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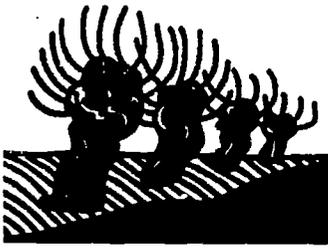
ABSTRACT

A study sought information about the success of the Swedish 9-year compulsory comprehensive school for students with home language other than Swedish. Immigrant adolescents and a sample of Swedish students answered a questionnaire discussing their lines of study after comprehensive school and the students' views on the home language instruction and instruction in Swedish as a second language. The size of some of the immigrant groups was large enough to enable a comparison between language groups. One objective was to examine the development of the immigrant students overall and seek potential causal relationships between certain background factors, the children's home environment, language usage, home language instruction, and study success. The results presented rather small differences between immigrant students and a sample of Swedish students. The most important prerequisite for school success was proficiency in Swedish. Immigrant students with a sufficiently good command of Swedish managed on average as well as Swedish students, in some language groups even better. Without a sufficient proficiency in Swedish, the chances were small that the students completed an upper secondary education. This applied especially to students who had immigrated during grades seven through nine, i.e., at the senior level of comprehensive school. Forty-seven tables and five diagrams are included; contains 29 references. (SG)

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Immigrant Students in Sweden

A Comparative Study Between
Different Immigrant Groups and
a Sample of Swedish Students

HORST LÖFGREN

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IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN SWEDEN

A Comparative Study Between Different Immigrant Groups and a Sample of Swedish Students

Horst Löfgren

Löfgren, H. Immigrant Students in Sweden: A Comparative Study Between Different Immigrant Groups and a Sample of Swedish Students. *Educational and Psychological Interactions* (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 109, 1991.

The main objective of the present study is to gain information about the success of the Swedish 9-year compulsory comprehensive school for students with home-language other than Swedish. Immigrant adolescents and a sample of Swedish students were requested not more than two years after completed 9-year compulsory education to answer a mailed questionnaire discussing amongst other questions their lines of study after comprehensive school, the students' views on the home-language instruction and on the instruction in Swedish as a second language. The sizes of some of the immigrant groups are large enough to enable a comparison between language groups. An important objective is to try to look at the development of the immigrant students in an overall perspective and to seek potential causal relationships between some chosen background factors, the children's social home environment, language usage, home-language instruction and study success.

The results present rather small differences between immigrant students and a sample of Swedish students. The most important prerequisite for school success is the proficiency in Swedish. Immigrant students with a sufficiently good command of Swedish manage in average as well as Swedish students, in some language groups even better. Without a sufficient proficiency in Swedish the chances are small that the students complete an upper secondary education. This applies especially to students having immigrated during grades 7-9, i.e. at the senior level of comprehensive school.

Keywords: Home-language instruction, immigrant students, nine-year compulsory school, program evaluation, upper secondary school

This study was funded by the Swedish National Board of Education and has been carried through in collaboration with the Unit for Educational Statistics, Statistics Sweden, the National Board of Education, and the Department of Educational and Educational Research, Malmö School of Education.

The original report has been translated into English by Ulf Jakobsson, B.A.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In order to acquire a basis for evaluations of the success in different respects of the compulsory school, studies are conducted on certain occasions among students having completed both nine-year compulsory comprehensive school and upper secondary school. Such studies are carried out by the SCB (Statistics, Sweden) which continuously brings out school statistics in various publications. The major part of the figures in the school statistics are accounted for in "Statistical Reports, the U series".

One of the reports in a series called "Background material about the school" which the SCB Unit for Educational Statistics began publishing in 1986 includes figures on immigrant students and Swedish-born students in grade 9 and their continuation to upper secondary school in 1988 (SCB, 1990a).

The National Board of Education and the SCB have co-operated in the realization of the current study presented below. In the regular follow-up of the nine-year compulsory school, for which SCB has the responsibility, the National Board of Education has set aside means for including a special section concerning immigrant students and the home-language instruction offered by the school.

1.1 A previous study of students with home-language other than Swedish

In 1978 the National (Swedish) Board of Education initiated an internal project called "Immigrant Children at School and on the Labour Market". Several reports have been published showing different part studies of the project (Liljegren & Ullman, 1981; Liljegren, 1981a, 1981b; Liljegren & Ullman, 1982; Löfgren, 1984a, 1984b, 1985a, 1985b). The reports by Liljegren and by Liljegren & Ullman present the results obtained from the follow-up study of the 9-year compulsory comprehensive school conducted in the spring of 1980, i.e. the year after the students had completed their compulsory education. The reports by Löfgren present the results of a subsequent follow-up study on the same students, 3.5 years after completed compulsory education. 5 724 of the students included in the so-called Home-Language Student Register took part in this latter study. The largest lan-

guage groups at the time were Finnish (41%), German (9%), Danish (8%) and languages related to Yugoslavian (8%). Today, the Finnish group is naturally still our largest immigrant group. It made out 33% of the total number of immigrant students having completed comprehensive school in 1988. The Yugoslavian group (10%), the Turkish (7%), the Danish (5%), the Chilean (5%) and the Polish group (3%) followed in size.

Students included in the home-language student register, i.e. students with home-language other than Swedish for whom the home-language constituted "a natural feature in the home environment", took part in this previous study. Today, students with an immigrant background are defined in the following way in the SCB register of the total population of Sweden (RTB):

- A) Foreign born students with at least one foreign born parent, having immigrated to Sweden.
- B) Swedish-born students with both parents, or a single parent, born abroad, having immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or later.
- C) Swedish-born students with one of the parents born abroad, having immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or later.
- D) Swedish-born students with both parents, or a single parent, born in Sweden, or students with foreign born parents, having immigrated before 1968, are all classified as "Swedish students". This group includes adopted children.

In the present study, the students from above groups A and B are included in the group henceforth referred to as "immigrant students".

In the previous study (Löfgren, 1984a, 1984b) 68% of the students taking part in the study answered after having been reminded. A considerable part of the drop-out rate was due to the fact that a large number of immigrant students were unavailable (faults in the addressing or stays abroad). A relatively small number of students refused to participate. Nevertheless, there was a certain imbalance in the material. Thus, adolescents working or adolescents lacking education after 9-year compulsory comprehensive school were under-represented in the group of respondents. The results indicated that the immigration generation managed in general quite well in the Swedish school system. The results of many of the language groups

were even very good compared to those of a representative sample of adolescents chosen from all over Sweden.

"Even though one should to be cautious when comparing different language groups, due to the sizes of the groups, nevertheless, there seems to be great divergence between various immigrant groups. The length of the residential period and the parental occupational status are important background factors, though, even after having considered these factors, great differences remain between the immigrant groups compared. In the report, socio-cultural factors have been emphasized as probable causes of the differences obtained." (Löfgren, 1985a, p 27) *)

"Yet another important result of the follow-up study of the 9-year compulsory comprehensive school is that attention has been called to the fact that a rather large number of immigrant adolescents discontinue their upper secondary education. In some language groups the drop-out rate is alarmingly high. It has become apparent that the proficiency in Swedish is of central importance to the study progress." (a a, p 27)

It also became apparent that students with difficulties in Swedish less often participate in advanced courses in English and Mathematics in grade 9. These students continued to a less degree to upper secondary school and a relatively high percentage have had modified courses of study. The unemployment and drop-out rates of students with home-language other than Swedish are also higher. There was a marginal difference concerning students with a reasonable proficiency in Swedish, but a considerable difference concerning the immigrant students with an inadequate proficiency in Swedish.

In the final report the need for instruction in Swedish as a second language was pointed out. The author maintained that one should be able to improve and increase the instruction in Swedish as a second language. Many students also considered the auxiliary teaching in Swedish insufficient. The study included questions pertaining to home-language instruction at upper secondary school, as well. The proportion of students receiving this type of instruction varied considerably according to the different language groups. The main reason why students did not participate in the home-language instruction was because Swedish was spoken in the home environment.

*) All quotations in this report have been translated into English

1.2 Immigrant education at 9-year compulsory comprehensive school

In 1968, the Swedish Parliament decided that immigrant children were to be given the possibility to receive instruction in their native tongue. In the same year, the Government appointed a Royal Commission on Immigration with the task of proposing objectives for the Swedish immigrant and minority policy. The Commission's final report was presented in 1974 (SOU 1974:69), defining the objectives of future immigrant and minority policy using the following three terms:

Equality, i.e. an equal standard of living for immigrants and for the rest of the population. The goal of equality implies that immigrants be given instruction in Swedish enabling them to take part in what is being offered of Swedish education, information and culture in order to act in society and to take part in the spirit of community on equal terms with the Swedish (SÖ, 1991a, p 2). By way of social contributions, immigrants and their children are to be given opportunities "for retaining their native tongue, for carrying on cultural activities of their own and for maintaining contact with their country of origin, in the same way that the majority of the population can maintain and develop their language and their cultural traditions" (a a, p 2).

Freedom of choice, i.e. immigrants are given the possibility to decide for themselves to what extent they wish to retain and develop their original cultural and linguistic identity and to what extent they wish to be incorporated in the Swedish society.

Partnership, i.e. partnership between immigrants and the Swedish, and possibilities for immigrants to play an active part in the decision-making concerning questions pertaining to their situation. The goal of partnership aims at an increased understanding of people with different cultural backgrounds, by way of education and information, for both the Swedish and immigrants.

When, in 1975, the Parliament decided upon the guiding principles for the Swedish immigrant and minority policy a discussion was also brought up on the importance of the native language for second language acquisition. It was regarded as an established fact that immigrant children should be offered the possibility to develop their mother tongue within the Swedish school system. The home-language reform came into force in the academic year 1977/78 and implied that municipalities were enjoined to attempt organizing classes for students who wished and were in need of home-language instruction. The interest in this kind of instruction has constantly been increasing and in the academic year 1989/90 it cost the State 430 million SEK.

In the light of the increased costs, the National (Swedish) Audit Bureau recently undertook an administrative audit of the immigrant education at the 9-year compulsory comprehensive school (RRV, 1990).

The Comprehensive School Regulation specifies who are entitled to home-language instruction. One of the guardians is required to have a mother tongue other than Swedish and this language is required to be regularly and actively used in the home environment. In addition, the student is required to have a basic knowledge of the home-language. If these requirements are fulfilled, the municipality is enjoined to attempt organizing the instruction. However, this obligation does not apply if the number of children is less than five in each group or if no teacher is available without extra heavy additional expenses. In many cases the municipalities have been very generous. Groups of less than five participants have been accepted and one has not always made sure that the language was actually spoken regularly and actively in the home environment. Possibly, a large part of this generosity may be put down to the fact that there is a State subsidy of 1,1 periods a week, which, together with the often cut-and-dried additional allocation of 0,3 periods a week by the County Board of Education, has rendered the instruction less expensive for the municipalities. The RRV also states that it is not "unusual that students obtain home-language instruction even though they only use Swedish as their every day language of ordinary intercourse and therefore are considered to be beginners in the language in which they desire instruction" (p 18).

The Comprehensive School Regulation states that instruction in Swedish as a second language is to be arranged for students in need of this kind of instruction. The instruction is compulsory if the school decides that the child should participate in it. The aim is that students with home-language other than Swedish obtain a proficiency enabling them to profit by the regular instruction and facilitate their participation in social life. State subsidies are issued for the actual number of periods a week demanded by the instruction, though at the most four periods a week per group. The State expenses for this kind of instruction amounted in the academic year 1989/90 to 565 million SEK. Consequently, the instruction in Swedish as a second language is more expensive than the home-language instruction. The total cost of the home-language instruction and of the instruction in Swedish as a second language amounted in the academic year 1989/90 to approximately 13 500 SEK per stu-

dent.

According to the SCB, in 1989, close to 100 000 comprehensive school students had a home-language other than Swedish. 65% of these participated in the home-language instruction, compared to the 54% in 1978. In 1989, 71% of the students with a home-language other than Swedish were considered to be in need of instruction in Swedish, compared to the 51% in 1978 (SCB, 1990b). However, many students in need of the auxiliary teaching in Swedish did not participate in the instruction being offered.

In the study of home-language students previously referred to (Löfgren, 1985a) it was concluded that immigrant students at upper secondary school receive insufficient help in developing a proficiency in Swedish.

"A very small proportion of the immigrant students have obtained auxiliary teaching in Swedish. It is in particular the Spanish and the Turkish speaking groups that receive such auxiliary teaching. However, the number of auxiliary periods is rather low (approximately 2 periods a week).

Two thirds of the total number of immigrant students considered having obtained sufficient auxiliary teaching, and, consequently, one third considered it insufficient. Bearing in mind the proportion of students having failed in their upper secondary studies, the auxiliary teaching in Swedish is probably insufficient to many immigrant students." (p 13)

Part of the problems with the home-language instruction and especially with the deficiency of the student guidance in the home-language have to do with the difficulties in recruiting competent teachers. Several times, there has even been a scarcity of qualified teachers in "Swedish 2". Highly competent and experienced teachers are required for students with a home-language other than Swedish in order that they be given possibilities, on the same terms as those enjoyed by Swedish students, to compete for admission to further education.

The RRV (1990) states that there are deficiencies in the follow-up and evaluation of the immigrant education. "The lack of incentive for running the enterprise effectively has led to a low level of ambition concerning the development of evaluation models, both at local and central levels." (p 15)

The present Comprehensive School Regulation will consider the students' views on the home-language instruction and the instruction in "Swedish 2". A separate study, conducted in the municipality of Malmö in 1991 in grades 6 and 8, will shed

further light on how the students regard the home-language instruction and its organization.

1.3 Some Facts and Figures about Immigrant Students and their Schooling

Some statistical figures on immigrant students and their schooling are presented below. The facts derive from a couple of issues of "Statistical Reports", published by the Statistics, Sweden (SCB, 1990a, b, c).

In September 1989, 11% of the comprehensive school students (98 170) and 7% of the upper secondary school students (19 180) had a home-language other than Swedish. 126 different languages were represented at compulsory school level. The largest number of students were to be found in the Finnish language group (27%) followed by the Spanish (10%), the Arabic (6%), the Serbo-Croatian (6%), the Polish (5%), the Persian (5%), the English (5%), the Turkish (5%), the German (3%), the Greek (3%), the Danish (2%) and the Hungarian language group (2%).

69 250 students out of the total group were considered in need of instruction in Swedish as a second language (71%). 37% of this group obtained such instruction. The corresponding figures concerning the upper secondary school were 7 400 students (40%), 72% of whom obtained the instruction in question. The need for Swedish as a second language was greatest in the Persian, the Turkish and the Arabic groups. Consequently, there was a substantial need for Swedish as a second language being taught. Even though this kind of instruction has increased in the last few years there are at compulsory school level today more than 10 000 students who should be taught but who, for different reasons, are not given this assistance.

Out of the total year group, 63 500 students attended the home-language instruction offered by the school, i.e. 65% of the comprehensive school students and 48% of the upper secondary school students entitled to the instruction. The highest rates of home-language instruction within the ten greatest home-languages were obtained by the Persian (87%), the Spanish (77%), the Arabic (75%), the Turkish (75%) and the Greek (74%) groups.

The immigrant student education may be organized in different ways. Recently arrived immigrants are often placed in so-called preparatory classes, a temporary placing of children needing instruction in their native tongue and in Swedish.

During their junior and intermediate level years of comprehensive school, immigrant students may be put in home-language classes in which all students have a common language other than Swedish. The instruction is conducted in two languages, in the home-language and in Swedish. The total number of periods in Swedish is meant to gradually increase. In 1989, there were in total 390 home-language classes organized for 13 different languages.

In the last few years, the number of home-language classes has decreased, mainly due to the fact that the size of the Finnish group has diminished. There has been experimental work with home-language classes at senior level of comprehensive school for Finnish students in some municipalities. Experimental work with Finnish-speaking lines of education at upper secondary school in Stockholm has now become permanent.

In some municipalities there are composite classes in which about half the number of students have a home-language other than Swedish in common. The rest of the students are Swedish and the instruction may be bilingual. The composite model is motivated in terms of integration and language acquisition in order that the students will be able to succeed at comprehensive school and at upper secondary school. This instruction model should be particularly appropriate considering the intercultural objectives for the school instruction (SOU, 1983:57) together with the objective of students developing a cultural competence (Lundberg, 1991). However, the instruction model is less common even in municipalities where possibilities for organizing this kind of instruction are to be found.

The major part of the immigrant students are part of regular Swedish school classes but they are offered home-language instruction a couple of periods a week. The participation is optional. Students judged in need of instruction in Swedish as a second language receive such instruction according to their needs. The participation is compulsory, if so decided by the school.

Both instruction and study guidance in the home-language are included in the home-language instruction. The study guidance aims at helping students with an insufficient proficiency in Swedish to understand the content of the textbooks so that they may take part in the teaching of the specific subject matters. However, it is difficult for the school to organize enough study guidance to meet the needs of the students.

In 1989, there were 19 180 students at upper secondary school with home-language other than Swedish. 9 220 of these students took part in the home-language instruction. 6 000 (31%) of the total number of home-language students received auxiliary teaching in Swedish. Table 1.1 presents the upper secondary lines chosen by the largest immigrant groups and by the immigrant group as a whole.

Table 1.1 Upper secondary lines chosen by various immigrant groups and by the whole population in percentages.

Language group	2 yr theoretical lines	2-3 yr vocational lines	3-4 yr theoretical lines	Spec. lines	ITK*)	N
Finnish	7	45	51	7	0	4556
Spanish	6	33	37	6	17	1914
Serbo-Cr.	7	31	56	3	3	1454
Persian	4	22	32	9	33	1317
English	6	16	70	3	5	894
Arabic	5	33	34	6	22	879
Polish	6	21	58	5	9	860
German	6	17	73	3	1	844
Greek	7	28	55	5	5	676
Turkish	8	35	43	5	9	519
Hungarian	8	24	60	4	4	481
Chinese	5	35	44	5	11	390
Italian	8	22	66	4	1	354
Danish	6	32	54	7	0	345
The whole population	6	31	48	6	9	19178

*) Introductory course for immigrants

Introductory courses for immigrant adolescents and supplementary summer courses are arranged in order to facilitate the transition to upper secondary school for students with an insufficient proficiency in Swedish or for students with a lack of knowledge of some comprehensive school subjects.

"Both courses offer not only comprehensive instruction in Swedish as a second language but also instruction in the home-language and, when need arises, the home-language may serve as instruction language in the comprehensive school subjects. The supplementary summer courses last six weeks and they are accessible to both students continuing to upper secondary school and to students al-

ready attending it but who wish to take the opportunity to improve their knowledge in order to succeed in their studies. The introductory courses may last a term or a school year. However, it is not unusual that students need to continue the course an additional one or two terms so that they afterwards will manage to attend a line of education or a special course in upper secondary school." (SÖ, 1991b, p 7)

The number of students attending introductory courses has increased substantially in the last few years. For the time being, there are introductory courses for immigrant adolescents in 56 out of the 284 municipalities of the country.

The largest proportion choosing 3 or 4-year theoretical lines of education is to be found in the German and the English groups. A relatively large proportion of the Persian and the Arabic groups attends introductory courses for immigrants.

Out of the total number of students having completed comprehensive school in 1989, 85% began their upper secondary education directly in the autumn of 1989. Immigrant students continue their upper secondary education to the same extent as Swedish students. However, there are differences between various language groups (cf Löfgren, 1985a) and between student groups with varying length of residential period in Sweden.

In relation to students with a Swedish background, immigrant students choose 3 or 4-year theoretical lines to a greater extent and 2 or 3-year vocational lines to a correspondingly less extent. Even here, the various immigrant groups differ. A previous study showed that immigrant students discontinue their upper secondary education at 3 or 4-year theoretical lines to a slightly higher extent (Löfgren, 1985a).

Approximately 68% of the total number of immigrant students are still attending the various upper secondary lines in term three after having begun their upper secondary education. The corresponding figure for Swedish students is 78%.

1.4 Training of teachers instructing students with home-language other than Swedish

Home-language instruction in various languages was being offered with the introduction of the 9-year compulsory comprehensive school curriculum in 1969. At the beginning, a large proportion of the teachers were unqualified, but in 1975 a so-called special training of class teachers was introduced for candidates with

Finnish as native tongue. Two years later, training of home-language teachers was set up for the Danish, Finnish, Greek, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish language groups. Later on, the training came to include yet a couple of other languages, namely Spanish, Hungarian, Arabic, Kurdish, Polish, Macedonian, Persian, Assyrian-Syrian and Tigrinya. A new general study programme named "the comprehensive school teacher line" was established in 1988. The new line is directed either towards instruction in grades 1-7 or towards instruction in grades 4-9. With the introduction of this study programme in 1988-89, the previous training of home-language teachers was discontinued. In its place there are different alternatives of specialization within the line directed towards instruction in grades 4-9, some of which include combinations with home-language and/or Swedish as a second language. On top of the basic teacher qualification for future teachers in grades 1-7 there are alternatives entitling the teachers to a special qualification in basic instruction in Swedish for adult immigrants, combinations with home-language to qualify as home-language teacher or a special qualification as teacher of Swedish as a second language.

According to the curriculum, future teachers are to be "trained for teaching in a compulsory school system and for basic adult education, with the task of offering a perfectly satisfactory and equally good education to every individual regardless of his/her linguistic, social or cultural background" (UHÄ, 1988, p 3). Instead of the limited qualification which was the result of the previous training of home-language teachers, the new study programme will entitle future teachers to a comprehensive school teacher qualification. This implies a greater element of security when the number of periods set aside for home-language instruction varies and, as well, probably a higher status for teachers with a "double" qualification compared to the situation enjoyed by teachers only qualified for home-language instruction. With the new training programme there should even be a reduction of the irregular duty situation for teachers in municipalities with few participants in the home-language instruction. The difficulties with the new training programme should be obvious. It is only possible to organize training for teachers in the largest language groups. Today, home-language instruction is being offered in 84 different languages at comprehensive school level. In the future, the home-language instruction will still be conducted by a large proportion of unqualified teachers. Yet another difficulty

with the new training programme is to find students who may pass the entrance requirements and the training. Quite likely, a large proportion of the students with excellent knowledge of the immigrant language will have great difficulties in passing the language proficiency requirements in Swedish and, thus, the rest of the subjects in their combination of subjects. Sure enough, amendments and modifications of the established curriculum for the comprehensive school teacher line followed. According to the new decision (UHÄ, 1989), the training may be divided into stages.

"Stage I includes 80 points, qualifying for work as a teacher in home-language classes and as a home-language teacher in other types of classes. Stage II includes 60 points, qualifying for instruction in other subjects than Swedish according to the specialized course included in the training. Stage III includes 20 points, qualifying for instruction in Swedish" (p 1).

Following an investigation, carried out by the National Board of Education at the request of the Swedish Government, about the best way for immigrant students at upper secondary school to develop their proficiency in Swedish it was suggested in the final report that Swedish as a second language should become a school subject of its own even at upper secondary school level. The decision was taken in 1989 by the Swedish Government and Parliament. In 1990, a syllabus was agreed upon (SÖ, 1991a).

2. 1990 FOLLOW-UP STUDY OF THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

2.1 Choice of study groups

In the 1990 follow-up study of the comprehensive school, the SCB has addressed a sample of students having completed comprehensive school in the spring of 1988. Concerning the immigrant group, according to the definition being used (cf p 6), the entire population has been included, a total of 7 320 students. Out of the rest of the group there has been a stratified random sample of a total of 4 545 students. Students have been asked to answer a mailed questionnaire containing questions about principal activity during the study week, February 5-11, 1990, about experiences from comprehensive school and about future educational and vocational plans. A large proportion of the questions were addressed to students with an immigrant background and concerned above all the home-language instruction. Various registers have been used to create the selection framework for the questionnaire study conducted by the SCB in collaboration with the National Board of Education in the spring of 1990. The study deals with two different groups having answered separate questionnaires. However, many of the questions were the same. The larger group was made up of students at upper secondary level. The other group was made up of students not having continued to upper secondary school or of students having discontinued their upper secondary education. The subordinate study of the first-mentioned group is henceforth referred to as "the upper secondary school section" and the subordinate study of the last-mentioned group "the comprehensive school section".

Since the immigrant group was especially interesting, the two principal groups, the immigrant and Swedish student groups, have been divided up into sub-groups. Foreign born students with at least one parent born abroad having immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or later, Swedish-born students with both parents, or a single parent, born abroad having immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or later, along with foreign born students with a single Swedish-born parent having immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or later are all classified as immigrant students. These students made up 7% of the year group graduating in 1988. Students in families in which

one of the two parents was foreign born having immigrated in 1968-1988 made up 2% of the student body at grade 9 level. The rest, 91%, were students who in the present report are classified as "Swedish students". This last-mentioned group includes adopted children (1%). Swedish-born students with parents having immigrated to Sweden before 1968 are included in the "Swedish" group even though the parents may possibly still hold a foreign citizenship. Consequently, there may be students receiving home-language instruction who are not classified as immigrant students in the present study. If the parents have resided 20 years or longer in the country and their children are born here, Swedish is most likely their every day language of ordinary intercourse.

2.1.1 The comprehensive school section

The comprehensive school section includes students not admitted to upper secondary school in the autumn term of 1988 or students not to be found again at upper secondary school in the autumn of 1989 due to drop-out. The study group consists of 2 365 "immigrant students", stratified according to sex and lines of study, together with 2 443 "Swedish students", stratified according to the same principle. As mentioned before, the comprehensive school section includes students not continuing directly to upper secondary school along with students having dropped out of upper secondary school. The latter group make up 23% of the total group. Answers were received from 1 444 immigrant students and 1 837 Swedish students. This so-called comprehensive school section also includes students who are to be found again in upper secondary school at the time of the study. These students have made a study break, possibly stayed abroad or been admitted later on to upper secondary school. There are lines of study with admittance in the spring as well and some students may have been admitted to upper secondary school after the checking of the upper secondary school student register.

The municipalities are responsible for the follow-up of students up to the age of 18. Some students may have been admitted to upper secondary school later on, possibly because they have completed the introductory course for immigrant students or because they have had difficulties in finding an employment. Even though the comprehensive school section group mainly includes students not having been ad-

mitted to or wishing to be admitted to upper secondary school directly after completed comprehensive school, together with students having dropped-out of upper secondary school, there is also a possibly more motivated group included, a group that did not begin their upper secondary school education directly in the autumn term after completed comprehensive school.

Table 2.1 The number of immigrant students in each stratum and the number of answered questionnaires

Sex	Stratum	Number of students out of the pop.		Number of answered questionnaires N	Drop-out rate	
		N	N*)		N	%
M	not applied up.sec.s.	160	150	27	68	43
F	not applied up.sec.s.	167	151	89	78	47
M	applied up.sec.s.	484	461	253	231	48
F	applied up.sec.s.	537	518	322	215	40
M	short spec. course	265	263	189	76	29
F	short spec. course	235	234	171	64	27
M	drop-out fr. line of s.	316	303	165	151	48
F	drop-out fr line of s.	294	285	163	131	45
In total		2458	2365	1444	1014	41

*) excluding those who have emigrated

As is evident from Table 2.1 the drop-out rate of the group of immigrant students is rather large. The consequences of the drop-out rate will be discussed in section 2.3.

Table 2.2 The students' year of immigration

Period	N	%	% _{adj} *)
During grades 7-9 of comprehensive school	385	27	23
During grades 4-6 of comprehensive school	124	9	9
During grades 1-3 of comprehensive school	136	9	10
Prior to compulsory school attendance	322	22	23
Born in Sweden	477	33	34

*) adjusted %, see p 29 for explanation

Since the residential period in Sweden may be an important factor for the immigrant students' linguistic proficiency in Swedish and thus for their study progress, the students' year of immigration has been included in the background data. Comparisons between various student groups having immigrated at different ages will be made later on. The earlier study of student groups having completed comprehensive school in 1979 (Löfgren, 1985a) investigated the relation between the length of the residential period and a number of measuring variables collected four years after completed comprehensive school. Most of the correlations were rather weak. However, the correlation was substantial between the residential period in Sweden and the linguistic proficiency in Swedish in grade 9 (.29), the participation in the home-language instruction at comprehensive school level (.33), the teaching of Swedish as a second language at upper secondary school (.32) and the home-language instruction at upper secondary school (.24).

"These relations are most reasonable. However, it is interesting to note that the length of the residential period has no obvious correlations with further education after upper secondary school, the highest level of completed education, drop-out or university education." (p 18)

It is possible that the surprisingly low correlations between the residential period in Sweden and the study results after comprehensive school are due to the fact that only a small proportion of the students immigrating during grades 7-9 do continue to the upper secondary theoretical lines. The difference in study progress between Swedish-born students and students having immigrated later on, though at the latest during grades 1-6, is possibly rather small. Students applying for and being admitted to the upper secondary theoretical lines are sufficiently proficient in Swedish, and to this group the length of the residential period is not crucial. The issue will be illustrated later on in the present study.

Table 2.3 The number of Swedish students in each stratum, and the number of answered questionnaires

Sex	Stratum	Number of	Number of	Drop-out		Population
		students in the sample N	answered questionnaires N	out rate N	%	N
M	not applied up.sec.s.	265	198	67	25	736
F	not applied up.sec.s.	253	185	68	27	624
M	applied up.sec.s.	359	269	90	25	6297
F	applied up.sec.s.	368	294	74	20	6383
M	short spec. course	224	189	35	16	470
F	short spec. course	279	237	42	15	974
M	drop-out fr. line of s.	346	227	119	34	3236
F	drop-out fr line of s.	349	238	111	32	3108
In total		2443	1837	606	25	20828

The drop-out rate of the sample of Swedish students is much less considerable than that of the immigrant group.

Some results have already been published (SCB 1990b) from the processing of the 1988 SCB total population register (RTB), the SCB register covering students in grade 9 in 1988, the SCB register covering applicants and those admitted to upper secondary education in the autumn of 1988 together with the SCB register covering those present at upper secondary school up to and including September 15, the autumn term of 1989. The proportion of students with home-language instruction in some chosen sample groups may be found in the report referred to about immigrant and Swedish-born students in grade 9 and their transition to upper secondary school in 1988. Naturally, students having arrived late in Sweden choose to a larger extent to participate in the home-language instruction. Students with two immigrant parents participate in the home-language instruction to a higher degree than students with merely one foreign born parent.

More interesting is the fact that half the number of Swedish students have attended advanced courses in English and in Mathematics, while only a third of the foreign born students did so. Students with one of two parents born abroad attend ad-

vanced courses in more than half of the cases.

In the report referred to there is also data concerning the transition to upper secondary school, presenting great differences within the immigrant group between Swedish-born students and students having immigrated during their school age.

"A relatively large proportion of the students having immigrated during grades 4-9 continue studying shorter special courses, including for instance the special introductory courses for immigrant adolescents, in case they do continue." (p 5)

2.1.2 The upper secondary school section

The upper secondary school section includes students having applied for and having been admitted to upper secondary school in the autumn of 1988, and who still were to be found in school in the autumn of 1989. The study group includes 4 955 immigrant students (=the total group) and 2 102 Swedish students. The groups are stratified according to sex and lines of study at upper secondary school. Answers were received from 3 621 immigrant students and from 1 767 Swedish students.

Table 2.4 The number of immigrant students in each stratum and the number of answered questionnaires

Sex	Stratum	Number of students	Number of answered	Drop-out	
		out of the population	questionnaires	out rate	
		N	N	N	%
M	3-4 year theor. lines	1124	828	296	26
F	3-4 year theor. lines	1207	961	246	20
M	2 year theor. lines	95	71	24	25
F	2 year theor. lines	193	157	36	19
M	2 year vocat. lines	1377	890	487	35
F	2 year vocat. lines	959	714	245	26
In total		4955	3621	1334	27

The drop-out rate is in average 27%, i.e. considerably lower than in the comprehensive school section. From experience we know that it is less complicated to get adolescents at upper secondary school to answer questionnaires about their educa-

tional and study situation.

Table 2.5 The students' year of immigration

Period	N	%	% _{adj}
During grades 7-9 of comprehensive school	224	6	8
During grades 4-6 of comprehensive school	271	8	7
During grades 1-3 of comprehensive school	352	10	11
Prior to compulsory school attendance	987	27	27
Born in Sweden	1787	49	47

Students who can be found again at upper secondary school have in average resided in Sweden for a longer period of time than those who have not continued studying. Not more than 6% of the immigrant students at upper secondary school have arrived in grades 7-9 at comprehensive school. The corresponding figure concerning the students not to be found again at upper secondary school was 27%.

Table 2.6 The number of immigrant students in each selection group and the number of answered questionnaires

Sex	Stratum	Number of	Number of	Drop-out		Population
		students in the sample N	answered questionnaires N	out rate N	%	N
M	3-4 year theor. lines	372	311	61	16	19013
F	3-4 year theor. lines	349	312	37	11	20950
M	2 year theor. lines	320	265	46	14	1795
F	2 year theor. lines	324	278	46	14	3344
M	2 year vocat. lines	373	302	71	19	22177
F	2 year vocat. lines	364	299	65	18	15000
In total		2102	1767	335	16	82279

In the Swedish group there is in conformity with the study of the comprehensive school group a lower drop-out rate than in the immigrant group (16% and 27%

respectively).

2.2 The subordinate problems of the survey

The main objective of the study is to gain information about the success in different aspects of the comprehensive school and about the line of study chosen by the adolescents after completed comprehensive school education. Special attention is paid to possible differences between the immigrant groups and a sample of Swedish students. Since the immigrant group is of particular interest, data has been collected concerning the success of the home-language instruction and the instruction of Swedish as a second language. The sizes of some language groups within the immigrant group are large enough to enable a comparison between various sub-groups. An important objective is to try to look at the development of the immigrant students in an overall perspective and to seek potential causal connections between some chosen background factors, the children's social home environment, the language usage, the home-language instruction and the study success. The following subordinate questions concerning the immigrant groups and the sample of Swedish students will be illustrated:

1. What is the main occupation of the adolescents slightly more than three terms (i.e. 20 months) after completed comprehensive school education?
- 2a. How many have continued to upper secondary school level, what lines of study did they follow and how well did they succeed?
- 2b. How many have dropped out and what reasons are given for dropping out of upper secondary school?
- 3a. What were the attitudes of the students concerning their classmates, their teachers and their schoolwork?
- 3b. To what extent have the students been encouraged by their parents to further education?
4. What marks did the students receive in various subject matters in grade 9?

In addition, the following questions will also be illustrated concerning the immigrant group:

5. What language/s has/have been used actively and regularly in the home

environment during the comprehensive school years?

- 6a. During the comprehensive school years, how were the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language organized?
- 6b. What are the opinions of the students concerning the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language?
- 6c. What are the most common reasons for students not participating in the home-language instruction?
7. According to the students themselves, how good a command do they have of their home-language and of Swedish at senior level of comprehensive school (during grades 7-9)?
8. What is there to say about the students' study results and their line of study in relation to the length of the residential period in Sweden, the educational background of the parents, the language usage in the home environment, the linguistic proficiency of the students and the home-language instruction of the school?

The various immigrant groups will be compared according to the question at issue.

Concerning the last-mentioned problem, the parts of the questionnaire to be answered by the immigrant adolescents were based on the results obtained from previous studies (Löfgren, 1985a, 1986; Linde & Löfgren, 1988). In the studies referred to, a causal model was constructed investigating the causal factors for school success. The data collected in the present study may be used in testing the validity of the previously obtained causal relationships.

According to the causal model in Diagram 2.1, the parents' educational background is related to the most frequently spoken language in the home environment. The Swedish language is used as the everyday language to a greater extent in families with higher levels of education. This connection has been observed in earlier studies (Linde & Löfgren, 1988). In addition, children whose parents have higher levels of education are slightly more interested in receiving home-language instruction. However, this is neutralized by the fact that the more Swedish is spoken at home, the less often the children participate in the home-language instruction offered by the school.

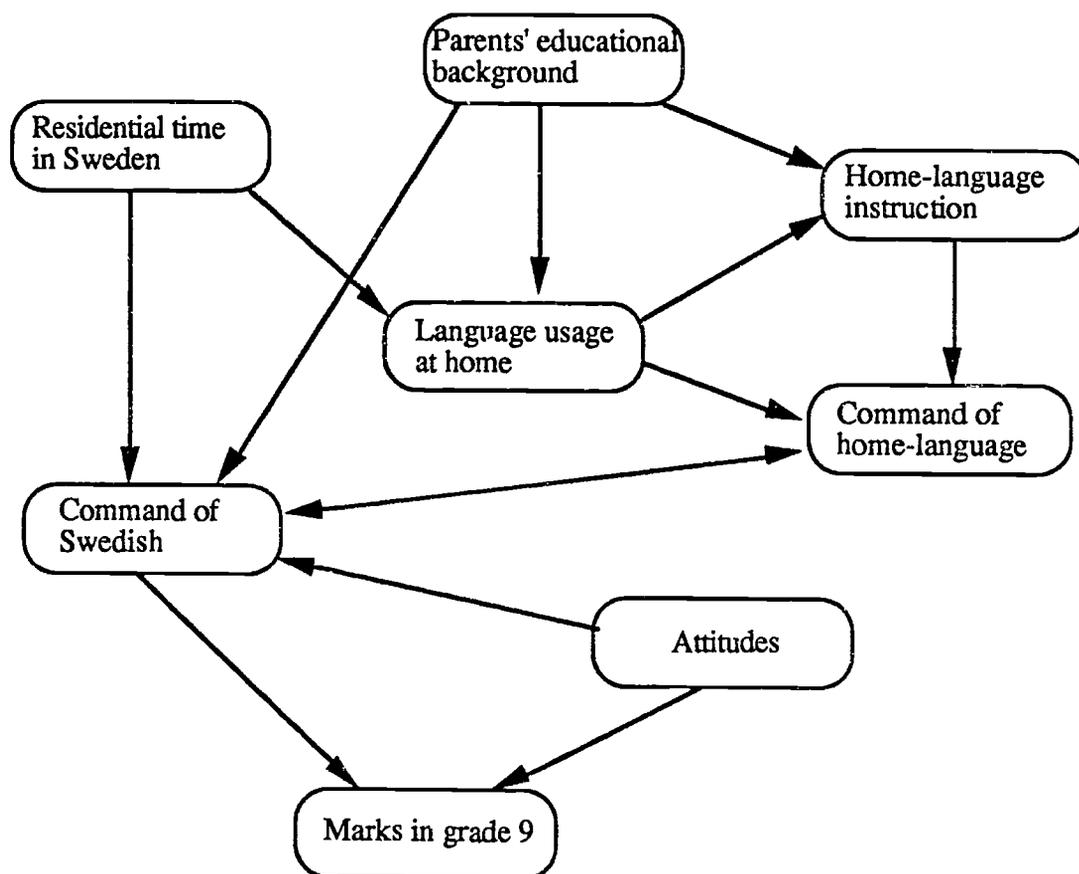


Diagram 2.1 A theoretical model of the relationships between some background factors and the school results

Naturally, the residential period is of great importance to the proficiency in Swedish, and this in turn is decisive of how well the child succeeds at school. If the student feels comfortable at school this exerts a positive influence on the way he/she manages his/her studies. There is a positive correlation between the proficiency in Swedish and in the home-language, although the home-language proficiency is not regarded as a prerequisite of learning Swedish and of doing well at school. A series of studies indicate the advantage of children growing up speaking two languages (Löfgren, 1986). The language spoken at home is not decisive of how well the child succeeds in his/her studies. However, it is important that the child receive linguistic stimulation in the home environment; the stimulation may be in any language, though. It is most likely that participation in the home-language instruction leads to positive effects on the home-language proficiency, though the connection may be weak because students who know their mother tongue sufficiently well choose not

to participate in the home-language instruction.

2.3 The organization, realization and reliability of the study

The organization and realization of the study follow the guiding principles normally followed by the SCB in the conducting of similar studies. Earlier on in the study, the population was clearly defined. Concerning the immigrant group, the study is a population study. The selection of Swedish students has been made with the help of a stratified random sample. The total sample consists of 11 863 adolescents, 4 808 in the comprehensive school section and 7 055 in the upper secondary school section.

The study was conducted with the help of a mailed questionnaire which will be presented in the following section of the study. The up-to-date addresses of the selected adolescents were obtained from the RTB (the register of the total population of the country). In February 1990, the questionnaire, together with an official letter, was sent to the adolescents concerned. Hardly a week later, a combined thank-you/reminder card was sent to all the participants. As many as two written reminders were sent to those not answering. The collection of the questionnaires was completed in March 1990. A drop-out study was conducted by way of subtracting a random sample in each stratum from the questionnaire drop-out rate. A telephone interview was made with the selected individuals during March 26 to April 30. The questions asked were the same as those found in the questionnaire. Since the comprehensive school drop-out rate was considerable, there were not only telephone follow-ups but also house-calls being made.

With the help of those responding to the telephone follow-up (and to the house-calls) it is possible to make an adjustment upwards of the answering rate for various strata concerning the different questions and their alternative answers. The total answering rate, taken together, after adjusting was 79% in the comprehensive school section and 89% in the upper secondary school section. Consequently, the drop-out rate is rather low after the adjustment of the total answering rate. The incoming answers were computer registered and controlled with the help of a computer check-up and correction programme, according to the routines normally followed by the SCB.

When conducting studies like this one, there will be faults during different phases of the survey that to some extent may affect the results. Since the selection is rather extensive - concerning the immigrant group it is a population study - the faults in the selecting are negligible. So-called "covering-faults" may be the result of the gross population not corresponding with the population being studied. The fault is negligible in this case as well. However, drop-out faults may arise when figures are totally or partially missing concerning certain selected individuals. With the help of the telephone follow-up and house calls section (the follow-up of the drop-out rate) information may be obtained making it possible to estimate the answers for a large proportion of the drop-out rate.

In addition, there may be calculation faults due to lapse of memory of those giving the information or, more possibly in this study, due to misinterpretation of the questions. The sizes of this kind of faults are unknown, though immigrant students with difficulty in speaking and understanding Swedish may have had difficulties in answering some questions correctly. Probably, a far too great difficulty in speaking and understanding Swedish has led to the entire questionnaire being left unanswered. There may also be faults in the processing, though these should be rather unimportant in the light of the extensive experience of the SCB of this kind of studies and of the help of the mechanical controls.

Certain studies of the drop-out group may be carried out since, when conducting this study, one has had access to registers of data, e.g. on the years of immigration, on those applying for and being admitted to upper secondary school along with the comprehensive school marks. Earlier on in this study, it has been established that the drop-out rate is higher in the immigrant group than in the Swedish group. In the drop-out rate analyses one may notice a certain imbalance in the material. Adolescents not having continued directly to upper secondary school are over-represented in the drop-out group. A part of these have taken a year off ("a sabbatical year") and they may be abroad; therefore, the drop-out rate does not merely consist of students not managing too well at comprehensive school. From experience, adolescents not studying or lacking employment are less easily motivated to answer this kind of questionnaires. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the results, in particular concerning the choice of upper secondary line and the comprehensive school marks. Consequently, the results may, to a certain extent,

present a slightly too positive picture of the school success of the immigrant students. On the other hand, the drop-out rate is similar in the Swedish group, and therefore one may say that the authenticity of the comparison between the immigrant group and the Swedish group is good. In relation to the selection of students in the study there are 3% more respondents among students still attending upper secondary school and, consequently, 3% less respondents among adolescents not to be found again at upper secondary school. This applies to both immigrant adolescents and Swedish adolescents. The reason why the drop-out rate is higher in the immigrant group is partially because those students are harder to find. Faults in the addressing are more common in the immigrant group than in the Swedish group, and some immigrant adolescents are abroad at the time of the study. In the present study, there is a low number of those refusing to answer.

The tables presented in chapters 3 and 4 indicate the results of the answers given by the immigrant group along with the population values, adjusted on the basis of the weight coefficients. Since we have used a non-proportional stratified selection for the Swedish group, only the adjusted population values of this group are presented.

2.4 The different question areas of the measuring instruments

Apart from accessible registers of data, a questionnaire was sent to the students included in the selection. The questionnaire being sent to students not having continued directly to upper secondary school or having discontinued their upper secondary school education included six pages with 33 main questions all in all. The questionnaire is presented in its entirety in the Appendix. Some of the questions concerned the main occupation of the adolescents at the time of the survey, their main occupation after completed comprehensive school education and whether they had been unemployed at some time after comprehensive school. Some questions dealt with the options in grade 9, whether the students had adjusted course of study or not, together with the information given by the school about the different educational programmes after comprehensive school. For those having begun their upper secondary education at some time there were questions about how well they had succeeded in their studies. Those having discontinued their education were asked the

reason why they dropped out.

Some of the questions were in relation to the social background of the students, the length of the parents' education and the parental encouragement to further studies. The ability to adapt oneself to the school environment was also discussed. Adolescents with some kind of employment during the study week were made to answer questions about the type of work performed, working hours, pay and form of employment.

One third of the questionnaire was aimed directly at students with a home-language other than Swedish. Those questions dealt with the language usage in the home environment, the home-language instruction offered by the school and the teaching of Swedish as a second language. The adolescents were made to express their views on the home-language instruction and their reasons for not participating in it, if that was the case. Finally, the students were made to estimate their proficiency level in their home-language and in Swedish.

The questionnaire being sent to the upper secondary students was reduced to four pages. Most of the questions in that questionnaire were identical with those to be found in the comprehensive school section. However, the upper secondary students were made to answer questions about their educational programme, why they chose the programme and why, if so, they had discontinued their education, along with their desired future profession. They were also asked about jobs, if any, on the side.

3. RESULTS OF THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL SECTION

3.1 A comparison between immigrant students and a sample of Swedish students

Answers were received from 1 444 immigrant adolescents, representing 59 different language groups, in the comprehensive school section. 16 sub-groups have been formed since it may be of interest to compare students from different language groups. The number of students in each sub-group allows rather reliable comparisons. 1 837 answers were received from the sample of Swedish students.

Table 3.1 The number of student answers in different language groups (students whose language group is below 2% of the total group, along with the partial drop-out, are included in the group called "Remaining")

Language group	Abbreviation	N	%	% _{adj}
Arabic	ARA	95	7	6
Danish	DAN	54	4	4
English	ENG	33	2	2
Finnish	FIN	343	24	24
Greek	GRE	27	2	2
Kurdish	KUR	21	2	2
Norwegian	NOR	30	2	2
Persian	PER	67	5	4
Polish	POL	62	4	5
Serbo-Croatian	SER	62	4	5
Spanish	SPA	125	9	8
Syrian	SYR	32	2	3
Turkish	TUR	62	4	6
Hungarian	HUN	25	2	2
Chinese, Cantonese, Vietnamese	CCV	36	2	2
Remaining	REM	370	26	24
In total	TOT	1444		
Swedish students	SWE	1837		

As mentioned before, the tables present the results of the answers given by the

immigrant group along with the adjusted population values. Only the adjusted population values of the Swedish comparison group are presented because of how the selection has been made.

Various subordinate questions in the questionnaire have a partial drop-out, i.e. the adolescents had not always answered all questions. Consequently, the total number of answers is not always 1 444 or 1 837.

The Finnish group is by far the largest one, although it is smaller in relation to the group investigated in the previous follow-up study of the comprehensive school about 10 years ago. In the comprehensive school section, every fourth student belongs to the Finnish group. The Spanish group make up 9% and the Arabic group 7%. The Persian, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Turkish and Danish groups follow in size. The remaining groups are rather few in number (<4%), though they constitute groups of their own provided that the group size is ≥ 25 . In regard of the rather small sizes of some language groups, one should be careful when interpreting the comparisons, presented later on in the current study, between various language groups.

What is the main occupation of the adolescents slightly more than three terms (i.e. 20 months) after completed comprehensive school education?

Table 3.2 Main occupation during the measuring week

Main occupation	Immigrant adolescents			Swedish adolescents
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Worked	560	39	43	53
Studied	689	48	44	39
Unemployed	124	9	9	4
Worked at home (house-keeping)	38	3	2	1
Something else	33	2	2	3

As will be seen from Table 3.2, immigrant adolescents differ from the Swedish group by having to a lower degree a gainful employment. Instead, they mention to

a greater extent studies as their main occupation. As will be seen from the table presented below, immigrant students have been unemployed to a higher degree than Swedish students at some point in time after completed comprehensive school.

Among those having been unemployed, the time of unemployment amounts to 1-3 months, in some cases 4-6 months. Only in exceptional cases, the unemployment has lasted more than 6 months.

Table 3.3 The number of students having been unemployed some time after completed comprehensive school

	Immigrant adolescents			Swedish adolescents
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Have you been unemployed some time after completed comprehensive school?				
Yes	520	38	37	27
No	847	62	63	73

How many have continued to upper secondary school level, what lines of study did they follow and how well did they succeed?

Table 3.4 The number of students who have/have not begun their upper secondary education (the adolescents may have marked more than one study alternative)

	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Line	830	57	57	63
Special course	230	16	14	6
Line/Special course	42	3	2	3
Not continued to upper sec. school	352	24	27	29

There are some differences between the immigrant group and the Swedish group. A slightly larger proportion of Swedish students has chosen an upper secondary line, while a larger proportion of the immigrant group has chosen to follow a special course. The reason why immigrant students more often have chosen to follow a

special course may in some cases be because they have had greater difficulties in finding an employment on the Swedish labour market.

How many have dropped out and what reasons are given for dropping out of upper secondary school?

30% of the group having continued to upper secondary school have dropped out. 71% of the immigrant and Swedish students in the comprehensive school section have begun their upper secondary education.

Table 3.5 The results from commenced upper secondary school studies, lines or special courses

	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Discontinued studies	428	30	32	34
Completed studies	51	4	3	2
Still studying	572	40	36	35

The students were made to state why they did not begin or why they discontinued their upper secondary education. The most common reason is that the adolescents would rather go out to work. About one fifth mention that they want to take time off from their studies, which not necessarily means that they have dismissed the thought of continuing later on with studies of some kind.

A large proportion of the students not attending upper secondary school have mentioned that they take part in education or training being offered by their employer. Rather few mention school fatigue as a reason, though this alternative may be regarded as not too far a cry from the alternative "wanting time off from the studies". 17 and 19% respectively mention as a reason for discontinuing their upper secondary education that they were not admitted to the line of their choice. The highest number of positive answers in both groups was allotted to the alternative "I would rather have started working than continuing my studies."

Table 3.6 The reason why the upper secondary studies have not begun or why these have been discontinued (the number of positive answers)

Reason	Number of positive answers			
	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	N _{adj}	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
- Would rather start working	444	837	34	38
- Were not admitted to a line	229	408	17	19
- The parents were opposed to upper secondary studies	20	36	2	0
- Knew too little about the chosen education	84	153	6	8
- Wanted time off from the studies	263	467	19	24
- The rate of study was too high	84	158	6	6
- Insufficient proficiency in Swedish	60	87	4	0
- School fatigue	35	50	2	2
- Other reasons	197	359	15	17

The adolescents were also made to give their most important reason for not continuing their studies. The results correspond with the order of precedence presented above.

Table 3.7 Plans for the autumn of 1990 (in exceptional cases, the students have marked more than one alternative)

	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Work	573	39	43	48
Study	779	54	49	46
Other occupation	99	7	8	6

When comparing the adolescents' plans for the autumn of 1990 with the previously presented questions, it seems as if the ambition to study has increased in both

groups, while, correspondingly, the number of those wanting to go out to work has decreased.

To what extent have the students been encouraged to further education by their parents?

The answers given by the student groups differ regarding the extent of parental encouragement to further education. Immigrant students mention to a somewhat higher degree that their parents have encouraged them to continue studying.

Table 3.8 Parental encouragement to further education

	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
To a very high extent	661	47	45	36
To a rather high extent	460	33	33	39
To a rather low extent	145	10	11	15
Hardly at all	147	10	11	10
Number	1413			

What were the attitudes of the students towards their class-mates, their teachers and their schoolwork?

Immigrant students feel somewhat more comfortable with their teachers and their schoolwork. On the other hand, they feel less comfortable with their class-mates in comparison with the students in the Swedish group. Keeping in mind that a part of the immigrant students belongs to the minority group in the class - in some cases they are maybe even alone - it is a reasonable result that immigrant students mention to a lower extent than the Swedish students that they get on well with their class-mates. Both groups, however, expressed that they felt great comfort and well-being in their classes.

Table 3.9 Comfort and well-being with class-mates, teachers and schoolwork in grades 7-9 at comprehensive school

With their classmates	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Very good	614	43	45	53
Rather good	634	45	44	39
Rather bad	130	9	8	6
Very bad	43	3	3	2
Number of answers	1421			
With their teachers	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Very good	376	27	27	20
Rather good	809	57	57	58
Rather bad	154	11	11	17
Very bad	79	6	5	6
Number of answers	1418			
With their schoolwork	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Very good	190	14	14	10
Rather good	793	56	56	51
Rather bad	303	22	22	27
Very bad	123	9	8	13
Number of answers	1409			

The fact that immigrant students feel somewhat more comfortable with their teachers and their schoolwork corresponds well with the parental encouragement often found in the immigrant groups. When interviewing immigrant parents, a large number of them have mentioned that they cannot always help their children

with their homework and other kinds of schoolwork. On the other hand, they may emphasize the importance of succeeding in school and, when doing so, they stimulate and encourage their children to further education.

Concerning the information on upper secondary education and the follow-up responsibility of the school, immigrant students express a somewhat higher degree of satisfaction.

The adolescents in the study were asked to mention their parents' period of training, since the parental educational status was to be related to the students' choice of study line and their study success later on in the study.

Table 3.10 The school education of the parents

Period of training	Immigrant students						Swedish students	
	the father			the mother			the father	the mother
	N	%	% _{adj}	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Less than 7 years	198	15	15	229	17	19	9	6
7-9 years	366	27	24	360	26	24	38	39
10-12 years	172	13	12	238	17	16	14	24
More than 12 years	265	20	18	240	18	15	15	14
Does not know	353	26	31	297	22	26	24	19
Number of answers	1354			1364				

There is an approximate 10% partial drop-out, as is normally the case when asking adolescents this kind of questions. A large proportion, especially in the immigrant group, do not know the length of their parents' education. Concerning the parents' period of training, there is a greater variety in the immigrant group than in the Swedish group. In the immigrant group, there is a greater proportion of those with a shorter education (<7 years) and of those with a longer education (>12 years). The differences between the various language groups are naturally rather large ($p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .19$ for the father's period of training and $\eta^2 = .22$ for the mother's period of training). The longest periods of training of the father are found in the Polish, Persian, English and Spanish groups. The shortest periods

of training are found in the Syrian, Turkish, Arabic and Chinese/Vietnamese groups. Concerning the mother, the longest periods of training are found in the English, Polish, Persian and Hungarian groups, while the shortest ones are found in the Syrian, Turkish, Arabic and Kurdish groups.

What marks did the students receive in various subject matters in grade 9?

The table below presents data about marks received in some chosen subjects, according to various strata. The differences between the immigrant group and the sample of Swedish students are rather small. The results of the immigrant group are more often than not 0.1 point lower than those of the Swedish students.

The difference found between the sexes is a general and prominent feature. The girls have obtained better marks than the boys in all subjects but Physical Education and Technology. As might have been expected, the grades presented by students who have not applied for admission to upper secondary school are worse than those of students who have applied, been admitted and continued to upper secondary school.

Table 3.11 The average marks of different sub-groups in some chosen subjects (Im=Immigrant group; Sw=Swedish group; gen=general course; adv=advanced course; uss=upper secondary school)

Strata	Swedish		English,gen		English,adv		Maths,gen		Maths,adv	
	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw
Boys	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.7
Girls	2.7	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.1	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.9
Not applied uss	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.0	2.1	3.0	2.8
Applied uss	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7
Short spec. course	2.2	2.6	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.9	2.7
Drop-out, line	2.5	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.9	3.1	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.9
In total	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.8

Strata	Biology		Physics		Chemistry		Technology		Geography	
	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw
Boys	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.3
Girls	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.7
Not applied uss	1.6	1.9	1.6	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.1	2.3	1.9	2.0
Applied uss	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.5
Short spec. course	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.5
Drop-out, line	2.4	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.2	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.5	2.6
In total	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.5

Strata	History		Religion		Soc. science		Phys. Ed.		Music	
	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw
Boys	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.9	2.9	2.4	2.5
Girls	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.8	3.0
Not applied uss	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.2
Applied uss	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.8
Short spec. course	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.8
Drop-out, line	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.8	2.9
In total	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.8

A large part of the questionnaire concerned merely the immigrant group, investigating their views on and experiences from the home-language instruction and the instruction in Swedish as a second language. The results of these questions are presented in the following section.

3.2 Comparisons between various immigrant groups

In the previous section there are comparisons made between the immigrant group as a whole and a sample of Swedish students. Even though answers were received

from 1 444 students with immigrant backgrounds it is difficult to compare different language groups. In total, there are 59 different languages qualified in the comprehensive school section. Many of these language groups consist of merely a few students. Language groups with less than 25 students (approximately 2% of the total group) make up the group called "Remaining". In regard of the fact that some groups are small, one should interpret the differences, if any, with great cautiousness.

Table 3.12 The main occupation (in percentages) of the different language groups during the measuring week

Language group	Worked		Studied		Unemployed		Other occup.		Number of answers
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
ARA	22	23	57	60	8	8	8	8	95
DAN	28	52	17	31	4	7	5	9	54
ENG	14	42	16	48	1	3	2	6	33
FIN	184	54	106	31	34	10	19	6	343
GRE	12	44	13	48	2	7	0	0	27
KUR	5	24	14	67	1	5	1	5	21
NOR	19	63	4	13	3	10	4	13	30
PER	3	4	60	90	2	3	2	3	67
POL	15	24	36	58	8	13	3	5	62
SER	25	40	28	45	7	11	2	3	62
SPA	35	28	80	64	8	6	2	2	125
SYR	12	38	11	34	8	25	1	3	32
TUR	35	56	19	31	5	8	3	5	62
HUN	8	32	15	60	1	4	1	4	25
CCV	11	31	24	67	1	3	0	0	36
REM	132	36	189	51	31	8	18	5	370
In total	560	39	689	48	124	8	71	5	1444

In groups with a high proportion of employed, there is on the other hand a low proportion of students. The highest proportion of students is found in the Persian group and the lowest proportion in the Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, Turkish and Syrian groups. On the other hand, the Norwegian, Turkish, Finnish and Danish groups show the highest proportion of employed. The highest proportion of

unemployed is found in the Syrian group. This applies to the time of the measuring.

When asked the straight question whether they have been unemployed some time after completed comprehensive school or not, more than 50% of the Norwegian group give a positive answer. Approximately half of the individuals in the Finnish and Syrian groups answer that they have been unemployed at some point in time. The average is 38%. The lowest unemployment rate is found in the Chinese/Vietnamese group, followed by the Greek, Kurdish and Persian groups.

Table 3.13 The drop-out rate of the different language groups, concerning those having begun a line of study or a special course at upper secondary school at some point in time

Language group	Drop-out		Number of answers
	N	%	
ARA	27	28	95
DAN	19	35	54
ENG	9	27	33
FIN	135	39	343
GRE	5	19	27
KUR	5	24	21
NOR	14	47	30
PER	7	10	67
POL	20	32	62
SER	19	31	62
SPA	33	26	125
SYR	12	38	32
TUR	14	23	62
HUN	8	32	25
CCV	9	25	36
REM	85	24	354
In total	421	30	1428

Close to half the number of students in the Norwegian group have discontinued their upper secondary education. It is to be noted that this is a presentation of the results of the comprehensive school section, i.e. the results of the students not having continued to upper secondary school directly after comprehensive school or

having discontinued their upper secondary education. The drop-out rate, of the total number of students, at upper secondary school is naturally much lower. A high drop-out rate is apparent in the Finnish, Syrian and Danish groups, as well. Students in the Persian and Greek groups show the lowest drop-out rate. The average drop-out rate of the immigrant group is as high as 30%. As shown earlier, the drop-out rate of the sample of Swedish students is on the same level.

A comparison between the various language groups has been made dealing with the extent of the parents encouraging their children to continued studies after comprehensive school. There are some differences ($p < .01$), though not great (eta-squared = .03). The highest degree of parental encouragement is mentioned in the Spanish group, followed by the Persian. The lowest degree of parental encouragement is found in the Danish and the Norwegian groups. The results indicating that the Swedes and their closest Scandinavian neighbours do not encourage their children to further education as much as some immigrant groups do, have also been obtained in previous studies (Löfgren, 1985b). Considering the fact that parental support is essential for the children's attitudes towards future studies and education, the Scandinavians have a lot to learn from some immigrant groups.

In addition, there are some differences between the language groups regarding the comfort felt by the students with their class-mates, their teachers and their schoolwork. The relationship between friends seems to be the strongest in the Syrian, English and Norwegian groups and somewhat weaker in the Persian, Chinese and Kurdish groups, in that order. How well the students get on with their class-mates is most probably related to the number of students in the class belonging to the same language group and even to the cultural differences to be found between Swedish and immigrant students. Concerning the attitudes towards the teachers, mainly two groups differ obviously: The attitudes of the Syrian group are considerably more positive, while the attitudes of the Norwegian group are more negative. In total, the attitudes of the immigrant group are rather positive towards their teachers. The attitudes are somewhat more positive than the those expressed by the sample of Swedish students.

Concerning the schoolwork, there are even greater differences between the

groups ($p < .001$ and $\eta^2 = .07$). The Syrian group, followed by the Arabic, Kurdish, Spanish and Greek groups, are the most positive groups. The most negative ones are the Danish and the Finnish groups. At large, the attitudes of some of the immigrant groups are very positive towards the schoolwork, as well. This may be attributed to the parents' ambitions and influence in the home environment; the parents emphasize the importance of an education in order to succeed in life. In many of the immigrant families, the parents may have difficulties in helping their children in their schoolwork, though they give them a psychological support which surely is of great value to their children. A Greek father commented proudly on the good school results of his sons in the following manner: "What you have got here (showing his hands formed as a bowl) the next junta may take away from you, but what you have got here (pointing at his brains) no one in the world can take away from you." Concerning the immigrant group as a whole, it is even in this aspect somewhat more positive than the sample of Swedish students.

What language is being used at home when talking to the parents?

Immigrant students use their home-language to a very large extent, even though there is a decrease in home-language usage concerning most language groups during the comprehensive school years. However, in some language groups there is no change towards talking more Swedish. The groups the most inclined to shifting to Swedish when talking to their parents are adolescents from our Scandinavian neighbouring countries along with adolescents from England. There are also quite a large number of students in the group referred to as remaining, having to a certain extent shifted to using Swedish at home. The differences between the groups are fairly large ($p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .14$).

Table 3.14 The language being used at home when talking to the parents during the first (F) and the last (L) years of comprehensive school, in percentages

Language group	Almost only the home-lang.		As much Swedish as home-language		Almost only Swedish	
	F	L	F	L	F	L
	%	%	%	%	%	%
ARA	88	79	9	17	3	4
DAN	50	37	19	18	31	45
ENG	67	55	17	27	17	23
FIN	69	54	16	21	14	25
GRE	85	77	7	15	7	8
KUR	89	90	11	10	0	0
NOR	55	36	10	11	34	54
PER	97	91	2	6	2	0
POL	64	52	27	27	9	21
SER	64	52	29	34	7	14
SPA	91	77	6	15	3	9
SYR	61	48	32	38	2	14
TUR	86	86	8	7	5	7
HUN	74	78	17	9	9	13
CCV	94	87	3	10	3	3
REM	66	50	18	20	16	30
In total	74	62	15	19	11	19

During the comprehensive school years, how were the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language organized?

Concerning the different questions about home-language instruction, the results of the total group of immigrant students are presented below. Some questions show a relatively large partial drop-out. It is possible that the drop-out is a result of the students not really understanding the meaning of study guidance in the home-language or of instruction in Swedish as a second language.

Approximately half of the immigrant group stated that they had received home-language instruction in grade 9. Far fewer stated that they were given study guidan-

ce by the home-language teacher. Instruction in Swedish as a second language is mentioned by a good third of the students in grade 9.

Table 3.15 Home-language instruction, study guidance by the home-language teacher, placing in home-language classes and instruction in Swedish as a second language concerning all immigrant students (the number of those mentioning this instruction)

Instruction	Home-lang. instruction		Study guid.		Home-lang. class		Swedish as a second lang.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	177	12	511	35	471	33	317	22
Yes, in grade 9	693	49	220	15			503	35
Yes, in grades 7-8	650	46	171	12			406	28
Yes, in grades 4-6	454	32	78	5	198	14	257	18
Yes, in grades 1-3	419	29	55	4	231	16	199	14

Table 3.16 Number of periods per week with a home-language teacher

Number of periods	N	%
1	231	19
2	377	31
3 or more	235	19
Did not participate	384	31

Less than a third of the students having answered the question about how many periods a week they had had with the home-language teacher state that they did not participate in the home-language instruction. These non-participants were later made to answer why they had not taken part in it. Students normally receive home-language instruction two periods a week. This applies to barely half of the students being offered this instruction.

How do students look upon the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language?

Most student who participate in the home-language instruction and the instruction in Swedish as a second language maintain that the extent of the instruction is just right. More home-language instruction is desired by a fifth.

Table 3.17 The views on the extent of the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language (the percentages pertain to students who participate)

	Too much instruction		Sufficient		Too little		Did not participate	Number of answers
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N
Home-language instruction	77	8	675	72	186	20	245	1183
Study guidance by the home-language teacher	27	6	324	73	90	21	530	971
Teaching of Swedish as a second language	98	13	552	74	93	13	334	1077

What are the most common reasons for not participating in the home-language instruction?

Those not participating in the home-language instruction claim as a principal reason for not doing so that the instruction implied too much work or that they did not desire it or even that they were not in need of it. In some cases it is apparent that the home-language instruction could not be arranged. 44 students claim to be unaware of the possibility of receiving home-language instruction. It is conceivable, on the other hand, that some of these do not fulfil the requirements to receive such instruction.

Table 3.18 The reason why students did not participate in the home-language instruction in grade 9 (number of positive answers)

Reason	Number of positive answers
- I did not know that I could receive home-language instruction	44
- I wanted home-language instruction, but it could not be arranged	75
- I thought it would be too much hard work with the home-language instruction	184
- My parents did not want me to receive home-language instruction	10
- The instruction did not work well	24
- Wanted, but was denied by the school	0
- Did not want/need, since I know my home-language perfectly well	105
- Other	102

What marks did the students receive in various subject matters in grade 9?

As is evident from the data about marks received in various subject matters, the results of the immigrant students are in average 0.1 point below those of the Swedish students. Both groups, made up of students not to be found again at upper secondary school, are well below the average of the total number of students in the country. A considerable difference, however, emerges from the table: In the immigrant group there are quite a few students who have not received any marks. The group not having obtained any notes in Swedish is particularly large. The reason is that these students have resided in Sweden for a short period of time and that they lack a sufficient knowledge in Swedish in order to receive marks in this subject as well as in some other subject matters. The table below presents the data about marks of the group having answered. For a less inaccurate comparison between the immigrant and Swedish populations please see Table 3.11.

Table 3.19 The average marks in some chosen subject matters of various immigrant groups (*the average is based on less than 20 students; **less than 10 students)

Lang. group	Swedish	English,gen	English,adv	Maths,gen	Maths,adv
ARA	2.2	2.7	2.3 **	2.5	2.3 *
DAN	2.5	2.9	3.5	2.5	2.7 *
ENG	2.5	3.5 **	3.7	2.6 *	2.9 *
FIN	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
GRE	2.6 *	3.0 *	3.0 **	2.7	2.3 *
KUR	2.3 **	2.7 **	3.5 **	2.2 *	3.5 **
NOR	2.5	3.0 *	2.9 **	2.8	2.0 **
PER	2.5 **	2.9	2.5 **	2.5	3.1
POL	2.8	2.4	3.5 *	2.9	2.8
SER	2.5	2.5	2.5 *	2.4	2.4 *
SPA	2.3	2.7	2.3 *	2.3	2.6 *
SYR	2.4 *	2.7 *	2.4 **	2.9	2.8 **
TUR	2.3 *	2.3	2.4 **	2.3	2.2 **
HUN	2.6 *	1.9 **	2.6 **	2.4 *	3.0 **
CCV	2.3 **	2.6 *	3.3 **	3.2 *	3.5 **
REM	2.6	2.7	3.0	2.5	2.9
In total	2.5	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.8
N (1428)	806 (56%)	633 (44%)	408 (29%)	914 (64%)	332 (23%)
SWE	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.9
N (1837)	1749 (95%)	991 (54%)	732 (40%)	1291 (70%)	459 (25%)

Lang. group	Biology	Physics	Chemistry	Technology	Geography
ARA	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.3
DAN	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.6
ENG	2.8	2.6	2.5	3.0	2.8
FIN	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.6	2.5
GRE	2.5	2.2 *	2.3	2.6	2.5
KUR	2.3 *	2.6 *	2.6 *	2.7 *	2.7 *
NOR	2.2	2.0	1.8	2.4	2.2
PER	2.4 *	2.4 *	2.2 *	2.2	2.4 *
POL	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.7
SER	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.2
SPA	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.4
SYR	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.8

cont.

TUR	1.9	2.1	2.0	2.4	2.2
HUN	2.1 *	2.2 *	1.9 *	2.4 *	2.2 *
CCV	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.7 *
REM	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.5

In total	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.6	2.5
N (1428)	962 (67%)	948 (66%)	946 (66%)	976 (68%)	962 (67%)
SWE	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.5
N (1837)	1579 (86%)	1552 (84%)	1559 (85%)	1591 (87%)	1512 (82%)

Lang. group	History	Religion	Soc. science	Phys. Ed.	Music
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ARA	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.3
DAN	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.6
ENG	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.9
FIN	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.6
GRE	2.5	2.6	2.4 *	2.8	2.7
KUR	2.4 *	2.9 *	2.4 *	2.6 *	2.5 *
NOR	2.1	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.6
PER	2.3 *	2.5 *	2.3 *	2.8	2.4
POL	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7
SER	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.8	2.6
SPA	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.6
SYR	2.5	3.1	2.9	3.0	2.5
TUR	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.8	2.3
HUN	2.2 *	2.4 *	2.4 *	2.4	2.5
CCV	2.6 *	2.6 *	2.6 *	3.2	2.6
REM	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.8	2.7

In total	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.6
N (1428)	902 (63%)	900 (63%)	908 (64%)	1243 (87%)	1150 (81%)
SWE	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.8
N (1837)	1501 (82%)	1499 (82%)	1511 (82%)	1676 (91%)	1709 (93%)

Among students who have not continued to upper secondary school, the English, Polish, Chinese/Vietnamese and Syrian groups present the highest average marks. The worst average marks are found in the Turkish, Norwegian, Arabic and Hungarian groups.

In order to study the differences in marks between students having immigrated at

various points in time, all immigrant students were regrouped into five groups. The group with no obtainable data about marks has been attributed the mark value 0 in the analysis. The differences between the five groups are highly significant ($p < .001$) and, in addition, very large (eta-squared .15-.21). When including students lacking grades in this way, the residential period is of great importance to the total marks. There are no differences between the two first groups, the one born in Sweden and the one having immigrated prior to compulsory school attendance respectively. The differences are also marginal in relation to the third group "having immigrated at the junior level of comprehensive school". Students who arrived at the intermediate level of compulsory school differ somewhat, though it is first and foremost the group that arrived at senior level of compulsory school that presents a pronounced difference. These students have difficulties in tackling their school-work successfully. It is interesting to see how many students out of this group who are found again in the upper secondary school section and what results they present.

Table 3.20 Some comparisons of the marks received by immigrant students with varying residential period in the country (mark 0 for students lacking marks)

Residential time in Sweden	Average marks in							
	Swedish		Biology		Technology		Soc. science	
	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Born in Sweden	2.4	392	2.2	428	2.4	428	2.2	406
Immigrated prior to compulsory school attendance	2.4	265	2.2	290	2.4	290	2.3	259
Immigrated at junior level of comprehensive school	2.2	100	2.2	128	2.1	128	2.4	119
Immigrated at intermediate level of comprehensive school	2.0	75	1.8	107	2.1	107	2.0	101
Immigrated at senior level of comprehensive school	1.0	120	0.9	316	1.0	316	0.9	297

According to the students themselves, how good a command do they have of their home-language and of Swedish during the comprehensive school years?

Finally, the students were made to estimate how good a command they had of Swedish and of their home-language respectively at junior, intermediate and senior levels of comprehensive school. Concerning the home-language there are great differences between the various language groups ($\eta^2=.19$), and even greater differences regarding the Swedish language ($\eta^2=.27$). At the junior and intermediate levels of comprehensive school, the Finnish group indicates the highest estimation of their proficiency in the home-language. This also applies to the Danish, Serbo-Croatian and Greek groups. At the senior level of comprehensive school, the students in the Persian, Kurdish and Greek groups show the highest estimation of their proficiency in the home-language.

Concerning the Swedish language, the highest estimation is expressed by the Danish, Serbo-Croatian and Finnish groups, and, at the senior level, this also applies to the Hungarian group. The Persian, Arabic and Chinese/Vietnamese groups indicate the lowest estimation. The group of remaining immigrant students estimate their proficiency in Swedish to be low.

3.3 The relationships between some background factors, the school language instruction and the study results

A path analysis has been conducted by means of PLS (Lohmöller, 1981) in order to study the relationships between the students' residential period in Sweden, the parents' educational background, the language usage in the home environment, the students' language proficiency, the school home-language instruction, the study results and the line of study. The PLS-technique has been used in similar situations. For a brief description of the procedure and the construction of latent variables (factors), please see previously published reports (Linde & Löfgren, 1988; Löfgren, 1989).

Table 3.21 Latent and manifest variables in the causal analysis

Factors	Abbreviation	Variables observed
1. Residential period	TIME	- Year of immigration
2. Social background	SOC	- The father's period of training - The mother's period of training - Parental study encouragement
3. Language spoken at home	LANG-SWE.	- Language spoken with the parents at the beginning of the compulsory school - Language spoken with the parents at senior level of comprehensive school
4. Home-language instruction	H-L INSTR.	- Participation in the home-language instruction in grade 9 - Number of periods per week of home-language instruction
5. Comfort and well-being at school	COMFORT	- Attitudes towards teachers - Attitudes towards schoolwork
6. Proficiency in Swedish	SWEDISH	- Selfestimated language proficiency in grade 9 - Marks received in Swedish
7. Proficiency in the home-language	HOME-L.	- Selfestimated proficiency in the home-language in grade 9
8. Choice of study line	CHOICE	- Adjusted course of study - 3-year line, German/French
9. School results	MARKS	- Marks received in Biology - Technology and - Social Science
10. Unemployment	UNEMPL.	- Unemployed at some point in time - Number of months unemployed
11. Interest in studies	STUDIES	- Study intentions the autumn of 1990

As is evident from Diagram 3.1 two factors in particular are important for the students' choice of study line and their study success at school: The residential period and the proficiency in Swedish. Many of the relations between the factors in the analysis are as might have been expected. Thus, students having resided for a longer period of time in the country speak Swedish in the home environment (.32).

Their command of Swedish becomes considerably better (.47), and their command of the home-language becomes relatively worse (-.17). A longer residential period often means choosing the option of German or French at comprehensive school. This causal connection is partially direct (.17), and partially indirect, as well, by way of the proficiency in Swedish. Students with shorter periods of residency more often choose to receive home-language instruction.

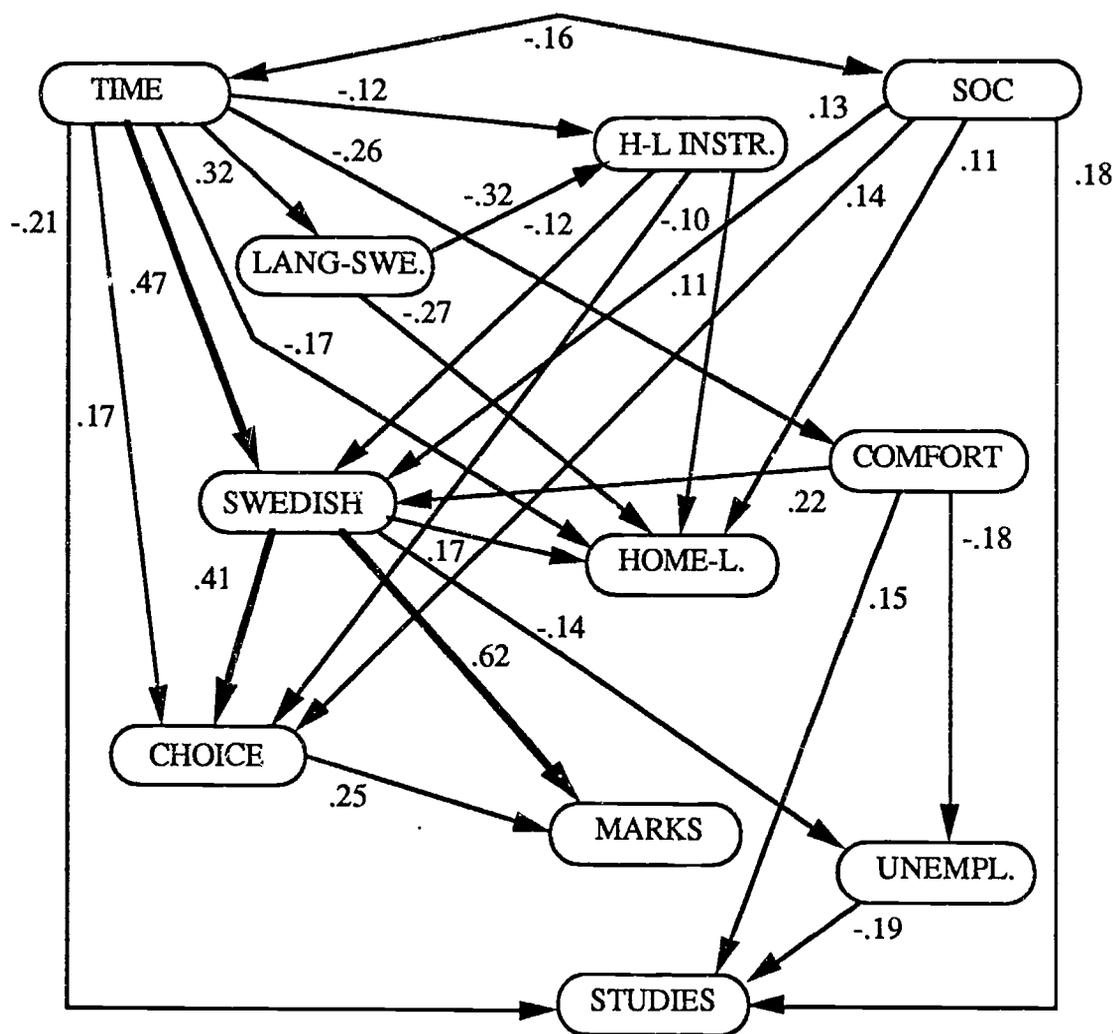


Diagram 3.1 The result of the PLS-analysis, the comprehensive school section

Children whose parents have a longer educational background choose more often the option German or French (.14) and they also are more inclined towards studying (.18). Those who mainly use Swedish at home are less inclined to choose home-language instruction (-.32).

It is interesting to note that those receiving more home-language instruction at

school do not estimate their proficiency in the home-language to be much higher than those receiving less or none at all (.11).

The marks of the students with adjusted course of study or those not having chosen German or French as their optional subject are worse. The option of 3 years of French or German show obvious connections with what marks are received in general. These results correspond well with the results obtained in the previous follow-up study of the comprehensive school (Löfgren, 1985a).

There are a couple of connections deserving some attention. The longer the residential period in the country, the less comfortable the students are with their teachers and their schoolwork (-.26). Immigrant students have in other studies as well expressed more positive attitudes towards the Swedish school.

"A great number of the answers indicate that there are many immigrant children with school experiences from other countries, e.g.: "The best thing is the freedom of thought", "...that one is given food and books for free", and "...that one is not beaten at school"." (Jönsson, 1988, p 47)

Thus, immigrant students have in average more positive attitudes towards teachers and schoolwork. It may be concluded from the recently made analysis that the latest arrived immigrants express the most positive attitudes. As time goes by, they become more like their fellow Swedish students. The negative connection between the residential period and the intention to continue some kind of studies (-.21) may depend on the fact that a great number of students having arrived during grades 7-9 need help by way of various continuation courses in order to, in the long run, continue to upper secondary school. Thus, those who have resided in Sweden for a longer period of time and chosen not to continue directly to upper secondary school are less inclined to study and more inclined to have gone out to work.

Those with a sufficiently good proficiency in Swedish receive good marks in the rest of the subject matters (.62). A better command of Swedish also means a lower unemployment rate. The negative connection between unemployment and studies is unfortunate. The proficiency in Swedish is, as in previous studies, in positive relation to the home-language proficiency (Linde & Löfgren, 1988). As is evident concerning this group, there is no positive relationship between good marks and the home-language instruction or the home-language proficiency. On the other

hand, the summing-up of the indirect relations leads to a very weak, negative influence on the total marks. It is essential that immigrant students, as soon as possible, be given the possibility to develop a proficiency in Swedish - preferably side by side with their home-language proficiency- so that they may manage at school and succeed in the education after comprehensive school. In his studies taking place in the municipality of Malmö, Petersen (1981, 1983) found that not one single student having arrived during his/her senior years of comprehensive school had managed his/her upper secondary studies.

In addition to the PLS-analysis above, some other connections have been studied. Only students having received marks are included in these analyses. The correlations between marks and drop-out are so weak that the drop-outs may only be due to study failure. The correlations are weak between participation in the home-language instruction, the instruction in Swedish as a second language and the marks received. Neither do the attitudes towards such instruction indicate any connection with the marks. The estimation of the proficiency in the home-language and in Swedish presents no correlation with the marks. As may be concluded from Diagram 3.1 the proficiency in Swedish is related to the marks, though only students having received marks - i.e. those with a sufficient proficiency in Swedish - are included in the causal analysis presented above. Neither does it seem like the language spoken at home is related to the marks received. However, there are obvious connections between the data about attitudes and the school results. The students' attitudes towards the schoolwork indicate some substantial correlations (approx. .30). This also applies to the attitudes towards the teachers (approx. .20). The student-teacher relationship is an important factor for study success (Löfgren, 1984a, b).

4. RESULTS OF THE UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL SECTION

4.1 A comparison between immigrant students and a sample of Swedish students

Answers were received from 3 621 immigrant adolescents in the upper secondary school section, representing 63 different language groups. The 14 largest language groups have been chosen since it may be of interest to compare students from different language groups in this section, too. The number of students in each group allows comparisons to be made. 1 767 answers were received from the sample of Swedish students.

Table 4.1 The number of student answers in different language groups (students whose language group is below 2% of the total group, along with the partial drop-out, are included in the group called "Remaining")

Language group	Abbreviation	N	%	%adj
Arabic	ARA	108	3	3
Assyrian	ASS	58	2	2
Danish	DAN	111	3	3
English	ENG	86	2	3
Finnish	FIN	995	28	25
Greek	GRE	115	3	3
Norwegian	NOR	65	2	3
Polish	POL	166	5	4
Serbo-Croatian	SER	304	8	9
Spanish	SPA	208	6	6
Turkish	TUR	78	2	2
German	GER	58	2	1
Hungarian	HUN	83	2	2
Chinese, Cantonese, Vietnamese	CCV	89	3	2
Remaining (incl. unclassified)	REM	1097	30	32
In total	TOT	3621		
Sample of Swedish students	SWE	1767		

The Finnish group is here by far the largest one, just like in the comprehensive school section. Approximately every fourth student belongs to the Finnish group.

The Serbo-Croatian (8%), Spanish (6%) and the Polish (5%) groups follow in size. The Greek, Danish and Arabic groups are somewhat fewer in number, though they have still a good 100 representatives each. When comparing the previous comprehensive school follow-up 10 years ago, one may conclude that the Finnish group has decreased in number compared to the other groups. This also applies to the German and Danish groups. In their place, some other new groups have become rather large, in particular the Arabic and Chinese groups. The comparisons between various language groups, presented later on in the current study, are more reliable than those in the comprehensive school section, due to the group size. The smallest group is represented by 58 students.

How many students continue their commenced studies slightly more than three terms (i.e. 20 months) after completed comprehensive school education?

The drop-out rate is very low since the upper secondary school section addresses adolescents who continued directly to upper secondary school and who were still to be found at school after one year's studying. Only students having dropped out during the time between the autumn term of 1989 and the measuring week in February, 1990, have been registered as drop-outs. As is evident, there is only a small difference between the immigrant group and the sample of Swedish students. Immigrant students change courses of study or discontinue their studies to a slightly higher degree.

Table 4.2 The number of students who are still to be found at upper secondary school on their fourth term and the number of students who have dropped out

	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	%adj	%adj
Continues commenced studies	3275	90	88	93
Changed line/special course	249	7	8	5
Discontinued studies	97	3	5	2

Immigrant and Swedish students have also been compared regarding their choices of upper secondary line. The proportions of those choosing various principal lines of study are rather similar. The immigrant students choose to a slightly higher degree 3-4-year theoretical lines (47 % and 45 % respectively). On the other hand, the drop-out rate of the immigrant students from these lines is slightly higher than that of the Swedish students.

Table 4.3 The students' choice of line at upper secondary school

Line	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	%adj	%adj
3-4-year line	1789	49	47	45
2-year theoretical line	228	6	6	6
2-year vocationally oriented line	1604	44	47	49

There has been a regrouping of the immigrant group according to the year of immigration, since it may be concluded that the residential period is related to the choice of line.

Table 4.4 The choice of line in relation to the year of immigration

Period of immigration	Choice of line of study								
	3-4-yr theor			2-yr theor			2-yr voc.oriented		
	N	%	%adj	N	%	%adj	N	%	%adj
During grades 7-9 of comprehensive school	111	50	54	17	8	6	96	43	40
During grades 4-6 of comprehensive school	145	54	40	15	6	6	111	41	54
During grades 1-3 of comprehensive school	190	54	43	20	6	5	142	40	52
Prior to compulsory school attendance	480	49	45	75	8	7	432	44	48
Born in Sweden	863	48	50	101	6	5	823	46	45

Somewhat surprisingly, a contingency-table analysis does not indicate any connection between the year of immigration and the chosen line of study. This means that the choice of line is not related to the residential period in Sweden for students who are still to be found at upper secondary school their fourth term after commenced upper secondary school education.

As is evident from Table 2.2 (p 19), however, 27% of the immigrant group in the comprehensive school section arrived in Sweden during grades 7-9 of comprehensive school. Only 6% of those included in the upper secondary section arrived at the same point in time. Consequently, when taking into consideration the total immigrant group, the residential period is of great importance to the line of study.

Table 4.5 Work on the side of the studies (the number of indications for each alternative in percentages)

Work	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
No	1214	34	33	26
Yes, during week-ends	945	26	27	28
Yes, a week-day or two	562	16	19	14
Yes, during vacations	1319	36	34	50

When asked, immigrant students answer more often than Swedish students that they do not work on the side of their studies. A distinctly larger proportion of Swedish students hold jobs during the school vacations.

To what extent have the students been encouraged to further education by their parents?

There is a small difference between the groups of upper secondary students. In the comprehensive school section, the immigrant students mentioned more often than the Swedish students that their parents had encouraged them to further studies.

Table 4.6 Parental encouragement to further education

Encouragement	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
To a very high extent	1697	47	46	41
To a rather high extent	1282	36	36	41
To a rather low extent	421	12	13	11
Hardly at all	206	6	6	7

What were the attitudes of the students towards their class-mates, their teachers and their schoolwork in grades 7-9 at comprehensive school?

The difference found in the comprehensive school section concerning the attitudes towards class-mates, i.e. the somewhat less positive attitudes of the immigrant students, is not to be found among the upper secondary students. However, the students in the immigrant group still express slightly more positive attitudes towards their teachers and their schoolwork. Both groups feel comfortable at school, even though there is a group with a negative attitude on the whole towards class-mates, teachers and schoolwork.

Table 4.7 Comfort and well-being with class-mates, teachers and schoolwork in grades 7-9 at comprehensive school

With their classmates	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Very good	1831	51	51	52
Rather good	1467	41	41	41
Rather bad	252	7	7	6
Very bad	61	2	1	1
Number of answers	3611			

With their teachers	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Very good	1004	28	27	22
Rather good	2238	62	63	68
Rather bad	305	8	9	8
Very bad	45	1	1	2
Number of answers		3593		

With their schoolwork	Immigrant students			Swedish students
	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Very good	779	22	23	17
Rather good	2290	64	61	67
Rather bad	441	12	14	13
Very bad	73	2	2	3
Number of answers		3583		

The adolescents in this section, as well, were asked to mention their parents' period of training, since the parental educational status was to be related to the students' choice of study line and their study success later on in the study. In conformity with the comprehensive school section there are in this section as well some students, especially in the immigrant group, who have claimed to have no knowledge of the length of their parents' education.

Compared to Swedish parents, the parents of students with immigrant backgrounds have in average shorter educations. However, already made comparisons indicate great differences between various immigrant groups ($\eta^2 = .16$ and $.17$ respectively).

Concerning the father's school education, the longest periods of training are mentioned in the English, German, Polish and Hungarian groups, in that order, and the shortest periods are mentioned in the Assyrian, Greek, Chinese and Turkish groups. Concerning the mothers, the longest periods of training are mentioned in

the English, Polish, German and Hungarian groups and the shortest ones in the Assyrian, Turkish, Chinese and Greek groups.

Table 4.8 The school education of the parents

Period of training	Immigrant students						Swedish students	
	the father			the mother			the father	the mother
	N	%	% _{adj}	N	%	% _{adj}	% _{adj}	% _{adj}
Less than 7 years	400	14	14	413	13	15	7	3
7-9 years	1033	35	35	1009	33	34	39	37
10-12 years	682	23	24	783	25	23	20	30
More than 12 years	829	28	27	874	28	28	34	31
Does not know	560	16	22	438	12	17	13	12
Number of answers	3504			3517				

What marks did the students receive in various subject matters in grade 9 at comprehensive school?

Even though the results of the marks received in various immigrant groups will be presented later on in the study, a comparison is made below between the immigrant group and the sample of Swedish students, as well as between various strata.

When comparing marks received by the immigrant and Swedish groups in grade 9 at comprehensive school, one finds a rather small difference between the two. In most cases, the Swedish group presents marks 0.1-0.2 points above those of the immigrant group.

The differences between the various lines of study are naturally very large. In many cases, there is even a 1.0 point difference between students following 3-4-year lines and those following 2-year vocationally oriented lines. In addition, there are obvious differences between the sexes. Throughout, the girls have obtained slightly better marks than the boys in all subjects but Technology and Physical Education.

Table 4.9 The average marks of different sub-groups in some chosen subjects
(Im=Immigrant group; Sw=Swedish group; gen=general course;
adv=advanced course; uss=upper secondary school)

Strata	Swedish		English,gen		English,adv		Maths,gen		Maths,adv	
	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw
Boys	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.0	3.3	3.1	3.3
Girls	3.5	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.2	3.5	3.2	3.4
3-4-yr line	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.9	4.2	3.4	3.6
2-yr theor	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.3	2.6	2.7
2-yr voc.	2.7	2.9	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.2	2.5	2.8
In total	3.2	3.4	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.4	3.2	3.3
Strata	Biology		Physics		Chemistry		Technology		Geography	
	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw
Boys	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.1	3.3
Girls	3.4	3.5	3.2	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.5
3-4-yr line	3.8	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.7	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.9
2-yr theor	2.9	3.1	2.8	2.9	2.7	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.9	3.1
2-yr voc.	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.1	2.7	2.9
In total	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.4	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.4
Strata	History		Religion		Soc. science		Phys. Ed.		Music	
	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw	Im	Sw
Boys	3.1	3.3	3.0	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.1	3.2
Girls	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.6
3-4-yr line	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8
2-yr theor	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.4
2-yr voc.	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.2	3.2	2.9	2.9
In total	3.2	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4

A large part of the questionnaire concerned merely the immigrant group, investigating their views on and experiences from the home-language instruction and the instruction in Swedish as a second language. The results of these questions are presented in the following section.

4.2 Comparisons between different immigrant groups

Since 3 621 answers were received from the students in the upper secondary section, it is possible to make comparisons between some of the 63 language groups. Thus, the 14 largest groups have been selected. In the two smallest groups, the German and Assyrian groups, answers were received from 58 students. Language groups with less than 58 students (approximately 2% of the total group) make up the group called "Remaining".

What is the main occupation of the adolescents slightly more than three terms (i.e. 20 months) after completed comprehensive school education?

Students from the German group continue their commenced studies to the highest degree, followed by the Greek group. Some students, principally in the Spanish and Norwegian groups, have changed their line of study. Few students have discontinued their studies, for reasons presented earlier on in the study. Nevertheless, 8% of the Chinese/Vietnamese group dropped out during the second year at upper secondary school.

Table 4.10 The number of students who are still to be found at upper secondary school on their fourth term and the number of students who have dropped out, in percentage

Language group	Continues commenced studies	Changed line/ special course	Discontinued the studies	Number of answers
ARA	88	8	4	108
ASS	91	5	3	58
DAN	92	5	3	111
ENG	91	3	6	86
FIN	91	7	2	995

cont.

GRE	95	4	1	115
NOR	83	11	6	65
POL	87	8	5	166
SER	92	6	2	304
SPA	85	12	4	208
TUR	86	9	5	78
GER	97	3	0	58
HUN	92	8	0	83
CCV	91	1	8	89
REM	91	7	2	1097
In total	90	7	3	3621

Table 4.11 The students' choice of line in various immigrant groups

Language group	3-4-yr theor		2-yr theor		2-yr voc.oriented	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
ARA	54	50	10	9	44	41
ASS	23	40	8	14	27	47
DAN	47	42	4	4	60	54
ENG	55	64	8	9	23	27
FIN	390	39	56	6	549	55
GRE	57	50	11	10	47	41
NOR	30	46	4	6	31	48
POL	105	63	5	3	56	34
SER	154	51	15	5	135	44
SPA	115	55	11	5	82	39
TUR	34	44	2	3	42	54
GER	38	66	6	10	14	24
HUN	48	58	10	12	25	30
CCV	46	52	2	2	41	46
REM	593	54	76	7	428	39
In total	1789	49	228	6	1604	44

As can be seen from Table 4.11, there are some differences between the language groups. The highest proportion of students having chosen 3-4-year lines is found in the German group, closely followed by the English and Polish groups. The lowest proportion is found in the Finnish, Assyrian, Danish, Turkish and Norwegian

groups, in that order. On the other hand, the students in the Finnish, Danish and Turkish groups have more often chosen a 2-year vocationally oriented line.

As concluded earlier on in the study, there is a small difference between immigrant and Swedish students concerning parental encouragement to a continued education. The difference between various immigrant groups is also negligible, even though it is significant ($p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .01$). The students in the Spanish group are the most encouraged by their parents, while the students in the Finnish and Turkish groups are somewhat less encouraged.

The differences are small but significant when comparing various language groups concerning the comfort and well-being at school. The best relationships with their class-mates are mentioned in the Turkish, Finnish and Greek groups, while students in the English, Danish and German groups express less satisfaction.

The Chinese/Vietnamese, Assyrian and Arabic students are the most pleased with their teachers and their schoolwork. The students in the Norwegian group, followed by the students in the Danish and English groups, are somewhat less pleased.

What language is being used at home when talking to parents?

As will be seen from Table 4.12, naturally, there are differences between the groups and between the two occasions, the first and last years of comprehensive school respectively. Among students in grade 9 the Swedish language is more frequent when talking to parents than at an earlier age.

The Assyrian, Chinese/Vietnamese, Greek and Turkish groups use their home-language the most. Mainly Swedish is spoken in the German, English, Danish and Norwegian groups. Concerning the language spoken between siblings, the analysis indicates that Swedish is more frequent than the home-language in the communication between siblings.

Table 4.12 The language being used at home when talking to the parents during the first (F) and the last (L) years of comprehensive school, in percentages

Language group	Almost only the home-lang.		As much Swedish as home-language		Almost only Swedish	
	F	L	F	L	F	L
	%	%	%	%	%	%
ARA	74	59	18	27	8	14
ASS	89	76	11	22	0	2
DAN	44	32	27	25	29	43
ENG	45	33	24	29	32	39
FIN	75	59	13	19	12	22
GRE	82	75	15	17	3	7
NOR	50	31	19	19	31	51
POL	55	41	30	31	16	28
SER	67	51	24	33	10	17
SPA	80	71	13	18	7	10
TUR	74	71	25	26	1	3
GER	25	11	28	22	47	67
HUN	62	48	17	25	21	27
CCV	93	78	6	18	1	4
REM	62	51	22	28	16	21
In total	68	55	18	23	14	22

There were significant differences between the language groups, even though the differences were moderate, regarding the students' own estimated proficiency in Swedish and in the home-language respectively. The students in the German and English groups presented the highest estimation of their home-language proficiency. The lowest estimation was found in the Chinese/Vietnamese and Norwegian groups. The German students' own estimation of their proficiency in Swedish was very high, followed by the students in the English and Serbo-Croatian groups. Low estimations were to be found chiefly in the Chinese/Vietnamese group, and, to some extent, in the Norwegian group.

The students in the German, English and Serbo-Croatian groups have in average resided in Sweden for a long time. As a consequent of this, their estimations of their proficiency in Swedish are probably correct. The possibility that the students

in the German and English groups also have a good command of their home-language is surely correct in consideration of the close relationship of these languages with Swedish and of the high status enjoyed by them, along with the fact that the languages are used at school. It is not as easily discerned why the Norwegian and Chinese/Vietnamese groups have a relatively low estimation of their home-language proficiency.

The home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language during the comprehensive school years

Not more than half of the immigrant students state that they have had home-language instruction at comprehensive school. Few students have mentioned that they have had study guidance in their home-language. In comparison to the students in the comprehensive section it may be concluded that fewer students have had instruction in Swedish as a second language. The students found again at upper secondary school level hardly have any great difficulties with the Swedish language and, consequently, they have probably not been in great need of study guidance in the home-language.

Table 4.13 Home-language instruction, study guidance by the home-language teacher, placing in home-language classes and instruction in Swedish as a second language concerning all immigrant students (the number of those mentioning this instruction)

Instruction	Home-lang. instruction		Study guid.		Home-lang. class		Swedish as a second language	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	451	13	1471	59	1214	34	1070	30
Yes, in grade 9	1610	45	264	7			600	17
Yes, in grades 7-8	1670	46	244	7			670	19
Yes, in grades 4-6	1645	45	205	6	435	12	601	17
Yes, in grades 1-3	1423	39	180	5	611	17	520	14

Table 4.14 Number of periods per week with a home-language teacher

Number of periods	N	%	% of participants
1	717	24	38
2	882	30	47
3 or more	278	9	15
Did not participate	1065	36	
Number of answers	2942		

How do students look upon the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language?

Most student who participated in the home-language instruction and the instruction in Swedish as a second language at comprehensive school level maintained that the extent of the instruction was just right. Every fourth student, a somewhat larger number than in the comprehensive school section, considers the extent of the home-language instruction to be insufficient.

Table 4.15 The views on the extent of the home-language instruction and the teaching of Swedish as a second language (the percentages pertain to students who participate)

	Too much instruction		Sufficient		Too little		Did not participate	Number of answers
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N
Home-language instruction	93	4	1626	72	553	24	596	2868
Study guidance by the home-language teacher	29	4	521	69	201	27	1522	2273
Teaching of Swedish as a second language	126	10	1012	78	168	13	1149	2455

The greatest differences between the language groups concern the participation in the home-language instruction and the instruction in Swedish as a second language

respectively. The largest proportion of non-participants in the home-language instruction is found in the Norwegian, Danish and Hungarian groups. In the latter group there are students who have resided in Sweden for a long time. The Norwegian and Danish languages respectively are very close to the Swedish language which probably is part of the explanation why these students to a low degree choose home-language instruction. The students with Finnish as their home-language often choose home-language instruction. Over the years, Finnish-speaking associations and Finnish home-language teachers have been especially active (Löfgren & Ericsson, 1982). The students from the Danish, Norwegian, German, Turkish and Hungarian groups have to a low degree followed the instruction in Swedish as a second language in grade 9. Obviously, the latest arrived students have the greatest need of this instruction.

What are the most common reasons for not participating in the home-language instruction?

Table 4.16 The reason why students did not participate in the home-language instruction in grade 9 (number of positive answers)

Reason	Number of positive answers
- I did not know that I could receive home-language instruction	38
- I wanted home-language instruction, but it could not be arranged	118
- I thought it would be too much hard work with the home-language instruction	477
- My parents did not want me to receive home-language instruction	47
- The instruction did not work well	82
- Wanted, but was denied by the school	2
- Did not want/need, since I know my home-language perfectly well	305
- Other	272

Those not participating in the home-language instruction claim as a principal reason for not doing so that the instruction implied too much work or that they did not desire it or even that they were not in need of it. In some cases it is apparent that the home-language instruction could not be arranged. 38 students claim to be unaware of the possibility of receiving home-language instruction. It is conceivable, on the other hand, that some of these do not fulfil the requirements for receiving such instruction.

Table 4.17 The extent of the information given in grade 9 at comprehensive school about the home-language instruction or the instruction in Swedish as a second language at upper secondary school level

Information	N	%
Very much	179	5
Rather much	714	20
Rather little	1343	38
None at all	1319	37

According to the students, they received little or no information about the possibilities of obtaining home-language instruction and instruction in Swedish as a second language at upper secondary school. It is difficult for the comprehensive school teachers to provide all information since the students will probably attend different upper secondary schools. Nevertheless, the students should have received information about the existence of this kind of instruction at upper secondary school. A total of 75% maintain that they were given very little or no information about this instruction. It is remarkable that one third of the students state that they have not been provided with any information at all.

What marks did the students receive in different subjects in grade 9?

In conclusion, the results of the marks received in grade 9 at comprehensive school have been studied, comparing various language groups at upper secondary school. There are obvious differences between the analysed groups.

Among students attending upper secondary school, the English, Polish, German

and Assyrian groups present the highest average marks. These groups show results above those of the sample of Swedish students. Worse results are presented by the Spanish, Norwegian, Finnish and Turkish groups, i. e. below the results of the sample of Swedish students.

Table 4.18 The average marks in some chosen subject matters of various immigrant groups (*the average is based on less than 20 students; **less than 10 students)

Lang. group	Swedish	English,gen	English,adv	Maths,gen	Maths,adv
ARA	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.1
ASS	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.4	3.4
DAN	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.2	3.5
ENG	3.5	3.3 **	4.4	3.1	3.4
FIN	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.2
GRE	3.2	2.9	3.2	3.1	3.2
NOR	3.2	3.3	3.6	3.1	2.9
POL	3.3	3.3	3.5	3.1	3.4
SER	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.1	3.0
SPA	3.0	3.1	3.1	2.9	3.0
TUR	3.2	2.8	3.2	2.9	3.2
GER	3.4	3.3 *	3.3	3.1	3.5
HUN	3.3	3.7 *	3.4	3.2	3.3
CCV	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.5
REM	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.2
In total	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.2
N	3093	1066	2477	1445	2165

Lang. group	Biology	Physics	Chemistry	Technology	Geography
ARA	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.1	3.4
ASS	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.5
DAN	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.2
ENG	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.6
FIN	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2
GRE	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.3
NOR	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0
POL	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.5

cont.

SER	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.4
SPA	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.2
TUR	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.2
GER	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5
HUN	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.3
CCV	3.3	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.4
REM	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.4
In total	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3
N	3296	3288	3288	3256	3078

Lang. group	History	Religion	Soc. science	Phys. Ed.	Music
ARA	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.4	3.2
ASS	3.5	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.1
DAN	3.6	3.7	3.5	3.2	3.2
ENG	3.6	3.7	3.5	3.3	3.5
FIN	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.2
GRE	3.2	3.4	3.1	3.5	3.3
NOR	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.3
POL	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.5
SER	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.3
SPA	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.2
TUR	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.7	3.1
GER	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4
HUN	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.3
CCV	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.1
REM	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.3
In total	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.3
N	3076	3064	3072	3592	3577

4.3 The relationship between some background factors, the language instruction offered by the school and the study results

A path analysis has also been conducted for the upper secondary section in order to study the relationships between the students' residential period in Sweden, the parents' educational background, the language usage in the home environment, the students' language proficiency, the home-language instruction offered by the

school, the study results and the line of study. To a great extent, the variables which the analysis are based on are identical with those used in the comprehensive school section. Choice of line at upper secondary school is included instead of unemployment and study intentions the autumn of 1990. A high value for this variable implies a 3-4-year line.

Table 4.19 Latent and manifest variables in the causal analysis

Factor	Abbreviation	Variable observed
1. Residential period	TIME	- Year of immigration
2. Social background	SOC	- The father's period of training - The mother's period of training - Parental study encouragement
3. Language spoken at home	LANG-SWE.	- Language spoken with the parents at the beginning of the compulsory school - Language spoken with the parents at senior level of comprehensive school
4. Home-language instruction	H-L INSTR.	- Participation in the home-language instruction in grade 9 - Number of periods per week of home-language instruction
5. Comfort and well-being at school	COMFORT	- Attitudes towards teachers - Attitudes towards schoolwork
6. Proficiency in Swedish	SWEDISH	- Selfestimated language proficiency in grade 9 - Marks received in Swedish
7. Proficiency in the home-language	HOME-LANG	- Selfestimated proficiency in the home-language in grade 9
8. Choice of study line	CHOICE	- Adjusted course of study - 3-year line, German/French
9. School results	MARKS	- Marks received in Biology, - Technology and - Social Science
10. Line of study	LINE-SS	- Choice of line at upper secondary school

The results of the first year of upper secondary school could not be included. The drop-outs during the first year are not part of the selection; they may be found in the comprehensive school section.

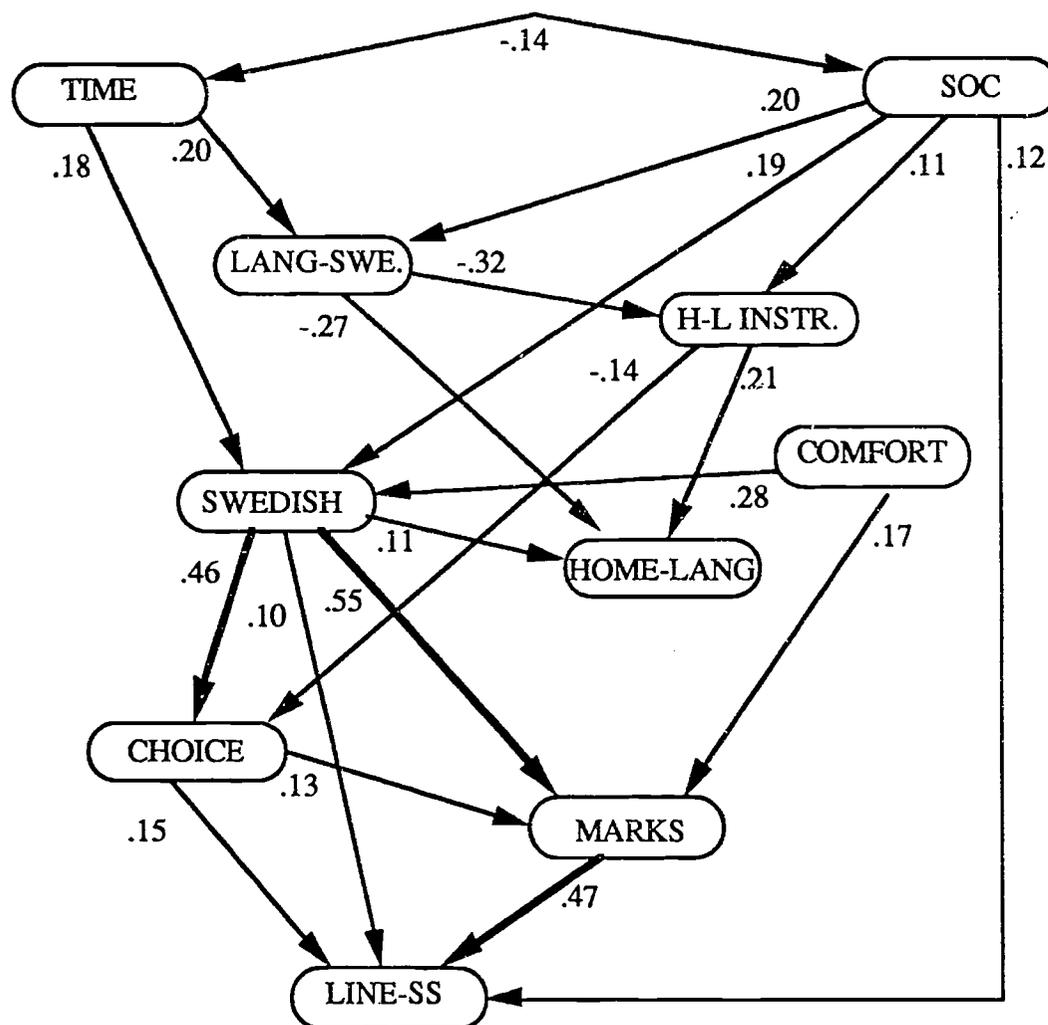


Diagram 4.1 The result of the PLS-analysis, the upper secondary school section

The residential period is not at all as important among upper secondary students as it is for students in the comprehensive school section. It is true though that adolescents having resided in Sweden for a longer time have a better command of Swedish (.18) and this in turn means that they more often choose the option of German or French at the senior level of comprehensive school (.46).

The parents' educational background and the parental encouragement are related to several of the factors included in the analysis, even though it is to a moderate

degree. Children whose parents have longer educational backgrounds use Swedish more often in the home environment (.20), and they choose more often theoretical lines. The connection between the residential period and the parents' educational background is slightly negative, which means that groups having immigrated later on have in average longer educational backgrounds and that the parents in these groups stimulate their children in their studies to a slightly higher degree.

The relationships between the language spoken at home, the home-language instruction and the proficiency in the home-language are all in accordance with what might have been expected. However, the language spoken at home is not related to the proficiency in Swedish, which is an interesting result.

Students who feel comfortable with their teachers and their schoolwork have a higher proficiency in Swedish (.28) and they also receive slightly better marks (.17).

In conformity with the analysis of the comprehensive school group, it may be concluded in the analysis of the upper secondary school group that the proficiency in Swedish is decisive of the line of study and the comprehensive school marks (.55). The participation in the home-language instruction and the students' proficiency in the home-language are not related to the marks in the other subject matters or the choice of line at upper secondary school. Students who participate in the home-language instruction have a slightly higher estimation of their proficiency in the home-language (.21). There is a weak positive relation between the proficiency in Swedish and in the home-language (.11).

Participation in the home-language instruction and a good knowledge of the home-language are not related to study success at comprehensive school. On the other hand, there are hardly any negative relations.

Both for the comprehensive school and upper secondary school sections there have been comparisons made between students in home-language classes and students in ordinary classes in grades 1-3 and/or grades 4-6 of comprehensive school. In the comprehensive school material there are no differences to be found between the marks received by the students in the home-language classes and by those in the regular classes. On the other hand, in the upper secondary school material there are significant differences to be found between the marks received in most subject matters by the groups. Students in the home-language classes present worse marks.

However, the differences are rather small. 682 upper secondary students out of a total of 3 621 stated that they had been part of home-language classes. Since only some groups are sufficiently large in order that the students may be placed in home-language classes, there has been a renewed analysis merely including participants from the Finnish, Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Turkish and Chinese groups, i.e. the groups that are well represented in number in the home-language classes. The new analysis showed no differences. Thus, the differences arrived at before are due to the fact that a number of overachieving language groups were included in the group not having been part of the home-language classes. In conclusion, when looking at the marks received, immigrant students do not gain from the placing in home-language classes.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study includes the whole population of "students with immigrant backgrounds" having completed comprehensive school in 1988 and a sample of "Swedish" students having completed comprehensive school in the same year. In order to compare students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds the immigrant students were defined as foreign born students with at least one foreign born parent, having immigrated to Sweden, or as an alternative, Swedish-born students with both parents, or a single parent, born abroad, having immigrated to Sweden in 1968 or later. Swedish-born students with merely one of the parents born abroad, along with students with parents having immigrated before 1968 were not included in the group referred to as "immigrant students". By way of this defined selection, there has been an attempt at maximizing the linguistic and cultural differences between "the immigrant group" and "the sample of Swedish students".

The main objective of the present study was to gain information about the success in various aspects of the Swedish 9-year compulsory comprehensive school and about the lines of study chosen by the adolescents after completed comprehensive school. The information was gathered by way of a mailed questionnaire not more than two years after completed comprehensive school. In particular, the differences between the immigrant group and the sample of Swedish students have been studied. Since the immigrant group was of special interest to the present study, information was gathered about the success of the home-language instruction and of the instruction in Swedish as a second language.

The sizes of some of the language groups within the immigrant group were large enough to enable a comparison between various sub-groups. An important objective was also to test the causal relationships between the children's social home environment, the residential period in Sweden, the language usage in the home environment, the home-language instruction and the study success.

7 320 immigrant students and 4 545 Swedish students were included in the study group. Answers were received from 5 065 immigrant students and from 3 604 Swedish students. The study was conducted as two subordinate studies; the first one

concerned adolescents not having been admitted to upper secondary school in the autumn of 1988 or adolescents who were not to be found again at upper secondary school in the autumn of 1989 due to discontinued studies (the comprehensive school section); the second study concerned students having applied for and having been admitted to upper secondary school in the autumn of 1988 and who were still registered as studying in the autumn of 1989 (the upper secondary section).

Concerning school results it may be concluded that immigrant students, on the whole, have almost the same average marks in various subject matters as Swedish students. The results of the immigrant group is merely 0.1-0.2 point below that of the Swedish group. However, there is a group of immigrants having arrived during grades 7-9 at comprehensive school that lacks marks in several subject matters. Their proficiency in Swedish has not been sufficient for successfully tackling their studies. In conclusion, if immigrant students have a sufficiently good proficiency in Swedish they will manage as well as Swedish students at comprehensive school and, later on, at upper secondary school.

5.1 Summary of the results of the comprehensive school section

In the group not found again at upper secondary school the autumn term of 1989, the Swedish students mention work as their main occupation to a higher degree than the immigrant students. Immigrant students have to a slightly greater extent been unemployed.

Immigrant students mention a higher degree of parental encouragement to further education. In addition, they feel slightly more comfortable with their teachers and their schoolwork, compared to the Swedish students. In particular, this applies to students with a shorter residential period in Sweden.

When comparing various immigrant groups the Norwegian, Finnish, Syrian and Danish groups present higher drop-out rates. The lowest drop-out rate is found in the Persian and Greek groups.

The highest degree of parental encouragement is mentioned in the Spanish and Persian groups; the lowest is found in the Danish and Norwegian groups. In conclusion, the Scandinavian student groups feel the least comfortable with their teachers and their schoolwork.

Students having participated in the home-language instruction and in the instruction in Swedish as a second language are in most cases pleased with the offered instruction. Those not participating in the home-language instruction explain this fact by considering the instruction to imply too much work or by considering themselves not to be in need of home-language instruction.

5.2 Summary of the results of the upper secondary school section

The comparison between the immigrant and Swedish groups indicates rather small differences. In most cases, the Swedish group places itself 0.1-0.2 points above the final marks received by the immigrant students in the different subject matters at comprehensive school.

However, there are some differences between various immigrant groups. Students from the German and Greek groups continue to a higher degree than other groups their commenced studies. The highest proportion of students having chosen 3-4-year theoretical lines is found in the German, English and Polish groups.

There are very big differences between the sexes, both in the immigrant group and the Swedish group. Throughout, girls have better marks in all subject matters but Technology and Physical Education.

The upper secondary students are also pleased with their home-language instruction and instruction in Swedish as a second language. They give the same reasons as the comprehensive school students for not participating in the home-language instruction. They refrain from participating because it implies too much additional work and because they consider themselves having a sufficiently good command of their home-language.

5.3 Summary of the causal analyses

A causal model, based on previously conducted studies, has been constructed with the purpose of studying the connections of various background factors with outcome variables. Expanded analyses of this type have been carried out in the present report. The results of a less extensive model are presented in this summary (cf page 26). The manifest variables are identical with those being used before for the factors respectively. However, the factor called "the parents' educational background"

includes only two variables, namely the length of the mother's and the father's education.

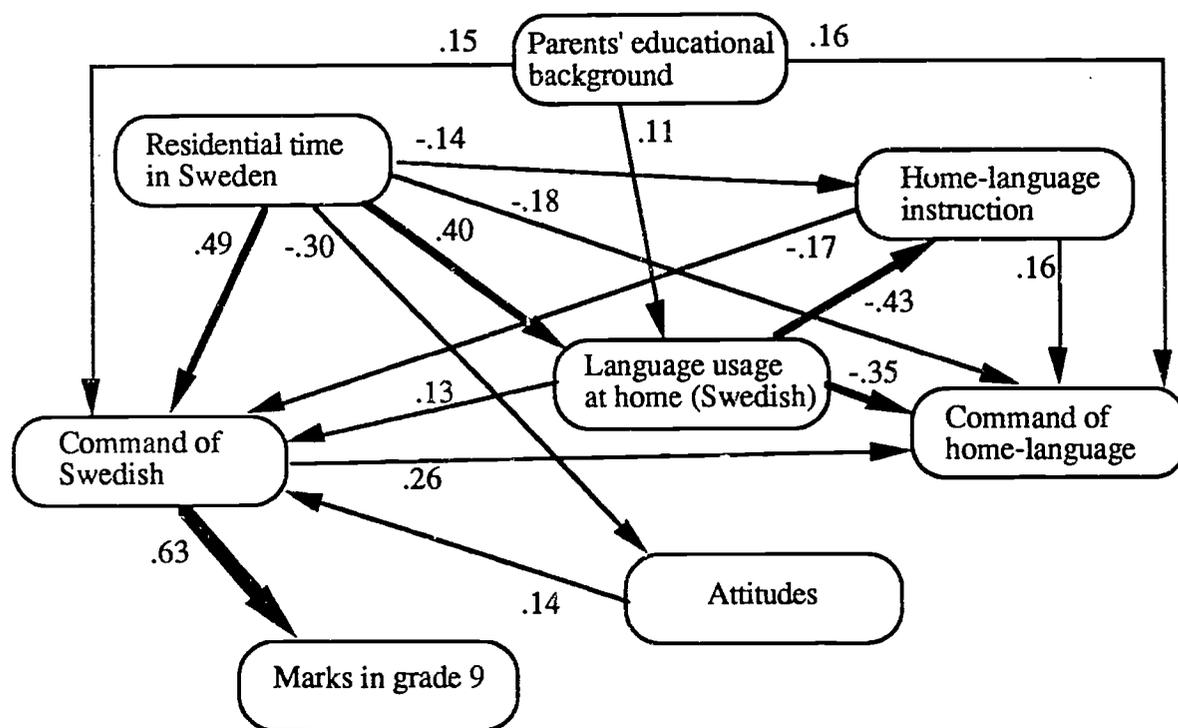


Diagram 5.1 Results of the causal analysis of the comprehensive school section data

The residential period in Sweden is strongly related to the language usage in the home environment and to the proficiency in Swedish which in itself is a prerequisite of receiving good marks in grade 9 at comprehensive school.

The most frequent users of Swedish at home are the least interested in receiving home-language instruction. In addition, the usage of Swedish between family members is related in a negative way to the students' own estimation of their home-language proficiency. It is hardly surprising that this should be the case, but it would probably be more to the purpose of the students' bilingual development if the less frequent users of their parents' mother tongue in the home environment were offered help at school by means of home-language instruction. If the family takes great stock in keeping the mother tongue alive, there should not be as great a demand for home-language instruction at school.

Participation in the home-language instruction is related merely in a slightly negative way to the proficiency in Swedish and the students' own estimation of their

home-language proficiency is not related to school results in grade 9 at comprehensive school.

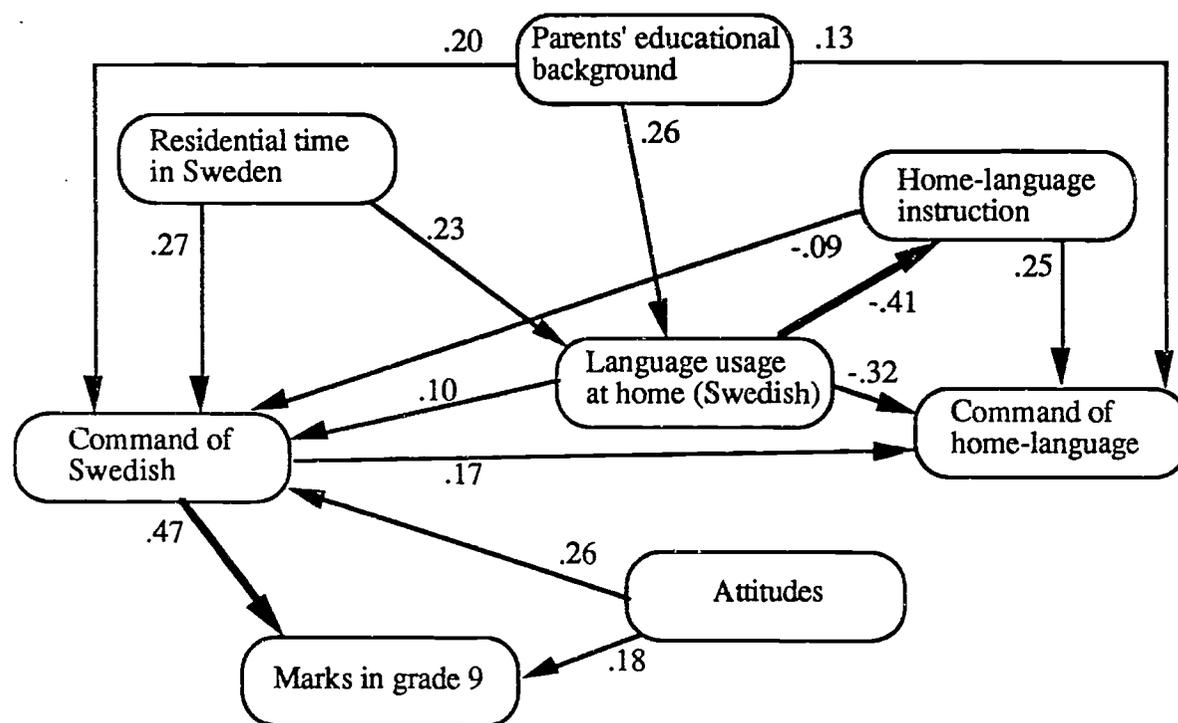


Diagram 5.2 Results of the causal analysis of the upper secondary school section data

The results of the upper secondary students are very similar to those obtained in the comprehensive school section. However, the parents' educational background is more important and the residential period in Sweden is less important concerning these adolescents. To a higher degree, the more frequent users of another home-language than Swedish have still chosen to participate in the home-language instruction at comprehensive school level. Participation in the home-language instruction and the home-language proficiency are not related to the students' achievements at school. Having a positive attitude towards the teachers and the school-work influences both the proficiency in Swedish and the marks received in other subject matters.

Based on these analyses, one may conclude that there are rather weak connections between the proficiency in Swedish and the home-language proficiency. Probably, the two languages support one another. There is still a strong relationship

between the proficiency in Swedish and the marks received in the other subjects matters, even though there are students at upper secondary school who have a sufficiently good command of Swedish in order to tackle their studies successfully.

When regarding the present study as an evaluation of the comprehensive school and the instruction of students with home-languages other than Swedish, one may declare that we have managed rather well in handling most immigrant students. Nevertheless, adolescents who arrive in grades 7-9 at comprehensive school find themselves in a critical situation. Furthermore, one may conclude from the results of the study that it is very important that immigrant students, as soon as possible, be given the possibility to develop a proficiency in Swedish. Catching up fast with the Swedish students of the same age regarding the proficiency in Swedish does not necessarily imply a negative effect on the home-language development. The results in the present study are in conformity with those arrived at in various earlier studies. There is much evidence confirming the positive aspects of bilingual development, of developing both the home-language and the majority language (Löfgren, 1986). The teaching of Swedish as a second language by qualified teachers is of great importance to many immigrant students, in particular to those having resided in Sweden a short period of time. This instruction may give them better opportunities to tackle their studies successfully later on. Nevertheless, there are still many students who are not offered the instruction needed in order that they succeed at school.

School success is not greatly influenced by the home-language instruction. On the other hand, there are other reasons for supporting this kind of instruction. In today's global society there is a great need for a lingual and cultural competence. Consequently, we should take advantage of the competence of our immigrants in a more positive way. With this in mind, it might be more to the point to increase and improve home-language instruction and to increase the assessment of qualification of lingual and cultural competence. In conclusion, a quotation from a report on bilingual teaching of immigrant children, published more than ten years ago:

"The positive results obtained by the project's bilingual teaching model has led us to support the researchers who advocate teaching in the mother tongue in pre-school and compulsory school. However, we wish to dissociate ourselves

from those arguments, for teaching in the mother tongue, which attempt to frighten parents into choosing mother tongue-teaching by threatening emotional and intellectual under-development in those children who do not receive mother tongue-teaching.

Teaching in the mother tongue does not seem to have the magical effect on the children's development, for good or ill, which it has sometimes been ascribed. Rather, we consider mother tongue-teaching to be a human right. A child should not need to be cut from his cultural inheritance, nor feel estranged from his cultural group or family. Furthermore, bilingual teaching doesn't seem to have a negative effect on other skills. Therefore, why should children be monolingual when they obviously are capable of being bilingual?" (Löfgren & Ouvinen, 1980 p. 103).

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Abstract card

Löfgren, H. Immigrant Students in Sweden: A Comparative Study Between Different Immigrant Groups and a Sample of Swedish Students. Educational and Psychological Interactions (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 109, 1991.

The main objective of the present study is to gain information about the success of the Swedish 9-year compulsory comprehensive school for students with home-language other than Swedish. Immigrant adolescents and a sample of Swedish students were requested not more than two years after completed 9-year compulsory education to answer a mailed questionnaire discussing amongst other questions their lines of study after comprehensive school, the students' views on the home-language instruction and on the instruction in Swedish as a second language. The sizes of some of the immigrant groups are large enough to enable a comparison between language groups. An important objective is to try to look at the development of the immigrant students in an overall perspective and to seek potential causal relationships between some chosen background factors, the children's social home environment, language usage, home-language instruction and study success.

Keywords: Home-language instruction, immigrant students, nine-year compulsory school, program evaluation, upper secondary school.

Reference card

Löfgren, H. Immigrant Students in Sweden: A Comparative Study Between Different Immigrant Groups and a Sample of Swedish Students. Educational and Psychological Interactions (Malmö, Sweden: School of Education), No. 109, 1991.