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An exploration in psychology of culture

-a phenomenological study with immigrants in Sweden

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Abstract

We have been inspired by the existing concepts in the field of cultural psychology. With our empirical research we want to explore their eventual relevance in the life-world of immigrants in Malmö, with a phenomenological approach. We have used concepts mainly coming from J.W.Berry's works. He uses concepts like acculturation-strategy, majority/minority culture, and dominant/non-dominant culture, among others. We did a study in two schools, Lernia and Världens Hus, as we saw them as key-environments. We asked one question, about what kind of directions they would give to a newcomer to Sweden. The result we got from our 33 participants was very big and rich, but we analysed all of it in the Minerva-program. We found very positive attitudes towards Sweden, and a will to learn the language, but this does not necessarily include identification with the country, or a will for it.

Key words: Acculturation, Culture, Integration, Phenomenology, Psychology

<i>Abstract</i>	2
<i>Introduction</i>	4
Our purpose	4
Presentation of the authors	4
Earlier cultural research: Basic concepts	5
The question of identity	11
Previous research in this field	13
Phenomenology	15
Getting into the cultural thought	15
Our contact with the municipality of Malmö	17
The ground of our study	17
<i>Method</i>	20
Indwelling	20
Field study	21
Formulating a question	21
Handing-out situation at Världens Hus	22
Handing-out situation at Lernia	23
Translating	23
Analysis	24
Meaning Units	24
Modalities	24
Entities	27
The analysis in Minerva	28
How we reached our results	28
Discussion of Method	28
Could our findings be inter-subjective or even objective?	28
Would other researchers reach the same results?	29
Is our work valid?	29
<i>Result</i>	30
Handbook for reading the result	30
Chart 1-8	30
Analysis P1, P6, P8, P13, P17, P28, P33	35
<i>Discussion</i>	45
The most obvious result	45
The Concepts embodied in our result	45
What is acculturation	45
What is integration	46
What is assimilation	47
Giving cultures names	48
Cultural status	49
Implicit attitudes	50
Circumstances of acculturation	50
Is a comparison positive?	50
Men and Women	51
Comparison between schools	53
Comparison between afghans and Arabs	54
Practical implications	55
Theoretical implications	55
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	55
<i>Literature</i>	56
<i>Appendix</i>	58

Introduction

Our purpose

There are some questions that have been following us through our studies, that have been striking us in our daily life, and attracting us in some theories we have studied. These are questions concerning the psychology of culture.

Foucault, Husserl and Berry (Moustakas 1994) have done significant work in this field, but still there are great discoveries to be made. As the culture affects the whole life-world of a person, (Moustakas 1994) and there are not so many united theories binding the science together, we wanted to let some concepts lead us in an exploration in their field.

First we want to try to both get free from our apriori, preconceived assumptions, and reveal how they are colouring our thoughts. And secondly to go further in the work of thought, with these concepts that we have met in our studies, to explore the life-world of the participant's of our study and see if there is applications of the theoretical concepts.

To let you know what concepts we think of we could just quote some examples like minority- and majority-culture (Berry 2002 p.357), dominant and non-dominant culture (Berry 2002 p.356), cultural identity (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), cultural status (Berry 2002 p.351) and acculturation-process (Berry 2002 p.350), we will explain them later on.

We chose to make a study in a schooling environment (SFI-Swedish For Immigrants), as it is the first ground where many immigrants meet Swedish culture. This is not only because its is natural for them to go there, but it is a somewhat compulsory step for them here, in the town of Malmö where we live. (Malmö Kommunfullmäktige 1999)

We hope to perceive these concepts, or the lack of them, in practice and want to explore what is happening in the life-world of the pupils involved in the acculturation-process.

Presentation of the authors

We feel that we have to remind you that our personalities and our opinions will be the projecting power in our study, in every choice we are facing. To account for this we have used a concept called intentionality, based on Husserl's thoughts: he says that the consciousness always is directed towards something, all actions has a goal (Sages lecture 1). Further on Hanna Arendt (1961) writes about the condition of the modern

man and the essence of action. She writes that all things that enters the human world or all things that the human creates, will take part in the human condition (the human condition p 44). Therefore we want to start by presenting us and let you, as reader be aware of our background and hopefully reach an understanding of us as writers. To reinforce the arguments for doing so we would like to point at the postmodernist scientific tradition as they are used to introduce the authors (Maykut, & Morehouse. 1994).

I, Josef, am deeply moved by the cultural question as I have been living in both Sweden and Tunisia. I have experienced that often more than we want to confess in our life is bound to different cultural issues. I have also been living in an area, Kroksbäck in Malmö, Sweden, where the cultural mix is very exciting, Afghanis, Palestinians, Iraqis ex-Yugoslavians and so on are living close to each other and sharing common space under the Swedish flag. I have also seen by close the work of teaching Swedish to immigrants in a special way as both my parents are involved in leading a school, were we have performed the first part of our study. I am also involved in an evangelical church that has visions of being inclusive to all cultures.

I, Karl am as a citizen of the town of Malmö interested in the different issues that arise around immigrants and culture. And although I fulfil the minimum requirements for being an immigrant to Sweden by having lived abroad, in Denmark and London England, I was born and raised in Sweden and in the Swedish culture, thus my immigrant status is irrelevant. Nevertheless I have for many years nurtured an interest in the essence of culture.

Earlier cultural research: Basic concepts

The roots of our concepts mainly dig in the soil of the works of John Berry. He has developed fascinating theories in the subject of acculturation, raising many questions we were inspired to go on and search understanding for. We have mostly read his book *Cross-Cultural Psychology, Research and applications* (Berry John.W, Poortinga Ype H., Segall Marshall H., Dasen Pierre R... 2nd ed. 2002, Cambridge)

Culture As we have worked with lot of literature having different more or less explicit definitions of culture it has been hard formulate something defining the concept. For over one 100 years many scholars have tried to discern in words what culture actually is, and we have chosen not to

get into a too narrow definition but rather point at an area in the question to the participants, and then discuss the concepts and see what is relevant to them they mean.

But what could be helpful would be to discern some near concept that still has important difference from culture. First the ethnicity is rather bound to the actual “physical” origins. Further on the nationality is a more official belonging “on the paper”.

When we talk about culture we rather mean the mostly socially inherited behaviours and ways of life that is common in a group of people but differs from other groups.

Enculturation We all have a culture, since childhood we are taught directly and subliminally how to think and act, that is the process of enculturation (Berry & co 2002 p.349). Things have to be done in our surrounding and in our life, how we do them is bound by cultural questions. Just think of the practical need of food that is a tremendous example of how culture emerges from and influences us in our daily life.

Acculturation According to Berry, (Berry & co 2002 p.349) there is not such a thing as unicultural societies; there is no society with one culture, one language, and one religion, anywhere else than in the dreams of some of people. Consequently we are facing a variety of cultures different from ours, which is the process of acculturation. A process where enculturated, learned values gets opposed with new values from some other cultures. This bends us to face different questions, to handle problems, which result in different acculturation-strategies. (Berry & co 2002 p.357) There are practical long-term consequences of the different theoretical approaches, such as the identification and the experience of the self that can have destructive effects. As many processes often are subconscious, it is even more important to consider them with care.

Dominant culture and none-dominant culture There are some aspects that one must be aware of, even if cultures are often consciously thought of as equal, there is rarely a freedom from more or less hidden hierarchy of status in the cultures. Berry & co writes that in the practice of two cultures meeting each other, one culture always tends to dominate the other (Berry & co 2002 p.357). A

categorization of the cultures is deriving from this, in dominant and non-dominant cultures. (Berry & co 2002 p.356) The effects of this distinction are of course important in the mutual effects on two meeting cultures.

- The status culture We find these cited questions tremendously interesting, as we feel it is true that even as we are consciously trying to consider all cultures as equivalent, there are different, positive and negative cultural status (Berry & co 2002 p.358). There is an implicit discrimination that is sometimes very hard to uncover (Lahlou 2000). It can be painful to accept that it is hard not having a form of racist attitude. This is not a happy thought, and we really see a need for understanding all these subconscious processes, and partial intentions coming as consequences of other thoughts that are at the base of such attitudes.
- The Individual/ Psychological level and the cultural-group level Berry is clear about parting up the acculturation process into two dimensions, that must be studied in different ways, it is the individual/psychological level and the cultural/group level, (Berry & co 2002 p.360), even if the two sides has many similarities in different processes. This question does not only imply how we humans are reacting differently in different situations, but as we understand Berry he is saying (Berry & co 2002 p.361) that the interaction between groups of different culture is not the same as the acculturation on the personal level. This raises questions of what is happening in the Life-World of an individual involved in an acculturation process on his own, or together with a group. Later on in this chapter we will treat more the subject of identity, which is central in these questions.
- Unconscious attitude Even as some question may in some way be frightening, as they are big, or could implicate disturbing thoughts, we think that it is important to consider them consciously, not to give too much space to the unconscious attitudes. It may be questions as if there is something as bad and good cultures, (Berry & co 2002 p.358) or bad parts of culture and good parts. And when Berry quotes these concepts of dominant and non-dominant cultures what does it implicate and what are the effects. Is a dominant culture a culture that spreads easily, as the Mac Donald

culture, or is it culture that is in a quantitative majority in a special environment, speaking about numbers of people. (Sages lecture-notes2) There are also cultures that seem to have a greater impact than others, or where the power is, consider the example the apartheid in South Africa, and the power-dominant white, Anglo-Dutch culture, and the number-dominant African tribe culture. (Sages lecture-notes2) These are questions that we must leave unanswered for the moment, and go on, but the thoughts may return later in our reasoning.

Circumstances of acculturation In the process of acculturation there are some factors strongly influencing the outcome, that the authors (Berry & co 2002 p.347) summarize in three opposite circumstances. First if the meeting of culture is voluntarily or forced, these levels may seem easy to define but we feel that it could be hard, as we guess that life is more complicated and while finding oneself in such a situation it is maybe more about costs, risks and opportunities. This would mean that a meeting could be voluntary as the other choice could be one worse, or just a risky situation. But it would still be involuntary as what the person would have preferred would be to go on with the life he used to have. Still we understand the need for simplification in the quantitative research and theories Mr. Berry and co. are involved in (Berry & co 2002 p.347).

Further on, the second circumstance is whether the meetings take place on home ground or on settled ground, which means in visiting or hosting meetings. This is a question of identification that could implicate a similar praxis as the first question, as it may be easier to just answer it after the conscious thoughts, but the identification is also a complicated process where we will dig deeper later in this chapter. The third circumstance is whether the meeting is thought of as permanent or temporary, (Berry & co 2002 p.347) which may be very close to the first circumstance, and have the same implications of complexity to define in the practical life-world of an individual.

Pull factor and push factor Further on there are some theories that can be really important concerning the fact that there are some other dimensions to that

interferes, the authors continues to refer to something they call “pull factor”, that is what attracts people to the new society which usually is stronger than the “push factor” that is what pressures persons to leave their country. (Berry & co 2002 p.348)

Cultural Distance Finally there are some things one has to think of, that might seem obvious while reading it but could be forgotten during the process. It is the concept of cultural distance. As you must have experienced cultures might be more or less different from each other, this is what the cultural distance puts words on.

Following these quoted factors are emerging what we have understood as the center in Dr. Berry’s theories: The different acculturation strategies. These are bowing to the answers to two dualistic questions, with either a yes- or no answer, about the position towards the two concerned cultures. These perspectives may feel very simplistic if one tries to reach an understanding for the meaning in the life-world in the life of a real person. It could be somewhat unrealistic to think that there would be either only a positive attitude towards a culture in which one has grown up or been moving to live in. We think that there would be many partial intentions and voices dragging the person involved in an acculturation-process to have alternating and even contradictive attitudes towards something as big as the concept of a culture. An example could be the situation of Muslim women who meets the new culture with a bigger freedom, but also values about woman’s ideal that is contradicting their religious and cultural values. Then the conscious attitude is divided, how complicated should not the unconscious feelings be then?

The result is however in the Berry-Theories four general categories, or four extremes, summarized in four words in the dimension and an ethno-cultural group meeting, Integration, Separation, Assimilation, and Marginalisation. (Berry & co 2002 p.354, referring to Berry 1970, 1974, 1980, 2002)

Integration Integration is the result of a positive attitude towards the two cultures involved in the meeting, a preserving of the old traditions and values at the same time as there is an interest and an adaptation to the new society in an example of a immigrant situation. We get the feeling that this is the good way to handle the acculturation according to Berry (Berry & co 2002 p.354). In practice we see a cultural mix, in the same time

enriching each other, but we ask if this meeting would implicate a loosening of some parts, as contradicting elements in the culture could maybe not coexist.

There is also a society level of acculturation-strategies, when a group of people or a society (dominant- or non-dominant culture) could adapt a positive holding to both culture involved. Then they would accept an integrationist policy that would create a multicultural society. Canada, New Zealand and Australia are good models for this point, as clear multicultural ideologies are written in the constitutional foundations.

Separation Separation occurs when, in the example of the immigration, the immigrant keeps a positive attitude and answer to the culture of origin, but refuses to meet the new values and culture. This seems like a bad option in the theories we are reading about, but could this not be a necessary stage, or a part of one, in any longer process of acculturation? Separation would be the escape from the difficulties and requirements involved in the acculturation.

While this attitude is accepted and the norm for the policy of a dominant society the result is segregation. At the extremity the example of this theory is the South African Apartheid as they legislated the separation of the different cultures. (Berry & co 2002 p.354)

Assimilation Assimilation is the result of a negative answer to the culture of origin and a positive attitude to the new attitude. That creates society called melting pot, when the immigrant would try to, or would be demanded to, become just like the other citizens. The thoughts guiding the immigrations-policy in the early United States of America where many times assimilationistic, as they gave new immigrants new American names. We wonder if a hierarchy exists in the mind of a society that is more homogenous the explicit (outspoken) or implicit (partial intentions told indirectly) demands automatically are put on the newcomers to adapt, no matter what the attitude may be to immigration. (Berry & co 2002 p.354)

Marginalisation Marginalisation happens when both questions result in a negative answer, both the new and old culture are neglected. For example if an

immigrant feels rejected from his culture and meets discrimination in the new culture. In larger scale this would create a society of exclusion. (Berry & co 2002 p.354)

One can think of the acculturation categories as a strategy directed of the dominant culture, but still it is important to remember that the will of both parts are important. The dominant culture can reach out their hand and ask for a relationship of integration but is dependent on the interest from the non-dominant culture to manage to realize that. It may sound evident that there is a mutual dependency for an acculturation-process, but we experience that the inter-dependency is easily forgotten. The dominant culture too has to be open for influence. This is very complex psychological and social process, to give some depth to this we would like to cite Heidegger that writes about our way as humans to see ourselves as the things that we are not (Sages lecture2).

The question of Identity

One of the questions we find most inspiring is the complex question of cultural identity, which Berry & co. treats still in their book *Cross-Cultural Psychology, Research and applications*. Just as we have written previously there are many similarities between the group/cultural level and the individual/psychological level. The two dimensions have also been referred to as civic and ethnic identity. (Khalin & Berry 1996)

We want to start by quoting a definition of the ethnic identity according to Dasgupta (1998)

A part of self concept that consciously anchors an individual to a particular ethnic group; central to this identity is a sense of belonging, as well as a commitment to the groups values, beliefs behaviors, conventions and customs

We find this definition interesting as it marks a difference between the conscious anchors, and leaves a space for the unconscious, that we feel tempted to think of as an important part in the process of identification. (Heidegger 1927)

First the maintenance of ones culture, and second the interaction with persons from other cultures.

Carmel Camilleri and Malewaska-Peyre (1997) are representing a European research and some theories that have many similarities but still some differences from the

American theories. They write about an important differentiation between the “value identity” and the “real identity”. These ideas may be drawn to the same tension that is created between the attitudes and the conscious thoughts that a group or culture may have, and the real behavior or hidden status that exists in relation to “the other”.

The author’s point out that these categorizing has much in common with the four acculturation-strategies quoted in the previous subchapter, and the two dualistic questions that brings that dividing. Also these dimensions are referred to as mirroring Berry’s theories of acculturations-strategies. When the young Muslim immigrant in France (where **Camilleri** made his research) faces the opposition between the values of the parents and the French peers, they are often facing this dualistic question of how to relate to the both cultures meeting. But there are further thoughts splitting up the four categories, as a young immigrant can say yes to both the new and the old culture, but in different situations, and keeps them split up, in a sort of “chameleon identity.” But of course this brings problems in the long run (dissociation), and often these persons are forced to either join them and be different in both or deny one of them.

Berry and co. also refers to Tajfel’s work (1978 p.63) on a “Social identity Theory” (SIT) pointing on the cognitive and emotional importance of being attached to a social group, that interferes with the cultural contacts. Tajfel states that social identity is

“That part of an individual’s self concept witch derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.”

There are some further aspects Tajfel writes about, as the need for a positive self-image, how one uses the social comparison to build this confidence, the consequences are of course disastrous as the cultural meeting becomes the area of chasing bad-looking groups to compare ones own social group.

To bring some further depths to our thoughts we want to consider the works of Mikhail Bachtin. He is the origin of the expression of a dialogical self, which has given birth to a school that refers to the split personality we all may experience, that there is like different voices directing us. This may sound strange but we feel inspired by these thoughts and want to search more into them, as he says they may either be internalized

voices from persons that has had an impact on us. They may also be voices we build up out of different motives, more or less conscious horizons in our life that lies at the ground of our view of the world that surrounds us and (Rabelais and the history of Laughter).

Previous research on this field

As we are doing our studies in some special circumstances we feel it is important to refer to some of the research done in this same town of Malmö, and the school-world of the immigrants. As these works are mainly done in the pedagogical and literacy field, we will treat some issues of the psychology of language and literacy. This feels extremely important, once again as we are living in such a different culture and circumstances from the persons taking part in our study.

According to **Mörnerud** (2004), and **Mathias Blob** (2002) who have written a thesis in pedagogy that is specifically telling about “**Världens Hus**” one of the schools where we did our study, there are other important cultural factors than the specific nation-culture in the meeting of acculturation, such as experience of the school-environment. Those dimensions may be specifically hard for us to understand, as we in our Swedish, or western culture almost always have a background of at least twelve years in school, but the research defines it as decisive the Life-World of the pupils. Examples of consequences are the implicit knowledge, that is totally normal for us, that defines the different roles and expected behaviours of the teachers and the pupils, and so on.

We must confess that it is sometimes hard to free ourselves from preconceptions about the life of illiterates. Life can be meaningful, rich and contain wisdom without a written language; a point **Mörnerud** is very clear about. She continues with referring to some earlier research on the cognitive capacities of illiterates, **Sachs** (1985) who did a work on the abstract, and symbolic processes in writing and reading.

Especially as we now are performing our studies in a school-environment it is important to see that, as **Mörnerud** and **Blob** write, that many are as little used to the school-culture as they are to the Swedish culture, and may be involved in processes of learning how to act in different situations, or may just be confused. A lack of insight in those perspectives from our side may have very negative consequences for the research and the Life-World of the pupils.

There are also important dimensions as **Mörnerud** focuses at, with the cognitive and social consequences of illiteracy. Primarily, it can be connected too much shame,

(Modersmålsbaserad undervisning p.36). Especially as we are so unused to meet illiterate people in Sweden it may be socially hard to be put in a situation when one is demanded to write. Secondly the writing implicates schooling into a symbolic thinking, and is teaching us to structure our thoughts in a special way. (Modersmålsbaserad undervisning p.36)

These thoughts oblige us to take a small deviation back into the general cultural research, as the thought of language is a great part of culture. Much of these symbols that language hides contains values and foundations of the thoughts. A great part of the new and old cultural research is, may be of practical reasons, founded in studies of the language (Matsumoto) as cultural values can be hard to reach in other ways. The meaning that we put into words and the way we handle this meaning is at the foundation of the phenomenological research methods and has implication that can unveil deep implicit attitudes and the foundations of our life-world. This is why we believe that being forced to learn the language of when coming to a new country is already a step towards the one-way acculturation that Berry calls assimilation. (Berry p.354)

Further on, if we continue with the research done in the town of Malmö on the immigration, we have read a small essay, by **Eriksson** (2004) treating the causes of the high rate of absence, in the adult schools and especially in the SFI (Swedish for immigrants) classes. She has a long experience in teaching classes in Swedish for new-beginners. Her essay is interesting as it addresses the effects of what is generally seen as the problem of segregation and as you read was the major problem of the municipality of Malmö. But her perspectives are generally not ours as she is treating more practical issues and searching for some explanation in more concerning practical life as reasons of the higher rate of absence, as the life situation that includes the less voluntary choice of going back to the school bench, and the rest of life that is not as optimal as in other school situations in Sweden as high age or birth of children. The closest she comes to the eventual cultural reasons that we would be interested in is the eventual satisfaction of the older woman with their role as mothers bringing up the children, and the eventual problem of honour for men as they may feel infantilized as they are asked to return to the studying.

She is discussing from a teachers perspective, and chose to ask teachers to do some research among their pupils. But we really missed the cultural perspective, and the care

for the special situation that is created when a teacher ask questions to the pupils concerning their absence.

Phenomenology

We feel that we have to go on and give some honour to the thinkers that has paved the scientific paths we are walking. Phenomenology was initiated by **Edmund Husserl**, at the dawn of the 20th century, with the purpose of shedding light on how the world can be perceived. A central idea of phenomenology is that the context of an object, material or immaterial, is essential to understand or explain it (*Moustakas 1994*). Meaning that an object seen by a certain person in a specific context is essentially not the same as the same object seen by another person or in another context. Even if it is the same object in the physical world.

There are several reasons why the phenomenological approach is suitable for studying culture and the process of acculturation. One important factor in the study of cultures is that the scientist is much like everyone else under the influence of culture. This is in phenomenology dealt with in the phenomenological reduction, which starts in the *epochè*. The *epochè* and the phenomenological reduction is about disregarding all previous knowledge and supposition to see something as it really is, returning to things themselves. To do this one not only describes the external object but also the intentional act of consciousness. Intentionality, noesis and noema are closely related as a part of phenomenology. Intentionality is an approach to consciousness that views conscious thought in such a way that it is always directed towards something. Noesis and noema are closely intertwined; noesis is the continuous act of experiencing and noema is the more static image of the object. Also the phenomenological approach is very well suited for use in a explorative study.

Getting into the cultural thought

As we have worked with lot of literature having different more or less explicit definitions of culture it has been hard formulate something defining the concept. For over one 100 years many scholars have tried to discern in words what culture actually is, and we have chosen not to get into a to narrow definition but rather point at an area in the question to the participants, and then discuss the concepts and see what is relevant to them they mean. But what could be a help is to discern some near concept that still has important difference from culture. First the ethnicity is rather bound to the

actual “physical” origins. Further on the nationality is a more official belonging “on the paper”. When we talk about culture we rather mean the mostly socially inherited behaviours and ways of life that is common in a group of people but differs from other groups.

As we, researchers and writers, are belonging to a specific culture, and even further to that dominant culture the participant’s are meeting we felt the urgent need for precautions and help to uncover our own preconceptions and prejudices. This is even more accentuated since we are building on phenomenological concepts, and searching for understanding of the individuals involved in our work, but the details of what this implicates is something we will explain later on.

We have taken some inspiration too from **Mörling’s** book, “*Färgresan*” which is certainly interesting and inspiring book about the meetings of different cultures. Her writings helped us to get more conscious about some different aspects in the process of acculturation. She writes about her own experience as she had been living in Egypt for 13 years, and then she has been teaching immigrants in Sweden for 14 years. She helped us to relativise some of our own cultural background. After all it is so easy to forget that we to are a part of the dominant culture.

She tells about a striking example of the relationship between a small Swedish emigration target in Spain, and their relationship with the Spanish authorities and surrounding people. The Spanish responsible for integration in that area cited that no group of people were as uninterested and hard to integrate with the rest of the population. (Mörling 2004, p21-23) This fact gives a new perspective on the fact that it is the Swedes that are going to tell the newcomers how to integrate, and the result, the eventual integration, depends on both the way the welcoming societies relation to their own culture, and how they meet the other cultures. This could have tremendous influence on the life-world of the immigrants in Sweden, as it mostly is Swedes that has created the schools and systems of integration, and are standing in the power-position of a teacher role.

Mörling goes on by quoting some theories of different stages in the process of acculturation, which we find very useful. She says that there is first a tourist-stage, then a cultural shock stage, divided in some sub-stages, and finally the goal the balance-

stage. We find this inspiring, and would very much go on with research and exploration that would give more understanding to these processes.

Our contact with the municipality of Malmö

As we proceeded in our thoughts building up our study we turned to the responsible, Britta Ström and Gunilla Håkansson (headmaster of SFI) for the integration group, to ask questions about what problem they face, and if they would have some preferences to guide us. Their main problem they formulated to us was the high rate of drop out from the given, and some time compulsory courses.

They provided us with some interesting documents, among other the summary of an action from the government (Storstadssattsning). This meant to make a change in Rosengård, the biggest “immigrant area” in Malmö. There the unemployment is at the highest rate, and other social problems follow. Its written by four persons active in the protect, Alan Ali, Benny Carlson, Per Broomé and Pieter Bevelander. They report much that is generally interesting to read while speaking of problems of acculturation, but what is more relevant to our study is that the cultural concepts are handled with care.

The ground of our study

“Världens Hus” is the school where we started our study, there are 100 pupils, 10 teachers, and almost all are Muslims, from three language-groups. First there is the Pashtu group (with some Dari to, from Afghanistan); Then the Arabic group (mainly from Iraq and Palestine, but also some from Morocco and Lebanon); And finally the Albanian group (from Kosovo).

Världens Hus was started by Hyllie Park Folkhögskola, another school for adults in south Malmö. But the course for immigrants started through an initiative from the regional office in a part of Malmö called Hyllie. They searched for key persons in these three quoted groups to employ them and try to deal with some segregational problems, as well as teach Swedish. But rapidly cooperation was started with a free school for adults, Hyllie Park Folkshögskola, who now has taken charge of the whole project. There has been much interest in the work of Världens Hus, nationally and internationally, from educational institutions as well from the government. It is unique in Sweden as that they are using the mother tongue to teach Swedish mainly illiterate immigrants. This has proved to be efficient, contradicting previous practices. Often the

pupils have been living a longer period in Sweden without managing to learn Swedish or integrate into society. Almost all of them have had some time at Lernia, which is the second school where we made our study.

There are five different steps in Världens Hus where the course-takers are placed according to their knowledge in Swedish, and they go to the next step individually when they are ready and know enough. In the fifth grade the three language-groups meet in a commune class and the teachers helps each-other to teach, there are Swedish teachers responsible for teaching computers, the social science and so on, but they mainly have the higher grades.

They have just got one more building for the teaching, another 200 m² added to the 400 m² they had before. This first place is four apartments on the bottom floor of an eight floor high apartment building. The whole school is located in Kroksbäck, an area where most of the pupils are living.

Lernia is the second school where we went for our study, it is a company that involves in *competence training (kompetensutveckling)* and providing recruitment (*bemanning*), they are the leading actor on the Swedish market of *competence provision (kompetensförsörjning)*, and have many similar schools all over Sweden. The city of Malmö has given Lernia commission to hold introduction and Swedish courses for newly arrived immigrants. The education follows the national SFI, Swedish for Immigrants, program and thereby the education is somewhat formed and controlled by Swedish national standards. The definition of newly arrived is in this case someone who has been in Sweden for less than three years. Students are accepted at several different points around the whole year because according to the law no one should be made to wait on this kind of education for more than three months.

This particular Lernia school has about 100 teachers and it is interesting that only half of those are recruited with respect to their experience as teachers and the other 50 on the basis if their experience in a particular field of work. This second group is then given responsibility of teaching students with the same kind of work history. Thus the students are divided into groups according to what their professional and educational experience is; usually those with higher education are grouped more on basis of this fact than their respective profession. This model is created to give to the immigrants a possibility to form informal networks within their field of work in Sweden. So the students are of mixed nationality, age and gender.

It is a large school with approximately 1300 students. These are divided into three main categories, target group one with 300 students who have no education, target group two with 500 students who have primary education but no higher education and target group three with 300 students who have higher education. There are also some smaller groups for example people with different kinds of disabilities and a group for people with PTS (post traumatic stress).

We do not know if this spread of educational level of immigrants is representative of the city of Malmö, or if some selection has been made to aim at or if the number of students is adapted to the number of people who wishes to study at the school. We also think that the issue of the introductory part of the course the students at the school get is somewhat clouded and would like to know more about this.

Method

Indwelling

We felt it was important for us to approach the field with care, we knew we had and still have, different values and cultural background which creates barriers in our understanding of the life-world of the participant's in our study. That is why we wanted to start by just being in the environment for a while, to talk with different persons to start trying to open our eyes and perspectives on the different ways of thinking. We want to refer to this so you as reader can get a deeper understanding of the participant's and understand our contact with them.

Soon after our arrival at Världens Hus the teachers and pupils, that were going to be at the lesson, started to drop in. Not all really in time. They ended up being three teachers and about fifteen pupils. The teachers made a sincere and interested impression on us; there was an Afghani an Iraqi and a Swede. They were going to have a test, so we sat down just to observe. We could quiet rapidly see that they did not have the same test-culture as we have, not quite as individualistic as we are used to. They immediately started to talk in their own language when they got the papers. But as the mother tongue teachers where there it seemed to naturally continue in an explanation of the test as they sat grouped by language.

Soon the Swedish teacher started to explain, in meanwhile different questions, as we guess mostly concerning the words she used came to the mother-tongue teachers. It was a test in social sciences, the important thing was not the language, they repeated several times, the pupils should try to answer in Swedish, but if they didn't know some word they could answer in their mother tongue. But as they were at level five, the highest, most of what we saw was in Swedish. They showed us some questions that were about the schooling system in Sweden, about some social authority-departments.

Some days later we visited Lernia's SFI School at Valdemarsro, Malmö. We had made an appointment with Hilding Åkerman, who is administrative coordinator at Lernia. We had attended a lecture earlier that day so we traveled together by car. When we arrived at the very large building that obviously had room for many hundreds of students. After a short while Hilding met us and showed us a conference room that was in the staff part

the school with locked doors. We were offered fika (coffee and muffins implicating a good time) before we started talking.

Hilding told us about the structure of the school, the different steps in which the education and students are divided. He spoke of dividing responsibility, of exactly what services the city of Malmö were buying from the school. We got the impression that it was no easy task to cope with the pressure from different directions, one being the city of Malmö as a buyer of education, as twenty-five percent of the students were going to be moved from Lernia to a school owned by the city. He told us about the Swedish government who dictates laws for the school to follow, for example no immigrant must wait for SFI education more than three months; and finally the students who are different individuals with different needs and wishes.

A few issues arose during our discussion that we find interesting and have given consideration. For instance, what is the basis for the introductory course into the Swedish society that immigrants can have, on a philosophical as well as practical basis. Regardless of this little talk with Hilding's value for this essay we found it very interesting and it felt rewarding.

Field study

Formulating a question

We had at this point decided to conduct our research in the environment of one or more schools. These would be schools of Swedish language for immigrants. In this environment are people who are in the process of adapting to a new culture, namely the Swedish culture, and they come from many different kinds of backgrounds.

We decided that both of us would write five questions each, in all ten. From these we would then derive the question to use in the research project. This created a discussion that led to a synthesis of a few questions. (Attached in the appendix) We wanted to try to build up a confused understanding in the respondent, a feeling clear enough about the area in which we wanted to have an answer, but vague enough to let the respondents interpret and be free to read as they wanted to. Translated it is:

If you meet someone that just has arrived from the country you were born in, who never has been to school but is going to start in yours, and you are going to tell him or her how it is in Sweden. How would you do to describe

Sweden and the school? Tell us, totally freely what you think of, and what feel while reading these questions.

We considered these questions well, and performed some minor pilot studies on people who were readily accessible. We also asked peers and other researcher for ideas about what kind of question gives what kind of answer. After some discussions we added a small paragraph, giving some more freedom to the participant.

You can write in any language you feel comfortable with, and you don't have to worry about spelling or correct Swedish, as long as we can understand! You don't have to worry about anybody reading what you write; only those who are performing the study.

We also decided to add a table at the bottom of the page leaving some space for the respondents to fill in their age, their gender, the country they were born, the country in which their parents were born, and their first language. We were eager not to ask for their nationality, as it is a question that can be read in many ways, it could be what nationality they feel they have, what is written in their passport, you name it.

Handing-out situation: At Världens Hus

We were welcomed with open arms to Världens Hus. After an appointment they swiftly made the decision to dedicate a whole lesson to us, to make sure all pupils understood and fulfilled the report. They said it was important for them to be a part in our study and made it clear that they wanted to hear about the results too, and keep open for criticism.

We presented ourselves as students of culture in the University of Lund, as we thought that if we mentioned the topic of psychology they may influence their answer or in some way be scared to answer truthfully. Then we took some time to read and present the question, but what we actually did was only to repeat the question we had written. The question we came with was translated orally into the mother tongue of the pupils. We felt there was an open atmosphere to ask questions. There were pupils from the three language-groups, and they were all at the highest level, level five, the Arabic- and Pashtu-speaking teacher was there and Elisabeth Mörnerud the coordinator of the school.

Of course there may be some factors influencing their position to us, as intimate family-relationship.

Handing-out situation: At Lernia

The morning we went to Lernia's SFI School in Valdemarsro for the second time was crisp and clear. This time we, Karl and Josef, went to ask questions to some of the students. We had decided with an acquaintance that worked at the school, Henriika, that she was going to show us around. We met her in the lobby and guided us to two study halls of the kind where students can go to get help if they need it, so there are always one or more teachers at hand. Then Henriika Leppani had to leave us, and we were a bit worried at first since we had not communicated with the teachers which classrooms we were about to invade directly. This turned out to be no problem, the teacher was himself a university student of the social sciences and he was very helpful.

We were also a bit worried about the language level of the students. This turned out to be very low and there often was not any help we could get, although in some cases we had helpful assistant teachers translating. We had to make us understood by the few phrases we had in common with them. Luckily we had some capacities to speak English, French, Spanish, and some Arabic. But the resulting answers got quite short and were founded on some guessing. As we wanted them to write in their own language we only understood later what they wrote. As we only had the question in written Swedish, we felt we had to simplify it orally so it would be understood. This was to some extent helped by the fact that many of the students gathered in groups of nationality, so that there usually was at least one at every table, in every group, who was somewhat proficient in Swedish.

Translating

As we told the participant's that they could write in their own language almost half of them did. We got answers in Arabic, Pashtu (Afghanistan), Dari (Afghanistan), English, Spanish and French. The three last of them we felt we could do a good translation by our selves, but for the first three we contacted some friends of ours, that did not know the participant's, but came from the same cultural background. We chose to focus on the cultural knowledge and had on some occasions to compromise on the skills in Swedish, but we were understood and have confidence in the preservation of meaning and context as far as it is possible while the language is changed.

We felt that this dimension gives strength to our study, as the participant's have been able to express them selves in a language they are comfortable in. Another aspect we only understood while doing the research and while communicating with them is that

they felt empowered, and happy. This is as we understood it because they were not made dumb in trying to express themselves in a language where they may sound childish, as their knowledge of language may be such of a child.

A n a l y s i s

We have chosen to perform a meaning constitution analysis with the computer-program Minerva. The point of this program is that it helps us get an overview of how a person has written, and helps us get some partial intentions.

M e a n i n g - U n i t s

When we have been using Minerva we first split up the text in meaning-units, which is the smallest number of words containing a meaning. This is done in accordance with the *époque*, as the following example:

I am from Morocco, and some months ago I met a woman from Morocco, and I invited her to my home, then we started to talk about Sweden and the school in Sweden

The meaning units we would choose would be:

I am from Morocco

And some months ago

I met a woman from Morocco

And I invited her to my home

Then we started to talk about Sweden

And school in Sweden

M o d a l i t i e s

Secondly we categorize each meaning-unit in a number of modalities we have agreed on before. We decided to use the following:

<i>B e l i e f</i>	Belief is the modality defining how sure the writer is of what is written. The alternatives are <i>doxa-affirmation</i> ; this means that it is
Doxa-affirmation	sure that something is for sure in a defined way, an affirmed fact
Doxa-negation	(ex. I am from Morocco). <i>Doxa-negation</i> is means that it is sure
Possibility	that it is not in a special way, a negated fact (ex. I am not from
Probability	Morocco). Further on it could be in a <i>possibility</i> -mode, which
Question	means that the writer is speculating (ex. I could be from

Morocco), this is less sure than the *probability* mode (ex. I think I am from Morocco). Finally a meaning-unit can also be a *question* (ex. Am I from Morocco?).

Function

Perceptive

Signitive

imaginative

Function is the second modality, pointing at the way it is written, defining if the writer is writing founded on perceived fact, or own thoughts. When a text is written in the *Perceptive* mode it thought of as founded on the perceived according to the writer (ex. I am from Morocco). The *Signitive* mode is telling that the writer has a more openly subjective tense, searching foundation in the own thoughts (ex. I think I am from Morocco). And the *Imaginative* tense is a clearly on a speculative foundation (ex. If I would be from Morocco...). The function mode may not be absolute in one category; it can be between, or in two different categories. (Ex. I could be from Morocco e.g. perc/imag).

Time

Past

Present

Pres->fut

Pres->pas

Always-recurrent

Empty

Time is the modality defining in what tense the meaning-unit is written. It could be in the simple three time dimensions we know: *past* (ex. I was in Morocco), *present* (ex. I am in Morocco) and *future* (ex. I will be in Morocco). And further on it can be in a present tense directed towards the future, *pres->fut*. (ex. I think I will go to Morocco), or resent directed towards the past, *pres->pas* (ex. I think of when I was in Morocco) There is also a tense lifted over these tenses, the *always-recurrent* tense (ex. I could be from Morocco). And finally not all the meaning-units can be classified in a time mode, so there is also an *empty* alternative (ex. and school in Sweden).

Affects

Positive-

prospective

Negative-

prospective

Positive present

Negative present

Positive

Affect is the modality where we try to read some feelings involved in the meaning-unit. This could be one of the hardest as we are studying texts written with other cultural understanding. Anyhow the alternatives are *Positive-prospective*, this indicates a positive affect in the future, (ex. I will be happy in Morocco), *Positive-retrospective* (ex. I was happy in Morocco), and *positive-present* (ex. I am happy in Morocco). *Negative-prospective*, (ex. I will be unhappy in Morocco) *negative-retrospective* (ex. I was unhappy

retrospective	in Morocco) and <i>negative-present</i> . (ex. I am unhappy in
Negative	Morocco). Further on there are some meaning-unites apparently
retrospective	affectively <i>neutral</i> , (ex. I am from Morocco). We chose to ad a
Neutral	mode as we felt there was some difficulties to interpret, in some
Ambiguous	meaning-unites we felt there probably was an affective loading,
	but not to <i>ambiguous</i> for us to dare to classify it as such (ex. I
	wish I were in Morocco).
<i>Will</i>	<i>Will</i> is a modality we chose to keep in the study, even if we did
Engagement	not felt a tremendous use of it, but at some occasions it came to
Wish-positive	our help. It is a modality considering the activity or the
Wish-negative	involvement. The first category is <i>engagement</i> ; this is used in
Aspiration	case of an obvious engagement in the meaning-unite (ex. Then we
Unengagement	started to talk about Sweden) further on <i>wish-positive</i> is a mode
<i>None</i>	used if there is a wish for engagement (ex. I would like to go to
	Morocco), <i>wish-negative</i> is, as you would understand the
	opposite, (ex I would not like to go to Morocco), and <i>aspiration</i>
	(ex. I will go to Morocco). <i>Unengagement</i> is the lack of
	engagement (ex. I will not go to Morocco) and <i>none</i> is the mode
	we use if we cannot read of an engagement (ex. I am from
	Morocco).
<i>Subject</i>	<i>Subject</i> is a more important modality for us as it can tell about the
<i>I</i>	identification of the writer. If there is much <i>I</i> -mode we could read
We	a lack if identification, and an individualization (ex. I am from
One-all	Morocco). But if there is more of <i>we</i> -mode there is more space
None	for identification (ex. Then we started to talk about Sweden).
	There is also the possibility to write in a <i>one-all</i> mode, this points
	at generalizations and may be really interesting to study. (ex. One
	could come from Morocco).
<i>Property</i>	<i>Property</i> is a modality we did not help us much at all in
My	summarizing of the result, but we were aware of that when we
Yours	chose to keep it and classify the meaning unites anyway, as it
His	could at some point be to our help. It's meaning is as we
Her	understood to se if there is some further depth in the narration by

Its	pointing out a property mentioned. (ex. Morocco is my country)
Our	The different properties are easily found out as they just follow the old grammatical list learned in primary school, as you can read on the side of this text, and I don't think I have to quote an example for you to understand.
Theirs	
Others	
None	
<i>Acculturation</i>	
Integratoin	<i>Acculturation</i> , this is a creation of our own for this study. Our main goal with this was to start to involve the cultural thought as early as possible in the analysis. We chose to use the Berry' an principle of acculturation-strategy and try to class the meaning-units. Here we started by quoting the outcomes of a response to both the question of the "new" and "old" culture. <i>Integration</i> , (ex. I am both Moroccan and Swedish), <i>segregation</i> , (ex. I am Moroccan and don't like Swedes), <i>assimilation</i> , (ex. I am learning to become a Swede), and <i>marginalisation</i> , (ex. I am neither Moroccan nor Swede). But as the meaning-unites are short, and rarely as explicit in the both cultural relations we added some categories. They may say <i>only yes to the new culture</i> (ex. I like Sweden), <i>only yes to the old culture</i> (ex. I am Moroccan), <i>only no to the new culture</i> (ex. I don't like Sweden), <i>only no to the old culture</i> (ex. I don't like Morocco). There also in this modality it may be very hard to distinguish a clear category in what the participant is writing. Of course we had to have a <i>none</i> mode (ex. And some months ago), but we also chose to have a <i>ambiguous</i> mode (ex. Sweden is a country of rules)
Segregation	
Assimilation	
Marginalisation	
Only yes to new culture	
Only yes to old culture	
Only no to new culture	
Only no to old culture	

You may feel it is somewhat boring to read through all the accounts of modalities that we have done, but we feel it is important as they are giving the context of the entities. They are allowing us to reach deeper into the texts in search for the meaning.

Entities

The second phase of the Minerva analysis is to discern entities in the meaning-units and give them predicates that defines how they are used. Follow our thoughts in the example.

I am from Morocco, and some months ago I met a woman from Morocco

Table 1, example of entity analysis in Minerva

Meaning unite	Partial Intention	Entity	Predicate
I am from Morocco	I exist	I	That exist
	Morocco exist	Morocco	That exist
	One can be from Morocco	One	Can be from Morocco
	I am from Morocco	I	That am from Morocco
And some months ago	Months exist	Months	That exist
	Months has gone	Months	That has gone
I met a woman from Morocco	I exist	I	That exist
	I have met a woman from Morocco	I	That have met a woman from Morocco
	A woman that exist	A woman	That exist
	A woman that is from Morocco	A woman	That is from Morocco
	A woman that I have met –c (some months ago)	A woman	That I have met–c (some months ago)
	One can meet a woman from Morocco	One	Can meet a woman from Morocco

The analysis in Minerva

When the repartition into modalities and the process of structuring into entities and predicates are done the Minerva program creates a working-table. There you can categorize the meaning-units after the modalities, or have an overview over all the predicates of the entities. Here the most interesting are the repeated sentences, and the chosen entities that are specific for the study.

The Minerva program can also do charts of the used modalities and count some statistics giving an overview.

How we reached our results

As we hade a big amount of results we had a considerable amount of work to do the analysis however we decided to do the whole analysis even if we rapidly realized that we could not account for the total amount of results in this thesis.

We started by having an overview of the modalities, and write a summary. Then we made a sample of the interesting entities, those concerning culture, or some of the concepts we mentioned in the introduction.

Discussion of method

Could our findings be inter-subjective or even objective?

Some months ago there was an understanding striking us. We had been thinking of the foundations of science and the objective we should have in our work, and we were reading Maykut and Morehouse (1994) book on qualitative research. They have written

about subjectivity and objectivity, and just going to the roots of the words. We all know the meaning of object, it is a dead thing, while the subject is living. And as we are not interested in the fact that is dead but alive we are not searching for the objective facts. In the foundations of the phenomenological thoughts there are the recognition of the importance of the observer. We could say that a fact, or a noema drawn out of its content is dead. But an understood context can give a prediction or a generalization that is the outspoken goal of many scientific traditions. In that perspective our goal was never to be objective. But we think that there are general facts, inter-subjective horizons of the life-world, and this is what we have been searching for in our exploration.

Would other researchers reach the same results?

Yes and no. Probably there would be some quite different reasoning, as we explained in the introduction, we believe that our personal character has influenced this research from title to literature-index. But we also believe that if someone were given the same circumstances, or even the same answers and using the Minerva program with the same intent as we had, then the result would have been similar. But as the content was so rich it is probable that many different directions could be chosen.

Is it valid?

There are some points that give very strong validity to our study. Firstly, it is the participant self that decided what to write, we guided into a subject and into some circumstances, but it is on another scale than any questionnaire method would have. Secondly, we have had texts that the participant wrote themselves during the whole process, and if there grew any doubt of what it could mean we have always been able to go back to their own words and then be clear to you as reader about that, as it is the texts that has guided us through the whole work. Thirdly, we came with an explorative mind, not with a special question to answer, it was an interest that drove us, not a presumption whose level of relevance in the life-world of the participant's is hard to tell. Fourthly, we have been eager in our wish to create openness in all our thoughts and ways of acting in our method so you reader really has felt invited in our study, to participate in the exploration, or criticize it.

Chart 2, modality of affect.

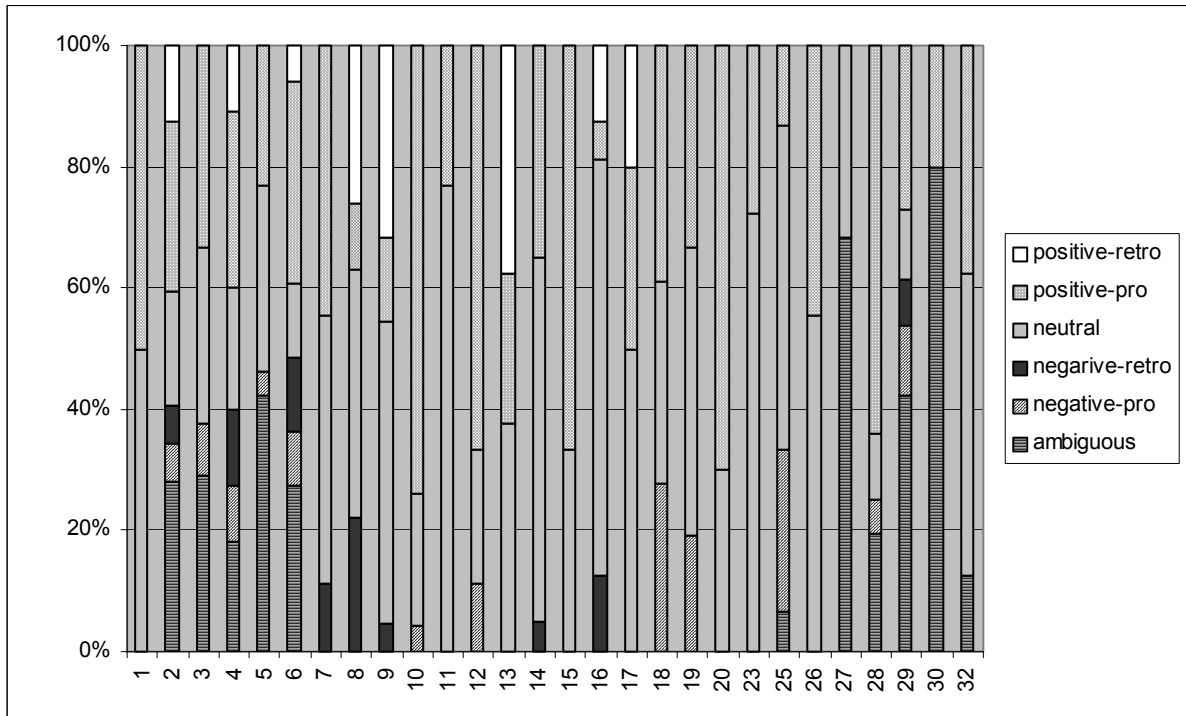


Chart 3, modality of belief

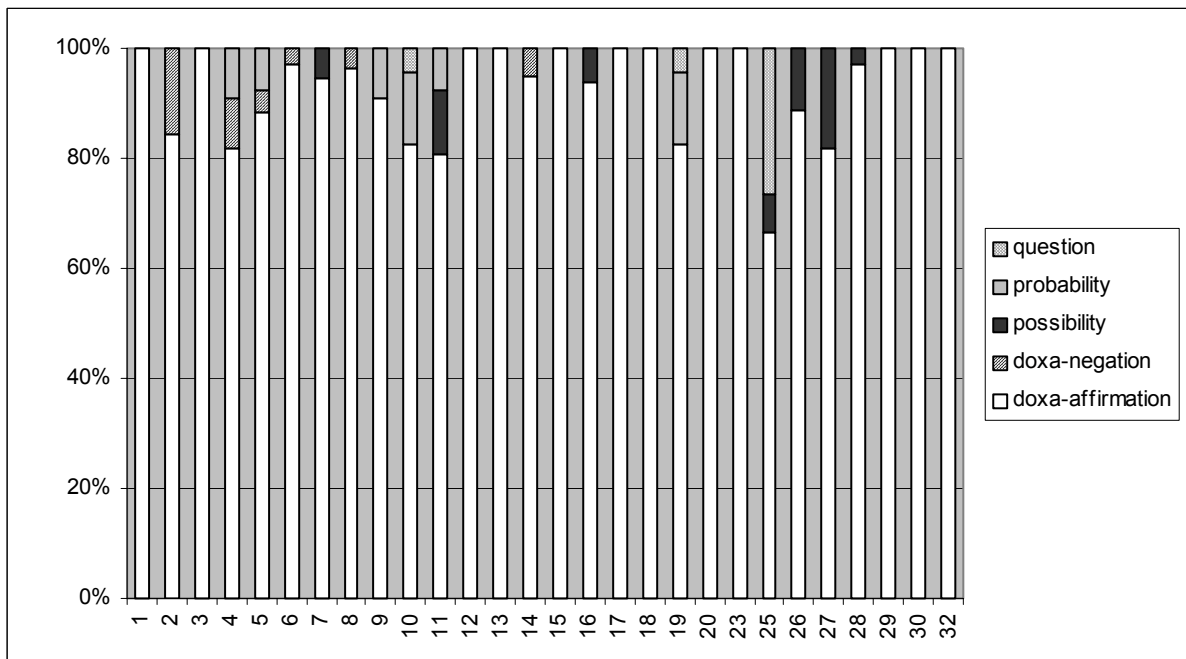


Chart 4, modality of function.

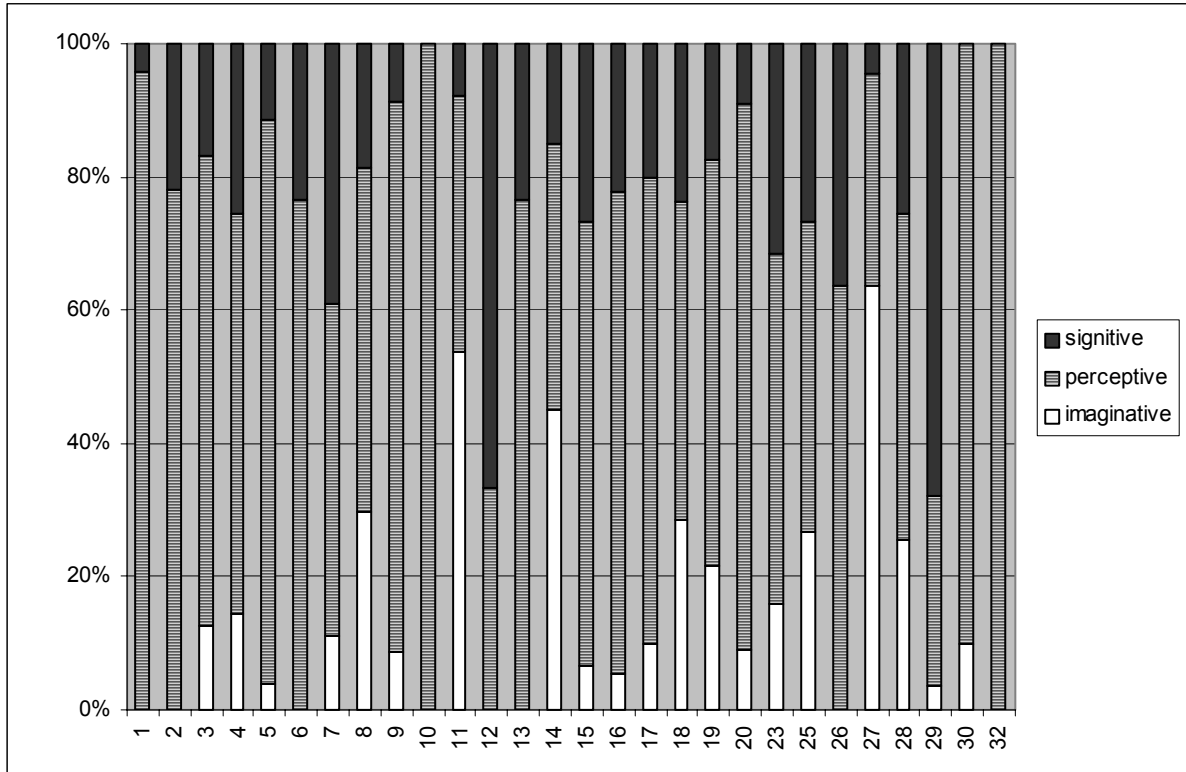


Chart 5, modality of property.

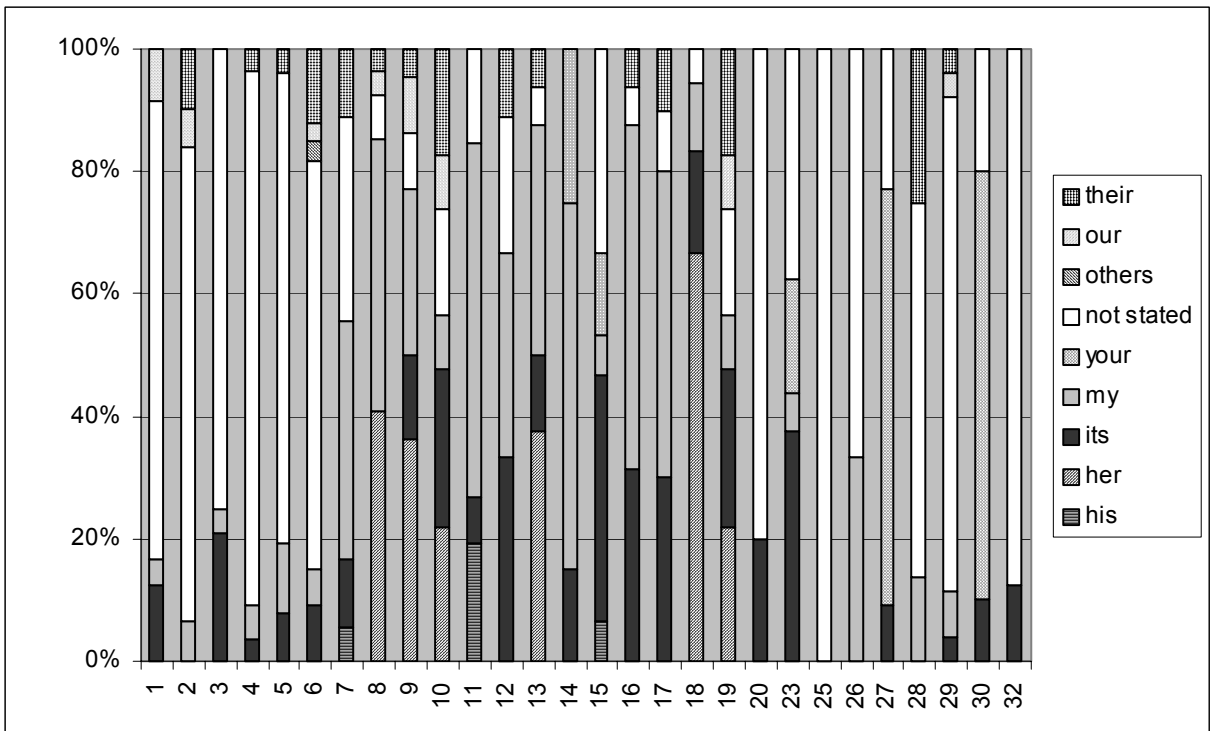


Chart 6, modality of subject

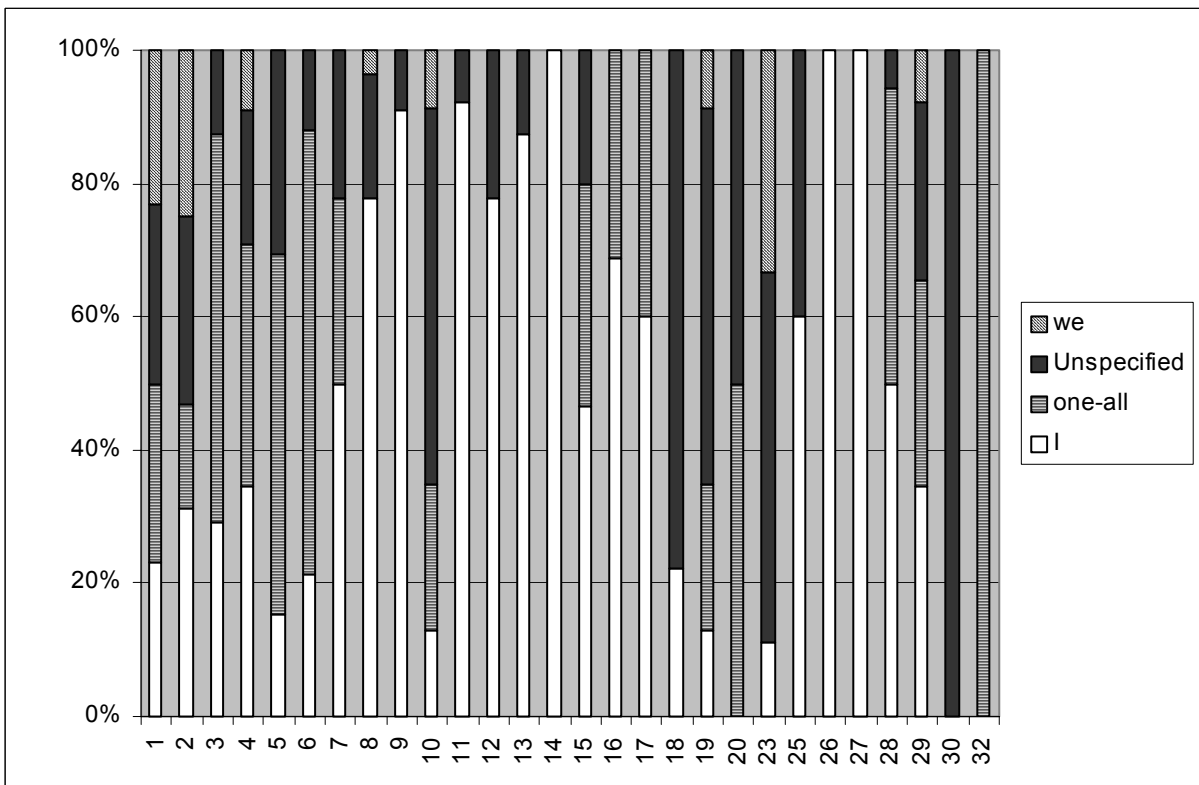


Chart 7, modality of time

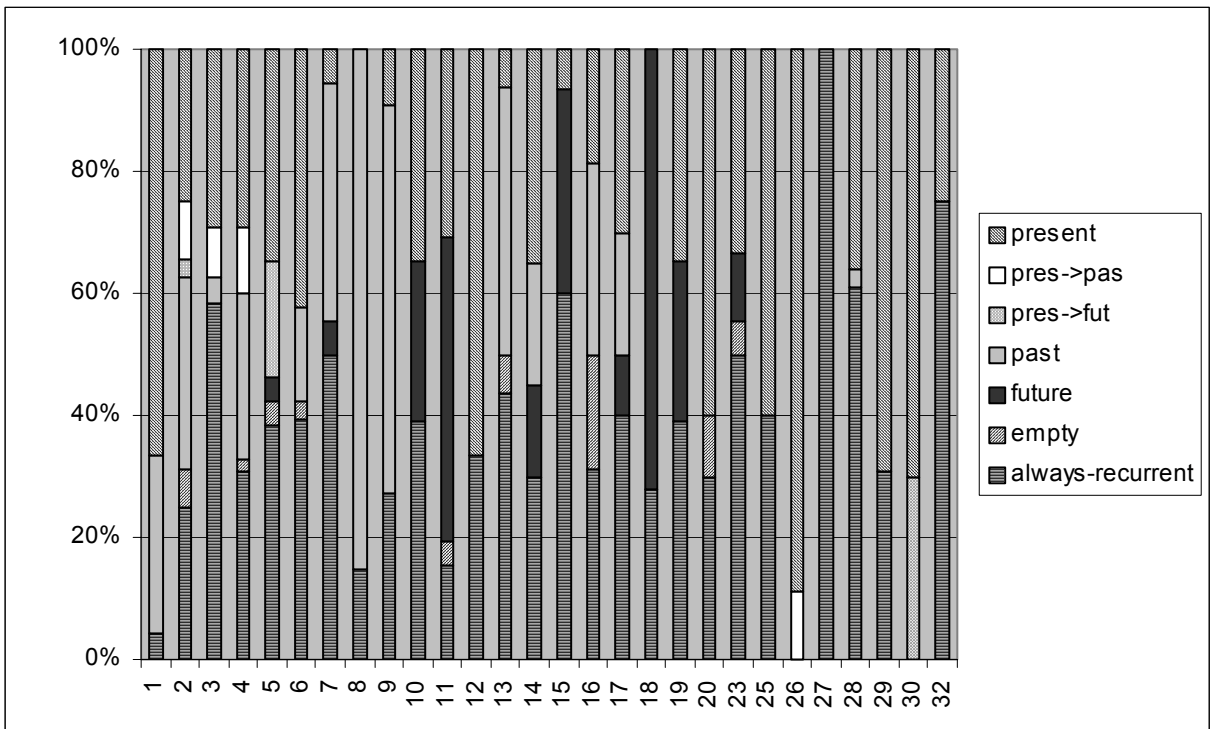
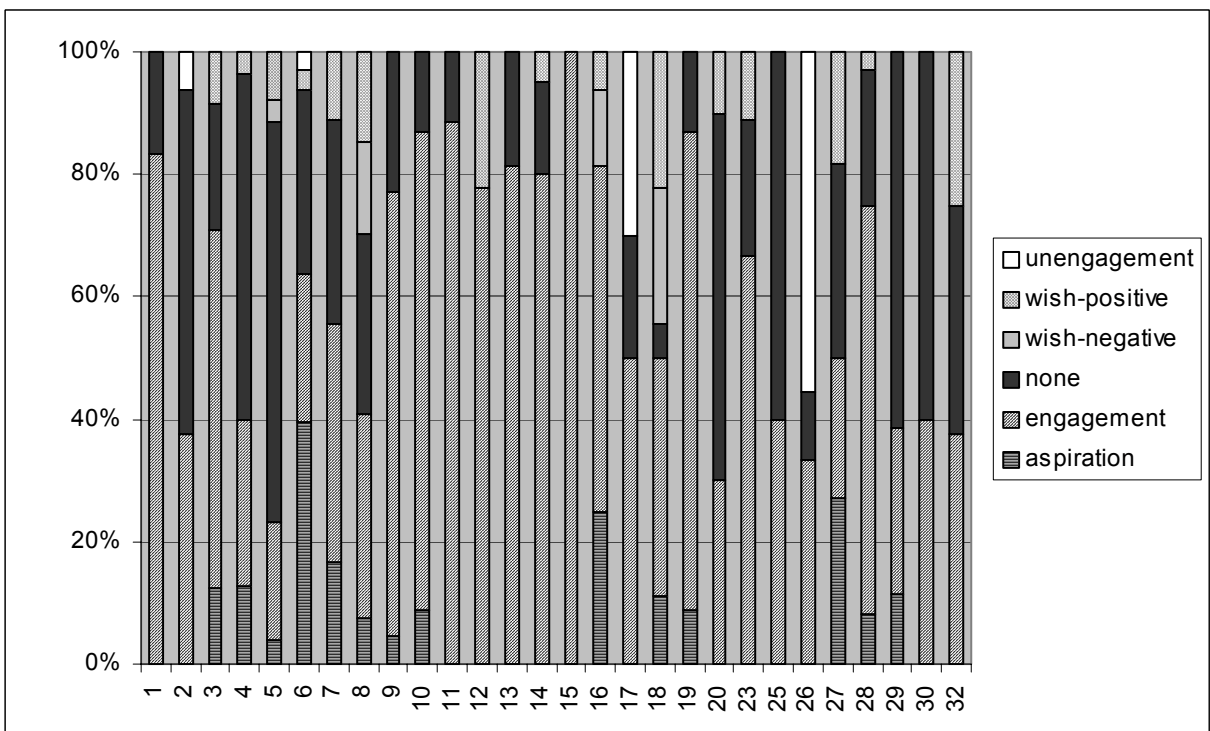


Chart 8, modality of will.



As the reading of all analysis would be an extremely long and repetitive task we will not ask you reader to do that, we have chosen a sample out of the analysis, and put the rest in the appendix available for those who are interested. We have chosen to split the presentation of each person's results in two parts. We start with the modalities, referring to the charts (2-8) that are shown here in the beginning of the result block. We want to explain what we see, and illustrate it with quotations from what the participant's actually wrote. Note that we will keep the acculturation-modality (Chart 1) to the next part, as we will put it more in focus. Note also that we in this small analysis have not always mentioned the doxa-affirmation category of the belief modality. This is because many of the persons we asked are explaining what is, and thus they used doxa-affirmation extensively, so we will only mention whenever another belief modality has been chosen.

The second part starts with a table where we chose to show a small sample of entities with predicates and the chosen category in each modality, following this order: Belief, Function, Time, Affects, Will, Property, Subject, Acculturation.

Table 1. Example

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Entity	Predicate	Belief, Function, Time, Affects, Will, Property, Subject, Acculturation.
My home-country Swedish	That exists, (that is not Sweden, but Palestine)	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, my, unspecified, ambiguous
	That all who comes to Sweden has to learn	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, its, one-all, only yes to new culture
	That is very important to be learned first	doxa-affirmation ,perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, its, one-all, only yes to new culture
	That one has to learn	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, aspiration, its, one-all, ambiguous

We found our selection of entities on our findings in the horizon of acculturation. This table is intended to show the grounds of our theories and also to invite you as reader to think by yourself. What we want is mainly to search for the concepts and their value and variation in the life-world of the participant.

After the table follows, in text, a collection of conclusions we have drawn from the Minerva program, chart 1 and the table.

Modalities P1

As you can read in the charts there is not a single meaning unit that we have interpreted in a negative affect, and half of them are clearly positive. The positively loaded entities could be categorized in themes such as “*Sweden*” as it gives the feeling of being in a safe place. Further on there is also positive affect concerning “*School*” that is not only for the young, and where “*the teachers*” are not Swedish, are helping us to learn the language and the culture. “*And the school is good because there are good teachers.*” The modalities of Belief and Function tell that she is writing in a certain and fact-telling way.

It is interesting to look at the subject modality as it is so well spread over all existing categories, this is because she is starting to tell about whom she is, then she tells how she met a women, and they talked about what one should do. “*I invited her home to my place, then we talked about Sweden [...] and I said that it is really important to learn the Swedish language.*”

Acculturation P1

Table2: modalities of P1

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Am from Morocco	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, none, not stated, I, only yes to old culture
Teachers	That are not Swedish	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, engagement, our, we, ambiguous
	That are good	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, engagement, its, unspecified, ambiguous
Sweden	That is a very nice country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
	That is a country of rules	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, its, unspecified, ambiguous
Swedish culture	That the teacher help us to learn	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, we, only yes to new culture
Swedish language	That is the first thing one should learn	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, engagement, its, one-all, only yes to new culture

There are mainly two key quotations that catch our interest:

Firstly “*They (the teachers) also help us (pupils) learn Swedish culture.*” This quotation shows a consciousness of the cultural differences. And it could point at an assimilationistic acculturation-strategy, at the first glimpse, according to Berry. But as you can read in the table at the “*Swedish culture*” entity, we only wanted to put a yes to

new culture, as the participant does not say anything of her old culture. The only thing she actually says is that culture is something one can learn, and that the teachers are helping them with that. This brings some questions, like what does she think a learning of a culture means, and what happens to the old culture then?

Secondly "*It is a country of rules*". We classified this meaning unit as ambiguous in the acculturation modality, and it certainly is ambiguous. It tells us that the rules are important in the horizon of Sweden, but Sweden has also a very positive predicate, as you can read in the table, "*That is a very nice country.*" In our Swedish ears it sounds negative to say that it is a country of rules, but we did not dare to put it in a negative affect as it could be different for her, perhaps this is a part of the positive horizon.

Modalities P6

the participant is mostly writing in a positive mode, the main entities could be summarized in a them we could call possibilities and good circumstances, such as school that is provided for everyone, nice people at the municipalities, and help. It feels rather strange to read about the social municipalities in a positive affect. But it is true that it is a good thing as the participant writes "*The best thing (we read in Sweden) is that one gets help from the social municipalities to the food and the apartment rent.*"

The negative affect concerns the difficulties to the immigration, "*It is for the one that comes to Sweden.*" Further on there are some negative effects of not being understood, the participant refers to a special occasion. "*When I first came to Sweden I got ill, and went to the hospital, and I couldn't speak Swedish, It was a big problem that we and the doctors could not understand each other.*"

As you also can read in the previous quotation the participant explain the situation in a clearly perceptive way. Even if she is telling about a situation that is clearly negative we are not overwhelmed of words describing the opinions or thoughts, she just explains how it was. This also explains the use of the doxa-affirmation mode.

As we come to the modality of subject, it is striking how much the participant uses the One-all mode, as she is speaking generally of these possibilities and circumstances.

"This chance that one has should one really use."

Table7: acculturation of P6

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I and the doctors	Could not understand each other.	Integration, negative-retrospective, doxa-affirmation, perc/sign, others, I, past, aspiration
One	Should learn the rules of the country	Assimilation, neutral, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, its, one-all, always-recurrent, aspiration
	Should first learn the language	Assimilation, neutral, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, its, one-all, always-recurrent, aspiration
	Should by law learn the language	Assimilation, ambiguous, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, not stated, one-all, present, aspiration
	Should succeed in ones branch or topic	Assimilation, ambiguous, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, not stated, one-all, present, aspiration
	Gets help from the social municipality	only yes to new culture, pos.-present, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, not stated, one-all, present, none
	Has a hard time coming to Sweden	Ambiguous, negative-present, doxa-affirmation, signitive, not stated, one-all, always-recurrent, none
	Has a hard time leaving ones country	only yes to old culture, neg.-present, doxa-affirmation, signitive, my, one-all, always-recurrent, engagement
Sweden	Where the school has good rules	only yes to new culture, positive-present, doxa-affirmation, signitive, its, unspecified, present, none
	Where one follows the laws	Ambiguous, positive-present, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, their, one-all, present, engagement
	Is a very developed country	only yes to new culture, pos.-present, doxa-affirmation, perceptive, not stated, unspecified, present, none
I	Who am very grateful to the social municipality	only yes to new culture, positive-retrospective, doxa-affirmation, signitive, not stated, I, present, aspiration

As we started to think about the acculturation-strategies we could see in this text we realized that it was very rich, and as there are many repetitions some details rose as important and we can state it with firm conviction.

We want to start with quoting a sentence where we get a glimpse of some depths where the acculturation-strategy may be shown clearly “*It was a big problem that we and the doctors could not understand each other*” The understanding is mutual. It’s not only up to her to learn the language, or up to the doctors to get a translator, but the solution is the mutual understanding.

This thought is crushed later in the text, when school enters the picture, than the learning sounds more and more to be one-way. “*One should according to the law learn the language in Sweden.*” There is a clear will to get integrated, and we get the feeling that the participant is going to do it by following all these things one should or must do. (see table7)., “*Learn to know the rules and first learn the language and so on.*”

One other entity that we have to mention, as it is repeated, is the rules. First the participant says *“The first thing one should learn is the rules of the country (Sweden)”* This does not sound strange, and have a practical important meaning. But then she continues *“The Swedish school has, according to me, good rules”* and finally quotes *“One are following laws (in Sweden) and so on.”* The rules are important in her life-world, and it almost seems like there is something special about Sweden as people follows them. We would guess, and imagine that it is a relief for the participant to see that. This is just after a sentence telling that *“Sweden is a very developed country.”* This may be the reason for her embrace of the Swedish culture.

This leads us in on the question of identification, which is not very obvious in the text. But we feel there is identification to the old culture, but it is connected to a clear picture of the difficulty of leaving it. *“It is hard to leave ones country, because one misses and longs for ones country.”* But we feel that her eyes are directed forward, towards the new culture, and eventually, this is helped by the good feelings about Sweden that she says in the ending of her text *“And finally I am very grateful to the social Municipalities, because they give a chance.”*

Modalities of P8

The things that the participant mentions as negative have both happened in the past. The first of these is the participant’s confused state of mind when arriving in Sweden *“here at first I understood nothing”*, this sentence does imply that this issue no longer is a problem. The second negative thing described is an episode when the participant fell ill, which is essentially described to tell about how the participant was helped by a good friend. Thus both these negatives are mentioned to make a positive statement. The participant writes much about a friend and mentor who helps the participant, this friends name is S and S is from the same country as the participant. All that the participant has written that is positive retrospective is about S. The positive prospective contains a generalized praise towards the Swedish people and also S shows up here, *“I will be in contact with her always”*.

The participant does at one point mention something in doxa-negation, this is the episode where the participant was ill. The participant mostly writes in a perceptive function, but also uses imaginative about various things, as well as signitive. Of interest

might be that when the participant mentions the Swedish culture this is mostly in the signitive function.

The participant almost exclusively mentions things as belonging to the participant self and S. the participant mainly speaks with herself as subject. These two things can allow us to conclude that the participant is describing her personal situation, as opposed to a more generalized description.

Mostly what the participant tells is in the past, the only other time that is use is always-recurrent. And when either the new or the old country is mentioned it is in the latter of the two time modalities. The participant mainly is engaged about what he/she describes, not really when describing either the old or the new culture though.

Acculturation of P8

Table9: acculturation of P8

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
he	That is Albanian	Doxa-affirmation, perc., always-rec. neutral, none, not-stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	That spoke Swedish very well	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, her, unspecified, assimilation
I	Who understood nothing	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, past, negative-retrospective, wish-positive, my, I, marginalisation
	Who learn much from her	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, her, I, ambiguous
Sweden	That one can come to	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, none, my, I, only yes to new culture
All Swedish people	That help us	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, positive-present, engagement, their, we, integration

It is tricky to make conclusions about the participant's sense of culture because there is not much said about it. Although the participant's focus clearly is upon the good friend with the same cultural background as the participant, who has more experience of Sweden and the Swedish culture. This is an example of peer help*. And it is clear how the participant's involvement in Swedish culture, as opposed to marginalisation, has increased with time in Sweden and the peer S has helped this increase.

Modalities of P13

As can be seen in the diagram the affect modality is close to being equally divided into three groups, neutral, positive-prospective and positive-retrospective. The Participant is positive-prospective when referring to the Swedish school and the friends she has there. She is positive-retrospective when writing about friends she has met at various times in Sweden, the first friend she gets in Sweden is the one she writes about the most. This friend is also the only one who is not from the same country as The Participant.

The function modality is mainly in the perceptive category, except for a few instances where it is signitive. These cases are about what she feels about school and the friends she has made there. When looking at the property modality the major instances is “my” and “her”. Her references to the participant’s old friend from when she first came to Sweden and also to her teacher. The Participant use the subject I nearly every time and when she does not there is no subject.

The Participant uses past time when describing some events from her time in Sweden, which mainly consists of meeting new friends. Other than that The Participant mostly uses the always-recurrent time form. The Participant generally writes with engagement.

Acculturation of P13

Table14: Modalities of P13

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who at first met a woman	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, my, I, integration
	Who am very happy with them	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, positive-retrospective, engagement, my, I, none
	Who started school	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, none, my, I, only yes to new culture
Sweden	That she told me about	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, her, I, only yes to new culture
School	That one can go to	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, none, my, I, only yes to new culture
Friends	That are many and from Albania	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, my, I, only yes to new culture

When looking at the participant’s acculturation modality we can see how her positive attitude towards the new culture weighs heavier than the other ones. And although she

is quite divergent and also use the none-category some we can see that she also has a preference for the old culture. Though strictly speaking the old culture is less favoured than the new, at least in our text so. Her combination of old and new culture has to do with the situation in Sweden where what she seems to find mostly important is friends, who are other immigrants.

Modalities of P17

The Participant writes with neutral and positive affect. Positive when referring to life in Sweden and going to school, and neutral when giving information about having moved to Sweden, studying at Lernia and the teachers there. The Participant is using signitive and imaginative function in some cases, both pertaining possibilities and options gained in Sweden.

The Participant gives property to Lernia, teachers and himself. He describes his situation with I as subject and refers to general rules of life in Sweden with the one-all subject. The latter are time wise described as always recurrent, with one instance of future. The former, the participant's situation, is described in present and past, mainly present. The Participant is seemingly not very engaged, although he is more so when referring to things more in general and less engaged when describing his situation.

Acculturation of P17

Table18: Modalities of P17

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who study SFI at Lernia right now	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, unengagement, my, I, none
Lernia	Where one can study at ones own pace	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-retrospective, engagement, its, one-all, none
Teachers	That can help you	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, neutral, none, their, I, only yes to new culture
Sweden	That I have come to	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, unengagement, my, I, none

The Participant seems to have accepted the new culture, although when describing his actual situation there is no trace of any acculturation processes. Mostly the participant's text is somewhat shallow and void. Although some of the things The Participant says about his school seems to reflect genuine positivism and acceptance of the new culture, for instance that one is allowed to study at ones own pace and "*At Lernia I study*

Swedish with the help of teachers”. The wording here is interesting, how the teachers are helping The Participant to do his own studying.

Modalities P28

We feel a very positive affect integrated in the whole text that the participant gives us. The especially positive entities are bound to Sweden. “*Life in Sweden is very positive.*” These entities could manly be summarized under a theme of possibilities, and qualities of the Swedish people “*In Sweden the people are very welcoming and has a big heart for helping the ones in hard situations*”

The only negative affect we interpreted was when she was telling “*When it comes to work it is a little hard if you don’t know the language.*”

As the participant is writing a letter to an imaginative friend most of the function modality is imaginative, but the participant sound sure of what she says, as if it were facts, she is writing in a perceptive mode. “*First one should learn the Swedish language.*” This is accentuated by the fact that she writes in a time-mode that is always-recurrent, and much in a one-all subject-mode.

Acculturation P28

Table29: acculturation of P28

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Sweden	Where people has a big heart for helping	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-prospective, none, their, I, only yes to new culture
	Where the people is welcoming	Doxa-affirmation, perc/sign, present, positive-present, none, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
	That is very good for foreigners	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-present, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
	Where school is free	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-present, engagement, not stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Where life is positive	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, none, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
	Where the people has European culture	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, none, their, unspecified, ambiguous
Problems	That will disappear if one integrates	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, none, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
One should	Learn the Swedish Language	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, their, one-all, only yes to new culture
	Be active and curious	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
School	That is positive because it’s free	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-present, engagement, not stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Where the teachers help much	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, present, positive-present, engagement, their, I, only yes to new culture

Here we see a clear concept of cultural distance, as she is mentioning the European culture found in Sweden as something positive that makes life easier. *“One feels that if one can integrate in the society there will be no problems because the Swedes has European culture”* This quoted meaning is very rich, in our point of view, as it also brings some light on the integration-process. Firstly there is a clear awareness about the cultural aspects that goes deeper, regarding the linguistic barriers to the understanding. In the same time we feel it indicates an attitude that sound idealized and simplistic of culture and integration, would all problems disappear? Secondly we read that there exist a problem, in the present, caused by something cultural but the participant hopes that it will disappear if she gets integrated. Thirdly the reason for the resolution of the problem in integration is the closeness of cultures.

We read an overwhelming yes-answer to the new culture. There is a will to adapt, but there is no quotation that we understand is concerning the old culture. According to the acculturation-strategies designed by Berry we would class her in an assimilation-strategy. *“It is very nice for foreigners here, but one should be active, curious and interested in many things.”* This also indicates that the “integration” is a one-side work, she is going to be integrated into the Swedish society, we don’t read any expectation or understanding that the Swedish society is going to do anything.

The school is an important entity, as it is continuously quoted as the example, first of the positive thing *“It is positive to go to school, as it is free.”* Secondly as the possibility *“One can go to school to”* And thirdly as where the people are welcoming and kind *“For example in school the teachers helps very much, they are willing and kind.”* This could make us think that school is her only contact with the Swedish people and society. It would not surprise us as our experiences tells that it is rare immigrants have much contact with Swedes.

The answer of P33

All that the participant wrote is *”To have patience, patience, patience.”* This is beautiful, truly, and may hide much wisdom, but it does not help us much in our search of concepts and understanding of the life world and acculturation-process. However it tells that there is a consciousness about the difficulties one can meet in the culture-confront. *(We have chosen not to include fp33 in any further analysis or discussion and instead focus upon the richer answers containing more information)*

Discussion

The most obvious results

There is an overwhelmingly explicit positive attitude towards Sweden in the results, but no sign of identification. Further the focus of the cultural meeting is mostly unilateral. The immigrants learn Swedish, and there is very little expectation put on the Swedish part of the cultural process to act.

We can only guess the cause of the attitude; it could come from the school, authorities, or from people in general. Maybe those who go to the SFI schools simply have a very positive attitude towards Swedish culture; maybe it is because of necessity. Or maybe those who do not have these positive attitudes simply do not start school or do not remain for very long.

We would like to accentuate this finding to address various opinions that we have heard who state that the problem of segregation in the society is a result of a lack of will from the integrating groups.

The concepts embodied in our result

What is acculturation?

The concepts of acculturation strategies turned out to be extremely important in our research. We are thankful to Berry for providing a guiding light on this question. But as you might have noticed we do not feel satisfied with the simple dualistic answer that Berry leaves space to. We feel the affects and the attitudes often get a lot more complicated. Of course one could look at general attitudes towards a culture, but a positive feeling towards a majority of a group or country's characteristics does not implicate a will to adapt or to identify, as can be seen in our result.

Culture is not something rigid, constant or sizeable. Culture is like the human, always in an evolving process of self-definition. And just as we quoted that every act has a goal and an orientation, the process of acculturation has a direction, embodied in the expectations. As you have noticed there are many forms of expectations in our result, ranging from the thought that everything is going to be all-right if one manages to integrate, to a more sceptic view on the problems of getting work.

We have found it somewhat confusing to talk about things like personal attitudes and name them integration or segregation and use the same words for the psychological- and the group level.

A perspective that we think would help to bring some other light would be to instead think of the longer leaving- and arrival-process, that together would form an acculturation strategy. This also leads us to a longing to continue the research and reach some deeper understanding of the acculturation process over time. This could be put into practice by studying the stages of cultural shock that Mörling (2004) writes about, as we mentioned in the introduction.

If we go somewhat further in our thoughts there is a part of the participant's that has stayed in Sweden for a long time, which made us wonder when the acculturation turn into enculturation. We all experience new things during our whole life, in our known culture, but then we call it enculturation.

Further on we feel that the culture is evolving in such a fast way, at least ours, and maybe so it should, if it is involved in acculturation as much as Sweden is. But then what happens to the enculturation? We feel that the two concepts are not as simple to separate as we found them in our study-books.

We believe that the natural development of cultures living side by side is mutual influence and transformation. This is a process that depends on time elapsing, and now we wish that we had given more care to that in the planning of our study. By for example asking more precisely for how long the participant's had stayed in Sweden.

W h a t i s i n t e g r a t i o n ?

We want to repeat that we are glad for Berry's work on acculturation, however we feel that there are some serious blanks in the theories we have studied. We must be humble and say that we have not read all of his extensive work, so there can be part of these theories that he has considered in other places.

Integration is seen as the goal of a good acculturation, the result of a positive attitude towards both the culture of origin and the hosting culture. As we understand it the result would be single, richer culture, or what Berry calls a multicultural culture. But of course this kind of theoretical model does not capture much of details and nuances. He continues to write about a mixture of cultures, were both cultures reach out their hands towards each other and meet halfway to coexist in mutual influence. But our question is; What happens on the level of the individual's identity then? Is the question

of nationality losing its importance, can one be living a psychologically healthy life without a national identification, would that even be favourable? We see three other alternatives to the two cultures meeting, either they turn into one other new, or one submit but still influence the other, or finally the integration does not include a new identification, they continue to coexist influencing each-other.

Or would integration rather be that the people of the non-dominant culture finally goes under the title of the other culture, satisfied with the fact that they have influenced it and transformed it in a hopefully enriching way? Or should integration in some way be the creation of a new culture, gaining a new title embracing a larger scale of variety, as was the thought behind the creation of the United States of America.

But what should be the goal? We searched for the goal in the reports of our study and found a very concrete, down to earth attitude. It generally concerned the learning of the language. Remember that the culture to a large extent lies in the naming of things (see the introduction p14), the thoughts are hidden in the words we create and use and this already means a one-way adaptation that Berry calls assimilation. But maybe this is necessary in a culture as uniform as the Swedish culture still is, but what would this implicate? We think that these thoughts bear tremendous witness to a certain domination of the Swedish culture, at least in the mind and life of the Swedes, but also internalised into the immigrants.

Further we have found that when some of the participant's refer to culture they write about the understanding of it (P3, P4 and P6, P28 talks about the lack of it, note that all are women, three are from Världens Hus and they are of varied nationalities). And this gets really interesting, you handle cultures by understanding. We feel this is a much more positive view of acculturation. We would like to interpret this thought of understanding in a broader sense that would implicate an active work towards compassion, and sharing of emotions and thoughts.

When the process of acculturation is consciously thought of we believe it gives cultural keys and understanding of the ways of human behaviour. We would like to have some more specific concepts as *culturacity*. This would be the capacity of a person to understand and handle cultures.

What is assimilation?

There is due to practical reasons necessarily a part of learning in the acculturation, and as the root of the word assimilation is learning, we have felt confusion arise at some

points. As you could read in the introduction and through our whole paper, Berry designed the one-way learning acculturation strategy by using the word assimilation, the result of a negative attitude to ones origin and a positive embracing attitude towards the new culture. In our results we have found that there is also a general focus on the importance of learning and understanding the laws. The goal of assimilation would be to keep a cultural purity. But since the culture is not quantifiable we think that this is just an empty thought.

Giving cultures names

While reading and analysing the results we experienced some growing difficulties in using the concepts of 'old' and 'new' culture. We feel that if one calls a culture 'old' it belongs to the past, and even if this may be true in a longer perspective, it still plays a tremendously important part in the present. Even if we asked our question in such a way that it did not put focus on the 'old' culture we feel its presence whether spoken or unspoken. In fact we felt that many of the words used to define the two cultures involved in the life-world of the participant was in some way wrong.

The terms of 'majority' / 'minority' culture and 'dominant' / 'non dominant' culture could still fit but needs sharper definition. As we wrote in the introduction, we do not know if it primarily concerns the status, the size of the group in numbers, or the experienced power of the group. Even if all three categories will define the relation between Sweden and the immigrated groups, we feel they are not clear enough, and we feel they leave large blanks and even malign attitudes towards the reality they should explain.

The names we give to these groups are important, as it labels and reveals our intentions and thoughts that may have negative effects. It is as the problem is with a group representing something many look down upon, the name of the group rapidly becomes a curse used to insult. This effect demands a continuous work of giving a name that may help to create an image that works towards integration and against the creation of misleading preconceptions. To call a culture 'dominant' immediately empowers it, and even if 'non-dominant' is the name of the other culture one could easily hear 'dominated.'

If we go to our results and try to find names for the cultures we could choose concepts that implicates attitudes we believe are wrong, and some names that could bring some light upon perspectives we believe are needed.

If we start by the implications of the cultures that could be wrong we could call the Swedish culture the ‘assimilated culture’, or the ‘target culture’, as we felt that the acculturation process is too much of a one-way work from the immigrants. We think that this might be a bad idea, as we experience importance in the active receiving and a welcoming that also implicates adaptation and transformation. Then ‘their’ culture could be called the ‘*own culture*’ or the ‘*home culture*’ because the identification to Swedish culture is so low.

If we were to use names that feel positive for us there are some concepts that has figured at some points as the ‘receiving culture’ and the ‘culture of origin’. Receiving sounds like something active. Our picture of the culture of origin is that it is bound to the past, but that it does not leave there still gives space for it to have a very important influence on the present.

Cultural status

We feel that the concept of cultural status that we read of in the writings of Berry have influenced and helped our thinking throughout the process, but it has been harder to perceive it directly in the result. We can anyhow see a close relation to the modality of affect that we have been using when it is connected to a culture. Now as there are only two cultures involved in the question the participant’s faced, and these cultures are very near to their identification, as it is first the cultures in which they are living, representing friends and family in the country of origin and secondly they are representing the culture of origin to the eyes meeting them in Sweden. Because of this we cannot draw as many consequences as if these would have been compared to other cultures.

But as we see that the Swedish culture is connected to many positive affects, (almost always) we could conclude that there is an at least explicit high status of the Swedish culture. But we have to remind ourselves that they literally gave the answer to us, and that we obviously are Swedes.

It is interesting to follow through the results of the relation between the perception of the country of Sweden and the people, the Swedes. The existence of a confusion of the two noema in the study would be interesting, as this would mean that a ‘racial status’ of the Swedes would be influenced of what is found in the country. Because the actual original positive affect is found in the possibilities of schooling and safe life.

Implicit attitudes

It is a subtle and somewhat treacherous task to try finding unconscious attitudes, but as we used the ambiguous modes in different modalities we feel we got some help mainly to unveil different contradictions that are speaking of unconscious attitudes. As we have proceeded, we discover that this mainly concerns some acculturation-strategies and the expectations of the effect of those.

Circumstances of acculturation

We feel that while we are thinking of all these really important circumstances we are limited by our small study. It would have been more satisfying to be able to ask more specific questions. We would have liked to know more of the acculturation, like how long the participant's has stayed in Sweden, what background they come from, how they see their future, and how voluntary the process is.

Still many of those who wrote a longer answer actually gave us enough information. We feel that generally the acculturation is voluntary as it is what they chose facing a worse situation in the country of origin.

To see the concepts that could be formed from the reasons for emigration we have to build theories on a few of the analyses of the result, as not all wrote of it. Some writes of the lack of knowledge concerning Sweden that was before they moved, which would talk strongly of push factors.

Is a comparison positive?

We will spend the following chapter comparing different groupings of the participant's, and do so to the extent we find meaningful and valuable. Our goal is not to compare, but rather see if these factors can be used to find out what is important in the life-world of the immigrants while living an acculturation. The thought of having different groups is more a thought of trying to broadening our sample of participant's, as there may be different perspectives.

Chart 2 Repartition of Participants

Comparison	Group & n.					Total n
Schools	Världens Hus: 16		Lernia: 17			33
Gender	Men: 15		Women: 18			33
Nationality: Subcultures.	Arab: 11	Afghani: 6	Latin American: 4	Balkan: 8	Other: 4	33

The numbers of statistical comparisons that can be made of the participant's different modalities are considerable. One can group them into the different groups you see in the chart above. But there are some factors strongly weakening the validity and the meaning of this procedure. First one should bear in mind that these categories have been given to each meaning unit, and because the meaning units are so short they may not reflect the attitudes with precision. Secondly we do not have the means to see the relation of some modalities to a specific horizon or noema.

But as we feel the comparison between the modalities can be very interesting as it allows us to compare the way of saying things that would eventually be specific to a group. That is why we ignore smaller differences and focus on large, reoccurring patterns.

Otherwise, this area is touched by the use of the modality of subject. If a person uses a we-subject much we imagine that there is identification and a clear group-level of acculturation. But as we have focused on the life-world of separated persons we are not able to see a big difference between the psychological- and the cultural level, but what we will see will rather be a similarity among different persons within a group, and their differences to another group.

Men and Women

There is a large difference in use of modalities in almost every instance. With four exceptions women have used more of every single category. This has to do with the fact that the women generally have used more words in their descriptions. Whatever this is an indication of we will allow to be left unsaid and we will focus on where we have found specific differences between the sexes.

Firstly we look at *acculturation* (chart 1, p29), the three categories within acculturation with greatest difference where the women have scored higher are: *assimilation*, *marginalisation* and *no to old culture*. These would all be associated with repression of the old, native culture. Women seem to be more inclined to distancing oneself from the old culture than men. However we also find the women in our study is more accepting of *the old culture* as well as the *new culture*. This would mean that women are more than men accepting the Swedish culture, but also the old culture. This may seem like a contradiction but what it means is that women are more likely to either express

acceptance or dislike for the old culture, whereas men simply express less affect on the subject.

When we study the *affect* modality we can see that no great differences exist, except for when it comes to having affects for something in the past, be it positive or negative affects, women seems to more likely have higher score than men.

What is important in the *belief* modality is that men are using the modalities *question* and *possibility* more than women. From this one could conclude that when the women explain they don't know, men make something up or ask a question. Of note though is the fact that more than ninety percent of the selection within the belief modality lies in the *doxa-affirmation* category, where no major differences were found. Thus everything else should be taken lightly.

In the *function* modality only small differences between the sexes exists, nothing worth noting.

The *Property* modality contains two main differences. The women we interviewed are more likely to have been talking of someone's *property*, mainly *her* or *others* but also *his*, *our*, *their* and to some extent *my* (referring to themselves). Whereas men greatly preferred talking directly to someone using the *your* category.

In the *subject* modality there can be seen a small trend towards women using the *one-all* category more but this is not a very large difference. No other differences can be seen here.

The main differences found in the *time* modality are in the *future* and *past* categories. Here women have a large preference, and we can conclude that more women than men have been describing noema with a specific place in time that is not the present.

When looking at the *will* modality, there are several differences. Only women have used *wish-negative* category, indicating wishing something was not. Although it has been used only few times. There is also a small difference in the *engagement* category, with men using it less. This difference is small but since *engagement* is the most used category within the *will* modality it might be important. And one of the most stereotype point our data allows us to make in the comparison between the sexes is that men does in comparison to women greatly favour *unengagement*.

Comparison between Schools

Integration is higher for the students at Världens Hus, and so is *assimilation*.

Marginalisation has a difference where students at Lernia get a higher rating, this also goes for *yes to old culture* but here the difference is smaller. The only real difference in *Affects* is that students at Lernia did not really refer to things in the past in a way that was loaded with affection. The most common categories for *affects* in both schools are *positive-prospective* and *ambiguous*.

In the *belief* modality, there are no real differences; almost everyone in the study did almost all the time use *doxa-affirmative*. This is not so strange considering we asked the participant's to report their experiences. *Function* modality differs in the *perceptive* category, which is interesting because it is by far the largest category of *Function*.

In examining the *Property* modality the most common, *not stated* being equally divided across the schools may indicate that the participant's do not differ between the schools in respect of language skill or insecurity or whatever causes participant's to write without property. The differences consist of students at Lernia using *my* less and *your* more. The *subject* modality contains no real differences; the one thing one can conclude is that the students at Lernia have a minor preference for using *unspecified subject*.

When we look at the *time* modality two of the three most common categories are very much equal between the schools: *present* and *always-recurrent*. The third, *past*, on the other hand, has, as noted in the affect modality, a much higher average in the students of Världens Hus. This is one of the greatest differences between the two schools that can be shown through the modality diagrams. An interesting note is also that there is no difference in the use of *future* time. This means that the difference in use of time is specific to the past, which in turn means that the past is of importance in another way than the future.

Will, the final modality is somewhat equal between the schools. There is a small difference in *engagement*, which is the largest category, and a large difference in *unengagement*, which is the smallest category of *will*.

Comparison between Afghan-Arab

Because of the difference in size between the groups of different nationalities and to allow the analysis to become less complicated we decided to present and compare the two largest national groups here. These are Arabs and Afghans. This comparison is made to further nuance the image of our participant's life-world.

Within the first modality *acculturation* there is a large difference where Afghans use the *ambiguous* category more. This means their text was more loaded with cultural content but in an ambiguous way. Other than that the two nationalities are fairly similar.

In *affects* the perhaps most interesting difference between these two national origins is that Afghans have been more inclined to use negative affect. This would mean that Arabs have been less inclined to speak in negative terms. But another difference lies in the *positive-prospective* category where again Afghans are ahead on number of meaning units. Thus we conclude that our participant's of Afghani origin have generally been using more affect than those with Arabic origin when answering the question we asked them.

In the *function* category we find a major difference in the *signitive* category. From this we can read that the Afghani participants have been interpreting more than the Arabs. This goes well in line with them using more affect.

The Arabic sample has a higher number on most of the categories of *property*. This is interesting because in general the Afghans have used more words. And the category that has been used mostly by the Afghans and not by the Arabs is *not stated*, meaning that the Arabs have more clearly stated *property*.

When looking at the *subject* modality one can see some similarities, but one big difference in the *one-all* category, where the Afghans once again have a larger amount of meaning units. This goes hand in hand with the *not stated* category of the *property* modality. Both indicate that the Afghans have been using more of a generalized language than the Arabs.

In the *time* modality the differences are not so great, both groups follow the same pattern. What can be seen is that the Afghans are to a greater extent speaking in *present* and *always-recurrent* time. Also Arabs use future tense a little more.

Our Arabic sample has in the *will* modality used the *engagement* category more and the *none* category less than the Afghans. This would mean that on average the former a bit more engaged in what they wrote than the latter. This last point is an interesting contrast to what we seemed to find when studying the other modalities.

Practical implications

As we have found a somewhat confusing view on integration, we feel that the best thing to do in schools and all places of life that is the scene of acculturation, would be a search for deeper understanding of the personal and social goals that can be found in people, schools and most importantly persons and scripture of the government.

If we should start to think of the problem that the municipality of Malmö presented to us, of the high dropout rates we are left to some guessing based on what seems to be keeping those we met to remain in school. We got the feeling that the expectations, and the goals are sometimes too optimistic and we fear they can have a destructive effect if they are too unrealistic.

Theoretical implications

We would like to see a deeper exploration of the process of acculturation, with time-dimensions. We believe that as there has been immigration to Sweden through many years there should be examples and persons that has much to teach us, the field is open for many more studies of the effects of different strategies.

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[Appendix A]

Om du träffar någon som precis kommit från landet du är född i, som aldrig har gått i skolan men som ska gå i din klass och du ska visa skolan och berätta för honom eller henne hur det är i Sverige, hur skulle du göra hur skulle du beskriva Sverige och skolan? Berätta lite helt fritt vad du tänker känner när du läser de här frågorna.

Du får skriva på ditt modersmål om du vill och behöver inte oroa dig att stava rätt eller skriva på bra svenska, bara vi kan förstå! Du behöver inte heller oroa dig för att någon annan kommer att läsa det du skriver, det är bara vi som gör undersökningen.

Man <input type="checkbox"/>	Född i land: _____
Kvinna <input type="checkbox"/>	Föräldrar födda i: _____
Ålder: _____	Modersmål: _____

Appendix B

Modalities P2

Many of the meaning units are, as can be seen in chart 3, stated either in such a way that we do not dare to classify them in an affect, or in such a way that they sound neutral to us. An example of a sentence hard to estimate the affective value of is “*It didn’t come to me in my dreams that I would live in Sweden one day.*” But when it is clear that it is negatively loaded it mostly concern the leaving-process of a country “*It is very hard to live in a country, very far, thousand miles, from my country.*” There are also some negative meaning units concerning a loss in the country that the participant calls her own. “*We people have lost all nice things in Iraq.*”

When we come to the positive affect we feel that we can say with certainty that it mainly concerns the horizon of Sweden, as it is only written of in positive affect. Further on there are some entities connected to this horizon, as “*the Nobel Prize*”, “*nice things*”, and “*I who live there.*” These entities are explaining why Sweden is so good.

Neither the doxa-affirmation nor the perceptive modes are the only ones used. There is some touch of doxa-negation, and signitive meaning units. the participant is sure of what she says. But the variation in use of time, subject and quoted property tells that the text is spread over many ways of expressing the thoughts.

Acculturation P2

Tabel.3.2, P2 acculturation

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
We (Iraqis)	Who have lost all nice things in Iraq	doxa-affirmation, signitive, pres -> pas, negative-retrospective, none, our, we, ambiguous
	Who finds the nice things in Sweden	doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, we, only yes to new culture
I	Who went to Iraq last summer	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, engagement, not stated, I, none
	Who spoke very well of Sweden to my friends and relatives	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
	Who do not know how one should tell about Sweden	doxa-negation, signitive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, unengagement, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
	Who did not dream of coming to Sweden	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> pas, ambiguous, engagement, not stated, I, ambiguous
	Who lives in the nice country (Sweden)	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, none, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
Sweden	Who have a hard time living very far from my country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, negative-present, none, my, one-all, ambiguous
	Where God could bless us and let us all live there	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, unspecified, none
	That is a great Country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, none, not stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Where we found great things the pen cannot write of and the mouth not speak of	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, none, not stated, we, only yes to new culture
	Where there is nice people everywhere in the municipalities	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to new culture

We feel that we got a very rich text, with a few meanings we see as key meanings that we will quote now, and that are represented in table 3.2.

We feel there also are some blanks in the text, mainly represented with the modality we chose to name “ambiguous” both in the modality of acculturation in Chart 3 above, and in table 3. But in some way these blanks could be more interesting, as questions arise, even if we may not be able to answer them now, that may be a subject of further studies.

Starting by the identification it is clearly bound to the “old” culture, as the participant expresses herself as belonging to the group. *“It is very hard to live in a country, very far, thousand miles, from my country.”* But this is not really clear during the whole text, some parts may be pointing in another way, to identification with the expatriated Iraqis *“We people have lost all nice things in Iraq, but now we find the nice things in Sweden.”* This may point at effects of the acculturation that has changed the participant in such a way that she feels feel alienated from the old culture and do not want to identify with its weakness. If one would like to, one could fill in some blanks and reinforce that statement in the following quotation by detecting a split between the participant and her family and friends. *“When I went to Iraq last summer I told very nice things about Sweden and all the very nice people that are in the municipalities, in schools, in hospitals, and everywhere.”*

There is an obvious development of the thought of Sweden, as the participant remembers that she did not know anything of Sweden, *“We did not know what existed in that country (Sweden).”* But this uncertainty could be seen as a theme of the whole description, as she continues with *“The pencil and the mouth can not tell more about the nice things we found in that country (Sweden)”*

However, this quotation leads us in on the image the participant has of Sweden. The explicitly written sentences are clearly positive. As you can see in Cart 3, in the acculturation mode the only category we dared to choose was “only yes to new culture.” This is wonderfully illustrated in the last sentence the participant wrote *“God bless us all and let everybody live in Great Sweden.”*

Modalities P3

Not half of all meaning-units are written in a way that we can categorize in an affectively loaded tense. But when we see positively loaded entities, for sure, they are mostly about Sweden. *“Sweden is a very nice country, all people are very kind.”* The few negatively loaded entities are about the difficulties encountered in learning and about solitude and marginalisation *“it is hard if you only are sitting at home.”*

the participant often chooses to write in a perceptive function, and a doxa-affirmation Belief, telling facts in stead of ideas or the feelings. *“In Sweden there is many things that do not exist in my home-country, like that one can go to school.”*

The repeated subject is one-all, this is mostly connected to entities as “*good things*” in Sweden and school. Further about all that “*one have to do*”, especially about “*learning Swedish.*” This may be pointing at internalised general demands.

This is put in value even more when we are reading that the participant is mostly using an always-recurrent time perspective “*It is very important that one first learns the language*”

Acculturation P3

Table4: acculturation of P3

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
all people (we read Swedes in the context)	That are very kind	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-present, engagement, not stated, one-all, only yes to new culture
The good thing	That is that you learn the Swedish language	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-present, aspiration, its, one-all, only yes to new culture
I	Am living in Sweden now	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, engagement, not stated, I, ambiguous
	have lived in Lebanon	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, engagement, not stated, I, ambiguous
	am from Palestine	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres-past, ambiguous, none, not stated, I, only yes to old culture
	am studying Swedish in school	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, engagement, its, I. Ambiguous
	am going to tell everybody who comes to Sweden to study Swedish	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, I, ambiguous
My home-country	That exists, (that is not Sweden, but Palestine)	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, my, unspecified, ambiguous
Many things	That exists in Sweden	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
	That do not exist in my home-country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, my, unspecified, ambiguous
Swedish	That all that comes to Sweden has to learn	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, its, one-all, only yes to new culture
	That is very important to be learned first	doxa-affirmation ,perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, its, one-all, only yes to new culture
	That one has to learn	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, aspiration, its, one-all, ambiguous
	That is a little hard for me	doxa-affirmation, imaginative, always-recurrent, none, not stated, none, one-all, negative-present,
	That you have to learn to be able to continue to speak with all people	doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, wish-positive, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
Sweden	That is different from my home-country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, my, unspecified, ambiguous
	That is a very nice country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, my, unspecified, ambiguous

the participant often repeats meanings pointing at the importance of learning the language, and that Sweden is a good country. But still we only see signs of national identification with Palestine.

Lebanon and Sweden are places where the participant has been living, and then nothing more is said. The beauty and the good things implicated in the horizon of Sweden do not seem to lead to identification.

There is a serious focus on the learning of the language, and this is a huge obligation, one must learn the language, there does not seem to be another way. We feel a devoted attitude towards learning and making life work. Although one should keep in mind that the participant was in school studying Swedish at the time for participating in the study. Still only a few signs are pointing on the other understanding of the cultural dimensions of the acculturation-process. *“In Sweden many things exist that does not exist in my home-country.”* It is a perceptive way of approaching the cultural issue as it is broad and general.

Is she answering yes to Berry’s dualistic questions of acculturation-strategies? Is the participant positive or negative to either of the two cultures involved in the process? It is hard to tell. But that is what we tried to do in each meaning unit as we used the modality of acculturation. There was one meaning unit strongly saying yes to the old culture, the first, declaring that the participant’s identity is bound to Palestine, *“I am Palestinian.”* There were some positive meaning-units to the new culture, correlated to the positive-affect modalities, concerning Sweden and the possibilities to study there. What we interpreted as assimilationistic is the repeated pointing at the importance of learning the language, in order to function in the society.

The interesting part is the ambiguous category of acculturation, as there seems to be some contradicting thoughts, or at least there seems to be some blanks pointing at the reason of the identification, and the lack of it. But we can not tell any reason for this blank, as it could be either unconscious, or uncomfortable to speak out.

Modalities P4

the participant was generous with the answer and wrote the longest text we got, with a rich content, and there are clear repetitions that points at important dimensions in the life-world.

If we start by looking at the modality of affects, we see a quite good spreading over the categories with a smaller advantage for the positive-present and the negative

retrospective. This is mostly because one of the themes is the bad situation the participant escaped from by leaving Afghanistan, in the past, and the good things, present, found in Sweden. *”my children would have had to work to make it. They would not have had the possibility to go to school as in Sweden”* It is interesting that the negative entities mostly handle the lost opportunities that then are found and spoken of in a positive mode.

We get the feeling that the participant is convinced of her point, as she writes with doxa-affirmation, and a majority of her meaning-units are perceptive. *“Everybody should make it on his own in Sweden.”* This is explained if we summarize her way of answering our question by saying that she is telling her experiences, often in past tense and is generalizing to a present mode of time. *“There is no gap between economical classes as one gets money from government”*

Acculturation P4

Table5 acculturation of P04

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Help	That one should not be forced to expect	doxa-negation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
A person from the same country	That is good to have because of the help one gets	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, engagement, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
Possibilities to study	That my children would not have had in Afghanistan	Probability, imaginative, pres -> pas, negative-retrospective, none, not stated, unspecified ,ambiguous
Every person	That should be an immigrant so they realize it is hard	doxa-affirmation, imaginative, always-recurrent, negative-present, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
The culture	That is hard to understand	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, negative-present, aspiration, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
Must	Everybody must do what they can to make it One must fight to learn the language	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, none, not stated, one-all, none doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, none, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
I	Have learned so much Swedish that I don't need a interpret	doxa-negation, perceptive, present, positive-present, none, not stated, I, ambiguous

One entity that is very interesting is the entity of help, as it seems to reveal some apparently contradicting thoughts *“When one is new in Sweden it is hard, then it is good with a person coming from the same country.”* And later *“One should not need to expect help from anybody else.”* We do not have much ground but we feel that this may

be a consequence of a meeting between an individualistic and a collectivist way of thinking

the participant writes about the early time and the difficulties connected to the immigration, "*When one are new in Sweden it is hard.*" Further on the participant continues in her description of the new culture and its possibilities, and writing very positively, in a way that could leave space for negative thoughts about the "old" culture. The only thing the participant writes is about Afghanistan is the possibilities her children would have lost if they had stayed. "*If we would have stayed in Afghanistan my children would have had to work to make it, and not have had the same possibilities to study as in Sweden.*" These are the meaning units that we read as negative to the old culture, see chart5 earlier in this chapter.

As the theme of cultural differences and cultural meeting is explicitly mentioned it gives some depth to the text. the participant writes about the understanding of culture, and makes all humans equal as being lost when faced with a different culture. "*If every person would be an immigrant, they would realize that being an immigrant in another country is hard in the beginning, it is hard to understand the culture and get into the society.*" According to her, the understanding is the key to culture and to enter the society. In meanwhile this process of acculturation seems to be a one-way work, the participant does not write at any point of something the majority- hosting- or dominant culture should do, or understand. This quoted sentence could rather express a frustration over a lack in "they" (that we presume is the Swedes), of realization that being an immigrant is hard. Of course this is not to read as a criticism, or even as something that necessary is negative in the attitudes of the participant, but it may point at a lack in the hosting culture, the Swedish culture, that may have negative effects on the participant.

Going on this theme there are clear obligations, "musts" as learning Swedish "*One have to be a fighter and learn the language.*" We wonder if this is not some internalised demand from the Swedish society.

According to the thoughts we base on Berry's theories the participant would have answered yes to the new culture, and eventually no to the old culture, and have chosen

a acculturation-strategy of assimilation. Pointing towards the necessity to learn the language strengthens this, but it is weakened by the fact that the participant realizes that the cultural difficulties would be the same to all people in that situation.

Modalities P5

the participant wrote in a very organized way, and tried to make a list of what one should think of as new in Sweden, but started in a paradoxical way. *“I am new in Sweden, and do not know what one should do, when one does not know what one should do, one should do as follow...”*

We did not see so much affects in the text, we feel there were many sentences that were hard to understand if there were any affect, the ambiguous part, try by yourself to read the affect of the following quotation that may sound positive at first, *“A part of the population is pretty pleasant.”* This may sound positive but we just wondered if that should implicate something for the rest of the population, if she actually says that most of the population is quite unpleasant. However the few meaning-units we see as loaded are equally dispersed on positive and negative categories.

The one negative-prospective meaning unit, which is the first point in the list of what to do as new in Sweden, is imaginative, and feels almost humorous. *“The first thing one must do is to say ones real age, otherwise it could be dangerous with the medicine”*

The doxa-affirmation tells that the participant is decided in her way of telling, we see a self-confidence standing before a clearly hard task of meting a new culture and different ways of thinking. The first of the participant’s quotation we referred to, the one that sounded paradoxical points at this way of telling things for sure, this is accentuated by the perceptive way of writing. As you may have noticed there is lot of generalization, much one-all form in the subject-modality.

Acculturation P5

Table6: acculturation of P5

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
one	Must say ones real age (it could be dangerous with the medicine)	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, negative-prospective, none, not stated, one-all, none
	Must start school as quick as possible	doxa-affirmation, perc., always-recurrent, neutral, wish-pos., not stated, one-all, only yes to new culture
	Must learn ones own language (when one are ready with studies)	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> fut, ambiguous, engagement, my, one-all, only yes to old culture

	Must wait with having children until one knows ones language (not to forget ones own language)	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> fut, neutral, wish-negative, not stated, one-all, none
	Must always come on time to municipalities, doctors and school	doxa-affirmation, perc., always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
Some of the Swedes	Are quite nice	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, not stated, one-all, ambiguous
Sweden	Is a free country	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, pos.-present, none, its, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Where the natural light is quite weak	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, its, unspecified, ambiguous
	Where there are not much rules for youth and children	doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, ambiguous, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
	Where there is democracy	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, their, unspecified, ambiguous
democracy	which means freedom of speech	doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, pos.-present, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
freedom of speech	Which means freedom to decide over ones culture religion and so on	doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, pos.-present, wish-positive, not stated, one-all, ambiguous

We think that the participant really does see a way to cross the problem of cultural difference, primarily with the language. What is explicitly said is that there is a confusion, but we sense a strong will to integrate, to see forward, embracing the new culture, adapting to its ways. This is wonderfully illustrated in details. “*One must always come on time to municipalities, doctors and school.*” Further on this is strengthened by the earlier quotation about telling the right age. *See table 6.*

Further on there is some things that may sound strange in our ears “*One should wait with having children until one knows the language, otherwise one will forget the language one already has*” Still this includes a keeping and development of the old culture, represented by the language. But we wonder what the implications would be of the eventual forgetting of ones own language. Ones own language shows identification with the old culture, does the loosing of that implicate a winning of a new identification with a new language?

There is an important perspective coming again and again, the one of obligation. As you can read in Table 6 there are many things one must do, as this example “*As fast as possible one must start school, and then when one are ready with the studies one has to go on and learn one owns language to.*”

the participant writes about Sweden as a democratic and free country, this may sound very positive, in our ears, but there are no uttering that could guide us to a sure

statement that this is positive in the participant's the life-world. As we have some experience of hearing these terms in a negative affect we do not want to implicate Sweden in a positive affect because of this, we just see as a flow of facts. We feel that the participant has to, or want to explain what democracy and freedom of speech is. And summarizes them in a simple definition "...this means that one can decide over ones life concerning culture, religion, and so on." In sentence that follows we would like to hear, or at least discuss some implicated confounded thoughts, and that brings weight to our doubts about the affects implicated to this freedom, as the participant writes. "*For children and youth there are not much rules, it is exaggerated, but I do not dislike it.*" It is ambiguous in a way that we are tented to interpret as an internal conflict and maybe even an actual dislike. Following quotation also strengthens this, "*The sun and the natural light is quite small in Sweden.*"

Modalities of P7

The only thing that the participant mentions in a general negative way is the fact that he/she was not able to read at the time for arriving in Sweden. the participant does otherwise speak positively of Sweden, about how the country is democratic and the people are respectful and responsible. Also the participant does write positively about the opportunity of going to school in the future for the fictional character we introduced in our question.

the participant generally is perceptive when describing the country of Sweden, but the descriptions become more interpretative when they are about the people in Sweden. When the participant mention the Swedish people he/she uses the one-all subject, when the participant mentions Sweden as a country there is no subject and the participant uses I and not we when describing things that relate to him/her more directly.

the participant uses present or always-recurrent time to describe Sweden but mainly past tense when describing to himself/herself. the participant writes in terms of wish-positive when referring to the school, in terms of aspiration when referring to Swedish behaviours and in terms of engagement or none when referring to himself/herself, Sweden and the Swedes. In the last instance there is a tendency towards being more engaged about things that are not Swedish.

*Acculturation of P7**Table8: acculturation of P7*

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Sweden	That one can go to from my country That has something	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, none, my, I, ambiguous Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, none, its, unspecified, only yes to new culture
Each other	That one has respect for	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, positive-present, aspiration, not stated, one-all, integration
I	Can at first not read and write Who thinks a lot on life	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, negative-retrospective, wish-positive, my, I, segregation Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, past, neutral, engagement, my, I, ambiguous

When the participant talks about moving to Sweden this issue is most certainly culturally loaded but it is not clear if the participant's experience is positive or negative, this is also the case when the participant talk about thinking about life. the participant is generally acceptant of Swedish culture and is positive to the traits he/she finds in it, like going to school, having respect for each other and keeping times. When writing about how he/she could not read and write upon arrival in Sweden is the only instance of negativity towards Swedish culture. Because this issue is in the past and is being successfully resolved there is in the participant's story no real negative attitudes towards the Swedish culture.

Modalities of P9

The Participant generally writes in a positive or neutral affect, only one thing is mentioned as negative and this is well in the past. That which the Participant mentions as positive is mainly her friend who are written about in terms of what has happened in the past "*I met a friend...*". The other thing the Participant has a positive affect towards is the prospect of a future life in Sweden, and this is in a prospective viewpoint. Although this future life in Sweden also breaks away from the doxa-affirmative belief and is considered a probability, which makes the Participant certainty of it happening somewhat less.

the participant writing is almost exclusively perceptive, with one imaginative sentence about Sweden and two instances of signitive function when referring to friends. When looking at the participant's use of property, there are different kinds used when telling

different things. What might be noteworthy is that when the Participant uses the we-term, “we” are always the friends from the old country. The only subject the Participant use is “I”, though one sentence about coming from Kosovo to Sweden is unspecified.

When the time modality is considered the Participant use always-recurrent time when referring to Sweden or Kosovo, a few times present time is used as well. And when talking about friends the Participant exclusively use past. the Participant is mostly engaged in what she tells us. That which she does not have any will behind is Kosovo, Sweden, the school and the Swedes. So in the group with no will we mainly find Sweden and its attributes, although when looking at the entity Sweden the Participant is rather engaged than not.

Acculturation of P9

Table10: Modalities of P9

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who help someone	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, aspiration, my, I, ambiguous
	Who have met...	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, positive-retrospective, engagement, my, I, only yes to old culture
	Who believe...	Probability, imaginative, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, my, I, only yes to new culture
Kosovo	Where they have come from	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, none, its, unspecified, only yes to old culture
Sweden	Where one can stay	Probability, imaginative, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, my, I, only yes to new culture
	That she explained to me about	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, engagement, her, I, only yes to new culture

the participant’s acculturation modality shows a tendency towards accepting the old culture as well as the new culture, so from this one could conclude that the Participant has successfully integrated her old culture with the new. What she mentions that indicates acceptance of the new culture is, the country of Sweden, living in Sweden, the Swedes and how they are helpful. The entities, which indicate acceptance of the old culture, are Sweden, Kosovo, the people from Kosovo in Sweden and the participant’s friends who are mentioned in various fashions. There can be seen trend towards segregation, in the participant’s story the sentence that implies this is a quotation from another person, but she seems to agree. And the strong focus on her friends with similar ethnical background can also be indicating segregation.

Modalities of P9

The Participant doesn't really say anything negative at all and she says a few things neutrally, these mainly revolve around Sweden. But mostly she speaks positively of everything, Sweden is also mentioned positively and more times so than neutrally. A majority of the participant's story is perceptive in its belief. Some entities are described in an imaginative belief, these relate to the imagined friend from the question and specifically to problems that might occur when starting school in Sweden. A few things are also said in a signitive way, some of these are school related and some are related to Sweden in a more generalized manner.

The property of the entities in the participant's text is to an unusually small extent "my". She uses "her" much, then referring to the friend from the question. the Participant uses we when referring to the people of Sweden, or at least the people in Sweden, although mostly when referring to Sweden there is no stated property. the Participant only really refers to herself in the first sentence where she explains what she would say. Then she uses the one-all subject when talking about life in Sweden and here she also uses we. The rest of the entities, who mainly are about school, are unspecified.

the Participant says much about what life in Sweden is like and this is said in always-recurrent time modality. She also uses the future time, this is to explain matters pertaining to the friend she talks about and school. So the Participant is not talking about thing that are actually going to happen but rather using the future time to speculate and explain the school. the Participant also uses present time to some extent.

the Participant is engaged in everything she says, except for a few remarks bout Sweden. These remarks are explaining how Sweden has democracy and gives human rights, and has the sound of a schoolbook.

Acculturation P10

Table11: Modalities of P10

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
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Sweden	That gives human rights to everyone	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, none, its, one-all, assimilation
	That is a democratic country	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, none, its, unspecified, only no to new culture
The rules	That are applied equally on everyone	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always recurrent, neutral, engagement, not stated, one-all, Assimilation
Everyone	That has the right to a good life	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, not stated, one-all, only yes to new culture
	That experience the same level of safety	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, not stated, one-all, only yes to new culture
	That can help each other	Probability, perceptive, present, positive-prospective, engagement, their, unspecified, only yes to new culture

There is no doubt that The Participant has fully accepted the Swedish culture, this clear as crystal. But what one might wonder about is the participant's attitude towards her own culture. From what she has written, there are almost no references towards her old culture. This could be taken as a sign on assimilation. But that would be a kind of drastic conclusion to draw merely from omission of information about the old culture.

Modalities of P11

The Participant is mostly neutral and uses only one other affect. This affect is positive prospective, which results in an overall optimistic attitude in this text. What are mentioned as positive are explanations of things revolving around the school. *"I can follow him to important places that he cannot find"*.

The Participant uses possibility and probability belief when explaining the scenario of a friend coming to Sweden and wanting to start school, but this is something we introduced in the question so it really means nothing.

The Participant uses the imaginative modality mostly because the whole text is about how he would introduce a hypothetical friend to Sweden, which is in line with the question. There are a number of things, which are mentioned in a signitive fashion, though they are few. These are about what is important to know, *"information that he needs"*. Similarly the perceptive entities are facts about the Swedish society and the

school in particular, “*meet with the school counsellor who can help him in school and outside of it.*”

In respect to property some of the things The Participant write about belong to his hypothetical friend, these are information about Sweden, the school and other places and help that the friend needs. The Participant does in a few cases reference property to Sweden, although he never mentions Sweden by name. Property is not stated in some cases of common sense facts. Mostly The Participant references entities as belonging to himself, and The Participant is his own subject all of the time.

The Participant are using the always-recurrent time to describe a few points regarding life and school in Sweden, for example the importance of keeping times. Then The Participant mainly use future time when describing the event of the hypothetical friend arriving and explaining things to him. And in some instances The Participant use present time in those descriptions as well. The Participant is engaged in everything he writes except for when reciting our question.

Acculturation of P12

Table12: acculturation of P11

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who must tell him about time	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, future, neutral, engagement, my, I, ambiguous
	Who must help him	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, present, neutral, engagement, my, I, only yes to new culture
Country	That is mine	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, present, neutral, engagement, its, I, integration
The country	That is my homeland	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, future, neutral, none, my, I, none
School	That one can go to	Possibility, imaginative, future, positive-prospective, engagement, his, I, ambiguous
Time	That is very important	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, neutral, engagement, my, I, integration

The Participant has an overall positive attitude towards the Swedish culture. From the fact that he refers to Sweden as “*my country*” one can conclude that he is more positive than most. Or maybe it would be wrong to call his attitude positive, since he doesn’t actually mention Sweden one is lead to believe that he doesn’t really think about it, but that Sweden just is his country. This could also be a signal that he has rejected his old culture, but from this data it would probably be wrong to call his devotion to Sweden anything but healthy.

Modalities of p12

The Participant did not give a very informative answer, it is one of the shorter ones we received, but we worked with it as well as we could. The Participant starts off with her only negative remark that she does not speak or write Swedish very well. After that comes a neutral part about how it is necessary to learn Swedish if you live in Sweden, and the rest is positive-prospective.

Here she mentions Sweden, the school and its staff.

The Participant is perceptive in the same sentence that is negative, when explaining her low Swedish skills. “*I only speak a little Swedish.*” Other than that she is interpretative (signitive). The Participant gives property to Sweden, the school, the school staff and of course, herself. Everything she says is from her subjective point of view.

The Participant only speaks in terms of always-recurrent and present time. The Participant is using the will wish-positive when referring to her low proficiency in Swedish and how she would like to learn more of it. She is engaged in the rest of the text, this describing life in Sweden and the school.

Acculturation P12

Table13: Modalities of P12

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who only speak a little Swedish	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, negative-prospective, wish-positive, my, I, Marginalisation
	Who like the school	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, positive-prospective, engagement, its, I, only yes to new culture
	Who wants to learn more and more	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, positive-prospective, engagement, its, I, only yes to new culture
Sweden	That someone lives in	Doxa-affirmation, signitive/perceptive, present, neutral, engagement, not stated, I, integration

That is a good country Doxa-affirmation, signitive/perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, its, unspecified, only yes to new culture

In respect to acculturation The Participant seems well adapted to Swedish culture according to what she has written, with the exception of the first sentence (about having poor Swedish skills). This is quite a serious issue though, as language skills are considered very important in Sweden. So although the language is the only point that goes against the participant's involvement with the Swedish culture, it is important enough to give serious consideration. Also poor language skills may be the reason for the short answer.

Modalities of P14

The Participant is negative only about the situation she was in when she arrived at Sweden; "I understood nothing". Then she is positive-prospective about her situation and future in Sweden, democracy, school and possibility of a job is mentioned. Otherwise she is neutral.

The Participant uses the imaginative function much, when she is directed towards the imaginary friend, this is rooted in our question. The Participant only uses the I-subject and mostly the my-property. Though she does use the your-property, this is also when directed towards the supposed friend.

When looking at the time modality, The Participant uses always-recurrent when explaining what it is like in Sweden and her school. She writes of the future only in one sentence, "When you have learnt Swedish there is a chance for you to get a job." When she uses the past it is mostly negative things, like not going to school in the old country. For the other entities, which are the most she uses present tense. She is generally engaged.

Acculturation P14

Table15: Modalities of P14

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who understood nothing	Doxa-negation, signitive, past, negative-retrospective, wish-positive, my, I, marginalisation
	Who must help	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, present, neutral, engagement, my, I, ambiguous
Respect	That one has for each other	Doxa-affirmation, perspective, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, my, I, only yes to new culture

School	That you must go to	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, present, neutral, engagement, my, I, none
	That it is better to go to than staying home	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, neutral, engagement, its, I, none
Sweden	That is a good country	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, its, I, only yes to new culture

The participant's acculturation categories are somewhat spread, but there is few instances of acceptance of the old culture and these are more in the form of a Swedish subculture. The participant's strict focus on the rules of the Swedish school indicates assimilation. There is an instance of marginalisation, but this is in the past. Finally there are some entities that indicate acceptance of the new culture, although these are superficial and maybe not so deep. "Sweden is a good and democratic country"

Modalities of P15

The Participant uses only the positive-prospective affect with the exception of when she is referring to the school and telling her friend about it, in which she is neutral. The Participant is generally perceptive, but when describing Sweden and the school she also using imaginative and signitive function.

The property categories The Participant uses are her for the friend, your also mainly for the friend but more towards a general rule, my only once in the beginning of the text, its about the school and also about Sweden and finally not stated for when she is referring to some issues in life and at school.

The Participant mainly use the subject I when referring to the school and her friend. When referring to Sweden she is mostly using unspecified subject and she also use one-all with a few entities when referring to the school and life in Sweden.

The Participant is mostly writing in terms of always-recurrent time but is also once using present time. Since she is describing a possible scenario involving a friend future time is also used some points. She is writing with engagement.

Acculturation P15

Table 16: Modalities of P15

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
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I	Who am going to tell my friend	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, future, neutral, engagement, his, I, none
School	Where you can learn everything That is good	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, not stated, one-all, none Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, its, I, none
Sweden	That gives human rights to everyone That is a very beautiful country	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, its, one-all, only yes to new culture Doxa-affirmation, signitive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, its, unspecified, only yes to new culture

A surprisingly large amount of the participant's entities are not loaded with any acculturation. Though acceptance of the new culture seems to be the rule. This is followed by the fact that the participant's praise of Sweden seems quite genuine. Even if The Participant has not fully integrated with the Swedish culture, which we are not saying she has not, she most certainly has a positive attitude towards the Swedish schools.

Modalities of P16

The Participant is using negative affect when referring to how she was ignorant when she arrived at Sweden. She is using positive affect when describing how she must help her family and how she has learned many new things. For all the rest she is using neutral affect.

The only deviation from doxa-affirmative belief is an instance of possibility due to our question. This same instance is the single one with imaginative function. The other functions of the text are mainly perceptive with some cases of signitive, the latter refers to acculturation actually, and i.e. things she has learned in school and about Sweden.

The Participant is in her text giving property to, besides herself, Sweden, the school and her family. She uses herself as Subject also except for when she refers to what you learn in school and which rules apply there. About the school situation, there she is also using aspiration instead of engagement with regard to the will modality.

Acculturation P16

Table 17 modalities P16

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
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I	Have now learned	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, positive-retrospective, engagement, my, I, only yes to new culture
	Who had no knowledge	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, negative-retrospective, wish-negative, my, I, marginalisation
	Who must help my family	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, future, positive-prospective, engagement, their, I, only yes to new culture
School	That one must go to	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, aspiration, its, one-all, none
Language	That one must learn	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, aspiration, not stated, one-all, only yes to new culture
Sweden	Where I went to school for the first time	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, past, neutral, engagement, my, I, none

With regard to acculturation the major trend is towards “yes to new culture” although there is a significant amount of uncertainty in the ambiguous and none categories of this modality. One can easily get the impression that the participant’s adaptation to the new culture does not run very deep, since she is mainly talking about her situation in terms of what is and what must be. She does not seem to have many options to choose from.

Modalities of P18

The Participant is negative toward the slowness of the process of fully entering the Swedish culture, “*it will take her/him a couple of months to get a job*”. Although this is explained as a future scenario we presume it is based on personal experience and thus it is actually referring to the past. But she is obviously at least trying to keep the spirits high, and explaining some of the benefits of the Swedish society, “*...not to be negative, keep an open mind and wait for the best*”. The Participant is using both perceptive and signitive function to describe Sweden and its attributes, but when she is being cheerful and positive she uses imaginative function. The Participant is using unspecified subject quite a lot.

Acculturation P18

Table19: Modalities of P18

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who would tell her	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, future, neutral, engagement, my, I, none
She	That should keep an open mind	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, aspiration, her, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	That should have economic stability	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative/perceptive, future, positive-prospective, wish-positive, her, unspecified, none

The society	That you become a part of	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, future, positive-prospective, wish-positive, her, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	That is Swedish	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, future, positive-prospective, wish-positive, her, unspecified, only yes to new culture
Sweden	That one can move to	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, future, neutral, engagement, her, unspecified, none

The Participant seems to have a positive attitude towards Swedish culture, since this is explicitly said in her text. Contrasting this she seems to have a negative attitude because she is listing several severely problematic issues she has encountered, although in doing so she tries to keep a positive attitude, “...*the Swedish system is good and also very open but it’s slow...*” The Participant has a good overview of the situation she is in, she talks about becoming a part of the Swedish society, as can be seen in the table. But she focuses on the economical situation and getting a job, which of course is what is most important to her at this time, but maybe what we read from this data does not apply to other areas of life.

Modalities of P17

It may seem like The Participant is referring to Sweden negatively, but rather than that she speaks of negative aspects of Sweden. Thus the statements she makes are really not negatively loaded, even if it may seem like that. “*Remember, you are in a different country and of course, everything is different.*” Because her noema labelled as positive often are in the same sentence as those negative, generally they are explicitly positive as well as positively loaded.

The manner of question we asked led The Participant to use imaginative function; she also uses signitive when giving advice to the friend from said question. With exception of the first sentence she writes with no subject.

Acculturation P19

Table20: Modalities of P19

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who will advise you	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-prospective, engagement, your, I, none
You	Who will see Sweden from a different perspective	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, future, positive-prospective, wish-positive, your, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Who are in a country where everything is different	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, engagement, your, unspecified, ambiguous

	Who comes to Sweden	Question, imaginative, future, neutral, none, your, unspecified, none
Different	That most of what you see is	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, negative-prospective, engagement, your, unspecified, only no to new culture
Sweden	That you should try not to start with a bad idea about	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, negative-prospective, wish-negative, your, unspecified, ambiguous

The acculturation aspect along with its modality is similar to the general positivism and negativism of the text. This is if you look at the participant's attitude towards Swedish culture. So some of the modalities seem to be against and some seem to be for, usually as contrasts within a sentence. *"Please don start with a bad idea about Sweden even if you feel or see things that you think are different."* But when applying a holistic perspective the main emotion seems to be positive. Though the theme of the text is like instructions and is maybe not very loaded at all if one compare it to other answers.

Modalities of P20

The Participant is overall positive in her text. She does not go very deeply into any description and she is using the function perceptive and doxa-affirmative belief, which clearly removes any personal touch to the text. Further property is either directed towards Sweden or not stated and the subject modality is either one-all or unspecified. This may be taken as an indication that The Participant does not really support what she is writing.

Acculturation P20

Table21: Modalities of P20

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Ingredients	That is for Indian food	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-prospective, engagement, not stated, one-all, only yes to old culture
Equality	That is between the sexes	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, none, not stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture
Country	That is peaceful us this	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, none, its, unspecified, only yes to new culture
Swedish	That one can learn	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-prospective, wish positive, its, one-all, only yes to new culture
Sweden	Where there is no trouble in the evening	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, none, not stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture

There are examples of acceptance of both the old and the new culture in this text. *"Buy ingredients for Indian food"* – *"This is a very peaceful land"*. It would seem like The

Participant is included in the Indian subculture of Sweden, and thus a certain acceptance of both cultures are expected.

The result of P 21

This answer may be too short for one to be able to read anything from it with certainty. It is however difficult to read much from it anyhow, the expression is distanced and neutral. Any conclusions relating to acculturation are also hard to reach; the participant does not really give any information relating to this. All he says about the new culture is that he emigrated here. And what he says about school is that there is where he spends his days and he thinks it is nice. *(We have chosen not to include fp21 in any further analysis or discussion and instead focus upon the richer answers containing more information)*

The result of P 22

The participant's answer is not very rich in word mass and thus difficult to grasp fully. What can be said, though with uncertainty, is that his modalities deviate from study's average in several ways. The affect is generally more positive and the belief modality is less towards doxa-affirmation and more towards probability. The participant seems to have a positive attitude towards the school and Sweden in general, *"roads and parks, all the houses and apartments are pretty good"*. *(We have chosen not to include fp22 in any further analysis or discussion and instead focus upon the richer answers containing more information)*

Modalities of P 23

The participant's affection is mostly neutral, and secondly positive, that is all there is. The Participant discusses mainly Sweden, its culture and school, and the students, which he identifies with. The entities that are positive are concerned with strategies for managing the school and Swedish culture. The same entities have signitive function instead of perceptive. There are also cases of imaginative function where The Participant explains Swedish culture, "You must obey the Swedish laws."

The subjects the participant uses are at only one point my, this is towards the start of the text *"I think..."* Otherwise he does not state a subject with the exception of when he

is referring to how things work in the school. Then he is using we subject, referring to the students and counting him as one of them.

Acculturation P23

Table24: Modalities of P23

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who think	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, neutral, engagement, my, I, none
We	Who go to school Monday to Friday	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, none, not stated, we, none
	Who study six hours a day	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, engagement, not stated, we, none
	Who must study	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, neutral, engagement, not stated, we, only yes to new culture
School	That is the most important thing in Sweden	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, neutral, engagement, its, I, none
Sweden	That is different from our native land	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, neutral, engagement, its, unspecified, ambiguous

Much of what the participant says is ambiguous from a cultural point of view although clearly loaded in some way, for example “*Sweden is different from our homeland*”. But the fact that the participant is able to acquire a point of view from which he can examine differences between his old and the Swedish culture is a sign of insight into cultural issues. Some of the participant’s entities are clearly positive of the new culture, “*We must study and learn the Swedish language*”. But in some instances the meaning units in themselves are not clearly loaded culturally at all. But the descriptions of going to school put in context clearly indicates that the participant has accepted his role as a Swedish student, this may have to do with his relatively low age.

Modalities of P24

The participant’s answer is relatively short, which means what we read from it is not very certain or precise. The participant is generally more positive than the average. The participant tells us that he is a relatively new immigrant who goes to school and likes it there, because he can get help from there. Also he likes the other students at the school, who also are immigrants.

(We have chosen not to include fp24 in any further analysis or discussion and instead focus upon the richer answers containing more information)

Modalities P25

The participant is writing about entities that we read in a negative affect like “*The Swedish are not that spontaneous, almost none is laughing...*” then he adds a positive note “*...but they are kind.*” This quotation is representative for the few meanings the participant wrote, first some meaning-units that sound negative and then something positive may be this is a natural reaction, because of the bad feeling of writing to negatively.

As the participant starts with telling how he would meet a Mexican in Sweden the function-modality is mostly perceptive. “*If I meet a Mexican in Sweden, the first thing I would ask would be... what part of Mexico do you come from.*” After this, as he goes on by wondering about some apparently negative thoughts about Sweden the function-modality is signitive.

As you can read in the chart the participant writes most in I-subject, not at all in one-all-subject, there is not only doxa-affirmation, there is also some possibility, and a significant part of question. The participant is rather sharing his thoughts. It could also be that he is being negative and it is easier to express negative thoughts in general terms.

Acculturation P25

Table 26: acculturation of P25

Entity	Predicate	Modalities
I	Who meets a Mexican in Sweden	Doxa-affirmation, imaginative, always-recurrent, neutral, engagement, not stated, I, none
	Who has a personal feeling about being in Sweden	Question, perceptive, present, neutral, none, not stated, I, none
	That do not know if the Swedes are happy	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, ambiguous, none, not stated, I, ambiguous
Swedes	That are kind but solitaire	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, negative-present, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
	Are not so spontaneous	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, negative-present, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
	That are not laughing but are kind	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, negative-present, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous
	That are may be not happy	Possibility, signitive, present, negative-present, none, not stated, unspecified, ambiguous

The cultures are clearly separated, differentiated and compared. And there are meaning units that could be read as a now to the new culture, even if we did not dare to classify them in the chart. With loose ground we would like to say that the concept of nationality seems to be stable, *“If I meet an Mexican in Sweden.”*

The participant does not show any care in generalizing that all Swedes are in a special way, but put his thoughts in an asking or wondering tense. See table 26, and we find it culminates in the last sentence, when he writes: *“Maybe they are not happy here, I don’t know”*

Modalities P26

The text is very short, and some-times we feel a bit stupid to try to see anything. But anyhow there are some thoughts we want to bring up in the light.

There are no apparent negative affects that we see in this short text. One could interpret the writing about friends and fiancé as positive, *“I am here with my fiancé and okay, I have lots of friends in Sweden, and in my country”* But we did not judge it as enough.

He only writes in I-subject, and there is occurrence of present in all meaning-units, he is telling us about his experiences can we thus conclude.

Acculturation P26

Table27: Acculturation of P26

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
I	That comes from Chile	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> pas, neutral, unengagement, not stated, I, only yes to old culture
	That is here with my fiancé	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, unengagement, my, I, none
	That has many friends in Sweden	Doxa-affirmation, perc/sign, present, positive-present, unengagement, my, I, only yes to new culture
	That has many friends in my country	Doxa-affirmation, perc/sign, present, positive-present, unengagement, my, I, only yes to old culture
	That thinks I have a good situation in Sweden	Possibility, signitive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to new culture
	That is going to learn Swedish now	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, neutral, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to new culture

There is a clear differentiation between my country and Sweden. But it could be interesting that the participant does not say that he is Chilean but that he is from Chile,

this could be pointing at a lack of identification, but we would have liked more quotes to be able to say that with conviction.

The friends seem to be important in the process of acculturation.

The last sentence could be seen as an excuse for writing as short, but it also reminds of the situation in which he is, that he is learning Swedish and apparently is taking steps towards integration into the Swedish society.

Modalities P27

As the participant did not understand enough Swedish to understand the question we had to clarify it, as we are blessed with enough knowledge in French this was possible. But to make it clear we accentuated the situation of a friend asking for advice, so he wrote a letter. But I, Josef got a very special contact with this man, as he was full of feelings that he expressed orally. Later when I read his answer I realized that what he had written was ambiguous in some way. This may be much because of a different culture and relationship to the written word. He had a very proper language and handwriting-style. And we want to say that we have decided to let this knowledge influence our interpretation.

It is not only that we are influenced by the talk we had that made it hard to interpret any affects. He has a way of expressing himself that hides in some way; see this example “*I would say to you that it would be best for you to continue your studies in a French-speaking country...*” He is not saying that Sweden is bad, explicitly. Would you dare to tell what affect these meaning-units have?

There is also not only doxa-affirmation, but also some possibility that is actually used in a way that gives us a feeling of even being even harder. “*In other case (If you do not master the French) you can come to Sweden if you have money that permits you to hastily apprehend the features right order.*” You can see that this is in a way imaginative, as it is shown in chart 28 it is the main way the participant is using.

The participant is using a respectful attitude towards the reader, by calling him “vous” that is shown in the Property modality. He is also writing in a direct way, using a general, always-recurrent time-mode and I as subject-mode.

*Acculturation P27**Table28: acculturation of P27*

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
You	That I would tell to go one with the studies in a French-speaking country	Doxa-aff. imaginative, always-recurrent, engagement, ambiguous, your, I, only no to new culture
	Can come to Sweden if you have money	Possibility, signitive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, none, your, I, ambiguous
	That have to learn to express yourself in Swedish	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, aspiration, your, I, ambiguous

In some way it is quite obvious that the participant is answering no to the new culture, as he is telling this unknown friend to rather go to another country, but still he is studying Swedish, and living there. And there is a way that seems open in his mind to enter the society, a way of assimilation. *“You have to learn to express yourself in Swedish first if you want to get engaged in discussions with friends.”* In some way the acculturation seems to be a necessary evil.

Modalities P29

We had a hard time evaluating some affects in the text the participant gave us. This is because the positive and the negative affects are tightly bound together, as different views of the same situation *“I live a safe life free from sorrow, in one way, but in another way I experience difficulties...”*

But to summarize the negative affects it mainly concerns the difficulties in learning, learning of the language, the culture and the rules. The positive affects are painting a beautiful picture of the Swedes *“The people are humane and gentle.”*

The participant is writing only in Doxa-affirmation, mainly in signitive mode, and equally in I and one-all subject. She is writing decisively about her opinions. *“About the language I can say that if you come at 35+ it is very hard to learn different language and take the new culture to your heart, and get consciousness about the rules.”*

*Acculturation P29**Table30: acculturation of P29*

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Our culture	That is different from Swedish culture	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, our, we, ambiguous
Sweden	That is successful	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, positive-present, engagement, not stated, I, only yes to old culture
	That is different from	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, ambiguous,

Afghanistan	none, its, unspecified, ambiguous
Where the rules are different from Afghanistan	Doxa-affirmation, signitive, present, ambiguous, none, its, unspecified, ambiguous

It is interesting that when the participant quotes the list of what is different between Sweden and Afghanistan the words comes slightly differently ”I [...] *experience difficulties, and it is because our culture, customs and life-standard is very different from the Swedish language, customs and culture.*”

As you may have noticed She has a very comparative perspective on the cultures, lifting differences, “*Rules and laws are very different from Afghanistan*”

We did not dare to categorize more than one meaning unit, it is the first, and it is positive to the new culture. “*I can with total openness and surly say that Sweden is successful.*” But in some ways, as you certainly have read in the quotation we have used, there are opinions and relations to both cultures. But it is not as simple as positive or negative, an explicit yes or a no.

There is a clear identification with the Afghani culture “*our culture...*” (In present mode) this makes it hard to talk about old and new culture. But as there are so many positive predicates describing Sweden we would conclude that there is openness towards Sweden.

Modalities P30

This is a very short text, showing only some smaller parts of the participant’s life-world. The positive meaning units tell about the rights one gets there and “*Sweden is a nice country.*” There are some ambiguous parts leaving spaces for our speculation “*It (Sweden) has many particularities, especially for immigrants.*” One could see the duties that the participant writes about after the rights as negatively loaded, but this has no convincing ground in the text.

The interesting thing is that we cannot see any subject; the writer is keeping himself hidden and he is telling facts. The time modality follows his thought as he sees the duties on a short, present term and their consequences on a long, present->future, term. “*You should work after finishing school.*”

Acculturation P30

Table31: acculturation of P30

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
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Sweden	Is a nice country	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, none, not stated, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Has a lot of particularities, especially for immigrants	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, ambiguous, none, its, unspecified, ambiguous
You	That has rights and duties	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, present, positive-present, none, your, unspecified, ambiguous
	Should study Swedish so you learn the language	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> fut., ambiguous, engagement, your, unspecified, only yes to new culture
	Should work after finishing study	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> fut., ambiguous, engagement, your, unspecified, ambiguous

The little we can say is that there is an explicit positive view on Sweden, but one can guess that this focus on the duties feels like a heavy burden for the participant, and should maybe affect the horizon of Sweden in a negative way. There are at least traces of identification to the group of immigrants “*It (Sweden) has many particularities, especially for immigrants.*”

The only ambition that could be seen is a will to be assimilated, as the duties seems so overwhelmingly important but as the relationship to the old culture is totally non-existing it is hard to say anything

Modalities P31

The only ambition that could be seen is a will to be assimilated, as the duties seem to be the only important thing. “*The first thing is that one should learn the Swedish language.*” Even if it seems daring to try to draw some conclusions on such a small text we want to point at the fact that this small meaning is showing what the participant presumably finds as the most important, or at least are on the top of the life-world and what flows out at the demand to reflect over this situation of acculturation that our question shows.

The modalities are unison in their use. We did not manage to detect the feelings involved with certainty, but we suppose there is some. The belief is doxa-affirmative, and the function perceptive. It is interesting that he only speaks in one-all subject, as he only tells what one should do.

Acculturation P31

Table32: acculturation of P31

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
One should	First learn the Swedish language	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, ambiguous, engagement, one-all, not stated, ambiguous

Secondly continue to study and have a work	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> fut., ambiguous, engagement, one-all, not stated, ambiguous
Leave the social security money dependence	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, pres -> fut., ambiguous, engagement, one-all, not stated, ambiguous

There are also some possibilities to discern some acculturative standpoints. The learning one should do is central, so is the duty and the way to reach a goal that is not explicated. There is no reason, or any perception of time that seems to bring the goal into reality. *“The second thing is that one has to go on studying and get work and leave the social security money”*

It clearly sounds like the strategy of acculturation is assimilationistic, as the learning is the solution, not anything that lies in the hands of the receiving culture.

Modalities P32

This participant gave us a short answer and not a very rich one, but there were some practical advice of what to do when coming to Sweden. With this knowledge it is not surprising that he only speaks in doxa-affirmation, a perceptive function, and a one-all subject. *“One should learn what levels there are for the Swedish language in komvux (school for adults to do primary and secondary school) and the high-school”* The modality of will can be important in this context, as the acting is so important for the participant.

The affects are positive if they are, and then concern what is good to do. *“To learn the Swedish language is good.”*

Acculturation P32

Table33: acculturation of P32

Entities	Predicate	Modalities
Good thing	That is to learn the language	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, wish-positive, one-all, not stated, yes to new culture
	That is to plan what to do in Sweden	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, wish-positive, one-all, not stated, yes to new culture
One should	Know the levels of the Swedish language	Doxa-affirmation, perceptive, always-recurrent, positive-prospective, engagement, one-all, not stated, yes to new culture

There is a future; even if it seems to be confused one should plan for it. This is a confused but decided yes to the new culture. It is founded on an opinion of what are good things. Even the acculturation modalities mostly show terms for ambiguous acculturation we feel there is an underling meaning, and look towards a future in Sweden.