

# Paradigms in Swedish as a Second Language – Curricula for Primary School and Secondary School in Swedish as a Second Language

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## Abstract

This article analyzes and compares the curricula of Swedish and Swedish as a second language for primary and secondary school. The school subject of Swedish as a second language is young, and its ideological foundation has not been debated to any large extent, in contrast to Swedish. This article analyzes the curricula of both subjects in terms of “paradigms”, i.e. beliefs and conceptions on a school subject, and the Appraisal system developed within the framework of Systemic functional linguistics. In comparison, the curriculum of Swedish as a second language turns out to be more oriented towards skills and communicative paradigms, at the expense of paradigms related to personal growth, literature or *Bildung*. Also, the curriculum seems to have weak connections to research on second language development or education. The article also gives an overview of the Swedish school system with special focus on education for immigrants and multilingual students.

**Keywords:** Curriculum analysis, Swedish as a second language, Second language development, Second language teaching, Appraisal

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## Introduction

Throughout the Swedish school system there are two subjects of Swedish, Swedish (SW) and Swedish as a second language (SWS), the latter of which is intended for students with Swedish as a second language. SW is one of the oldest subjects in the Swedish school system and has a long history of ideological discussion and debate on its identity. On the other hand, SWS is a young subject, established in 1995, and, also, a subject that has been repeatedly questioned and criticized and that has met organizational challenges. There is an obvious need for a survey of the ideological and pedagogical background of SWS. This article aims to chart the aims and ideas behind the school subject of SWS through text analysis of the current curricula of SWS and

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compare these to the curricula of the subject of Swedish. The texts are related to trends and policies regarding immigration and multilingualism in Sweden.

The article opens with a brief introduction to the Swedish educational system. Focus is put on education for multilingual students and adult immigrants. Subsequently, the theoretical framework of the text analysis is given: first ideological and epistemic concepts from curricular analysis, and, second, the analytical framework of *Appraisal* (Martin & Rose, 2010) for analysis of evaluation and the texts' degree of dialogicity. A brief review of relevant earlier research on curricula in Swedish is also given. In the results section, the curricula for SW and SWS in primary and secondary school are compared and analyzed in the light of *paradigms* and conceptions of mother tongue education. The results are discussed in relation to earlier research on curricula and on learning and literacy in a second language.

#### *Organization of education for immigrants and multilingual students*

*The Swedish school system in brief.* In Sweden, compulsory education comprises nine years. Normally, a child enters compulsory education the year s/he turns seven and continues up till the age of 15. The majority of schools are public, but there are also private schools run by foundations or corporations. All schools are free to choose a pedagogical profile, e.g. CLIL, focus on a certain language, Waldorf etc.

Children younger than seven years are offered pre-school from their second year and pre-school class from the age of six.

Upper secondary education follows the nine years of compulsory schooling. There are 18 national programmes, which comprise three years. Six of these are preparatory for tertiary education (e.g. The social science programme, The natural science programme) and twelve are vocationally oriented (e.g. The hotel and restaurant programme, The industry programme, The health care programme). Students in the national programmes who meet the standards of the education, fulfil entry requirements for tertiary education. The vocational programmes do not generally give qualification to tertiary education. An overview of the Swedish education system is given in Figure 1.

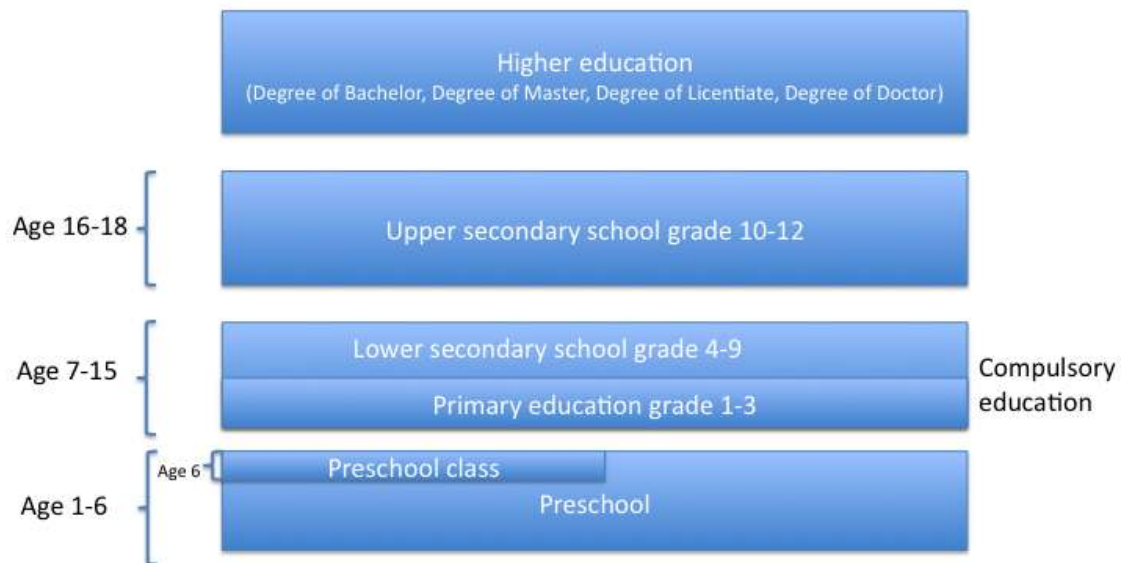


Figure 1. *The Swedish education system*

Five introductory programmes are aimed at students who have not reached the required standards in compulsory school and to help them qualify for a national programme. They are strongly individualized, e.g. lacking a common overall structure.

Although it is not compulsory, the large majority of students attend upper secondary school, but there are differences between groups of students in terms of whether they are eligible for upper secondary education or not. Approximately 85–88 % of all students finishing 9<sup>th</sup> grade in 2012 were eligible for one or more of the preparatory programmes or vocationally-oriented programmes (Skolverket, 2013b). However, only 69–74 % of immigrant students (Sw. “elever med utländsk bakgrund”) were eligible for a preparatory or vocationally-oriented programme; among the students that had immigrated after 2003, only 47 % were eligible for such programmes. An important factor is the education of the parents, as students who had immigrated after the age of seven and whose parents had a low education were to a lower extent eligible for national vocationally-oriented programmes than students who had immigrated after the age of seven but whose parents had post-secondary education (Skolverket, 2013, p. 33). According to Taguma, Kim, Brink and Telteman (2010), differences found between Swedish and immigrant students (the denomination used in the report) in primary education are accentuated in upper secondary education.

*Management and regulatory system.* In the beginning of the 1990's, the Swedish school system underwent several far-reaching reforms. The responsibility for schools was taken over by the municipalities, which were from then on employers of the teachers and owners of the schools. In addition, municipalities became responsible for the pedagogical content, for the economy and allocation of means and for students' goal attainment.

Since the reforms of the 1990's, the educational system has been managed by objectives. The general goals and objectives of the education are decided at a national level, by the government, the parliament and authorities. The municipalities or school owners are however free to choose how to reach these goals. This implies that methods and, to a large extent, content are determined by local authorities and schools. Thereby, schools are assumed to be able to adapt the pedagogy and educational content to local circumstances and conditions.

At a national level, two national governmental authorities administrate the educational system. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate scrutinizes all schools in the country, assesses applications to run an independent school and settles in cases of complaint from students or parents. The Swedish National Agency for Education supports, supervises and evaluates public and independent schools. The same agency also formulates the curricula and syllabi, and thereby goals and requirements.

#### *Education for immigrants and multilingual students*

The school subject of SWS is part of a strong “infrastructure” of education for L2-learners and multilingual persons. Apart from SWS, there is mother tongue education for children year K–12 and Swedish for immigrants (SFI), which serves adult immigrants.

SW and SWS are of equal merit. Each has its own curriculum and grading criteria, and both are offered from grade one to twelve. In upper secondary school, both prepare for tertiary education, and give the same qualifications.

In compulsory school, the principal of a local school decides which students will study SWS, on the basis of the child's knowledge of and competence in Swedish. In upper secondary school, the student decides if s/he will study SWS or SW.

In curricula and regulations, the term *mother tongue*<sup>1</sup> is reserved for the special L1 subject aimed at multilingual students, e.g. Kurdish, Arabic, Somali, English, Croatian or Serbian. The subject is to be offered multilingual students whose parent(s) has/have a first language other than Swedish, if the child uses the language on a daily basis at home or has basic knowledge of the language. In 2011, only 57 % of students entitled to mother tongue tuition actually studied it (Skolverket, 2011).

The third part of the educational infrastructure for multilingual students and immigrants is Swedish for immigrants (SFI) that serves adult immigrants. Every person older than 16 years who lives in Sweden and lacks the language knowledge and competence that SFI gives is entitled to education within SFI. The municipality is responsible for offering SFI, through public or independent schools. SFI consists of four courses, after which the student can study in upper secondary education.

#### *Implementation of the school subject of Swedish as a second language*

Even though the regulatory and legislative framework is strong from an international perspective, with an independent L2 subject, a mother tongue subject and special support for immigrant children, deficits in implementation have been reported repeatedly. Concerning SWS, the subject has been evaluated in several publications by governmental authorities, which depict poor implementation of the subject, poor observance of the regulations, poor assessment, and a high share of unqualified teachers. Often, SWS is not offered as an independent subject equivalent to SW, as it should be according to the Compulsory School Ordinance, it has a low status among students, parents and teachers, and in many schools SWS is a subject for low-performing students and not for L2-students (MSU, 2004; Skolverket, 2004; 2005; 2008; Utbildnings- och kulturdepartementet, 2006). Also, according to Skolverket (2008) L2-students in SWS come from families with lower education and weaker position on the labor market than L2-students in SW. In a similar vein, the mother tongue subject has met organizational challenges. For example, it is often offered off schedule, the teachers have unfavorable terms of employment, and few of entitled students study the subject (57 % in 2011).

The reasons for the poor implementation of SWS can perhaps partly be traced to its short history, i.e. it has not yet been consolidated. Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) however also emphasize a conflict between the rhetorical confession of the value of plurilingualism on the one hand and the monolingual norms that predominate in society as well as in education on the other. For example, the creation of the mother tongue subject was, according to Hyltenstam and Milani, a "vicarious marker" for pluralistic ideology. The consequences and needs were however not sufficiently carefully analyzed, e.g. regarding the need for qualified teachers, teacher education, terms of employment, collaboration with the school at large. Lindberg (2009, p.18), in turn, characterizes the creation of SWS as a manifestation of "strategic essentialism". The creation of one subject for all multilingual students without differentiation between beginners and advanced L2-users, or students with different educational background and literacy implied that a varied and heterogeneous student group was treated as homogenous. Also, the division of Swedish into two school subjects may have emphasized the exclusion of multilingual students from the Swedish norm.

The history and prerequisites of SW and SWS are diametrically opposed: SW has a solid position in school as one of the first school subjects in the system, whereas SWS was established only in 1995. Both subjects have been the objects of debate, but in

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<sup>1</sup> In the paper *mother tongue* is used to designate the school subject, in line with the Swedish regulations. In the international research cited (Sawyer & van de Ven 2007) on paradigms, *mother tongue* does however refer to the national language of a country, in Sweden's case Swedish.

different respects. In relation to SW, debates have concerned the content and aims of the subject, how it ought to relate to the experiences of the students, how literature or grammar ought to be studied and taught or how language development is best supported. As regards SWS, on the other hand, the debate has to a large extent concerned the very existence of the subject itself (for a survey, see Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). The advocates of SWS bring out the pedagogic necessity of the subject and the fact that L2-students will need special arrangements to develop language and content knowledge. The opponents stress a separating practice built-in in the subject, when L1 and L2 students are placed in different study groups.

A complicating factor is that both opponents and advocates of the subject use the poor implementation of SWS as an argument for defending their own opinion. The opponents (Fridlund, 2011) observe that the organization of SWS is insufficient, that the assessment of students is gratuitous, and that SWS stands out as a subject not for L2 learners but for low-performing students. The advocates, instead, notice – for the same reasons – that SWS has not yet been implemented according to the intentions. Its effects on students' learning cannot, consequently, be evaluated.

When discussing SWS, it is also important to remember the composition of students in SW. SW serves a heterogeneous group of L1 and L2 students. Partly, this is probably a consequence of the lack of assessment instruments mentioned above, but certainly also to be expected, considering the heterogeneity of multilingual students on the whole as regards language background (cf. Fraurud & Boyd, 2006).

#### Aims of the study

As for the school subject of Swedish, it has long been discussed in terms of *paradigms*, conceptions of the subject, in line with an international research tradition on mother tongue education by which the Swedish debate is heavily influenced. Hellberg (2002) investigated *voices* in the SW curriculum of 2000, and Hellberg (2008) studied paradigms and divergent influences in SW curricula from 1962–2000, and found different, often conflicting positions.

The present paper aims to contribute to the debate on the school subject of Swedish as a second language by investigating the rhetoric surrounding and construing SWS in terms of paradigms. The focus is on the curriculum of SWS for primary and secondary school from 2011. The curricula will be analyzed in terms of Appraisal (cf. Methods), to capture the degree of monologicity/dialogicity of the texts, and paradigms; the latter, as defined by Hellberg (2002; 2008), Sawyer and van de Ven (2007) and van de Ven (2004) will be briefly introduced below.

The focus is on the curriculum of SWS, and to a lesser extent on the curriculum of SW. The curriculum of *mother tongue* is treated briefly, as this subject is an integral part of multilingual education and thus a complement for multilingual students. It is however less emphasized in the paper, as it does not hold an equally strong position in school as SW and SWS, that address the language of instruction and are the largest subjects in school in terms of hours studied. Further, only marginally more than half of students entitled to mother tongue tuition actually study it (cf. Skolverket, 2011).

#### *Paradigms of mother tongue education*

van de Ven (2004) and Sawyer and van de Ven (2007) are two of several theorists who have studied mother tongue education in different countries of the West as it has developed during the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and who characterize different stages in terms of paradigms. A paradigm is defined as a “basic set of beliefs that guides

action” (Sawyer & van de Ven, 2007, p. 8) and “a certain value orientation on education, with strong implications for content, teaching-learning activities and the legitimacy of mother tongue education” (2007, p. 9). Sawyer and van de Ven (2007, pp. 11ff.) describe four paradigms.

*The Academic paradigm* originates in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and is discipline based with strong academic traditions. It favors High Literature and the study of grammar and literary standards, the national language and canon.

*The Developmental paradigm*, that developed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, is child-centered and influenced by Reform Pedagogy. Education has a personal orientation and should promote children’s language development. Writing instruction aims at individual expression “in one’s own and ‘authentic’ language” and reading serves “personal development” (2007, pp. 11ff.). The paradigm arose in times of meritocratic ideals, and conceives of mother tongue education as serving social progress.

*The Communicative paradigm* developed according to Sawyer and van de Ven after a reaction against the Developmental paradigm during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when concerns were raised about standards. The Communicative paradigm is emancipatory and “society centered” and aims at social equality. It aims both at children’s development of communicative competence, for them to function in society, and at insights in society by means of language analysis. Meta-reflections on language are central. Reading and writing are developed in real life situations, arranged by the teacher, and students write a broad range of genres.

*The Utilitarian paradigm* is related to the Communicative paradigm, as both paradigms aim at raising schooling standards, and developed as an answer to complex societies’ increasing need of “well-educated citizens” (Sawyer & van de Ven, 2007, p. 13). Sawyer and van de Ven link it to a stronger interest in tests and examinations. ‘Communication’ is defined in a more narrow sense than in earlier paradigms, and students “should be educated for a future contribution to the development of society” (2007, p. 13).

Hellberg (2008, p. 8), who uses the concept of paradigm in his analysis of SW curricula, refers to Ball’s, Kenny’s and Gardiner’s (1990) distinction between “English as Skills”, “English as the Great Literary Tradition”, “Progressive English/English as Personal Growth” and “English as Critical Literacy”. These overlap with the paradigms as described by Sawyer and van de Ven above. In the present paper Personal Growth is considered to correspond to the Developmental paradigm, and the Great Literary Tradition to the Academic Paradigm. English as Critical Literacy is considered a component of the Communicative paradigm, whereas English as Skills is considered a component of the Utilitarian paradigm.

In the Swedish debate, Malmgren’s (1996) definitions of three conceptions of the school subject of Swedish have been influential: “Swedish as a Skills subject”, “Swedish as a subject of *Bildung*” and “Swedish as an Experience pedagogical subject”. These are highly influenced by the English concepts. In the Experience pedagogical subject, importance is attached to the students’ experiences and questions, and through literature, they are to get to know the life and ideas of others. The conceptions and their reciprocal correspondences are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** *Paradigms in mother tongue tuition*

Sawyer & van de Ven (2007)	Ball et al. (1990)	Malmgren (1996)
Academic paradigm	English as Great Literary Tradition	Swedish as a <i>Bildung</i> subject
Developmental paradigm	English as Personal Growth	Swedish as an experience pedagogical subject
Communicative paradigm	English as Critical Literacy – a component of the Communicative paradigm	
Utilitarian paradigm	English as Skills – a component of the Utilitarian paradigm	Swedish as Skills – a component of the Utilitarian paradigm

The paradigms succeed each other historically but without replacing one another. They are assumed to exist today as competing currents in mother tongue education. According to Hellberg (2008, p. 10), several researchers consider the paradigms mutually exclusive, whereas others see them as supplementary. Depending on point of view, curricula are perceived either as loci of conflict between divergent interests or as harmonizing different but not necessarily conflicting goals, which together constitute a “best path”.

*Paradigms and voices in curricula of the school subject of Swedish 1962–2000*

Hellberg’s (2008) analysis of the curricula of Swedish 1962–2000 in terms of paradigms is one of the most extensive Swedish in-depth studies based in the international tradition. Hellberg assumed that curricula are the result of power struggles in society and conflicts between different fractions (2008, p. 84) and shows that these conflicts are made visible in some curricula but are hidden in others. The voice of the curriculum itself is called the “Ego”. The voice of The Other is studied as occurrence of conjunctions signaling for example objection, negation, obligation or causality, i.e. signs of argumentation or debate.

According to Hellberg the SW curricula of 1962, 1969 and 1988 are characterized by dialogicity. The main dialogue is held between a Skills voice on the one hand – representing The Other – and a voice emphasizing content, the student’s own interest, Experience pedagogy and Personal Growth on the other, which represents the Ego of the curricula. For example, in the 1988 curriculum, literature is discussed as a means of understanding others and should therefore “dominate the teaching of Swedish”<sup>2</sup> (2008, p. 25). The study of literature should not be confined to the history of literature or canon, as the paradigm of Literary Tradition would claim, but recognize other, more popular genres and be chosen out of consideration of the students’ experiences and conditions. Even though less dialogic, the 1980 curriculum too advocates Experience Pedagogy and Personal Growth, at the expense of Skills training and Literary tradition.

In 1994, a new voice enters the scene, which Hellberg calls “cross-curricular”. It emphasizes the importance of language for all school subjects and is according to

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<sup>2</sup> All translations into English are mine.

Hellberg a kind of Skills voice. Ego does however not want to confine language to these functions but also stresses language for identity, relations, thinking and creativity and “life and achievements”. The opinions of The Other is not easily distinguishable, according to Hellberg, as Ego embraces several (implicit) paradigms. In passages, the Skills paradigm is the Other, but the Skills paradigm is also embraced by the Ego, e.g. when Ego argues in favor of the study of grammar or text types as a means for language development. The vagueness of the 1994 curriculum leads Hellberg to the conclusion that the text strives for establishing harmony between paradigms that are actually conflicting. The 2000 curriculum also blends voices of Skills in the form of cross-curricular perspectives and Personal Growth.

In summary, Hellberg (2008) shows that paradigms and ideals compete for space in the curricula, with varying success. For example, the paradigm of Personal Growth has an important position, but also the paradigm of Literary History and the idea of *Bildung* emerge sometimes, and in some curricula, the Skills paradigm is given a more prominent voice, but blended with and not easily disentangled from other paradigms. In particular, the curricula of 1962, 1994 and 2000 advocate meaningfulness and consideration of students’ interests and wishes as opposed to the Skills paradigm.

Hellberg also shows that the earlier curricula of 1962 and 1969 are dialogic, allowing space to different, overtly contradicting voices, particularly the Skills paradigm on the one hand and, on the other hand, a weak version of Personal Growth blended with a modified Skills training voice which admits the benefit of meaningfulness and anchorage in students’ interests. The succeeding curricula of 1994 and 2000 hide conflict and strive towards harmonization in the sense that conflict is, in many respects, not acknowledged. Another way of putting it is that these later curricula are monologic to a large extent but with interruptions, without placing the paradigms in order of preference or letting them argue overtly, and thus make the arguments explicit. Hellberg (2008, p. 34) even calls the uncovered tendencies “the decline of a genre”, with defective coherence and turbid distribution of the subject matter. “Consensus as a result of power struggle” seems to lead to a text that is hard to understand and interpret.

In an earlier analysis of the curriculum of 2000, Hellberg (2002) uses the concept of *voices*, instead of paradigm, which relates to “values and interests existing before, outside and after” the curriculum. Contradictions are found also in this analysis, for example between Mother tongue/Cultural identity vs. Pluralism/Diversity:

Cultural identity: The history and cultural identity of a nation are harboured in a language

Diversity: [language] reflects the wealth of cultures that enriches and molds a society

Other contradicting voices are, among others, Individual vs. Norm, and Practice vs. Grammar. The voice of the Individual states that language and literature are of great importance to identity and meet a need for self-expression. The Norms voice, on the other hand, represents the norms of spoken and written language which are imperative irrespective of the opinions of the individual.

In a similar vein, the voice of Practice, in turn, states that students, by using language in meaningful contexts, learn to manage situations that raise different linguistic demands. The voice of Grammar, on the other hand, states that knowledge of structure and language development deepens the understanding of register variability. It stands in contrast to the Practice voice, which advocates doing in favor of knowing, not only for language development but also for language structure.



### *Previous research on SW*

The literature on the SW subject is rich in comparison to the few reports that exist on SWS. Here only occasional studies are mentioned that are relevant for the present paper.

There are no empirical studies of SW from L2 perspectives. Malmgren's (1992) and Ask's (2005) results on SW tuition in different upper secondary programs rather relate to social class. Even though neither Malmgren (1992) nor Ask (2005) explicitly investigate paradigms in their empirical studies of the realization of SWS in upper secondary school, their studies show differences between programs that can be interpreted in these terms.

Malmgren (1992) studied the educational practice and the "literary socialization" in Swedish in two year vocational programs and in three year preparatory social and natural science programs. The students in the two year vocational programs had working class backgrounds, consumed popular culture and many were reluctant to embrace literature and arts, whereas they tended to accept a "useful" Skills concept. The interests and literary repertoires of the middle class students in the three year preparatory programs were to a higher degree in accordance with the ideals of school.

Teachers at the general social and natural science programs had an ideal of *Bildung*, high literature and linguistic norms, and they taught a subject inspired by the academic disciplines of literature and linguistics. In contrast, the teachers at the two year vocational programs had a more pragmatic, flexible attitude towards the subject content and were to a lower extent upholders of ideals of *Bildung*. Malmgren (1992, pp. 325f.) points out that this latter attitude corresponded more to the curriculum in force, but she also finds a cleavage between an academic focus on subject matter in the preparatory programs and a trivial "needs-and-interest school subject" in the vocational programs. These different conceptions of the school subject may, according to Malmgren, reproduce or reinforce social differences between working class and middle class students. Ask's (2005) results, in a study of writing in upper secondary school, are in line with those of Malmgren in the sense that differences were found between vocational and preparatory programs. Students in vocational programs wrote practical texts whereas students in preparatory programs were trained in academic writing.

The SW curricula of 2011 that are analyzed in the present paper, were studied by Lundström, Manderstedt and Palo (2011) and Liberg, Wiksten Folkeryd and af Geijerstam (2012). Lundström et al. studied the formulations on literature in the curriculum and found that the 2011 curriculum of SW for primary and lower secondary school, in comparison to earlier curricula, is characterized by a focus on measurable skills. Democratic values are however weaker, according to the authors. Liberg et al. also discussed the 2011 curriculum of SW for primary school and found a strong focus on language and a weaker focus on literature than in the earlier curriculum of 1994. Liberg et al. also observed that language is focused more in terms of formal aspects than critical literacy.

### **Methods**

In the present paper, the curricula of 2011 of Swedish as a second language and Swedish for primary and secondary school are analyzed in terms of paradigms; the curriculum of the mother tongue subject is also briefly studied. The paradigms are those of Sawyer and van de Ven (2007) and Hellberg (2008). Hellberg's (2002) term *voice* is also used, when a phenomenon is not covered by a paradigm, for example the voices of Norm or Diversity.

In order to capture the multivocal stance of the curricula, if any, these are analyzed in terms of Appraisal (Martin & Rose, 2010). Appraisal, developed within the framework of systemic-functional linguistics, is resources for expressing evaluation, i.e. attitudes that are negotiated in a text (2010, p. 25).

The central resources of Appraisal are three kinds of attitude: affect, expressing feelings such as *happy, overjoyed, sad, despairing*; judgment, for evaluating people, e.g. *sensible, shrewd, kind-hearted*; and appreciation, for evaluating all kinds of things – artifacts, nature, art, architecture, relations, ideas – e.g. *a beautiful relationship, a good piece of workmanship, a bright idea, a nice jacket*. The resources can be expressed in different grammatical niches.

Among the resources of the Appraisal systems which are brought to the fore in the present analysis is also the intertextual element *Source*, i.e. from whom an evaluation comes, e.g. *he says that..., he has been regarded as..., it may be deemed...* Source is an important means for dialogicity but also for modality, as quotation of the voices of others is an effective means of strengthening one's own line of argument.

Modality and concession also belong to the system of Appraisal, and, alongside Source, represent ways of introducing voices in a text. This is the case in the following excerpts from the curriculum of 1980, from Hellberg (2008, p. 25; modals in italics):

“In every choice of literature, the teacher *must* be careful about the demands put on texts. A teacher *must* consider the students' conditions of life, experiences and knowledge when choosing literature. Reading *must* give possibilities of recognition and identification to the class, group and individual students, *but* also new experiences, in which emotions as well as the intellect are challenged.”

The modals *must* are signs of a debate – or even conflict – between the Ego of the curriculum and opposing voices – presumably advocates of other motives for choosing literature, for example from a canon. The concessive conjunction *but*, in turn, also marks an opposition, or at least the existence of complementary experiences from reading literature: the known vs. the unknown.

Together, the resources of evaluation, modality, concession and source capture the degree of monologue/dialogue of a text, its monogloss or heterogloss (Martin & Rose, 2010, p. 49).

## **Results**

In the reformation of the Swedish school system in the 1990's, the municipalities took over the responsibility for the schools, that were given increased power over the pedagogy and educational content. Educational goals have since then been formulated at a national level, whereas local authorities and schools decide how to reach these. As a consequence, the curricula from 1994 onwards are characterized by a more general stance and higher abstraction than their forerunners. Also, they are considerably shorter, giving little or no room for motivations, arguments and reasoning and allowing radically less space for subject matter and methodological considerations.

The 2011 curricula of SW and SWS are short, even scanty. They are structured in sections: an opening paragraph, aims section, required knowledge, main content and grading criteria. The primary school and lower secondary school curriculum is partly divided into sections corresponding to grade 1–3, 4–6 and 7–9.

*Primary and lower secondary school: the initial section and aims section*

In primary and lower secondary school, the curricula of SWS and SW are similar in many respects, but there are deviations, e.g. a stronger focus on form in the SWS curriculum.

The **initial** section of SWS and SW, as well as of other language curricula, is very similar. Here, the text states general functions of language: we use language for thinking, communicating and learning, as well as for living in society. Also, through language we express our identity, thoughts and feelings. Here, the curriculum thus seems to adhere to a Personal Growth paradigm with streaks of constructivism.

The **aim** of SWS is according to the curriculum for students to develop “knowledge in and about the Swedish language” (Skolverket, 2011b, p. 227), i.e. the curriculum expresses a Communicative (i.e. knowledge of how to use Swedish) and an Academic paradigm (i.e. theoretical knowledge of the language of Swedish). A formulation that is unique to SWS is that students must have plenty of opportunities to communicate without too early “demands on language correctness”. This latter formulation probably argues against a Norms voice, which is however not explicitly expressed.

Also the formulations that students must write different kinds of texts is an expression of a Communicative or Skills paradigm, which is formulated against the background of the lower results of Swedish students in international tests. This formulation is followed by the stipulation that students shall express themselves through “different forms of aesthetic expressions” which again echoes the Personal Growth paradigm but – again – without making explicit this putative opposition between paradigms.

The formulations on literature in the aims section emanate from three paradigms. An Academic paradigm or High Literature states that students shall “meet and acquire knowledge about literature from different periods and different parts of the world”. In the same paragraph, non-fiction/subject-oriented prose is mentioned (Sw. *sakprosa*), i.e. a completely different kind of reading which may be assigned to a Communicative paradigm. Again, Personal Growth is also heard, when students are to learn about the world and develop their identity through “encountering different types of texts, performing arts and other aesthetic narratives”.

The third set of paradigms in the aims section is Grammar and Norms, i.e. elements of the Academic paradigm, stating that students must learn about Swedish and its norms, structure, pronunciation and lexis. A deviation from the Academic paradigm, and probably an echo of the Communicative paradigm, is the formulation that this knowledge about language will strengthen students’ “awareness of and belief in their own language and communicative ability”. The underlying assumption seems to be that meta-knowledge supports action, in this case language use.

*Primary and lower secondary school: the core content section*

The core content sections in SWS and SW are similar in many respects but the Communicative and Skills paradigms are stronger in SWS. A difference in year 1–3 is a stronger emphasis, belonging to a Skills paradigm, in SWS on strategies: e.g. strategies for “adapting reading to the form and content of texts” and for “writing different kinds of texts adapted to their typical structures and language features”. SWS also lays more stress upon linguistic form, e.g. morphology and sentence structure. Also, there is a contrastive approach in SWS which is absent in SW, as Swedish pronunciation and spelling is to be compared to that of the mother tongue.

The formulations on text and literature are not easily related to any paradigm, as they are worded as nominal phrases such as “narratives and poems”, “rhymes, jingles, songs” etc., but may mirror an ambition of presenting children with a wide variety of texts and literary experiences. The paradigm of Personal Growth is also discernible, as students are to read texts “which provide an insight into people’s experiences”. A metalinguistic perspective also is heard, as the structure of narratives, reports and instructions is to be treated in year 1–3. In later school years, reading is described in more interpretative and analytic terms, e.g. discern themes, motifs and aims.

*Primary and lower secondary school: knowledge requirements section*

The most evident paradigms in the knowledge requirements section of SWS are the Communicative and the Skills paradigms. The Academic paradigm is weak: knowledge about language is not prominent, nor is knowledge about the history of literature or literary analysis. Also, the Personal Growth paradigm or the voice of the individual are weak or absent; some formulations however indicate a Personal Growth perspective, i.e. the students are required to discuss “prominent messages in the texts, and relate these to their own experiences”.

As regards **reading**, emphasis is put on reading with fluency, to understand and to summarize. In year 9, aspects such as “reasoning about messages” and “reference to its author” are mentioned.

In **writing**, variation between text types is important. In year 4–6 and 7–9 students are required to write different texts with “variation in language”. In relation to writing, some genres are sporadically mentioned, e.g. narratives in school year 3.

Linguistic variation between contexts is an important aspect of advanced second language use (Ortega & Byrnes 2008) and has also been shown to be critical in L2 texts in comparison to L1 texts (Magnusson 2013). However the formulations in the curriculum are vague. Also, the few formulations on language do not relate to the variation mentioned or to text types or genres. We will return to this in the discussion section.

*Upper secondary school: the opening paragraph and aims sections*

The differences between SWS and SW are more pronounced in upper secondary than in primary and lower secondary school, for which reason these are given somewhat more space below.

*Swedish.* In the first sentence, SW establishes that the core of SW is “language and literature”.<sup>3</sup> Literature is a dominant theme in the rest of the text, which is one of the traits most obviously distinguishing SW from SWS. Literature is strongly connected to Personal Growth in the initial part of the SW curriculum. Through literature, the students are to discern “both that which is distinguishing and that which is universal in time and space”, and literature and film are to be a “source of understanding of one self and other people”. Also, the education should “challenge” students, so that they develop “new ways of thinking” and are “open to new perspectives”. Literature and “other types of texts” are to be put in relation to students’ own experiences and interests.

The opening sentence, stating that language and literature constitute the core of SW, is also the beginning of a declaration of the functions of language for an individual: language is, according to SW, the principal tool for “reflection, communication and knowledge development”, and with language a person expresses her personality, i.e.

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<sup>3</sup> English translations of the curriculum for upper secondary school are mine.

both the Communicative and Personal Growth paradigms. The same Personal Growth paradigm recurs in the formulation stating that education should stimulate students' "desire to speak, write, read and listen and thus support their personal development" as well as their "confidence in their own language competence".

Language is however not confined to Personal Growth and the voice of the individual in SW, and as observed by Hellberg (2002, 2008) in earlier curricula, different voices compete in the text. In the Aims section, the voice of Grammar also strives for space by stating that students shall learn about the structure and origins of Swedish and reflect on language variation. The Communicative paradigm also has its say, as students of Swedish are to have the sort of knowledge about "communication that is required in society".

*Swedish as a second language.* Literature, Personal Growth and Experience Pedagogy are strongly diminished in the SWS curriculum.<sup>4</sup> Instead, the opening paragraph establishes that SWS gives "students with a mother tongue other than Swedish the possibility of developing their communicative language competence", i.e. an expression of adherence to the Communicative Paradigm.

The opening paragraph also strikes the "cross-curricular" perspective, which according to Hellberg (2002) is a subtype of the Skills paradigm: "a rich language is a prerequisite for obtaining new knowledge, for further studies and participation in social life and on the labor market". The third voice of the opening paragraph of the SWS curriculum is that of Identity: "it is through language that we express our personality and communicate with others". Identity is limited to "plurilingual identity", which the school subject should strengthen.

The focus on language also pervades the **Aims** section in SWS, with an emphasis on the Communicative and the Skills paradigms. Whereas the aim of Swedish is that students shall develop their capacity to communicate and to work with texts, from all the aspects described above, understand others through literature, learn about the Swedish language and be stimulated to use language, the SWS curriculum establishes that the aim of SWS is for students to develop "skills in and knowledge about Swedish" and to reflect on their own multilingualism. The aims further maintain that students shall have plenty of opportunities to "meet, produce and analyze" language, and to "compare language knowledge and linguistic experiences" with that of others. Literature is also allotted a role for the students' language, as it shall "give the students the opportunity to develop a varied and nuanced language". These formulations indicate a basis in the Skills and the Communicative paradigm. Perhaps the formulations on "language" can be described as "naked" or "vague", in comparison to the richer descriptions in SW, where "language" is related to "lust", "personal development" and "confidence". In SWS, these aspects are not mentioned and there is no trace of language for Personal Growth in SWS.

A voice of diversity (cf. Hellberg, 2002) is heard in the Aims section of SWS, which states that "multilingualism is valuable for the individual and society". The clause is separated by a mere comma from the declaration that students must have the possibility of developing an understanding of the functions of language, by means of comparison of linguistic knowledge and experiences. The connection between the

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<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that this analysis concerns the SWS curriculum in comparison to the Swe curriculum. This latter curriculum of 2011 has in other analyses turned out to have less of the features discussed here than earlier Swe curricula, e.g. less literature (Liberg et al. 2012) or less focus on fundamental values (Lundström et al. 2011:11).

multilingual voice and the metalinguistic understanding in the remainder of the sentence is not totally clear.

*Upper secondary school: knowledge requirements section*

Also in the knowledge requirements section, differences are found between SWS and SW.

For **oral achievements**, the knowledge requirements in SWS addresses the content of oral production, as the SWS curriculum requires that the student can discuss both everyday as well as more public issues and complex subjects and adapt language to the situation. In the SW curriculum, the content is not mentioned, but the assessment concerns the performance itself, e.g. the degree of contact with the listeners and the appropriateness, ease and confidence of the performance. SWS thus assesses everyday vs. specialized language, which, strictly speaking, are not aspects of oral language in particular, but concern a duality of language use which is not typical of or exclusive to the oral mode. In SW, in contrast, the assessment concerns factors of the oral performance specifically.

In both curricula, the assessment of **writing** concerns the appropriateness of the text in relation to a context, e.g. readers and “text type”, and its disposition and structure. In SW, norms of written language are mentioned – i.e. the Norms voice – whereas SWS refers to a sufficient standard of lexicon and grammar, i.e. degree of acquisition. This aspect is unique to SWS and does not occur in SW.

In SWS, **reading** of literature is embedded in a Skills oriented description of the student’s comprehension of written and spoken texts, e.g. “the student can with detail and nuances render the main content of spoken and written texts”. In this context, literature seems to be placed on an equal footing with “simple texts”: “the student can render the content of simple texts and modern literature”. This is the only time that literature is mentioned in the required knowledge section of SWS. In the criteria for the highest grade (A), students are also required to relate the content to “own experiences and to universal and social issues”, i.e. Personal Growth. There is no corresponding requirement in the criteria for the other grades (B–E). Nothing is said about interpretation or more complex readings.

In SW, in contrast, the required knowledge is related to a paradigm of *Bildung*, including knowledge of central works of art and tools of analysis:

The student can briefly render the content of some central Swedish and international works of literature and other narrative forms. The students reflect on content and form by means of narrative and stylistic concepts. In addition, the student can account for some connections between different works of literature by offering examples of common themes and motives.

As observed by Hellberg (2002; 2008) in earlier curricula, there is an inherent conflict between voices and paradigms, when *Bildung* is immediately followed by a voice echoing Experience pedagogy:

The student renders some observations, formulates well-founded and nuanced thoughts based on the narrative and relates the content in a pertinent way to human conditions.

As opposed to the SWS curriculum, the Skills-oriented formulations about reading are placed before the lines on literature in SW, and are separated from these graphically by a space.

The SWS and SW curricula are similar – but not identical – in one respect, related to *knowledge of language*. In both, students' ability to discuss language variation in relation to "speaker" and "communicative situation" is assessed. A difference between the curricula is that SWS introduces contrastive and metalinguistic perspectives when describing the student's comparison of Swedish and the mother tongue and "well-founded and nuanced" reflections on his/her language use and learning. The contrastive perspective is absent from the SW curriculum.

*The mother tongue curricula for primary school and secondary school*

On the whole, the most prominent paradigms in the mother tongue curriculum for primary and secondary school are the Communicative, the Skills and the Cross-curricular paradigms. The Personal Growth and the High Literature/Bildung paradigms are weaker than in the SW curricula. Also, the mother tongue curriculum has a stronger focus on language in comparison to literature than the SW curriculum. This focus chiefly is on language use and communication and not on knowledge of linguistics and grammar. On the whole, doing seems to be emphasized at the expense of knowing.

The aim of mother tongue (MT) in primary and lower secondary school is for students to "develop knowledge in and of their mother tongue" and "develop their oral and written language so that they have confidence in their capacities and can use language in different contexts and for different purposes", i.e. expressions of the Communicative and Skills paradigms. Further, students shall be aware of the importance of language for learning in school subjects, i.e. a Cross-curricular perspective. In upper secondary school, the aim is the following:

The education aims at developing skills in speaking, reading, writing and listening in their mother tongue. The students shall also be given the possibility of developing knowledge about their mother tongue. Furthermore, education shall give the students the possibility of developing knowledge about literature.

As is the case in SW and SWS, context sensitivity and ability to adapt language to different situations are highlighted: "ability to write different text types with a rich vocabulary and with consideration of the addressee and situation" (upper secondary school).

The concept of identity is found, but is weaker than in SW, for example in the following:

[t]he students shall be given the possibility of developing a rich language, that gives self-confidence, safety in different situations and the possibility of expressing their personality and strengthening their identity (upper secondary school).

In the same vein, the Personal Growth paradigm is echoed but is not as prominent as in SW. The weaker position of questions of identity and Personal Growth is coherent with a weaker focus on literature in MT than in SW, even though literature is also part of MT. In the following quote, knowledge about literature and understanding of others through literature are mentioned:

In the teaching the pupils should meet and acquire knowledge of literature, other aesthetic narratives and different forms of non-fiction in the mother tongue. In this way, the pupils should be given the opportunity to develop their language, their identity and their understanding of the surrounding world (primary school).

A theme that lacks correspondence in the SW curriculum, and is weaker in SWS, is culture. For example, MT in upper secondary school shall contribute to the students'

“anchoring both in the culture of the language in question and in the Swedish culture”, and “development of an intercultural outlook”.

#### *Appraisal in the SW and SWS curricula*

As opposed to earlier curricula of SW, the SWS curriculum for upper secondary school (aims section) of 2011 has several instances of *ska* (eng. *shall*), a “legislative” (Martin & Rose, 2010, p. 56) modal signaling incontestable obligation:

The education in Swedish as a second language *shall* aim at the students’ development and knowledge of the Swedish language. The students *shall* also be given the opportunity to reflect on their multilingualism and their prerequisites for conquering (Sw. *erövra*) and developing a rich second language in the Swedish society. (My italics)

The existence of deontic modality may seem natural in a regulating text like a curriculum, but it is actually a difference between this curriculum and its forerunners. These signals of obligation are found in the Aims section, where we are told what the education in the subject will lead to. In this section, an instance of *ska* is found in each sentence.

Another type of modal expression in the curriculum of SWS is *possibility* (Sw. *möjlighet*), which is found in the Aims section:

The students shall be given the **possibility** of reflecting on their multilingualism.

Literature, different texts, film and other media shall give the students the **possibility** of developing a varied and nuanced language.

The modal resources *shall*, *possibility* and *can* (e.g. “the student *can* read...”; Core content) are the only expressions of modality in the curriculum. The Aims section is followed by the Central content section, which consists of phrases and not full clauses and lacks expressions of modality (“Reading of and conversations about modern literature by women and men that gives insights into different cultures”).

The absence of resources of modality or concession is due to a lack of argumentation or discussion. For example, in the first paragraph of the curriculum what we may call “functions” of language are given, presumably as motivations for the school subject, i.e. language as a means of understanding the world, interact with others and express a personality:

“The subject gives students with a mother tongue other than Swedish the opportunity to develop their communicative language competence. A rich language is a prerequisite for obtaining new knowledge and for further studies and for taking active part in society. Also, it is through language that we express our personality and interact with others in different situations.”

The excerpt expresses conceptions about language but it does not tell how these conclusions are reached or admit other views or arguments for the subject of SWS.

Parallel to the absence of signals of modality and concession, there are no expressions of Source. The text does not report or quote any sources or voices.

In sum, the 2011 curriculum of SWS is meagre in terms of modals, concessions and expressions of Source. Signals of Appreciation – i.e. evaluation of processes and things – are more prominent. For example, in the opening paragraph, the voice of the curriculum appears in positive evaluations of the individual’s language competence, presumably as parts of arguments for the subject itself: “a **rich** language is a prerequisite for **active** participation in society” (Sw. *ta aktiv del i samhällsliv*). In the



Aims section, expressions of evaluation point out the goals and *raison d'être* of the SWS subject; the subject shall contribute to the students' "conquering and development of a **functional** and **rich** second language in the Swedish society", and the students must have opportunities to develop a "**varied** and **nuanced** language" and a "**better** understanding of the functions of language". Also, the curriculum states that "multilingualism is **valuable** for the individual and society".

As expected in a section describing the achievements of students, expressions of Appreciation are found in the Knowledge requirements section, for example:

"The student can perform oral presentations in which the coherence is **easily grasped**. In these the student can **efficiently** bring out the main idea. (grading criteria for A) The student can make **simple** reflections on the way linguistic variation is related to speaker, aim and situation of communication. (grading criteria for E)"

### Discussion

In the syllabi of 2000, which preceded the curricula analyzed in the present paper, the curricula of SW and SWS were nearly identical. The similarity was probably confusing to teachers and headmasters – why separate two subjects that are almost one and the same? The confusion has presumably been one contributing factor to the low status of the subject. It is reasonable to assume that a clear conception of the subject, anchored in assumptions about favorable teaching, second language development, literacy in bilinguals etc. would strengthen its position. The curricula of 2011 represent an effort to formulate a separate school subject; the identity of this subject however still seems to be diffuse and vague.

The above analysis suggests that the SWS curriculum clearly puts more emphasis on language competence and skills than the SW curricula and is more influenced by a Skills and a Communicative paradigm, with few traces of the paradigms of Bildung, knowledge about language or Personal Growth. Identity is narrowed down to multilingual identity. In other words, it is vague as regards perspectives indicating a content and broader purpose or contextualization of "language competence" or "language development". The streaks of other paradigms that do exist are found in the initial aims section but are weaker in the core content or required knowledge sections – which may be the parts that actually guide teaching, as noted by Liberg et al. (2012). It may be natural and expected that a curriculum aimed at second language learners is more focused on language than a curriculum designed for first language users. Still, one has to be careful not to limit the language use, language knowledge and literacy of the L2 students to a reductionist view on language competence. Further, the conceptions about literature are vague, and seem to treat literature as related to skills, and few distinctions are made between reading of fiction and non-fiction. The curriculum does not mediate any idea about learning through literature (cf. Lundström et al., 2011, p. 12) or literature as a value in its own right. The number of possible readings of literature is strongly reduced. The mother tongue curriculum, in turn, resembles that of SWS, in the sense that the Communicative and Skills paradigms are stronger than in SWS whereas the Personal Growth and Academic paradigms are weaker.

Similar issues have been debated previously in relation to the school subject of Swedish, but regarding social class rather than L1/L2 students. Malmgren (1992) found differences in the Swedish tuition between two year vocational programs and three year preparatory programs (cf. Other studies on the SW subject above), that realized a Skills oriented subject and a *Bildung* oriented and academic subject respectively. Ask (2005) found similar differences between programs regarding writing, as students in

general programs were found to write genres valued in higher education, e.g. arguments and analyses, whereas students in vocational programs did not. There is a similar risk of creating differences between students, in the sense that Swedish as a second language might be construed as a “needs-and-interest” subject, compared to Swedish.

In his analysis of SW curricula, Hellberg (2002) concluded that few of the voices found can be derived from academic disciplines such as Scandinavian languages or Literature. For example, a voice that Hellberg called “the voice of Fiction” speaks of literature for understanding of one self and others, but not of literature as “aesthetic experiences, as source of history of ideas or as historical or intertextual context” (2002, p. 98), which would have been more in accordance with the academic discipline. A voice of Literary History does exist in the text but is weak and unsupported. Neither does the voice that Hellberg calls the voice of Harmony, advocating a unity of language and literature, have any counterpart in the Swedish universities, where linguistics and literature are held apart disciplinary and institutionally. Similarly, the academic discipline Scandinavian languages is neither in any obvious way related to the voice of Grammar in the curricula, as the former tends to stress investigations of language for its own sake, for the understanding of language as a human capacity and means of communication, and not primarily as a means of developing one’s own language (2002, p. 101).

If SWS is not derived from the same paradigms as SW, which are found instead? Are there second language paradigms that have guided the formulations of the text, pedagogic principles that are known to be favorable for second language learners, or insights about language traits that are critical in second language development? To what extent is the representation of the school subject of SWS in the curricula influenced by the academic disciplines of Swedish as a second language and multilingualism? The answer is that such dimensions are hard to find or that they are vaguely formulated.

If read attentively, there are formulations that seem to go back to a conception of language use, language development and writing as being supported by knowledge about linguistic and textual phenomena, i.e. that knowledge of structure deepens the understanding of registerial variability, for example formulations that students shall know the structure of some genres:

- The message, structure and content of narrative texts. How a narrative text can be organized with an introduction, sequence of events and an ending (grade 1–3)
- Descriptive, explanatory, instructional and argumentative texts /.../ Content of texts, structure, typical language features and their words and terms (grade 4–6)

This may be interpreted as advocacy for explicit instruction on language in reading and writing teaching. This has been shown to be advantageous for L2-students (Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012) who may not have the same implicit knowledge about valued language patterns in a culture as persons born in the culture. This theoretical assumption is however not made explicit, but has to be interpreted from the examples. Further, there is no clear connection between the formulations on language and grammar on the one hand and writing and text on the other.

Another important aspect in L2 development in school that is glimpsed occasionally in the curriculum is everyday vs. specialized, content related language (Sw. *vardagsspråk* vs. *ämnesspråk*). It is mentioned in relation to writing; for example students are required to use specialized words in year 6. However, this dimension is

not problematized. What does it mean to distinguish between everyday and specialized language in the subject of SWS? That SWS shall lend itself to the texts of other school subject, e.g. natural or social science? And, as specialized language is not a relevant variable in arts, literature or creative writing, do the formulations imply that the subject should address factual, non-literary texts? Or that the specialization of the subject of SWS itself shall be addressed, such as specialized knowledge of literature or language?

Without manifest traces of paradigms that put language development or competence in relation to a content, or a coherent theory of language and the learning of language, SWS stands out as an anonymous subject. The SWS curriculum mediates a vague conception of language, in terms of its functions, the way it is developed, fostered and scaffolded, differences between L1 and L2 development and the needs of L2 students. Important issues that do not seem to have influenced the formulation of the text are, for example, L2 students' access to genre and register variation and the language of schooling, including oral vs. written modes of meaning, the expansion of registers and genres and development of registerial variability and the development of advanced literacy in a L2. Critical literacy – a component of the Communicative paradigm – is weakly represented in the SWS curriculum (cf. Liberg et al. who found few traces of critical literacy in the 2011 SW curriculum). Further, there is no discussion of the relation of SWS to the students' learning in different subject areas. During the last years, there has been a growing interest in genre pedagogy and content and language integrated learning among SWS teachers, and several universities offer courses in these areas. This trend does however not seem to have influenced the SWS curriculum much. "Text types" are mentioned several times but fundamental aspects of genre pedagogy are missing. For example, there is no mentioning of genres as social activities and realization of context. Grammar, or knowledge about language, is neither related to the "text types" nor to the students' writing or in other respects manifest as a meta-language on language.

An additional essential question is the diversity of the students that SWS serves, which includes newcomers in Sweden as well as students who moved to Sweden when very young or who were even born in Sweden. Obviously, the needs and conditions of these students vary enormously. The curriculum does not, however, give teachers any guidance in the differences – with its many intermediate levels – between the beginner's early language development and the more experienced L2 user's widening linguistic repertoire in relation to an increasing number of contexts and literacy development.

The analysis of Appraisal has shown the absence of Source in the 2011 curricula, i.e. the absence of overt reference to other voices and authorities, for example regarding the foundations of language development or what teaching that will promote it. The Appraisal analysis has also revealed the absence of expressions of concession in the text, such as *but*, *still*, *nevertheless*, and the low frequency of modality. This is interpreted as a manifestation of the monovocal stance of the curriculum, which does not overtly recognize other voices. The same absence of concession is also due to the lack of arguments. The text neither anchors its own decrees theoretically, nor does it put these in relation to other views. As observed by Martin and Rose (2010, p. 60) we might easily think of the "objectiveness" of a text like this – manifest in the *absence* of expressions of attitude, judgment and appreciation as well as alternative voices – as a "faceless" text, whereas, in fact, it is itself a face: "a cool excluding face perhaps, but it is a face" (ibid.). The absence of modals, negations, concessives and expressions of Source, which was uncovered in the Appraisal analysis above, reflects the lack of

argumentation and discussion in the SWS curriculum. It strengthens the impression that SWS is not theorized.

As noted above, Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) characterize mother tongue tuition in Sweden a “vicarious marker” for a plurilingual ideology that is not however anchored in society at large or in a more profound conception of multilingualism and multilingual students’ learning. It is worth noting that L2 perspectives, multilingual issues or contrastive grammar are totally absent from the SW curriculum, which is studied by many multilingual students. The curricula of SWS and mother tongue harbor issues of multilingualism (cf. Kulbrandstad, 2002 who found few or no discussions on linguistic diversity and plurilingualism in Norwegian textbooks).

With the above stated differences between the subjects in mind, it is most welcome that the Swedish government has initiated a commission on the SWS subject. The issue of content is of immediate interest in the coming reforms.



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