16. Rolandsson, Bertil: *Facket, informationsteknologin och politiken. Strategier och perspektiv inom LO 1976-1996*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2003.
17. Schedin, Stefan: *Ekonomisk ojämlikhet. Inkomstfördelning och inkomstskillnader i Sverige under 1980- och 1990-talen*. 2003. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2003.
18. Morner, Claudia G: *Självständigt beroende. Ensamstående mammors försörjningsstrategier*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2003.
19. Wennerström, Ulla-Britt: *Den kvinnliga klassresan*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2003.
20. Wingfors, Stina S: *Socionomyrkets professionalisering*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2004.
21. Tursunovic, Mirzet: *Fostran till demokrati: Tre sociologiska delstudier av bosniska ungdomars politiska socialisering*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2004.
22. Alinia, Minoo: *Spaces of Diasporas: Kurdish Identities, Experiences of Otherness and Politics of Belonging*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2004.
23. Chronholm, Anders: *Föräldraledig pappa – Mäns erfarenheter av delad föräldraledighet*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2004.
24. Seldén, Daniel: *Om det som är. Ontologins metodologiska relevans inom positivism, relativism och kritisk realism*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2005.
25. Winell-Garvén, Irene: *Vägen till Parnassen. En sociologisk studie av kvinnligt konstnärskap i Sverige 1864-1939*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2005.
26. Engström, Pär: *Samtal och ledarskap. En studie av medarbetarsamtal i grundskolan*. Doktorsavhandling. Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2005.
27. Eydal, Guðny Björk: *Family Policy in Iceland 1944-1984*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2005.
28. Ekbrand, Hans: *Separationer och mäns våld mot kvinnor*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2006.
29. Eriksson, Ylva Ulfsdotter: *Yrke, Status & Genus. En sociologisk studie om yrken på en segregerad arbetsmarknad*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2006.
30. Flisbäck, Marita: *Att lära sig konstens relger. En sociologisk studie av osäkra framtidsinvesteringar*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2006.
31. Berntsson, Paula: *Läraryrket, förskollärare och statushöjande strategier*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2006.
32. Latta, Mia: *Public Transfer and Private Help. Support Networks of Marginalised and Poor individuals in Sweden in the 1990s*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2007.
33. Persson, Sofia: *Läraryrkets uppkomst och förändring. En sociologisk studie av lärarens villkor, organisering och yrkesprojekt inom den grundläggande utbildningen ca 1800-2000*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2008.

34. Bengtsson, Mattias: *Individen stämplar in. Arbetet, facket och lönen i sociologisk belysning*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2008.
35. Sjöstrand, Glenn: *Gåvan i Gnosjö. Företagares relationer i ett industriellt distrikt*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2008.
36. Pellbring, Mats: *Laissez-faire, systemkritik eller reformism? En studie av den svenska opinionsbildande globaliseringsdiskursen i dagspress, 1992-2001*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2008.
37. Bjarnason, Tómas: *Social Recognition and Employees' Organizational Support*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2009.
38. Jagudina, Zaira: *Social Movements and Gender in Post-Soviet Russia: The Case of the Soldiers' Mothers NGOs*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2009.
39. Ranagården, Lisbeth: *Lärares lärande om elever – en sociologisk studie om yrkespraktik*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2009.
40. Shmulyar Gréen, Oksana: *Entrepreneurship in Russia: Western ideas in Russian translation*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2009.
41. Eriksson, Bo G: *Studying ageing: Experiences, description, variation, prediction and explanation*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2010.
42. Karlsson, Anette: *I moderniseringens skugga? Om förändring och identitet i två administrativa serviceyrken*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2010.
43. Bergström Casinowsky, Gunilla: *Tjänsteresor i människors vardag – om rörlighet, närvaro och frånvaro*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2010.
44. Jonsson, Christer: *I fäderns och mödrars spår. Landsortsungdomars identitetsutveckling och vuxenblivande i ett livsformsperspektiv*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2010.
45. Hedenus, Anna: *At the end of the Rainbow – Post-winning life among Swedish lottery winners*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2011.
46. Daoud, Adel: *Scarcity, Abundance and Sufficiency: Contributions to Social And Economic Theory*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2011.
47. Wahlström, Mattias: *The Making of Protest and Protest Policing: Negotiation, Knowledge, Space and Narrative*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2011.
48. Ericson, Mathias: *Nära inpå: Maskulinitet, intimitet och gemenskap i brandmäns arbetslag*. Doktorsavhandling, Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet 2011.
49. Larsson, Jörgen: *Studier i tidsmässig välfärd – med fokus på tidsstrategier och tidspolitik för småbarnsfamiljer*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2012.
50. Backman, Christel: *Criminal Records in Sweden. Regulation of Access to Criminal Records and the Use of Criminal Background checks by Employers*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2012.
51. Calvo, Dolores: *What Is the Problem of Gender? Mainstreaming Gender in Migration and Development Policies in the European Union*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2013.
52. Widigson, Mats: *Från miljonprogram till högskoleprogram – plats, agentskap och villkorad valfrihet*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2013.
53. Puaca Goran: *Educational choices of the future. A sociological inquiry into micro-politics in education*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2013.
54. Naldemirci, Öncel: *Caring (in) Diaspora: Aging and Caring Experiences of Older Turkish Migrants in a Swedish Context*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2013.
55. Lovén Seldén, Kristina: *Europafacklig samverkan. Problem och möjligheter*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2014.

56. Stretmo, Live: *Governing the unaccompanied child – media, policy and practice*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2014.
57. Miscevic, Danka: *Bortom scenen - en sociologisk studie av frilansande skådespelares villkor*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2014.
58. Liljenberg, Mette: *Distributed Leadership in Local School Organisations. Working for School Improvement?* Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2015.
59. Nordlander, Erica. *On the Mechanisms of Social Inequality. Studies of young people's educational outcomes, social participation, and well-being*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2015.
60. Nordholm, Daniel. *Organising for School Improvement at the Middle Tier. Studies on Temporary Organisation*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2015.
61. Vulkan, Patrik. *The Microfoundations of Flexicurity. Employees' well-being and attitudes to labour market policy in a Swedish and Nordic welfare state setting*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2015.
62. Borelius, Ulf. *Om befrielsesteologins uppkomst i Latinamerika. En sociologisk analys av religiös förändring*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2016.
63. Törnberg, Anton. *The Wicked Nature of Social Systems – A Complexity Approach to Sociology*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2017.
64. Reichenberg, Olof. *A Mechanism Approach to the Sociology of Teachers' and Students' Actions: Teaching Practice, Student Disengagement and Instructional Materials*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2017.
65. Lydahl, Doris. *Same and Different? Perspectives on the Introduction of Person-Centred Care as Standard Healthcare*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2017.
66. Björk, Sofia. *Gender and emotions in family care – Understanding masculinity and gender equality in Sweden*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2017.
67. Wallinder, Ylva. *Imagined Independence. Institutional Conditions and Individual Opportunities in European Labour Markets*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2018.
68. Bajcinca, Nuhi. *Mother tongue education – The Interest of a Nation. A policy study in Sweden 1957-2017*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen för sociologi och arbetsvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 2019.