One-size-(does not)-fit-all
Adult immigrant students’ understanding of the determinants for success in learning Swedish as a second language

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the experiences of adult immigrant students within four different classes of the course Swedish as a second language (svenska som andraspråk :SAS), which is a standardized course offered around Sweden. This course is structured by the national school board in Sweden and is aimed as a social policy for integration through language acquisition and learning to navigate Swedish society. By conducting anthropological research among these students, I sought to uncover more regarding the determinants for success within the course and how students mediate and experience the one-size-fits-all course structure despite the asymmetrically distributed forms of capital within the classroom. Students responded with resentment and frustration, which highlights how this structure for education can be ineffective and suffers from a lack of ‘pedagogic transmission.’ This thesis will highlight the determinants of success that should be incorporated into the structure and execution of SAS as well as putting the students’ voices on a platform that is not often regarded when designing curriculums.

KEY PHRASES: integration, immigration, distribution of the forms of capital, language-education, educational anthropology

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: SWEDISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO SUCCEED?

This thesis explores the experiences of adult immigrant students in svenska som andraspråk (SAS) or Swedish as a second language courses in Uppsala, Sweden and the goals and curriculum the course is structured upon. SAS for adult immigrants not only is about learning the Swedish language, but about gaining the ability to interact within Swedish society and essentially integrate oneself according to the national school board, Skolverket, which sets standards and curriculums for courses to be followed at a national level. SAS is a course that is available across Sweden; this thesis focuses on how the courses are conducted at one school within Uppsala Municipality. Within this anthropological research, this thesis will examine the determinants that enable success of students in spite of the one-size-fits-all curriculum model by Skolverket by how the students experience this course.

Mariana is from Colombia, late 20’s, two kids, married to a Swedish man. She met him online and after they met in person they got married, got pregnant, and moved to Argentina. He speaks Spanish fluently so they have no problem speaking with one another, and for years they did well. She used to work in administration, had some college back in Colombia and never had trouble finding a job until she moved to Sweden. Despite speaking Swedish very well during our conversations (I find her funny and easy to understand), she fears not being understood nor having the proper language comprehension. When Swedes speak Swedish around her and she doesn’t understand she feels as though they are speaking about her and laughing at her. Her daughter interrupts her when she opens her mouth to speak in Swedish, quickly stepping forward and saying that her mother cannot speak a word of the language, effectively silencing her. Mariana tells me that there is a shame when speaking Swedish, a fear of being corrected and speaking takes courage and confidence. She says that the education system is really hard, difficult, and long; many people give up and become cleaners or work as other professions that “nobody else wants” and get stuck in a job and cannot move forward. Mariana is afraid of being like that. For her, information and help is guided towards those who take on these lower class jobs that do not need English like becoming a nurse’s assistant, a personal assistant to a disabled person, or a cleaner. Those who speak English can look forward to university and better jobs and less time within the education system. Mariana is beginning to think university will never be in her future, and she will find herself cleaning an office rather than working behind a reception desk.
Mariana is feeling something as a response to her current social situation and the prospects that she faces within her education and her life in Sweden. Learning and speaking Swedish for Mariana is associated with shame, fear, and ignorance. Her emotions and her feelings have shaped the world around her, and in her mind and in her opinion she is on the path to become a cleaner, to do the job that nobody else wants to do. The resentment Mariana feels can be further explained by Didier Fassin (2013) and his distinction between resentment and ressentiment, a dualism within resentment that denotes different roots and symptoms. Ressentiment in the Nietzschean sense, relates to long term oppression and effects of domination and in most cases can be generational (Fassin 2013:252). Ressentiment is a historical alienation, while resentment, in the Smithian tradition, is a dissatisfaction, an ideological alienation that is a direct result of current social position. Ressentiment is based in the “historical origin of morality” and is a result of long term repression and domination, sometimes unintelligible in form (ibid, pp. 252-253). Resentment is not a result to exposure to direct or indirect forms of oppression but expressed as a form of discontent and dissatisfaction to current positionality (ibid, pp. 260). Resentment is a negative and undesirable reaction that affects the happiness that one feels as a response to their personal social situation or status (ibid, pp. 251). It is this resentment, a dissatisfaction to the prospects that she faces that Mariana is describing and the expression of this resentment is not limited to Mariana’s own experiences. What she is feeling is not the historical or generational repercussions of domination or oppression, but the personal dissatisfaction of one’s life. Many students who are immigrants to Sweden and study the one of the courses offered within Swedish as a Second Language (svenska som andraspråk) courses, or SAS, have forms of resentment and it is the expression of this resentment that interests me most. What is the resentment a greater symptom for; if resentment is an outcome, what is the reacting to? How can resentment be an active response that illustrates a larger problem, an expression, a reaction that students have based in their current state of affairs and in their lives in Sweden?

Mariana is a student within SAS 1, one of the first levels of gymnasial or high school equivalent Swedish that offered to immigrants within adult education. She is enrolled at my main field site, a municipal adult school called Vux Linné. Vux Linné received its name from the school’s previous name which hangs above the entrance: Linnéskolan. It is located near Carl Von Linné’s gardens and ‘Vux’ from vuxen, which means adult. Mariana’s classmates from around the world, at all different levels of education, different ages, and different
backgrounds are placed into a single class with one teacher who does her best to help us individually while keeping the class moving forward as a whole. I am Mariana’s classmate and ultimately we both aim to take this course for a singular reason: to aid our positions within Sweden through the development of the Swedish language and the certificate or the grade that will potentially aid us in continuing our education perhaps at a university level or give us the ability to speak Swedish to get well-paying job. Adult education, especially adult education aimed towards immigrants presents a very interesting function for the integration of immigrants within Sweden. SAS G or the foundational level of SAS, offered after SFI (Swedish for Immigrants, Svenska för invandrare), is required to move onto high school level SAS (SAS 1, 2, 3). SAS G’s goals pertaining to integration as stated by the National School Board:

“...syftar till att eleven utvecklar kunskaper i svenska, omvärldskunskaper samt tilltro till sin förmåga att använda språket i olika situationer och för skilda syften. Eleven ska ges möjlighet att, genom språkanvandning i funktionella och meningssulla sammanhang, utveckla en allsidig kommunikativ förmåga”......”ska eleven ges möjlighet att utveckla förmåga att använda olika stratigeier för att stödja kommunikationen och för att lösa problem när språkkunskaperna inte räcker”...”utveckla kunskaper om livsvilkor, samhällsfrågor och kulturella företeelser i olika sammanhang och områden där svenska används” (Skolverket 2012: 85).

"...the purpose [of SAS G] is to have the student develop a knowledge of Swedish, and of the surrounding world at the same time a belief and trust in one’s own ability and capacity to use the language in different situations to achieve different purposes. The student will be given the opportunity to, through using language skills in a functional and meaningful context/environment, develop a well-rounded communicative ability …..the student will be given the opportunity to develop that ability to use different strategies to support communication and in order to solve problems when language-knowledge is not sufficient….to develop knowledge of life conditions, social questions, and cultural phenomena in different contexts/environments and fields where Swedish is used” (translated by C. McEvoy).

Despite having passed SAS G to move forward to SAS 1, and supposedly reaching the goals that Skolverket has projected, Mariana does not identify with these course goals, she doesn’t necessarily trust her own ability or believe she has the capacity for success. Education presents a space for development and success within the Swedish language as well as the surrounding society and world that immigrants are supposed to use this language within. The course addresses not only the Swedish language, but the surrounding culture and society. There is a very clear goal of how the Swedish language and this course can be used

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1 SFI is the course that most Swedes know exist, and is usually taken when an immigrant has moved to Sweden to begin learning Swedish. The different levels of SFI correspond to different levels of prior education and language knowledge.
as a pathway to success and adult education presents an important area within anthropological research on integration and immigration within Sweden.

**OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH PROJECT**

To explore adult education aimed for immigrants as a field of study in anthropology, it is important to look at how students engage and interact with curriculum. As the story of Mariana shows, despite finishing SAS G and moving forward to SAS 1, she does not identify or relate to the course goals presented by *Skolverket*. If we were to examine further the goals and purposes set by *Skolverket* for SAS courses, we see that the curriculum sets goals that are at best lofty and grandeur. As stated by *Skolverket* for SAS courses at the high school level (SAS 1, 2, & 3):

“Undervisningen i ämnet svenska som andraspråk ska syfta till att eleverna utvecklar färdigheter i och kunskaper om det svenska språket. Eleverna ska också ges möjlighet att reflektera över sin egen fler språkighet och sina förutsättningar att erövra och utveckla ett funktionellt och rikt andraspråk i det svenska samhället” (Skolverket n.d.)

“The purpose and goal of SAS is to develop skills and knowledge of the Swedish language. Students should also have the opportunity to reflect over their own multilingual abilities and conditions to conquer/seize and develop a functional and rich other/second language in the Swedish society” (Translated by C. McEvoy).

We can infer that to a greater degree the course goals reference the goal of integration for immigrant adults taking this course. As a structure to function in such an important way, it is therefore important to examine it. Looking at this curriculum and whether or not it functions successfully is also very important because this is a one-size-fits-all purpose laid out for all immigrants and all students enrolled. It has very lofty goals with imagery of conquering and seizing the ability to use the Swedish language in a functional manner within Swedish society, as well as “develop knowledge of life conditions, social questions, and cultural phenomena in different contexts/environments and fields where Swedish is used” (Skolverket 2012: 85, translated by C. McEvoy). Despite this standardized model, students are very different from one another within one classroom. Ages may span from 20-60, with high levels and low levels of educational backgrounds, as well as a large spectrum of native languages spoken within the classroom, in one class there were 12 different native languages among 24 students. It is therefore important to investigate what is really needed for success.
IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Research on immigration and integration in Scandinavia is ongoing and has been an important topic not only for anthropological journals but within other social sciences, economy, politics, and even a growing topic within popular literature. Karen Fog Olwig (2011), an anthropologist from Denmark, states in regards to studying immigration and integration within Scandinavia, the term ‘integration’ implies and designates the concept that certain people ‘belong’ and on the flipside there are those who ‘do not belong’ within a society (pp. 180). These concepts of ‘belonging’ and ‘not-belonging’ have implications within Scandinavian societies not only within popular opinions and attitudes but within their bureaucratic policies (ibid, pp.180-181). Within Sweden, the integration of immigrants within both the labor market and society has been a part of a larger political debate since the 1990’s (Bevelander 2011: 22). The programs that ‘promote’ integration are based in social services and training, like language education, which in theory, knowledge of language will “allow full integration of these new residents” (ibid, pp. 23). Looking at an economist perspective, the differences in employment among immigrants especially when comparing different types of residence permits (family reunification and refugees in particular), immigrants in general are seen to be at a disadvantage due to differences in human capital\(^2\). These differences in capital can be accounted for levels of language acquisition, personal networks, and also discrimination of immigrants (ibid, pp.23).

Concepts of capital are used by social scientists within studies of migration and integration and its devaluation of it is an important theme within research of immigrants in Sweden. In studying how immigrant physicians are categorized by their origins (European and non-European) within policies of recertification, there are clear discrepancies where those doctors from non-European countries have their education and experiences are undervalued, cheapened, and as a result their human capital is devalued (Salmonsson & Mella 2013). Within the realm of medicine, the reality is that there has been the creation of the concept of a Swedish medical norm, a Swedish way of performing medicine, and a subsequent non-Swedish or “other” type of doctor (ibid, pp.7). When looking at the temporality of knowledge, experience, and learning that took place outside of Sweden versus those who are of European descent and have a very easy time gaining the certification to start practicing medicine, there is a discrepancy in the ideological and logical way of how we

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\(^2\) Bevelander (2011) and other economists tend to use the term “human capital” (Nordin 2011, 2013), which is not a term that I use in my analysis, but simply use it in reference to their works.
understand education. Logically, those who have more experience have spent more time in their expertise and should have more legitimacy and more capital, but what we see here are non-European immigrant doctors lack legitimacy despite time spent in their expertise, and this is directly due to their non-European status (ibid, pp.7). This is tied to linguistics as well. Immigrant doctors perhaps express themselves in a different manner than Swedes due to the fact that this is their second or perhaps third or fourth language; they also use their native languages to speak to immigrant patients and this is problematized and viewed as an issue with their ‘legitimacy’ (ibid, pp. 7).

A researcher from Israel from an institute for immigration and social integration proposed a model that would indicate an immigrant’s level of belonging within a society. Feelings of belonging are subjective and this subjectivity is a very large factor within integration; these feelings of belonging are related to life satisfaction an immigrant has in their new home. The background factors within the life of an immigrant related to this life satisfaction and feelings of belonging include language proficiency, ethnic segregation (meaning if one lives within an ethnic neighborhood or area), and affiliation or involvement in local institutions within civil society (ibid, pp. 7). In Sweden, involvement within local institutions where one may become acquainted with people from the local community and native Swedes is not as frequent or easy to come by as it is in other countries. Within Sweden, civil society and local community institutions do not have the same rate of existence as they would have in the United States and other societies due to the direct relationship individuals have with the state, where they receive aid and in return act “autonomously” without needing the civil society to support or aid. This ideology of the flaw in relying upon civil society is integrated into the making of the welfare state with all of its benefits (Trädgårdh 1997: 253-254). A school which provides language courses for immigrants and a setting for community meeting provides an excellent setting for understanding integration, belonging, and the role of educational policies.

**Anthropology, Language, and Education**

Anthropology of Education, educational anthropology, pedagogical anthropology, ethnology of education, anthropology of schooling are just some of the many terms used across the globe within anthropology to describe this subset of anthropology dealing with education and the processes of pedagogy (Anderson-Levitt 2015: 91). Although these

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3 In this research project, they used focused on religious affiliation and involvement which was relevant to their field: Israel which is a religious state (Amit, Bar-Lev 2014:4).
different forms of anthropology of education have different approaches to researching and studying education, they do share some key components that are characteristic to anthropology itself: they all share a common research topic being education, they have a “philosophical orientation” to said research, and they use key anthropological methods (ibid, pp. 91). Anthropology of education spanning from the 1940’s onwards has dealt primarily with the key theme of analyzing the reproduction of class inequalities (Foley 2010: 215). With its theoretical roots grounded in Marxism, developments in the anthropology of education have been greatly influenced by theorists and sociologists Bourdieu and Gramsci regarding culture class theory (ibid, pp.217). Anthropology of education is intrinsically linked to the power of pedagogy and the historical link between education and linguistics. It acknowledges and examines the transformative powers of education and its history and anthropology of education is closely correlated to advocacy of education and the ability to make people literate through education, not just with the ability to read and write, but literate to social and cultural systems of power and oppression (ibid, pp.216). In contemporary anthropology of education research, there has been a revival of class analysis within an intersectional analysis. Anthropology provides an important role in shaping theory and education; “what new sociological anthologies do not chronicle is the role of anthropologists in producing a more ‘intersectional’ class theory based on Bourdieu and Gramsci” (ibid, pp. 219). Contemporary research within anthropology of education focuses on how education functions and how different privileges are found within the education system, in particular an ethnocentric privilege that can affect how students are treated by how they dress (ibid, pp. 220). Anthropology of education and its analysis on class culture studies have two main key focuses: “(1) institutional microtechnologies of control and ideological socialization, and (2) group and individual identity struggles against such institutional control and socialization” (ibid, pp.223).

Unfortunately, ‘Anthropology of Education’ is not particularly popular and it is argued that it is in fact a subfield within anthropology that rarely recruits researchers (González 2010: s250). This may account for the difference in names and subsets of anthropology of education across the globe. Anthropology of education therefore has a lot of ties to departments of education and therefore some of the material found and presented by educational anthropologists is missing from mainstream anthropological studies. It is argued that the lack on popularity of educational anthropology within anthropology as a respected subfield is due to several reasons linked to the lower-class status of teachers and institutions
that focus on education and the association as well to women and children, it can be seen as not ‘interesting’ for pursuit (ibid, pp. s250).

Educational anthropology examines themes that are relevant to both disciplines anthropology and education: knowledge, power, social and institutional policies, and the sculpting of identity (González 2010: s250). It has a lot of research that regards the class culture theoretical framework based in Gramsci and Bourdieu (Foley 2010) and is intersectional in nature with a lot of influence from sociology (Anderson-Levitt 2015: 24) and the fields of education and advocacy, pushing for social change (González 2010, Foley 2010). Linked to anthropology of education is linguistic anthropology within the study of education and language. Linguistic anthropology as a field has “opened up new spaces for considering language practices in communities and advocated for cultural continuity and congruence between classrooms and communities” (González 2010:s251). Furthermore, anthropology itself has affected education and pedagogy due to the concept of culture used often in order to study enculturation processes and as a results this has affected “the social foundations of education, and the concept of culture was one of the most potent remedies to its dispensary” (ibid, pp.s251). Linguistic anthropology is the study of “how language use both presupposes and creates social relations in cultural context” (Wortham 2008: 38). This discipline within anthropology has a long history in studying education and alternatively findings within linguistic anthropology have been used within pedagogy (ibid, pp.38). It as well “has made significant contributions to our understanding of educational processes because almost all education is mediated by language use” (ibid, pp. 39).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FORMS OF CAPITAL

The concept of capital as a theoretical framework is very popular and used often within research on education and immigration. In order to understand the different social structures and functions within social life, Bourdieu (1997) takes the term most commonly used with the economy, capital, and appropriates it to the different aspects of life (pp. 46) and ultimately his purpose for doing so is to foster an understanding of exchanges of assets that are not limited to material goods for economic value, but across different social networks (Moore 2008: 102). Bourdieu’s reason for expanding the term capital is to discern different forms of resources that can be observed and understood in the face of cultural exchanges (ibid, pp.102). The different forms of capital, which include cultural and social capital can sometimes be converted through different operations because they are “seen as ‘transsubstantiated’ forms of economic capital” (ibid, pp.102).
Capital has two different branches: symbolic and mercantile capital. Within symbolic capital includes cultural, social, linguistic, scientific, literary capital and mercantile capital has the traditional economic or monetary capital. Symbolic capital is the broad term used for the socio-cultural side of capital (Moore 2008: 103) and these symbolic fields including cultural, social, and linguistic capital that has the effect of stratification, creating a hierarchy based in discrimination that makes some things more valuable than others (ibid, pp.104). Ultimately, Bourdieu establishes this new terminology to show how these forms of symbolic capital function in society as an asset that can bring about advantages or disadvantages in cultural and social aspects of life. These advantages and disadvantages of each type of symbolic capital recreate inequality in relations within the economic sphere, due to its properties as transubstantiated forms of economic capital, which in turn influences the affiliations of class and power. This in itself is a catalyst for the reproduction of the foundation of social inequality (ibid, pp. 104).

Capital itself has three main modes: cultural, social, and economic. Symbolic capital such as social and cultural capital can present itself in immaterial forms. Economic capital is something that has a monetary value and can be converted into money and it can also take the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1997: 47). Cultural capital is conditionally convertible to economic capital and some forms of cultural capital are in fact the institutionalized forms of academic competences. Social capital is made up of the human connections and networks one has within society, and which make up social obligations, and may translate into economic capital in certain situations. Social capital is also has the institutionalized forms of titles that relate to nobility or other forms of social hierarchy (ibid, pp.47). As a school is my primary field, and the goals of the SAS courses for learning Swedish language encapsulates not just academic qualifications but a form of cultural capital in one of its states, examining how cultural capital is fostered is a theoretical necessity for this thesis. Bourdieu also uses education as a main focus for understanding the functions of cultural capital.

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4 I use the term network from my own interpretation of what Bourdieu (1997) uses it in his text “The Forms of Capital.” He uses the term network to describe all the people that are in one’s life, including friends, family, acquaintances, that one can call upon for support in order to “effectively mobilize” capital that all others have for their own benefit (Bourdieu 1997: 51). For me, that means that a social network is comprised of all the people in one’s life where they can turn to for support, for help. In the sense of the family, having social capital within one’s social network of the family can designate a position of power. A mother, father, parent who has control within the family space. Feeling connected to a social network, creating connections with classmates and neighbors, can also promote a feeling of security. This is a “profit” that “accrue from membership in a group” through solidarity (Ibid, pp.51).

5 Citizenship can also be analyzed as an institutionalized form of social capital as a result of its hierarchical affect. Some immigrants with certain citizenships may as a result have different social capital than others.
Cultural capital exists in three modes: the embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state. The embodied state of cultural capital is “the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (ibid, pp.47); this is in fact a fundamental state of cultural capital and we see this in the form of culture or cultivation and the presupposition of disposition of the embodied state of cultural capital is the implication of labor of assimilation which a person must invest a lot of time in (ibid, pp. 48). This time-consuming, self-consuming in both mind and body form of cultural capital is literally embodied by the individual. The objectified state denotes the materiality of cultural capital, and can be the products of the embodied cultural capital like music, paintings, media, and other objects. It can be transmitted through its material form and can be also seen as economic capital, a direct pay out (ibid, pp.50). The institutionalized state is the objectified form of cultural capital that has the form of scholastic qualifications and education and despite embodiment it does has biological limits to the carrier. It can take the form of a “certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value” (ibid, pp.50). This objectified and institutionalized form of cultural capital holds a very important function, because with that certificate or title, people can begin to compare one another and line them up based off of their merit. This is important because there is a supply and demand of academic qualifications and scarcity is necessary for its value just as in the economic market where value is created through supply and demand (ibid, pp.51).

The goals of education and taking classes within an adult school are directly related to the acceptance that education is a socially accepted way to gain knowledge and new skills. In the case of immigrants, it is also a socially accepted way to become integrated. According to Bourdieu (1977), education is an apparatus for constituting cultural capital (pp. 186). Cultural capital has a similar structure to economic capital. Economic wealth functions as capital when it is “linked to an economic apparatus” and in this light, “cultural competence”—the cultural equivalent to wealth—becomes cultural capital when it is “inserted” within an apparatus that functions within a “system of economic production and the system producing the producers” which is “constituted by the relation between the school system and the family” (ibid, pp.186). Social capital (the means to use cultural or economic capital) provides a way to analyze modes of domination, according to Bourdieu (ibid. pp. 183-184). This is due to the fact that there is an internalization and recreation of power

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6 The programs that ‘promote’ integration are based in social services and training, like language education, which in theory, knowledge of language will “allow full integration of these new residents” (Bevelander 2011: 23).
structures systemically (ibid. pp.164). This happens as a result of the circular reinforcement of actions and practices both individually and within the group. An individual will do something and that is reinforced by the similar actions and practices of other members of the group. This is done primarily through symbolic exchanges which are based in a collective belief which makes these practices seem natural and self-evident (ibid, pp.167). Domination that is not overt, direct or physically asserted over someone, but exerted through individual means, through social capital, appropriate “the mechanisms of the field of production and the field of cultural production” which makes its very reproduction self-sustaining without any action undertaken by an individual (ibid, pp.183-184). One mode of domination is through objectification of something which secures its acceptance as something natural and therefore it exists regardless of the individuals partaking in its reproduction. It becomes self-sustaining as a system of distributing and ascribing capital; that kind of objectification can include the distribution of titles that denote power and significance like nobility, possession, or academic titles like being a lawyer or doctor (ibid, pp.184).

THE FORMS OF CAPITAL THAT INFLUENCE THE MODEL OF EDUCATION

Learning Swedish and having the mastery of the language in order to utilize it for the purpose of integration within Swedish society with the benefits of knowing norms, the language, having a job, being included rather than excluded within the social world of Sweden is the ultimate goal of SAS and the goal that many students have in mind when studying SAS. This Swedish language knowledge is a form of cultural capital in the embodied state, which affects both mind and body; learning both a new language which has varying phenomenological changes to an individual and the ability to speak it. It is also a form of cultural capital within the objectified state with the certificate or grade that proves that one has taken the course and has “passed” or mastered Swedish as a Second Language. But the easy model of learning the language and the benefits it would grant the person who take SAS is not as straight forward as learning a language. It is fact affected by other forms of capital, determinants that affect gaining this cultural capital in the embodied state. Because despite having the ability to speak and understand Swedish like many individuals in the class do, they are not enjoying the ultimate goal of integration and in fact feel and express different forms of exclusion and resentment. The different determinants that enable an individual to embody the cultural capital of learning Swedish include: a foundation of cultural capital, economic capital, and social capital.
The education system gives students an apparatus where cultural competence begins to function as cultural capital. The apparatus is the ability to symbolically re-appropriate resources like cultural competence. If, as Bourdieu contends, education is a way in which capital can be gained, it requires prerequisite possession of a certain degree of cultural knowledge (cultural competence) and capital obtained beforehand that will allow education to become rich and functional (Sullivan 2002:145). The determinants for gaining cultural capital are not limited to a foundation of cultural capital but also a foundation of economic and social capital.

Economic capital sits as a root for every other type of capital; the other types of capital can be measured by their transformative ability to turn into economic capital, a price upon its head. The transformative powers of capital to convert into other forms through expenditure or making investments of time or cashing in other forms of capital to yield capital (economic capital to pay for school in order to gain cultural capital) reveals an important aspect of all capital, that there is a foundation of capital needed (Bourdieu 1997: 53-54). For social capital, the investment in social life and social networks, require quite a lot of time investment to perhaps have their transformative affect, they have to be “established and maintained for a long time….at the cost of an investment in sociability which is necessarily long-term because of the time lag is one of the factors of the transmutation of a pure and simple debt into that recognition of nonspecific indebtedness which is called gratitude” (ibid, pp. 54). Within social capital is the value of faith in a person or possible lack of faith, as a result of deception, which can create positive or negative social capital (ibid, pp. 54). Although social capital may not always yield economic capital and is quite time consuming, it creates an important side-effect of faith, faith which can be used to help an individual gain a job, have the social skills needed for certain employment or the help of a friend or other social connection to get a job. Having people feel gratitude in your presence, is an important aspect of feeling part of a society, part of being accepted and being considered worthy causing faith in an individual and gratitude in their presence within the social network. This is an important capital for immigrants to have because having connections within the society, and having others be grateful for their existence within the social network can yield not only positive feelings one may have for oneself but also foster good feelings and gratitude for others around them. Economic capital (like having a job) can also transform into important social capital through the connections that a person can make while making these investments (ibid, pp.54).
Education serves the ultimate goal to create cultural capital that can be converted to economic capital. Cultural capital, like economic capital, is something that people compete for due to limited resources and that translates to the social value of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1997: 49). The assumption of education is that it is an institution that has the goal to transfer or bestow capital to students who can use it to further their status within society. The problem, as Bourdieu puts it, is that the system is rigged in the sense that those with less capital or cultural competence who are part of the lower social class are less likely to succeed within the course. This is due to the fact that the education system assumes that students already have acquired or have significant amounts of cultural capital that they can use in order to acquire more within the class itself. Therefore there is a “great deal of inefficiency in ‘pedagogic transmission’ (i.e. teaching)” (Sullivan 2002:145).

THE CONTRADICTION OF INTEGRATION

Education for Bourdieu has always presented a paradox of sorts with how education is advertised to function as a tool for individuals to gain cultural capital, but it in fact requires prior forms of capital that limits the amount of students who will be successful within class due to the inefficiency in pedagogical transmission of capital. Bourdieu accounts for this lack of cultural capital transmission and acquisition due to a fact that students simply do not understand their teachers. They are unable to fully grasp the material that is being taught and this is especially true within universities, whereas Bourdieu states, students are terrified to reveal their own ignorance, and in trying to create the appearance of understanding or embodying the cultural capital, they in fact use a “smoke-screen of vagueness over the possibility of truth or error” (Sullivan 2001:894).

“By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture” (Sullivan 2001: 894, quoting Bourdieu).

What about the adult student, in particular immigrant adults who are remaking their lives with a foundation of social, cultural, and perhaps economic capital that does not have the same value in this new dominant culture, Sweden, as a result of them becoming a minority after migration? Bourdieu mainly accounts for the generational aspect of the transmission of capital, from parents to children, (Sullivan 2001: 895), but looking at the capital of immigrants brings the question of generations completely useless. Where Bourdieu
states that what students may lack in order to succeed within education is the linguistic and cultural competence, it is not just those factors that can render education unsuccessful, especially for immigrant adults, but other forms of capital including social, economic, as well as foundational cultural capital. Where young students can rely on social and economic capital of their parents, adult immigrants new to the society and cultural norms may not have that safety net. SAS is a type of cultural capital with a two-fold state of being. As an embodied state, SAS should enable students to not only speak Swedish but use it in a functional manner within Swedish society. As an objectified state, SAS bequeaths a grade or certification of passing the class. The curriculum of SAS set by Skolverket has the goals of acquiring this cultural capital and as a result would lead the student to have the ability to lead a very integrated life within Swedish society. How much of this cultural capital of SAS, which would have the transformative effect of gaining more social and economic capital, in fact stipulates a foundation of cultural, economic, and social capital that the student may not have being an immigrant? This SAS course is part of the makeup of cultural and linguistic competence that Bourdieu refers to. This creates a contradiction where these foundational forms of capital are in fact distributed asymmetrically among immigrants taking this course making Skolverket’s curriculum and policies that are supposed to lead to integration in essence a paradox due to how difficult it is to obtain within a simple language course designed to service all students at once.

The structural condition of the three determinant forms of capital: economic, social, and cultural, creates a contradiction in the simplistic model that is presented by Skolverket and other altruistic ideals of how education should function. Ultimately the great deal of “inefficiency in ‘pedagogic transmission’” (Sullivan 2002: 145) is not limited to the foundation of cultural capital that Bourdieu accounts for, but due to the transformative effects of capital it is also influenced by a lack in economic capital and social capital. These other forms of capital are relevant due the age of the students and the different obligations they have, both financial and social, in order to be active participating adults in society. Cultural capital, especially in its foundational affects needed for Swedish language acquisition or embodiment of the cultural capital of SAS, can be seen as prior education or social class within society (Bourdieu 1997:48-49). This is important as well because in certain forms cultural capital can be accumulated through a hereditary transmission through being born within a higher social class giving access to different privileges. Objectified cultural capital can be appropriated via the embodied cultural capital that a family can hold and “the initial
accumulation of cultural capital, the precondition for the fast, easy accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital” enables the offspring to accumulate cultural capital simultaneously via socialization (ibid, pp.49). For example, the English language is a valuable form of cultural capital that can be transmitted through the socialization of children who learn the language. This can be done at home or at Swedish elementary schools, where Swedish children begin learning English at a very early age and begin acquiring this embodied cultural capital. When it comes to objectified cultural capital which can be transmitted through the passing on of material objects (ibid, pp.50), we can see how the important objects that are respected can be given from parents to children and ensure their status with cultural capital. As immigrants within a new country, this process does not occur.

Economic capital is important for taking SAS because having a job, or access to money to fund your education is essential for having the means to even study SAS. Students must struggle to choose between investing time working in lower end jobs in order to have immediate access to economic capital or investing time studying with a very low initial or perhaps no economic return and this creates an important asymmetry among students. Social capital with an emphasis on social networks that are Swedish will enable the use of the Swedish language and belonging within Sweden by creating mutual gratitude and faith among one’s social network (friends, family, or acquaintances one interacts with and can seek support from) in Sweden. Having these connections in Sweden which can help a student pass a course and perform well, is not something that all students have access to. A deficit of social capital within the home can occur due to the immigrant parents’ loss of relevant cultural and linguistic competence in Sweden. Social capital is not something that is limited to one particular type, and like other forms of capital it can be layered and be useful in different situations. The culmination of cultural, social, and economic capital makes up the determinants that enable success within education, especially within SAS.

**Research Question**

By exploring the experiences of adult immigrant students in SAS and the goals that are laid out by Skolverket, we can see how the course and its curriculum affect students. I have introduced contemporary research on integration both within policies and understood within social sciences. We can see that the curriculum and goals set by Skolverket is essentially a social policy that promotes integration. By examining what happens within the classroom and determinants of successful academic performance, we can see the
effectiveness of this policy in reality. I situate my research within contemporary interdisciplinary research on immigration and integration, especially regarding the use of social policies to facilitate integration and its effectiveness. While integration can be understood as a feeling of belonging, SAS as education presents the goals of gaining, seizing the ability to use the Swedish language functionally within Swedish societies as well as “knowledge of life conditions, social questions, and cultural phenomena” (Skolverket, 2012:85, translated by C. McEvoy). Knowledge about the Swedish culture and the ability to use the Swedish language in a socially relevant fashion is cited often by social scientists for what immigrants need for success, especially within the job market (Nordin 2013, Salmonsson & Mella 2011). Education serves as a way to bridge this gap in skills and also promote integration (Bevelander 2011). In order to understand how education enables immigrants to become integrated, as laid out by Skolverket with SAS, and investigate the potential success of adult immigrant students, I build upon Bourdieu’s concept of capital, especially in how it is used in contemporary research on education. Bourdieu accounts for a lack of cultural capital as the culprit for affecting student’s ability to perform well in class (Sullivan 2002: 145). I supplement the lack of cultural capital as a determinant for success with other determinants such as economic and social capital due to the fact that these students are adults. While most research on education focuses on adolescents, as immigrant adults who are not from Sweden and are perhaps unemployed, a lack of social and economic capital are also determinants for their success within SAS. By focusing on the experiences that students have, it will reveal a lot about how the course SAS functions effectively or ineffectively in relation to integration.

Within the SAS classroom, we have students who range in age from early 20’s to nearing retirement. Students with young children and those who have none. Students who have university degrees and those who perhaps did not finish secondary school. Up to 12 different languages can be spoken in a classroom of 24 and there is one Swedish teacher trying to teach them the Swedish language and meet the curriculum set by Skolverket. All of these students have different levels of economic, social, and cultural capital, and all three are essential to aiding in passing SAS and achieving it as another form of cultural capital, and despite their immense differences they were placed in the same course and all aim to be successful. How do students experience and mediate the contradiction between the one-size-fits-all course and the asymmetrical distribution of the respective forms of capital that determine their academic performance?
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

APPLYING A THEORY OF PRACTICE

In order to equip the reader with the tools to understand my analysis of the field, this chapter will begin by distinguishing how I operationalize Bourdieu’s use of capital in respect to contemporary use of the forms of capital within research of education. This operationalization should be kept in mind while reading my ethnographic analysis. Apart from the practical methods that anthropologists use in the field in order to acquire data, an important method that shapes the data and situates it within broader contemporary research is the analysis and theoretical framework that is used. The method of choosing a theoretical framework to analyze what was gathered and observed within the field affects how the research will be presented and how the voices of the informants and people within the field are contextualized and assessed. It is important to frame their voices and their experiences in the right manner that ethically represents their life-world and what is happening in their daily lives. Choosing and subsequently using Bourdieu in my analysis was primarily based off of the connection that Bourdieu has within anthropology of education and analysis on educational processes including curriculums. I felt that with the culmination of ethnographic data that illustrated by far that my informants, my peers and classmates were not struggling in the class due to their own inability to learn Swedish or something that was wrong with them, but there was something wrong with the structure of education that should be assessed. Subsequently, Bourdieu’s concept of capital allowed me to frame their experiences and account for what they were experiencing.

Looking at education as a social structure that effects the lives of the students within it and operating without an individual or group at the helm imposing domination or social rules, requires methodological considerations as well as theoretical. I look to the structure of education and how it affects the students within its courses to understand the fact that as an objective structure it has become naturalized and deterministic due to being viewed as transcendent through history, and unfortunately students and their positionalities are seen as manifestations of that structure (Bourdieu 2006: 177). This theoretical orientation in fact helps me see how SAS courses and the structure of that education is in fact contradictory to the lives of the students taking the course and unfortunately they are caught within an irrelevant and vague curriculum that does not acknowledge their strengths and weaknesses. According to Bourdieu, the anthropologist plays an important role in coming into the field, observing and participating and through anthropological methods, anthropologists may able
to also highlight and uncover how structures within the social world are naturalized and how it affects individuals. There is a risk that anthropologists themselves can ‘forget’ or be ignorant of the implications of the methods he or she utilizes which can affect their subsequent analysis (ibid, pp.171). There is a requirement of reflexivity for anthropologists, a self-awareness of how anthropological fieldwork is undergone and how it affects not only the research but the analysis produced, and in acknowledging it, it can help prevent any perpetuating of the naturalized notion of these social structures.

Bourdieu’s analysis of education and capital became a theoretical structure that really helped me highlight the flaws that educational system has while highlighting the individual struggles that students have. The use of Bourdieu in anthropology of education is also a key part of class culture theory and its rise and continued use for analysis of education. Bourdieu’s ‘practice theory’ lends the focus on how individuals within the education system, i.e. students and teachers, who are actors, “interact and intentionally challenge or acquiesce to normative sociocultural systems” (Foley 2010: 217). Bourdieu’s analysis is both a theoretical analysis and methodologically aimed. His theory is based off of practice and used for practice (Grenfell 1998: 155). This makes his theory incredibly malleable but, Bourdieu is often criticized for brushing with broad strokes, which makes his theory sometimes difficult to analyze due to the vagueness of his writing. Furthermore, Bourdieu’s construction of capital, based off of economic capital and its most general use of the term in denoting monetary and economic value, is very broad. Bourdieu uses his analysis of capital as a way to account for the different nuances of the world and use an economic theory as basis for understanding and contextualizing the different structures and how they function (Moore 2008: 101). I take a lot of what Bourdieu says with a grain of salt and make sure that the analysis serves the field first and foremost and what had appeared within the field. In my analysis I not only focus on the lack or asymmetry of cultural capital among students, but the asymmetry of economic and social capital and how that affects their performance within the course and overall how the culmination of these three types of capital can affect cultural capital via SAS. While Bourdieu acknowledges the interconnectedness of class reproduction, he mainly accounts for primarily cultural capital affecting education (Bourdieu 1997: 54), I am to look more forms of capital to show even more so how everything is interconnected.

The operationalization of cultural capital, and by connection other forms of capital, is made unclear by Bourdieu, but social scientists can use a broad operationalization and set the boundaries themselves, defining and framing what they will analyze and how that is relevant
to their field of research (Zimdars et al 2009: 652). Capital requires a multilayered and intersectional perspective of capital in its operationalization. Regarding the analysis of how SAS as cultural capital, it is represented as a embodied state of cultural capital that is difficult for people to obtain and at the same time an institutionalized state of cultural capital as an academic qualifications; we can see that capital is not contained into one singular box or label, it is very fluid especially when observing how capital can be operationalized.

One aspect of Bourdieu’s theory, habitus, will not be used in this analysis. In connection to the forms of capital, Bourdieu coined the term “habitus” to discuss learned dispositions, in order to distinguish between the different habitus of the different social classes. These learned dispositions explain learned social class or status that is constituted at home and within cultural institutions, especially within schools (Foley 2010: 217). Habitus is developed in congruence to an agent’s positionality within society and their social, cultural, and symbolic capital and individual agents undergo an internalization process of dispositions which are learned and affect all ways of life including a person’s values, tastes, and personality (Moberg 2013: 223). Alice Sullivan, a sociologist, critiques the concept of habitus that Bourdieu puts forth, saying that it is “theoretically incoherent” whereas, the concept of cultural capital that Bourdieu has is substantial and useful for researchers (Sullivan 2002: 144). I will not be using Bourdieu’s concept of habitus due to its deterministic nature, and instead focus on the concept of capital and how it is utilized and distributed asymmetrically among students. Habitus may provide an understanding to learned dispositions and the functions of class structure, but due to the positionalities of my informants as immigrants, this does not seem like a functional framework for this research project. On the other hand, capital creates an understanding of the different determinants that enable success within SAS.

Understanding capital in its many forms requires an analysis that situates capital as a very fluid entity, slippery, as something that changes overtime. For example, when looking at social capital, individuals can have layered capital, they can have social capital when they are home or in their neighborhoods but perhaps at school. There is also Swedish specific social capital, where they are connected, or not connected to the local community and Swedish people in their lives. They can experience a loss in social capital and power at home, and that can affect how they interact with others in school. In looking at social capital, immigrants, ethnicity, and locality, a group of social scientists argue that “social integration refers to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among
individuals and their attitudes toward the society, and the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and group” and overall state that “interactive integration….is a key component of social capital” (Tselros et al 2015: 416). It is in this way that I employ a very phenomenological or individual-experience based perspective for my theoretical framework. My project was conducted in a phenomenological framework, with experience and understanding being central for what I was seeking to understand and the experiences of my informants shapes my argument and my analysis. I also used this kind of experience based understanding and gathering of information in order to frame cultural capital, which is very fluid as it is the goal of the course while at the same time being demanded by the course.

SAS is first and foremost a language course and as a result there is a lot of my research and analysis that touches upon linguistics. This research does not aim to go into a linguistic analysis of the SAS course, but it is necessary to showcase how layered the field is within my ethnographic analysis by touching upon this factor and how it affects students. Learning a language is a cognitive experience, and therefore I took with me an initial understanding of how phenomenology understands language socialization within the classroom into the field. Although my main analysis is on the role of capital (social, cultural, and economic) on the success of a course that is supposed to promote integration, I used a very phenomenological approach with my methodology. Duranti (2009) employs a phenomenological approach to the theory of language socialization to showcase how this perspective highlights the cognitive processes of learning a new language. When analyzing and researching day-to-day interaction between adults and children over a myriad of societies, we see that “the process of becoming acceptable members of their community, children are made to participate in a range of social acts realized (predominantly but never exclusively) through speaking [interactions] that are explicitly aimed at directing and redirecting their social, emotional, and moral engagement with their surrounding world” (Duranti 2009: 205). Due to the intersubjective nature of the classroom and the amount of interaction and time spent with other students who come from different cultures and have different native languages, I see that the students are constantly influencing each other’s perspectives on their positionalities and it is important to acknowledge this within my analysis. Students not only judge others but compare themselves to other students of completely different education backgrounds, cultural backgrounds, and economic backgrounds. Socialization is a conditioning to a phenomenon through individual phenomenological modifications (ibid, pp.215). In my research question, I am looking to
how they mediate and understand the contradiction of the course itself and their asymmetrical distribution of capital, using a phenomenological orientation is essential to that.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY AND AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

I use a lot of interdisciplinary sources in order to present a well-rounded and in depth representation of the field and the experiences my informants have. According to John Law (2004), within social science it is important to capture the hidden “textures” in seemingly straightforward facts (pp. 2). In looking at a school with projected curriculums for the masses and individual students, it is especially important to showcase the social chaos, where we historically try and simplify to understand, and it is important to use new and creative methods to see the field as it is, complicated and layered (ibid, pp. 2). I am looking at this field in multilayered way, looking at not just the school itself and the individuals, but the different factors within the students’ lives, both within class and at home, in order to contextualize the different reasons immigrant adults may struggle within education. I took to heart what Law suggests social scientists must do within the field to escape the “methodological hegemony,” and instead develop new methods to observe fluidity that is marked by globalization and the changes in the field in relation to the world (ibid, pp.3-4). Methods are an integral part of knowledge production and the shaping of knowledge within social sciences and by looking at the world and the field in this fluid manner, social scientists can break down previous deterministic methods that have the primary goal of looking at culture and society in a simplistic or specific manner, like uncovering a mathematic formula (ibid, pp.5). It is also important to be reflexive in the researcher’s engagement within the field and how it changes and affects the field and knowledge production while combining this with traditional anthropological field methods (ibid, pp.7).

I want to provide an anthropological perspective and framework to a phenomenon like integration presented through a course curriculum, framed within language and education. Social policies and public institutions play a crucial role to integration, and examining a certain policy, in this case a curriculum, made shed light to what is working. Anthropology of Education is deeply seated in both advocacy and education and creates methods for understanding “hybridity and linguistic multivocality as tools that students manipulate in order to dislocate the processes of domination through the alteration of transgression of discursive practices” (González 2010: s250). The very nature of the students and the classroom is textured, layered, and complicated as Law described. Understanding and doing research within this field requires “arguments against the binary oppositions of fixed centers
and margins are useful for conceptualizing complex intersections of multiple spaces, historical contingencies, and subject positions that students take up within and outside of schools” (González 2010: S250). It is important in this way to look at the different aspects of life that affect education, from the students’ social life to their job prospects. Furthermore, anthropology of education thrives within an interdisciplinary space, and as a field it interacts with advocacy anthropology and with social educational policies. As a result, this academic field is constantly engaging with different fields and the constant flow between method and analysis (ibid, pp.s249). Educational anthropology and its analysis of linking language, immigration, and education together primarily focus on children and their identities (ibid, pp.253). Within Scandinavia, in particular Denmark, educational anthropology research has focused on childhood studies in the past (Anderson-Levitt 2015: 95). Looking at adult students and new immigrants can highlight different processes of learning, especially since my informants and my main focus group are comprised of adults who have lived, grown up, and received the majority of their education outside of the country and in different languages. In other studies regarding adult immigrant students, it is acknowledge that there is the risk that the experiences that these students have could be understood in a as a reality of “cultural diversity” (ibid, pp.95). The awareness of the linguistic nature of not only SAS courses, being a Swedish course, and education in general is touched upon often in my analysis. And although I do not go into great detail with a linguistic analysis of the course and learning a new language, I do acknowledge how important and embedded this is, but this is simply one layer of the multilayered field.

PREPARING, ENTERING, AND ADJUSTING TO THE FIELD

My fieldwork took place between January 2014 and the end of May of that year. I decided, due to my own enrollment in SAS 1 that I would begin a part-time fieldwork while studying simultaneously at the university and conduct observations and interviews during the first half of the semester and then transition in April to a more full-time fieldwork, at Vux Linné 4 school days of the week during class hours (typically from 8 in the morning until past 4 in the afternoon). After meeting with the rector of the school and getting approval to conduct fieldwork, I started out only observing my own class, SAS 1 and in April began to observe and take part in one other SAS 1 course. I then contacted my old SAS G teachers (one of which was teaching the other SAS 1 courses as well as co-teaching another course)

7 These two SAS 1 courses were each other’s counterparts. Same curriculum and lesson plan and the teachers worked together to grade papers and create lesson plans with one another. My course was offered two days a week in the afternoons on Mondays and Thursdays, and the other course was the morning course, offered 3 days a week.
and began to observe two different SAS G courses a couple of days out of the week. By the end of the semester, I almost always recognized someone while walking through the hallways and to this day my classmates and peers see me around town and wave. In my own course I participated as a student, took tests and exams, but in the other classes I tried to take a more observant role but found myself asking questions regarding grammar still and the teachers would give me handouts like the rest of the students, and even correct them.

Throughout my fieldwork, I modified and employed new and different methods in order to acquire data. In an attempt to capture the “real life” that my goal demographic was experiencing, I attempted to experience as much as possible myself by spending a lot of time within the school itself, talking to people both within the hallways and in the lunchroom, and convincing people to have a conversation with me whenever possible about my thesis. I made sure to mention its development and what I found interesting as much as possible so that my project was at the forefront of my peers’ minds and so that ethically they would be more aware of what kind of information I was interested in. My teachers had practically memorized my introduction speech that I would say when I began observing a class and made sure to encourage questions and answered them when I struggled to articulate what anthropology was, for example. I never got firm pushback; I usually got a “why are you doing this?” and a puzzled look when I would try to explain that I thought that they as immigrants and as people were experiencing something important. Students more often than not comment on the fact that I was a native English speaker and explain to me that that was the reason I was excelling in Swedish in their point of view. This privilege of being a native English speaker, that they observed, commented on, and constantly reminded me of, made me way more aware of how to approach the field, modifying my methods, and bringing in the important element of self-reflection. In order to not seem like this over-privileged individual studying them, I shared a lot of my own life with my informants and tried to be as down-to-earth and open as possible in order to ethically collect information. The presence of an anthropologist- or aspiring anthropologist was new to all of my classmates and my positionality as a researcher coincided with my position as a native English speaker, white woman from the United States with the privilege of studying at a Swedish university. But being both a peer and an anthropologist gave me ethical and methodological obligations. I believe that functioning anthropological fieldwork should be reciprocal, that an

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8 My old SAS G teacher was teaching two different SASGs that term, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. She was paired with another teacher.
anthropologist must be willing to share if they want to take. I told classmates embarrassing stories about myself and told them about my partner and how we met. I made sure to try and be as open as possible to not create this “paparazzi affect” of catching my informants off guard in order to track them (Bernard 2006: 342).

**AUTOETHNOGRAPHY, PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION, AND INTERVIEWS**

I employed analytic autoethnography as an initial method to gain more background information regarding the field and use those field notes as a jumping off point for other methods. Analytic autoethnography was in no way my primary method, but this method helped me be able to both contextualize and frame the field and use the experiences I had as another part of my research. It also led me to come up with questions for conversations and informal interviews. By using myself as a subject inserted within the conversation, I shared information and in return got information. According to Leo Anderson (2006), an American anthropologist, analytic autoethnography should be used in three ways. This method should be used if researcher is “(1) a full member in the research group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in published texts, and (3) committed to developing theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena” (Anderson 2006: 373). My ethnography is not a self-narrative, autobiography but I use my own experiences as a student an immigrant as a contextualization of the field and my privilege and how I understand the policies and school structure on a personal level. Analytic autoethnography is a method that is meant to respond to the armchair anthropologist, a disconnected researcher trope that exists in classical and some contemporary ethnographic works. In this method the researcher’s identity and presence is illustrated as the intrusion of the researcher within the field and how that affects and shapes said field (ibid, pp.376). This method is also a phenomenological process in which the researcher takes an active role in skill acquisition (ibid, pp.376). I am also going through the process of learning Swedish, had to study for exams, struggling to find the right word and that aspect of my fieldwork allowed me to really understand my informants empathetically. During some interviews, an informant would be waving their hand in the air, stammering, struggling to find the right world, their hand twirling in the air and I would instinctually know not only the word they were searching for, unable to say it myself, and know that feeling all too well---the stop in flow, and the embarrassment when you can’t express yourself to the fullest extent I identified with. This method allows for the researcher to connect to informants on a more emotional level (ibid, pp.371). I was an active actor within the field and I feel that my research should reflect that through using a first person narrative.
With analytic autoethnography, I could be an active participant and an active member of the field. This analysis stems from being an active part of the field and partaking in the field’s dialogue and daily negotiations within the field (Anderson 2006: 382). The critiques of autoethnography include its possible lack of analysis, and autobiographical tendencies, but within analytic autoethnography a certain level of multi-tasking is needed and I used several different types of methods in order to get a well-rounded multitude of data (ibid, pp.382, 385). Using analytic autoethnography facilitates my phenomenological understanding of the field and in this way I have been able to acquire a two-fold “theoretical attitude” both in the same way as my informants of learning a language, but a further theoretical attitude on the reflection of that process and lived experiences (Duranti 2009: 216).

In employing autoethnography, I was able to understand the different factors that affected my own education in SAS. I was not simply enrolled for the exclusive purpose of conducting fieldwork, but my own education, my own experiences completely shaped this project and also pulled me into this field of study. It was in this way that the use of the different forms of capital became operationalized within the project through contextualizing and understanding the course from my own personal framework. It is in this way that I could connect better with my informants and also understand capital in this very phenomenological, ego-centered, and personal experience. It became clear to me that using a multivariable analysis of different forms of capital: cultural, social, and economic, of immigrant students within SAS was more relevant to the field than limiting it to an analysis of cultural capital alone. In my analysis, I also recognized the use of capital within my own methods. I used whatever I could to forge my own social capital among these individuals in order to make connections and create relationships with possible informants. One aspect that I capitalized about when speaking with classmates was that I also had thoughts and questions regarding Swedish norms because I was not Swedish, like them; in discussing these norms, and how I understood Sweden, I forged my membership within this group, and gained useful insights into the making of social capital as an immigrant. This alternative way of sculpting relationships among immigrants capitalized on the status of being ‘not Swedish’ and created as Bourdieu calls it “mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership” (Bourdieu 1997: 52).

The anthropologist’s ultimate goal is to first understand and then present an understanding and create an understanding, rather than reproducing previous objectifications of the field and of the human beings within the field (Bourdieu 2006:171). Participant
observation is a trademark of anthropological research. This method, when used over long periods of time to establish rapport and ensure strong relationships and trust, “maximizes your chances for making valid statements” (Bernard 2006: 365). From field notes of everyday life and quantitative methods like surveys and counting, participant observation can produce both important qualitative and quantitative data (ibid, pp.344). Participant observation, an oxymoron based on the idea of participating while in fact observing is also a contradiction as seen within method and within the field. It can actually in fact be “another way of avoiding the question of the real relationship of the observer to the observed and its critical consequences for scientific practice” (Bourdieu 2006: 172). In an effort to be as reflexive and aware as possible as a researcher, I made sure to complement this traditional method with other more contemporary methods in order to showcase the relationships I had within the field that shaped and contextualized it. Participant observation is not just active observations and trying to make sense within a new field—but an important part of this is participant listening and engaged listening which can often be a forgotten aspect or ignored offshoot of observing; this listening is employed in participant observation and within interviews, conversations, etc. (Forsey 2010: 558). Through engaging with my informants, being able to read body language and use gestures to illustrate what I mean and interpret what I see and hear, especially where language may be lacking, this is where participant listening becomes pivotal to my research. I modified traditional participant observation in this way to engage with my informants, listen to the conversations in class, listen to others in the lunch room and ‘read’ my informants in their interviews. Using participant observation and listening was pivotal to my methods because it provided the daily interplay that is important for identity making and understanding intersubjectivity. I was able to understand what happens on a day-to-day basis on a more conscious level especially with the use of analytic autoethnography in congruency.

My conversations and meetings with informants were conducted in both my second language and my informants’ second language, Swedish. I rarely had English meetings, and if that occurred, it mostly switched back and forth between Swedish and English. Participant listening is an important method within linguistic anthropology (Forsey 2010: 563). Participant listening is usually cited for studies that are more interview-based due to the nature of many fields lacking spatial boundaries that would classically create intimacy via proximity (ibid, pp. 566). I was within a spatially bounded field, an adult school, which in fact created intimacy and comradery among these immigrants, these students of different
backgrounds, languages, ages, cultures, and listening was both important to hear how this intimacy was fostered and how knowledge was passed along and how language was used among these peers.

The majority of my meetings were conducted spontaneously and occurred pretty naturally. Bringing up the topic of living in Sweden as an immigrant was something that many people relished the opportunity to speak about. Many times I would suggest meeting at another time, and they would simply begin speaking and 30 minutes later I would be sprinting away from the conversation to jot down everything I could as fast as possible in the cramped library located on the second floor of Vux Linné. If that time coincided with another course I was set to observe, I would write down bullet points and elaborate later when I could get to a computer. I took both handwritten field notes that I brought with me to every class I observed and I typed notes after these informal interviews that occurred spontaneously.

I predominantly used an informal interviewing style, which is “characterized by a total lack of structure or control” and under this method I took a lot of time making notes, typing down notes, and unloading my memory into my field notes (Bernard 2006:211). Unstructured interviews are usually done with a goal in mind over the topic—but “minimum control over the …responses” (ibid, pp.211). Semi-structured alternatively is based on an interview guide prepared beforehand (ibid, pp.212), which I only used in my first interviews, which were focus-groups with a semi-structured guideline. I began using a more semi-structured interview style to conduct initial focus groups that I organized from a sign-up sheet I distributed in class after presenting more about my research one afternoon. In attempting to seem very professional in an ultra-social science researcher manner, I flubbed and ended up creating an awkward focus group with classmates who looked both uncomfortable and confused when I started asking questions. Keeping to a list of questions as well highlighted the fact that reading Swedish in comparison to talking was not my strong suit. I clammed up, stiff and stressed and the two individuals who came to my first focus group did not understand what I meant to ask. Once I turned to a more unstructured style of interviewing, I felt myself relax and speak better Swedish and my informants in turn felt more relaxed and give me more information. The setting became calmer, casual, relaxing and people happily chatted with me both outside the classroom and at scheduled conversations. It was in this fashion of a scheduled conversation, that I was best able to engage as a researcher and my informant would be able to both know that I would was
listening to what they were saying, sometimes pulling out my notebook, scribbling their name down on it and sitting there with the page open, pen poised but rarely scribbling things down until they left. I found when some saw me writing they would stop their conversation and try and read what I wrote. I kept the notebook open and the pen out as a symbol that I was gathering information for a research project.

I had two focus groups that contained prepared questions with two individuals per group and a total of 11 scheduled conversations/interviews that were unstructured and casual, which were held outside of class times on a designated day. Two of these were held with the same classmate who during a scheduled lunch who invited a friend to come and talk with us. In fact almost all of the scheduled conversations included interruptions by other individuals from class or other friends they knew. I welcomed it and quickly would explain my project and get their point of view. One of the scheduled conversations was held in the home of my classmate with her husband who made me a sandwich and talked about his job. I met their children as well. Two of the scheduled meetings were with teachers. One was held after a class with my own teacher and the other meeting was held in a cramped storage closet with text books and dictionaries with two other teachers. Many times during class or after class I would suggest a scheduled meeting and found that many sometimes never showed up at the appropriate times, and I then changed my tactics to meeting spontaneously, in the hallways, directly after class and ask them as much as possible before they made their way home or if I was lucky, carry this onto lunch where the conversation would last up to an hour. Due to this nature, pulling out a recorder did not occur. One individual asked me not to record at all and during another meeting I decided against it due to how loud the cafeteria was. The majority of my material was gathered from countless casual conversations I had within the classroom and out in the hallways. Researchers should generally use a recorder in all semi-structured interviews (Bernard 2006: 227), but due to the nature of my interview style being semi-unstructured and usually occurring spontaneously as a long directed conversation, this was sometimes impossible or I felt unnecessary. It disturbed not only the flow of the conversation, usually the informant hardly gave me time to pull anything out of my bag to begin recording.9

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9 Recording also meant that I would have to find a quiet and secluded area that would not be affected by background noise and I did not want to risk the potential informant taking the opportunity to decide this was not worth their time or their effort, which that happened a couple of times during the beginning of my fieldwork. I would smile and nod and listen as best I could, focusing on memorizing and absorbing as much as possible so when I sprinted away from them I would be able to write down as much as possible. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I
GATHERING DATA ON DEMOGRAPHICS

Due to the multicultural and diverse nature of my field-site, I soon found it necessary for me to conduct a short survey to gain some information regarding demographics and plans of informants. I kept these surveys anonymous and as one student remarked as I was doling them out, “this isn’t so anonymous to you! I am the only Russian person in this class; of course you will know it is me!” I stuttered something along the lines of that the data would be kept as anonymous as possible and if anything he could decline to state, but I would prefer if he wouldn’t. But he was right, and for that reason I try to present the information in a comprehensive but in a way that would not reveal any delicate information regarding the students that participated. I used self-administered surveys (Bernard 2006: 25) in the form of small handouts that would only take a couple of minutes to hand out and would not disturb the flow of the class. I did two different rounds of the survey, the first round during my fieldwork in May of 2014 and then again the following semester for the SAS G courses. I tried my best to write easy to read questions and provide options for students to write down more if they so choose. I spent the next couple of minutes after passing out the surveys answering questions about the survey itself and then collecting them in a sealed envelope and not reading them until I got home. Despite my attempts to present the information in a comprehensive and easy to understand manner, many students failed to answer questions like gender or age. I am not sure if it was due to the fact that the design was not that inspiring or if they simply did not understand the question (see Appendix A for English translation of survey plus notes regarding responses).

Primarily these surveys functioned to find out more regarding the demographic of the classroom. I also utilized broad questions to yield interesting responses and find any trends to follow up on, like comprehension. The disadvantage with receiving information that has been misunderstood is that there is no way to really chart or map out that data. If the fieldwork period was longer or I had the opportunity to split the fieldwork into two different sections with a small break to go through the data, I would have created a much more comprehensive survey and longer one that would have taken more time to fill out in class. In my desire to please the teachers who allowed me to conduct my observations, I did not want pushed for a lot more sit-down interviews, separate and not spur of the moment and people either would not show up at all, or would immediately back off. One woman made a complete 180 in interest in speaking to me. She had approached me to speak about my project and when I asked her if she could meet me one day after class or lunch and I could interview her, her face went blank and she made an excuse and walked away. Also designating times where I could bring out my recorder and have a separate interview resulted in me waiting in school hallways for people who would never show up. This happened around 3 times before I changed my tactics and took whatever time I could to speak to possible informants.
to disrupt their class, and therefore decided to make a short survey that unfortunately had room for misunderstanding.

LIMITATIONS WITHIN THE FIELD AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Due to the nature of the field, there are certain limitations in my research. This is a result of the demographic available to me, sticking to one major field site, and also the time constraints and the school obligations I had throughout my fieldwork. I did amass a large amount data though that illuminated the different nuances of being an immigrant within Uppsala municipality. The majority of the students were women within the classes (see Appendix B), which probably influenced the data regarding changes within the family and was a reflection of the many women who were undergoing a change in lifestyle from staying at home to joining the workforce. I did have the opportunity to speak with many men, but when it came to issues of the family, it was predominantly discussed by women who were speaking of juggling housework, childcare, and learning Swedish. This factor of the gender differences was left deeply unexplored within this thesis due to a lack of data but it presents an important question regarding women and education that should be explored.

My identity of being a researcher within the class was, I felt, clouded by my identity of being a university student who was from the United States and had the privilege of speaking English and taking classes in English. Unlike a lot of the students in these courses, I was not concerned with grades and for the most part, did not absolutely need to take the Swedish courses. I found them imperative for my own personal reasons and wanted to become more fluent in Swedish because as a personal belief I felt it necessary for those living in a country to learn the language. Many classmates and students would remark upon the fact that I didn’t need to take Swedish. Or that my Swedish was so good because I spoke English perfectly as a native-speaker. The fact that I was doing a research project was a direct result of me having the privilege to study in my native language rather than being obliged to study Swedish courses first, a privilege that many did not have. My positionality in relation to the other students affected how those students saw me as a researcher and how seriously they took me. I spoke about my research a lot in order for the students within these courses to realize how much data I was gathering. I believe the reflexive nature of the methods allowed me to gain a large amount of data that shows the different factors of being an immigrant that influence how the students that I researched take into account when seeing themselves within Sweden and seeing others.
Another limitation to note is the language limitations that are actually a part of the very nature of the study. The study was primarily conducted in my second language, and always conducted in a person’s second language whether it is English or Swedish, with varying levels of proficiency, experience, and mastery over the languages. Word choices may be overly harsh or strong due to the fact that individuals may not know a more nuanced way to express something in Swedish. My field notes primarily were in English which may have affected some of the translations because in real-time I was translating things in English to make it easier for myself to understand. Now that my own skills in Swedish have greatly improved and increased, I feel that a lot of that translation and therefore loss in translation would not have occurred because the notes would have been done in Swedish, but at that point in time I was not comfortable or even able to write down that much in Swedish and have it make sense. Due to the fact that informants are using this second language, a lot of body language was used in order to supplement their inability to express themselves, and I found a lot of useful data within that body language. Experiences as well were very much affected by an individual’s feelings and emotions, things get bottled up and for many telling these stories probably gained some sort of exaggeration and drama to them. But that is also an advantage to note how people react, how they retell, and how they express experience.

Furthermore my experiences as an immigrant and student were very different from my informants; I had some shared experiences regarding Swedish schooling and migration, but otherwise, we had very different lives. I did my best to be personable, casual, non-intrusive, friendly, etc. and perhaps this style of conducting fieldwork will not yield the same results as one who rigorously undertake scripted, recorded interviews, but I felt that this kind of research-style allowed me to become not just well-versed within the field but an integral member and furthermore a part of the community in Uppsala.

In order to protect the identities and provide an ethical research project, every individual’s name was changed and due to the fact that there were only three instructors in my study, sometimes I simply refer to them as ‘the instructor’ so that it is not clear which one it was.

OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS

Following my brief outline of my theoretical framework and my methods used, the following six chapters will present my work as following:
Chapter Three will introduce a brief background on the recent history of immigration in Sweden as well as a brief description of adult education within Uppsala in order to set the scene. This will include different historical factors of Sweden regarding the treatment and reception of immigrants and Swedish individualism. I will finish with a description of the processes that are included within apply for adult school and the distribution of schools within Uppsala Municipality.

Chapter Four will be the first ethnographic chapter and introduce the contradiction of how SAS was not functioning in the way it should with students struggling within courses. I use this chapter in order to highlight that there is something that is not functioning correctly within the course that is not due to the ability or the perseverance of the students or teachers, but of the structure which is hard to follow and succeed within.

Chapter Five, the second ethnographic chapter, will discuss the asymmetrical distribution of cultural capital among students and this asymmetry was both in the potential success in the course and foundational cultural capital. I will present material where students show off their grades and also explore and present their differences within the classroom and begin to express resentment or ressentiment.

Chapter Six, the third ethnographic chapter, will discuss the asymmetry of economic capital among students and the struggles students have making ends meet, which forces some students to quit studying all together. I will also discuss how the school itself lacks the economic capital to diversify courses and therefore it forces schools to continue using a one-size-fits-all curriculum that does not account for the struggles of the students. The lack of economic capital also sparks resentment among students.

Chapter Seven, the final ethnographic chapter, will address social capital and its importance as a determinant within SAS. The classroom is a very social setting, and the social capital that students have is affected by the home, the connections they have in school, and with the Swedish society. It will also address stereotypes and comparisons that are made as a way to express resentment of the differences in the distribution of capital and the struggles these students have. Following Chapter Seven will be the conclusion and a wrap-up of the thesis as a whole.
CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND AND ENVIRONMENT FOR IMMIGRANTS IN UPPSALA, SWEDEN

THE HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN SWEDEN

In order to contextualize the field and situate my research within the history of immigration, Sweden, and social policies, I want to set the scene to enable the reader to understand current immigrant relations in Sweden. Immigration in Sweden began to surge in the 1950’s with people mainly migrating for work from other Nordic countries (like Finland) for labor and from Southern and Central Europe with a high percentage of labor migrants coming from Greece and the former Yugoslavia. This kind of labor migration from outside the Nordic region ended in the 1970’s due to an economic recession (Nordin 2013: 420). From the 1970s on, the “migrant composition changed and since then Sweden has received mostly refugees and family reunification migrants,” which include marriages and sambo (partners) (ibid, pp. 420-421). Many of the immigrants in Sweden since the 1970’s have come from former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Somalia, Lebanon, and Chile post-conflict(ibid, pp.421). There was a shift in the ethnic composition of the migrants from primarily Western and European migrants to more non-Western migrants from war-torn areas. Prior to the 1970’s, migrants were usually hired abroad and upon coming to Sweden would immediately begin working but afterwards there was a much lower level of market performance by refugees and family-reunification permit holders (ibid, pp. 420-421). At the time of this study conducted by economist Nordin, immigrants accounted for roughly 12% of the population in Sweden and unfortunately Sweden had one of the largest discrepancies in the labor market between immigrants and natives (ibid, pp.421).

SWEDISHNESS

‘The Swede’, according to two Swedish researchers: Henrik Berggren and Lars Trädgårdh (2006), in their book Is the Swede a human?, is caricatured with the nature of a psychopath with its polar-like attitude and cold demeanor. The Swede is difficult to connect with, shy in nature, and stoic (Berggren & Trädgårdh 2006: 17). The Swede functions in congruence to a moral logic of the coined term: ‘Swedish Statist Individualism’ where morality is not based in interdependence and codependence with others, but in autonomy and independence (ibid. pp.10). The welfare system promotes in congruence to this moral structure solidarity within security and egalitarianism which is based upon the respect on others’ individualism and independence where dependence on others comes at a cost (ibid.
In this harsh description of Swedishness, as a reader you can see what many immigrants encounter as the norm in Sweden. The image of ‘the Swede’ as being stoic, standoffish, and independent and not involved within local community is part of this concept of Swedish culture and norms. This also makes it difficult for immigrants to find friends and build up social networks and as many informants discussed the isolation they felt, this description serves as a good framework for the environment immigrants may face. Discussing Swedish culture and the ‘typical Swede’ is a part of the SAS course and course material. 

According to Lars Trägårdh (1997), the Nordic welfare state has produced a culture and group of “atomized, autonomous individuals” and the main argument and foundation of this state is “alliance between the state and the individual” (pp. 253). This means that in the Nordic region the individual receives direct aid by way of the state instead of through the local community like other societies. This sort of autonomy from the economic and social constraints of civil society through aid is facilitated by receiving general aid from the state in order to not feel humiliated or bound to others was an integral part of the foundation of the Swedish welfare state (ibid, pp. 254). By breaking away from this dependence on civil society as a form of aid, Swedish culture and construction of the concept of civil aid is very different from other Western countries like the United States. Within other Western countries, the “proper sphere for the provision of welfare is seen to be civil society—families, churches, private voluntary associations—with the state to intervene if at all, only as a last resort” (ibid. pp.257).

IMMIGRANTS

The image of the immigrant, may it be a dark or tan skinned male with a thick Arabic accent or a woman with a veil is something that is shaping the way that Swedish people treat newcomers to their country but more importantly, how immigrants begin to view themselves and one another in juxtaposition to the Swedishness they perceive. The immigrant has become a symbol in Swedish popular culture as a distinct non-Scandinavian person from a

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10 Within the course literature for the SAS level 1 course is a chapter titled “Typiskt Svenskt?” or “Typically Swedish?” Within the chapter there is a section entitled, “Lagom i landet Jante” or “Just Right in the country of Jante.” Lagom derives from an older word meaning lawful. Jante refers to jantelagen or Jante’s laws which is composed of a list of societal laws encouraging individuals to not stand out, but to be one of the crowd, not being better or worse or striving for glory, but simply being lagom (Åström 2012: 108-109). Although this promotion of lagom has supposedly not been promoted since the 70s, according to this text, it is shown as an important part of the cultural history in Sweden. The section of the book argues that although jantelagen is often still referred to and talked about, Swedes gladly believe that they no longer live under that sort of societal reign (ibid, pp.110).
third-world country, coming as a refugee and “arriving desperate, demoralized and poverty-stricken, culturally distant from the host society with corresponding difficulties in integrating” (Hilson 2008: 160). This image of the immigrant is one of the main reasons for growing racism within Swedish society, both politically and socially. In 2010, the Swedish Democrats, an anti-immigration, “pro-Swedish” political party, came into power in the Parliament, showcasing a growing fear and discontent many Swedish citizens have with the “immigrant” (Byström and Fröhner 2013: 229). This negative image of the “immigrant” is ultimately linked to the immigration peak of the 1990’s that occurred simultaneously with the economic recession of that time and popular practices regarding immigrants included socially “othering” them (Hilson 2008: 160). Immigrants have been increasingly co-identified with Islam and this has contributed to growing ethnic discrimination within Sweden and xenophobia (ibid, pp. 160). Fear of mosques and Islam is connected to this pseudo-threat of the immigrant coming in and taking advantage of the Swedish welfare state which is linked to Sweden’s identity.

Despite the shift in institutional discourses of immigrants from assimilation to multiculturalism, the reality of integration policies and processes in Sweden reflected the common conception that integration was the process of immigrants adapting to existing cultural and social institutions, norms, and acting lagom\textsuperscript{11} behaving in a rational, organized, and controlled manner (Johannsson 2013: 245). This is also linked to the perception that immigrants are directly in contrast to the normative “ideal” of Swedishness which syntactically and logically makes them seem irrational, unorganized, uncontrolled, and olagom\textsuperscript{12}. During the 1970’s, multiculturalism began to replace the previous discourse of assimilation where immigrants were expected to shed their cultural heritage like a skin in order to fully assimilate oneself and blend in with the host culture. Despite the changes in institutional policies celebrating multiculturalism and diversity, immigrants continued to be seen as “different” and therefore “problems” in Sweden. Practices of integration as a ‘different’ process than assimilation, through institutional ideologies and popular movements, were structurally the same as the assimilation tactics where there was an “expected continual adaptation of immigrants under rational and controlled forms to the dominant national culture and the existing ‘normal’ order of things” (ibid, pp.244). Unfortunately this “deterministic conception of culture in this immigration policy” has created a subsequent discourse in

\textsuperscript{11} Lagom in Swedish means “just right” not too much, not too little.
\textsuperscript{12} Olagom would mean the opposite of lagom, something that isn’t just right. Something too much or perhaps too little.
Sweden where the norm is “Swedishness” and the national majority, Swedes, and the national minority, immigrants, have been socially and culturally segregated and seen as ‘the others’ (ibid, pp.244).

The lack of upward social mobility due to foreign ‘human’ capital\(^{13}\), as Nordin (2011) calls it, within the Swedish workforce could be due to the lack of proper Swedish acquisition or proficiency and knowledge of Swedish social cues or skills that is seen as needed for work (pp.146). Lacking relevant Swedish human capital can also contribute to foreign education and experience being undervalued. Furthermore, in developing countries, the quality of education and work experience is not up to the same level of schooling as Swedish education creating an education gap (ibid, pp. 146). This creates problems for those who have actually a high level of education from a reputable education system is lumped into the same category or understood in the same ways as education of those from developing countries. There is a large chance that employers simply do not know how to evaluate relevant education or experience from outside the country or have the scope of knowledge to assess that (ibid, pp.146). Simply going with the safer option, of a possibly less-qualified but Swedish individual can occur because an employer can simply recognize the names of businesses or schools on the CV they look at (ibid, pp.146). Returning to the two subsets of the “new” immigrant, it is not only the low-educated immigrant from a third world country that is at a disadvantage in the work force in Sweden. Even with a higher education, people who are named Muhammad are going to have a tougher time finding a job than a man with a much more familiar, much more lagom name like Martin.

**KOMVUX**

In order to sign up for a course, whether it be SFI, SAS, or a trade program, prospective students must go to the appropriate adult school enrollment office for their municipality, and in Uppsala that is Navet located near the center of town. Navet translates to the hub and has a myriad of brochures within its office. In order to enroll in a class in Uppsala, a student must be at least 20 years old, a resident of the municipality, and have a personal number (a tax/social security number) (Navet, n.d). The courses offered are free of tuition. Once a student applies for a course at a particular adult school, because Vux Linné is one of many different adult schools, they await their acceptance letter for when they can start the course (Navet, n.d.).

\(^{13}\)This is not a term that I use, but that the author uses. It is often used when discussing employment and immigration by economists and social scientists that focus on employment.
The different adult schools in Uppsala offer different courses; some specialize in simply SFI courses and some specialize in trades like carpentry. Some adult schools are run by private companies that receive government funding like the adult school Hermods. Aside from Vux Linné, Hermods is the only adult school that offers SAS courses whereas there are a total of 7 different SFI schools for students (Uppsala Kommun 2012). Furthermore Hermods offers the majority of its courses and programs as a distance-learning class where students are not required to go into a classroom (Hermods 2014). My field site, which is a public school run by the municipality, is the only municipal run adult school in Uppsala municipality that actually has SAS or SFI courses (Uppsala Kommun 2012). All the different schools and learning styles can perhaps lead to a lot of discrepancies and disconnect between the different schools which are run by different organizations and institutions. And one can speculate and assume that because there are only two choices for continuing Swedish courses at the SAS level in Uppsala municipality, studying at Vux Linné could lead to a classroom filled with students with all differing levels of education from 7 different SFI schools (Uppsala Kommun 2012). The teachers must take all these different students and attempt to make an engaging and functional learning space for all of them.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE CONTRADictions OF THE EDUCATION MODEL IN SAS

I sat with Malin and Berit one afternoon to have a short unstructured interview. They lead me to a storage room with a little table by a window, cramped around bookcases filled with dictionaries and binders and folders for record keeping. I knew the room personally, when I had studied SAS G with Malin and Berit as my teachers, I had been told my grades and discussed the course with them. Malin and Berit would lead the students one-by-one and speak to them individually about their performance, what they hoped to do with the course, and also it was the room where they would try and explain to students that they may not in fact succeed in the course and they would need to reevaluate some aspects of their education. These two women were kind, understanding, spoke clearly and expressively in order to facilitate students’ Swedish comprehension. Malin had commented to me that she knows practically every immigrant in Uppsala; she can’t walk down the street without running into an old student. We discussed their experiences as teachers, I told them some of my initial findings, how students struggled and expressed resentment in the education paths they were boxed into. One of them remarked how one day, they will be in an elderly home and they know that their students will be the ones who care for them since most of them will end up in the care industry, as nurse’s assistants or within hemtjänst, home care. That statement alone, although said in a joking manner, spoke volumes. They are perfectly aware of the contradiction of where their students will end up and how this structure of education has lasting effects on the lives of their students.

They spoke a lot during that conversation on how they try and let students know in advance if they are going to pass or not. Some students need to study a lot at home and when they do not, they fail. Within the same classroom there can be students who do not need to study whatsoever and do just fine. They usually have an advantage with their background of education from their home countries. They spoke about the false expectations, comparisons, and how as instructors and as teachers they try and help the students move through the system even though it is confusing to them as well. The logistics of the school system, recommended courses, and the different educational paths were difficult for them to fully understand. In the end they know where their students are going and that the majority of them will be caring for the elderly, become nursing students, and other jobs within that field. They know that they will perhaps meet their students again, in the elderly home.

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14 Malin and Berit were my teachers for SAS G year during 2013. I knew them very well and for one year I was in their class 3-5 days a week. They shared the course, taking turns throughout the week.
During my fieldwork, and especially upon exiting the field and looking back on my field notes and interviews I began to notice that there was something wrong. I left the field feeling disenchanted myself, feeling guilty for continuing my studies at the university, experiencing the city and Sweden in a completely different manner than my peers from Vux Linné. I looked at Sweden as my new home, I loved speaking the Swedish language, and above all I lived a much more privileged life than the people that I met at Vux Linné. I went on to quickly take SAS 2 online without a problem, got a job with relative ease, and I thought of those that I met who expressed their discontent and disappointment upon failing the course or leaving the school believing that they would not be able to study any further. This made no sense to me, it seemed so hypocritical to look at the structure of education and see so many that I had met and spoke with feel so dejected and express their discontent and resentment in being pigeonholed in a yrkesutbildning, or trade program, like becoming a nurse’s assistant or undersköterska. I saw that despite taking the same course, reading the same books, and having the same legal statuses, we all received different grades, performed differently, and left the class feeling very positively or negatively about SAS and the future.

The teachers experience this contradiction as well; the course curriculum and the one-size-fits-all classrooms packed with such diverse students all taking the same course. There were certain life factors, determinants that affected the success within SAS that were not being accounted for in the structure of SAS. Teachers see their students fail and unfortunately they are the ones who have to deliver the bad news, have to explain to these students why they had failed or that they must start thinking of a new education path. I sat with my own teacher Annika and she told me my own grade, a D. Despite all my classmates telling me that I was duktig, clever and hard-working, I had barely scraped by in the course. How was I the student that people looked up to? When I conducted fieldwork and sat within SAS G courses, and was currently enrolled in the course above that level, the students looked to me to help them with their homework. Looking at my privilege and looking at the different forms of symbolic capital I have, somehow despite my D grade, I was successful. What is this picture of success? When discussing further the grade scale with Annika, she told me that it was pretty much impossible for students to reach the “A” grade because it was near perfect. Their grading scales as well were set by the national school board, to be standardized across Sweden. The expectations and the grading scale within the course have a very high level of standards, and for many students, continuing education is impossible due to their inability to get the right grades.
This chapter will introduce some observations and ethnographic material which highlighted this contradiction of the structure of the course and educational model with what is actually determining success, which is not accounted for. This chapter will also serve the purpose of providing a foundation for understanding the different forms of capital that serve as important determinants of success within the course and how they also are distributed asymmetrically which will be discussed further in other ethnographic chapters.

**THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY**

Understanding the discrepancy between what *Skolverket* presents as reasonable and attainable course goals, understood as integration, and the reality of the students’ struggles and resentment can be achieved by examining education as a structure in relation to forms of capital as determinants of success. The contradiction can be both observed through ethnographic material and how people express this unequal distribution of capital among their peers and also understood through looking at the structure of capital itself and its convertibility. The transformative powers of capital are significant due to its derivation from economic capital which is needed to also produce more capital. Capital in its many forms, like economic capital, can create different returns through making investments both in time and other forms of expenditure. This always requires a base amount of capital in order to generate capital (Bourdieu 1997: 53-54). As economic capital is the root of other type of capital and different forms of symbolic capital, there is a condition to its makeup in its ability to convert to other types of capital (ibid, pp.54). This may mean that by spending money, an individual can go to a more prestigious school. This may be the ability to spend money, you may be able to go out and spend money for social reasons. It can also mean that cultural capital like an education can be converted into economic capital through a better jobs, or perhaps being in a school presents more opportunities to build your own social network and make friends. So in this convertibility of capital lies a key component to the contradiction posed by the structure of education for immigrants. Due to the unequal distribution of different forms of capital including economic, social, and foundational cultural capital, all of which are determinants needed for success within the class, many students are unsuccessful at acquiring the embodied cultural capital that is SAS and using that to better their lives by converting it to other capital. The capital they do have is sometimes rendered useless in Sweden, and as immigrants they lack a key component of acquiring the relevant cultural capital: being raised in a Swedish family.
In order to even study you need the economic capital to even afford going to school and taking classes. As a student you would need social capital through personal connections and a social network in order to feel belonging and also use those connections in order to not only feel happy and have friends, but to practice your Swedish with. Students need the relevant cultural capital in order to be successful within education through having the know-how of studying and learning a language. These requirements are not overtly imposed or even advertised prior to enrolling into SAS, and upon enrollment students figure out very fast where they stand in this reality and whether or not they have the necessary distribution of determinants that are subversively imposed in order to succeed through a conversion of capital into embodied cultural capital.

The structure of education and how it is projected and imposed shows the roots of this contradiction. Through the guidelines and requirements or behörigheter that are placed upon the structure of education, we can see uncover a form of domination. As a result the immigrants who take this course are part of a greater system that perpetuates their lower social status and positions in society. When looking at the differences in cultural capital and educational attainment using Bourdieu’s analysis of capital, Alice Sullivan (2001), a sociologist argued that “cultural reproduction’ can provide only a partial explanation of social class differences in educational attainment” (pp. 893). That cultural reproduction she refers to is the structure of cultural production that Bourdieu discusses as a means for domination. In this way, as Bourdieu(1977) states, “domination no longer needs to be exerted in a direct, personal way when it is entailed in possession of the means (economic or cultural capital) or appropriating the mechanisms of the field of production and the field of cultural production, which tend to assure their own reproduction by their very functioning independently of any deliberate intervention by the agents” (pp. 183-184). Domination does not simply occur when one person exerts power over another, but it can occur through a structure or mechanism that can perpetuate domination via stratification within society in a self-replicating system within the field of cultural production which is connected to the field of economic production. A field or system of cultural production is this structure of education. When an education system or structure is used or reused year after year, it can contribute as a field of cultural production to this domination. Sullivan speaks about how social class and other factors such as transmission of cultural capital within the home effects how students perform within education. It is important to note as well that cultural capital is only one part or one aspect of ‘cultural reproduction’ (Sullivan 2001: 893). It is significant
and important to look at not just the aspects of curriculum and education as the primary focus for cultural reproduction, but therefore the other factors and forms of capital that affect this educational attainment. The education system does not simply reflect the education system but is intersectional in nature and other life-factors like social capital, economic capital, and other cultural capital are key factors within the field of cultural production that is education. It is important to look at the many intersectional aspects of the students’ lives and how the structure of education may in fact capitalize on the asymmetry to create stratification in society and solidify class structures. As a student of SAS, a lot of the curriculum felt irrelevant at times. When you are reading a novel about a young boy coming of age that is probably directed for young adults or teenagers, and your classmate with white hair is using a magnifying glass to read the pages in class, something does not seem right. How does this curriculum contribute to the potential success of all students who are placed in a shared class? That older student, I met up with him after my fieldwork and he did not pass the course.

One pitfall of forming curriculums as Bourdieu accounts for is the fact that, as he stated, there is a “tendency to prefer eloquence to truth, style to content” (Zimdars et al 2009:650). Bourdieu, who primarily focused on the exams and the test results of students from different social classes, argues that the vaguer or the more unclear the goals of the course or the exams are, the less likely those from a lower class can meet the set requirements (ibid, pp. 650). This is interesting when considering how eloquent the SAS goals are for students, to gain this ability, this mastery of the Swedish language in order to communicate in such a valuable way that would enable their integration within society. The goals therefore are placed too lofty and also too vague for those who are in a lower social class like many immigrants are who are jobless or operating at a disadvantage in society, which enables failure rather than success.

RETURNING TO SCHOOL

Education is a significant field for study for its perceived importance within society. This is through the sheer fact that so many return to SAS courses after several years because they see how socially significant and important education is to have in Sweden. Education and adult school for immigrants is an important institution that many believe functions to allow them to climb the social ladder. By climb the social ladder, I mean get a better job that is more valued and less stigmatized than perhaps hemtjänst, home care primarily for those who are disabled or elderly, or cleaning. In the survey that was distributed among the students to assess their backgrounds including the languages they spoke, and how many years
they spent in Sweden, a large portion of each of the courses spent over 5 years in Sweden (see Appendix B). The amount of years they have spent in Sweden is not equal to the number of years they spent studying Swedish, so we can see that there are a lot of people who return to school. Why is it significant? Because this shows the importance of education and these courses are within society and are actively pursued and seen as something that will facilitate future goals. It is built into this ‘return’ that we can also see contradiction, how people see education as something that enables and then struggle to succeed within it.

There is something to be gained with education, it may be the grades or certificates, access to other courses after passing SAS G or the other SAS courses, there is a reliance on the education and that is linked directly to the perception of how to be successful or perhaps more integrated within Swedish society. Teachers say often within SAS courses, and as a result I heard students rattle off and repeat often, “språket är nyckel till samhället,” “language is the key to society.” SAS courses are supposed to provide that key to society that will create success and by extension happiness within society. We see though that therein lies a contradiction between the amount of students who return to education and whether or not education can in reality provide this key of if the key is attainable or realistic. Looking at temporality, or the discrepancy between time spent in Sweden and the level of education individuals have been placed into was an initial signifier that the course model was contradictory. How can someone who had been living in Sweden and using the language for over a decade be placed at a lower level course than myself who had a combined 2 ½ years at the time of my fieldwork.

Hasan had lived in Sweden for 12 years at the time that we spoke and was only in SAS G. He worked as a taxi driver and probably spoke Swedish every day of his life while working. He struggled a lot with grammar rules and did not understand the rules of subordinate clauses in sentences which had a different word order than principal clauses. After hearing that I had only been living in Sweden for 2 ½ years total and was in a course higher than him, he told me how clever and good I was (duktig). Hasan illustrates a problem within the education system, something that anyone can see plainly. At what point is this course and learning the specific grammar rules relevant? At what point is reading a novel about people dying or about 14 year olds coming of age relevant to these individuals? Where is the course that helps people learn functioning Swedish to get them better at their jobs? Because I can tell you right now, Hasan is not going to be writing a letter to the editor as we so often did in class. He will not be writing essays or moving on to college. He wants to
improve his Swedish to improve his work life and unfortunately the way that SAS G is set up with a classroom full of students who have a decade’s difference of time spent in Sweden, it all doesn’t add up. Hasan struggled with grammar but had a job, spoke Swedish to his clients in his cab probably every day, and somehow at this point in time when I met him, I was at a higher level of SAS.

The list goes on with individuals who have spent their fair share of time in Sweden but are still taking high school and lower equivalent courses. Farahzaz has been living in Sweden for 11 years after moving here from Iran. She is in her early 40’s, regularly wears turtle necks and her clothes are colorful and remind me of the mid 90’s with flower necklaces and her turtlenecks tucked into her jeans. She is a Swedish citizen and started studying SFI when she first came to Sweden 11 years ago but then stopped when she got a job within cafeteria and worked there for 9 years. She now is going back to school in order to get the high school competence needed for her to move onto a dental hygienist program. After deciding to go back to school, she took SAS G online and now was taking SAS 1 with me. She has to take English courses up to English 6 because it is obligatory, and must take math courses and social sciences. She told me the importance of English in professional work, Swedish is more important but English is very important.

A woman who has been living in Sweden for over a decade has unfortunately only been placed in the level of Swedish where she had left off approximately a decade before despite working in Sweden and probably using a considerable amount of Swedish while working. There is also the question of the English language, another form of cultural capital especially within education. Not only do immigrants in Sweden for many programs must learn academic-high school equivalency of Swedish but English as well. Many students even take English and Swedish at the same time, attempting to learn two foreign languages at once to save time. Some university programs have course material only available in English a college level but why is that necessary for all courses? This is an issue of the institutionalization of education, course material, and the unfortunate control of knowledge which designates some as having the competency to move forward and study at a higher level, and others to spend years struggling to use the English language. In my own experience in Sweden, English is not necessary in all positions, least of all “professional” positions. English is being considered a professional language and upper class language that only ‘prestigious’ people speak. There is a disconnect between what exists on paper, being the grades and courses studied and in social policy that creates standards for education, and the
reality of the situation. Students are supposed to gain these competencies through certain courses but that does not mean that the curriculum or the standards meet the reality of a students’ situation or the level of knowledge a student might have. The designation of knowledge, competence, and ability to succeed is controlled by social policies, institutions which create classifications, a grading system. This shows a big flaw in the idea of integration, which is its attainability. Where integration is supposed to allow immigrants to become part of the society, the politics match a much more assimilation tactic where immigrants must completely take on—_anpassa sig_--- with the education system and the standards that may be unequally imposed upon certain immigrants over others when comparing highly skilled immigrants with lower skilled or those who have English as a first language or have some experience with English over others.

At what level does education level and experience within the Swedish classroom become hegemonic and serves as way to make people incompetent and devalue their human capital through cultural authorization. The courses that are available to individuals are hindering some from moving forward and gaining the actual reality of the competence they need, and without the certificate or the ‘proper’ courses on their transcript that supposedly prove their competence, they are left within this stage of limbo. This kind of jumping through hoops for education and having to take high school equivalency when one is 40 years old, and way past high school age, begs the question of how the creation of educational standards actually is a way of hindering and controlling cultural capital in its objectified form through limiting academic qualifications and certifications.

A significant amount of cultural capital should be transmitted within the home, and for individuals who have grown up and subsequently stayed in the same country have this cultural capital that will affect education and educational attainment (Sullivan 2011: 893). Not all cultural capital is transmitted within the school. As Bourdieu (1997) states, “if the best measure of cultural capital is undoubtedly the amount of time devoted to acquiring it, this is because the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital presupposes an expenditure of time that is made possible by possession of economic capital” (pp. 54). Basically, if the best way to measure or to evaluate the amount of cultural capital that an individual has is to look at the amount of time they have spent acquiring it. The condition of this evaluation of temporality is based in the possession of economic capital that an individual has to begin with. It is in capital’s convertibility as seen with the transformation of economic capital to social capital through perhaps gift exchange or other types of social
investments. But if we look at the students of SAS who have spent years in Sweden, doing things like working and speaking Swedish at the workplace, learning different customs, getting their driver’s licenses and other certificates, this should in principle tie in to their amount of cultural capital they have. Yet, when placed within the education system they are placed in pretty low level courses with those who have spent relatively little time in Sweden or other individuals who have completely different backgrounds including time spent in Sweden and time studying Swedish.

“I AM TIRED OF CLEANING”

The promise of how the course may help their lives hangs over the students head as they live the reality of how difficult it in fact is, the trials and tribulations they must endure, the sacrifices they must make to achieve the positionality they desire in Swedish society. When speaking with Ana from Romania, she explained in the best manner why education is important for her. I had not even finished the question of what she was planning on doing with education when Ana hurriedly responded. “I can answer you directly,” she interrupted, her voice gaining volume, “I am tired of cleaning!” Ana had worked at an elderly home before, but now was working as a cleaner. She begins to chuckle into the recorder as she begins again. “I want to stop cleaning and work another job, another job that isn’t just cleaning but to make money, you can’t just study. It depends on the [financial] situation because many can, well not so many, but some can only study. And the others must work at the same time and it is annoying and difficult because school---it is more time if I study. For example, for me, if I wake up at 4:30 in the morning and come home at 4 or 3:30, think about if I have to study and read for 4 or 5 hours. You will just fall asleep!” Ana’s account highlights something very important, the need for economic capital, or money in order to facilitate her learning because having money lets you have the time to spend in school. She looks to education, and SAS as an important class that facilitate her finding new work, a career where she can stop cleaning. Something that won’t exhaust her as much as cleaning and juggling everything does. It is important to see education in this light, as a process, as a key to achieving something new, reaching a new level and doing better.

Ana told me in that meeting that she had received top math marks from Romania but is looking at 4 years of education at Vux Linné and then university on top of that, it was a long road ahead. We ran into each other before class when someone had failed to show up to an interview and we continued to talk about her future. Ana said that her husband wants her to pursue math or engineering, but it is so hard to think of all of that when it is hard enough
for her to get to school here and now. She often missed courses due to the fact that she had to work so often, and her boss, she complained, continued to schedule her a lot despite her trying to explain she was going to school at the same time. Education is Ana’s escape from cleaning, a means of climbing the social ladder. But unfortunately the curriculum and the financial realities of the education system make it difficult for her to move forward. Her dreams remain intact for now, but perhaps in the future they will begin to crumble as they did for other immigrants that I had met before. This is a contradiction to the promises and model of education being attainable and available for immigrants to use in order to help their position in society. Ana struggles daily with looking at her goal and seeing the different hurdles and hindrances within the way that will affect that goal. The determinants of success within the course, like having money, a social structure of support, and prior education are not being addressed within this simple model of SAS. These are the life factors that in fact determine whether or not the goals of the course will be met, or if they even have the ability to make it to class to study and pass.

THE GUY WHO DARED TO SPEAK SWEDISH

What does it take to speak Swedish and to perform well in Sweden? What was it that students needed to be successful that was not included in the course? After meeting with Samir over coffee at a local café one Saturday afternoon, I got a very clear answer. According to Samir, in order to speak Swedish well and to articulate oneself, get a job, whatever, it was about being daring enough. “Man måste våga prata svenska!” “One has to dare to speak Swedish!” And too many do not dare, they are afraid, afraid of sounding wrong, of making a fool out of themselves but Samir had a secret, the key to his courage in speaking Swedish, and it is his belief that Swedes don’t even know grammar themselves. Swedish people always speak wrong—he told me, it didn’t matter if you put the adverb in the wrong position in the sentence, all that stuff doesn’t matter, you just want them to understand and respond. Daring to speak and confidence was not a factor that was included into the curriculum, so for success does that require a certain character trait that not everyone had?

Samir has dreams of being an engineer. He came to Sweden at the age of 18 without a place to stay and without the ability to speak Swedish. He spoke some English after having taking that in high school back home. He got himself a job as a stock boy at ICA and learned Swedish on his own, not taking SFI and instead spent his time memorizing words from the dictionary and playing soccer within a local team. He has two jobs at the time of our conversation, one at ICA and one at the train station. He has his own apartment, his own car,
and takes care in his appearance. He liked expensive watches and we spent time talking about the different brands he had. Samir is a smart guy, comes to class without doing the homework, pretending as though he has, and makes up answers on the fly. He makes up an oral presentation that is a huge portion of the SAS 1 grade on the spot, speaking freely and without pauses or searching for words like other students. Despite his ability to speak Swedish so comfortably, with humor and charm, Samir is stuck studying SAS 1. He told me that he had taken a placement exam at Navet over a year before and had placed into SAS 2, which is the second to last course of SAS before having high school Swedish equivalency. They had told him in the one-on-one meeting that due to the fact that he had not studied Swedish at a school, he would be bumped back to SAS G, two full courses. That would prevent him from gaining Swedish equivalency and perhaps moving onto university by over two years of school at Vux Linné. That sort of bureaucratic ranking of Samir’s education with standardized assessments of language proficiency and the reliance of formidable education as a ranking system furthermore highlights this contradiction within the goals that are being projected and the way the curriculum and the structure of education functions.

A lot of research within anthropology has also surrounded a *cult of certificates* especially within the post-colonial world. This has been cited as a form of material fetishism where official credentials are given power that is in fact disconnected from the forms of knowledge, experience, expertise that it is supposed to represent and this is linked intrinsically to the view of “advanced” education and countries see in the Western world like in Europe and the United States. When it comes to the reality of these credential and professional training programs is that within the United States we see a contradiction in how education is projected and how it is actually seen as a scam by many, saddling students with enormous debt and endless cycle of professionals needing to recertify themselves (Graeber 2015: 22-23). This is cited as a corporatization of education and with the “increasing demands for degrees as certificates of entry into any job that promises access to anything like a middle-class standard of living” and overall that this system has become incredibly arbitrary (ibid, pp. 24). Now in my research, I focus primarily on how there is a contradiction with the goals of the course and how it is projected and what is in reality affecting the students’ educations, the determinants of success of students who take these courses. I focus on how they struggle to gain the certificate, this good grade of SAS. It’s important to see

15 Uppsala’s local adult school office where students around the municipality can come in and apply for courses and take placement exams.
how this contradiction can be interpreted as a cult of certificates, where Samir, despite speaking the language at a SAS 2 level, lacked the appropriate certificate that in turn was used to place him in a course that was 2 years behind. He lacked the certificate that was given a higher value his actual ability to speak the language.

**THE YOUNG MOTHER**

*Skolverket* on SAS at a ground level (SAS G) states that with the use of the Swedish language, the student should be given the opportunity to develop the ability, in order to support communication, to use different strategies to solve problems when language is not enough (*Skolverket* 2012: 85). For many students understanding Swedish, speaking Swedish, and using different strategies may not be enough to prevent them from failing the course. As a result, the teachers must in fact act as the messengers, bearing the bad news that students may still fail despite these strategies. Their struggling is usually due to the unaccounted determinants of success that affect SAS, being economic, social, and cultural capital, which are unequally distributed among students. They had the unfortunate job of telling students whether or not they had to reevaluate their goals and their job paths. There existed no counselor who did this, and it came down to the teachers who had up to and over 60 students to keep track of their progress and help them. Juggling school and navigating the school system provides stress for a lot of my peers at Vux Linné. For Salma, the young Moroccan mother in her mid-20s, juggling both school and home resulted in breakdowns in class and absences.

An excerpt from my field notes 13-2-14

> When I got to class a lot of people were late and missing. Annika paced around the room and I was lucky enough to get a spot on the left side of the room where people know my name and are chatty. Annika asked Salma about the homework and readings and she said something along the lines of “I didn’t finish them and I have so much going on with English class.” I turned around in my seat and said “I can help with English if you need” and suddenly the tears began to fall down her face. Salma is young with dark tan skin and long black hair. Her eye makeup is smokey and done perfectly, now smeared, and the tears fell down her face and I began to feel incredibly sad for her.

> “Are you on maternity leave?” Annika asked. Salma said she had to take care of her kids, go to school, and do her baking class. Annika then told her sometimes taking time off of
school may be best. That seemed to make her more upset and I began to feel even worse for her.

I remember at that time feeling aghast that our teacher even would recommend that. How could she say that Salma should take time off? That would make this ordeal even more stressful. Now I see it for what it was, especially after talking with Annika and the other two instructors at the end of the course. Sometimes teachers must deliver the bad news that juggling all these different parts will not make the student successful and taking the appropriate time for each course would ensure their passing. Some students do not have the study skills from background education that would help them pass. Some students won’t even pass at all and it comes down to the teacher to tell these students that they will or will not succeed. It is clear also through Salma’s experiences that the education system and the stress of trying to succeed in her classes have their emotional toll. The requirements of the course and the ability to pass translated directly into the acceptance or rejection from different programs or jobs. The room for adaptability within the course in order to make success possible can be very difficult when working with set schedules and institutionalized curriculums and programs. Not only must Salma try and study Swedish but she also must study English in order to move forward with certain jobs and programs that are offered at the university-level. When I suggested that I could possibly help her with English, her louder sobbing and Annika’s subsequent recommendation to put her studies on pause due to the difficulty of learning both English and Swedish at the same time also highlights the different requirements that education presents but what society itself requires.

Salma was very dedicated to her courses and one day in early February of 2014, she brought her baby to class. The stroller came up to the 4th floor of the school where our class was situated and she pushed her stroller with her sleeping daughter inside. She sat next to the baby and quickly set to taking notes and participating in class. In order to help Salma continue her coursework throughout the day, Annika took the child from Salma and rocked it in her arms, cooing at the baby as she went around and listened to the class’s group discussions and group work. Although the school is no place for a child in most contexts, in this one Annika did not even bat an eye. “I didn’t want to miss class” was a sufficient reason to bring your child to class and Annika’s empathy and helpfulness showed to me how much these teachers not only care about their students but want to encourage and promote their success despite the determinants of success that affect their education. Salma is a prime example of the constant negotiation and navigation tactics that students must have to navigate.
the education system and ultimately succeed. The repercussions for not succeeding within a Swedish course or other courses could mean delayed graduation, inability to get into the desired program which translates to ultimately not getting the desired job and lacking integration.

Salma told me that back home in Morocco she had hoped that one day she would have a large family with several kids, five or more, but that changed in Sweden. The thought of having a third child was stress inducing and seemingly impossible. Salma complained often about juggling family life as a parent without a community for support. Back in Morocco there were neighbors, family, friends who would all help in raising children, here there was nobody else. Towards the end of the semester, Salma began to fear that she had gotten pregnant after a missed period, and the fear of having a third child which was linked to her not being able to go to school, continue her education. There was a change in how this woman viewed her body and what it could do to her progress not only in school but socially. Salma associated motherhood with the difficulty of raising her children in Sweden without her extended family or the help of others around them. Inevitably she had to stop coming to class, only coming during her presentation and the test, because her husband had gotten a job and she had to stay home with her babies and study at home. For Salma, motherhood could be a hinder to her ability to succeed not only in school but in life in Sweden; everything is put on hold when having a young child at home. Her small family relied on the economic capital that her husband would gain in his new job, and therefore she had to sacrifice time studying so that he could work. You can’t study, you are stuck at home, and it can be very depressing and lonely for many mothers. Students like Salma made me see that something was wrong, this woman who was trying her best, had even changed the way she viewed her body and her future as a mother was anxious and unsuccessful. During the oral presentation for the National Exam, Salma cried and left the room, declaring to Annika that she simply couldn’t. At what point is it the structure of education that is incompatible with the lives of the students who partaking in this.
CHAPTER FIVE: FOUNDATIONAL CULTURAL CAPITAL

The previous chapter focuses on some ethnographic material that explained further this contradiction between what is projected by the course material and what is in fact happening within the course. Within the course, students struggle to pass and to even make it to class. Students return back to school because they see the value of it, but also are sometimes still placed in lower level courses with a long road ahead to the education and jobs they want to pursue. The determinants that affect the success of the course, being the different forms of capital, are not being accounted for within the curriculum and as students pursue a balancing act of trying to juggle school, work, and family for example, they struggle. Teachers must bear the bad news that students may not succeed in the course, and also try and handle students individually despite the one-size-fits-all class they are all placed in.

Where SAS projects a very vague goal that can be understood as gaining the characteristics to be better integrated within Swedish society, this makes it in fact more difficult for those of a lower social class to actually achieve those goals. Bourdieu accounts for this gap within the education system where only certain individuals can succeed in the courses due to their background and cultural capital that they have. The contradiction that I had illustrated and will use these next chapters to discuss in greater detail, has many different factors that build into it that exhibits itself if the main forms of capital: cultural, economic, and social. When it comes to education, or academic qualifications, Bourdieu (1997) states that this is a type of objectification of cultural capital and with this “academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture” (pp. 50). The course itself both gives this certificate but also as well, is cultural capital in its embodied state with “the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (ibid, pp. 47). So the course itself functions on two different levels of cultural capital, it not only gives the holder some sort of academic qualification upon graduating or passing the course, but also is projected by Skolverket as having this embodied effect, this “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” with its projection of a discourse that the course will help the student “develop knowledge in Swedish, local surroundings knowledge, as well as a belief in their own ability to use the language in different situations and for specific reasons” (Skolverket 2012:85). This is a very embodied projection of the course. It is not only something to be spoken and used by the
body, but a whole change in the way a person navigates the world, specifically navigates Sweden.

Bourdieu sees the contradiction within school specifically due to the differences that students have in cultural capital, which makes a one-size-fits-all kind of curriculum ineffective for many students, specifically those who are of a lower social class. His account primarily focuses on a lack of cultural capital as the main culprit for students failing courses or struggling. He argues mainly that a class with students of different social classes there is naturally a difference among the students for the possession of cultural capital but unfortunately the education system assumes this possession of cultural capital. This kind of assumption makes it difficult or impossible for students of a lower social class to actually be successful. The system does this subversively, without giving to everyone alike in explicit forms what is demanded; there are implicit demands of the students that are not explicitly projected within education. This type of cultural capital primarily consists of what Bourdieu calls linguistic and cultural competence and an overall familiarity to the dominant culture, which as Bourdieu argues, can only really be done at the home (Zimdars et al 2009:650). Studying SAS does assume a foundation of the ability to understand and speak some Swedish and also some of the customs within Swedish society, it is part of that linguistic and cultural competence, and overall with the education it should transform that into cultural capital. As Bourdieu accounts for, and argues for, the education system with its propensity to value vague and eloquent which has implicit behind the service demands for students which in effect allows some to succeed while others fail as a means of keeping the status quo, this is primarily due to a lack of cultural capital. I call this foundational cultural capital, a cultural capital that students are required to have upon entrance to a course. The interesting and difficult part of this is that these students are immigrants, and the socialization that Bourdieu talks about especially when referring to the ‘intergenerational’ and generational aspects of cultural capital (Sullivan 2001: 895). This is not an option for my students who have grown up in different countries, cultures, and speak different languages at home even here in Sweden.

THE CLERICAL ERROR THAT IS DAVID

In SAS 1 there was David. I found out very fast that he was the outlier in my survey, the person who had filled in having lived in Sweden for 22 years while crossing the 20-25 age box (see Appendix B). David was a Swede by all accounts with Chilean parents who had mistakenly enrolled in SAS 1 instead of Swedish 1. Upon entering the class, his instructor
found out immediately that he had enrolled by mistake and tried to explain to him that this course would not count for anything whatsoever. He took the class anyway. During his oral presentation, while others spoke about comparing their home countries to life in Sweden or other very easy presentation topics, David spoke about becoming a music producer and the difficulty of getting a DJ’s name to be credited on songs. David did not get an A. This is how difficult it can be for people to pass, even David the Swede couldn’t pass. What does it take to get an A? An A, my instructor told me, was set by a national standardized grading system they had to follow rather than set by the instructor. An A, she told me, was very hard to get, it was perfect Swedish, something that a lot of people would not be able to attain. It was perfect grammar, spelling, and execution of an essay or an oral examination. By all accounts, David should meet the requirements of the course and should have received a much higher grade, but if those who speak Swedish fluently can struggle within the course, despite having the relevant cultural capital, then how can immigrant adults succeed?

THE IMPLICIT REQUIREMENTS

So what does it take to succeed? What are some of the determinants that affect success within SAS? Annika, my instructor, told me simply the two factors that she believed affected passing or succeeding within the SAS courses and related adult school courses for immigrants. I had listed off all the other reasons I thought were relevant, having children versus being single, age, working or not working, and she said yes those are important but not the most important. Native language (modersmål, mother tongue) and education, two forms of cultural capital. A student who is literate in a non-Latin alphabet is going to have a much harder time studying Swedish especially if they do not have any prior education with a similar writing style. Those who have higher educations will be able to get through the system much faster than others. As a native English speaker I used the same alphabet and I had the advantage of knowing a Germanic language with many shared words. I usually used the English word with a Swedish accent and it would work. The grammar was pretty similar as well. I also had a college education and was currently pursuing more education at the university in Sweden. Education in certain countries may not be valued the same as Sweden’s education and sometimes is not legitimized whatsoever, leaving students to redo education. The determinants for success like language and education are distributed asymmetrically among students. These determinants, like speaking a Western, more specifically a Germanic, language is a form of cultural capital that not all students have. The
levels of education also vary among students, and despite being placed within the same course, there is an asymmetrical distribution of cultural capital among students.

I said to Annika that the system is supposed to work really efficiently, like SFI, to SAS, to university or another program and then finally work, but in really it takes a really long time. And she told me that the education system is supposed to get individuals into work and stay in a job, not come back and forth throughout school. This is not a part of the SAS description though, but obviously implied in practice. There are a lot of obstacles in the way, perhaps jobs that don’t improve your language or having children making you leave school, but those life choices that are made in Sweden are influenced by those two factors: education in home country and native language. Annika went on saying that in many cultures it is expected for women to stay home with children and then move to Sweden where you are expected to go to work can change their lives drastically.

I began to look at these two factors as main indications for foundational cultural capital that were relevant in Sweden, but in looking at how foundational cultural capital is distributed among the students, it became immediately apparent how different students were and how English not only served as an advantage for me, but a further disadvantage or roadblock for many within the educational system in Sweden. There is also a phenomenological process of socialization that take place within a class and among students who are learning a new language, how much it changes the mind. Within this socialization is the process of the course itself, the academic expectations and how students become active members of the course itself, influencing other students and also influencing how they feel about themselves. In some cases, where some students can ask “too many questions,” in order to aid their learning, they feel as though they are being singled out or looked down upon classmates that can actually affect how they feel in SAS.

IS THERE A DOCTOR IN THE ROOM?

There was an oral examination portion of the National Exam required for students to take and pass in order to pass the course and move forward to SAS 2 from SAS 1. Some did their presentations on powerpoint, like myself, and some other students who I learned had experience with the presentation program from university or school in their home country. Others brought posters or cut out pictures to place on the white board. Some simply read off of a piece of paper, costing them points, or stood there and simply spoke. When it came time for Yasia to come up, I was genuinely interested to see the reactions of the other students in
the class. Yasia was a PhD student from the university’s law department who spoke English fluently, came from Ukraine originally, and her husband from Russia who was an educated lawyer was enrolled in the course as well. In the middle of the semester, Yasia left for a couple of months to do some research and fieldwork for her dissertation. She decided that this short presentation, where most people were discussing the differences between life in the countryside versus the city was the perfect opportunity to discuss her research in Swedish. Until this point, there was one other incident in class where Yasia stood out, and myself in connection to her, as being different from the others. Annika was giving a very basic introduction as to what citations were and why they were important for our essays in class. This was a very basic introduction in order to show those who had never done citations before the basic premise of it. Yasia quickly asked what citation style should be used for these essays. And at the confused looks of our classmates, I quickly chimed in how there are different styles for different academic fields. I could feel the looks of confusion staring both at me and Yasia. Annika quickly said that it did not matter, as long as it was done.

Yasia’s oral presentation was based in the treatment of mentally ill patients, her powerpoint looked professional and planned out, she spoke passionately and in great detail even in Swedish. Before she began her presentation she decided to ask whether or not there were any doctors in the class, due to the medical nature of her presentation and whether or not they had any opinions. The room went silent, students looked around at each other, perplexed and finally one student Salma, a young mother of two from Morocco, began to guffaw, “who do you think we are??” she asked. It was true; who did Yasia believe our classmates were? Yasia was an outlier in our class, a professional taking these classes to better her Swedish, but this event illustrates a little bit who my informants were. Many were not professionals nor did they speak English fluently like Yasia did. They were not like Yasia and while Yasia performed very well within the course, was articulate and clear in her Swedish, the others struggled.

Yasia and I have the education and also the linguistic competence (linguistic competence also being in English, which is very important in Sweden) and as a result both of us kind of stand out in comparison to our classmates. Salma’s who do you think we are which made many of the people around us laugh out loud, illustrates how students see each other and their differences and how that affects their education and their performance within the class. This highlights the differences in the distribution of capital and how those differences are expressed among students. Within this foundational cultural capital, that can
be operationalized by students in order to acquiesce more cultural capital (the certificate via
the objectified cultural capital and the learning of Swedish giving an embodied cultural
capital) there is a significant advantage to those who have “familiarity with the dominant
culture in society” (Sullivan 2001:893). Cultural capital also consists of “the ability to
understand and use ‘educated’ language” (ibid, pp. 893). The ‘educated’ language is not
simply limited to Yasia’s ability to speak about something academic and pertains to her
research at the university, but also her ability to use a very academic or educated language,
English. This also gives her the ability to be “familiar” with a dominant culture in a way that
our classmates are unfamiliar with. She not only knows different forms of academic citations
and how to conduct research, has a fancy academic title, but also is connected to the
dominant culture in her research tied to the university which is a big part of the city of
Uppsala.

THE PROBLEM WITH ENGLISH

Within what Bourdieu references as ‘educated’ language (Sullivan 2001: 893) in
Sweden is the English language. The English language was cited often as a reason why my
informants and peers felt as though it would be impossible for them to pursue a higher
education, it was a hurdle in their education, an academic level that many felt they could not
reach. Jaleesa made it clear that language is a key part of integration—although in Sweden—
she remarked English is a language that trumps Swedish with its use in the workplace. “Why
would you need to learn Swedish if you know English?” “Why are you taking this class?” I
was questioned by her. I tried to explain at that point that I did not feel that English helped
integration, it was important to know Swedish for important social aspects of living in
Sweden like socializing in class and among Swedes.

English is my native language and many students remarked upon it while meeting me.
“Where are you from? Oh America? That is why your Swedish is so good.” I constantly
heard from people that I spoke to that my ability to speak Swedish well was due to my ability
to speak English. Students made my privilege apparent to me, and this privilege was not
limited to simply my ability to speak English, but my education at the Swedish University,
without having to take Swedish; the sheer fact that I was taking Swedish to simply learn the
language, unconcerned about grades, unconcerned of where the class would lead me.

English is becoming a concern for linguists who believe that the large amount of
English used in Sweden could actually affect the position of the Swedish language within
Swedish society (Hult 2004: 183). English is used within universities, for research, instruction, and course material and it is also used highly in the Swedish corporate world and this is leading to an asymmetrical relationship between the languages. The prevalence of English in Sweden within the academic and corporate world, “threatens Swedish to the point where there is a risk of a two-tiered society developing with English used for high status interaction and Swedish for lower status common daily interaction” (ibid, pp. 183). This kind of two-tiered society is completely felt by immigrants within the education system. English also is a course requirement that prevents some from continuing their education to pursue a different career in Sweden.

Not all students who speak English though have it easier. One student lacked the proper certification of her studies from her home country, and as a result the cultural capital that she had was functionally invalid. This shows the very important part of foundational cultural capital, that it is not limited to simply the ability to speak English and having of higher education, it must be certified and valued in Sweden. Like economic capital, there is a supply and demand for cultural capital and in its scarcity it holds more value. As Bourdieu states, there are these ‘merits of acquisitions’ and therefore cultural capital is very much localized, assessed via what is valued in the surrounding society and social class (Bourdieu 1997: 48). Therefore, there can be forms of cultural capital that are seen as simply competencies and therefore do not have market value. These competencies, like having a higher education from a foreign university therefore can be “unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting as effect of (mis)recognition” (ibid, pp. 49). One woman from China who spoke fluent English and had a very clear opinion about education and children, due to her background as a teacher, came to Sweden with her husband about 1 ½ years before we met. She met her husband in China as he was travelling and after 3 years they moved to Sweden. Her education in China and her prior work as an English teacher helped her excel at learning the Swedish language. During her oral presentation for the National Exam, she spoke clearly, enunciating every word that she had obviously memorized to make sure grammar was clear and perfect. I, on the other hand, had simply rambled for 10 minutes. I asked her if she considered becoming a Chinese-language teacher for students taking native language courses but she says it is hard. She unfortunately has no formal record of her grades due to the poor clerical system that is in China. It is impossible for her to bring forth her credentials to be checked out here in Sweden, and as a result on paper in Sweden she has hardly high school competency which makes life here very
difficult. Her misfortune of having the cultural and linguistic competence that is not seen as cultural capital also shows how despite the ability to do something, it may lack the legitimation, which can make integrating very difficult.

**Speaking English in class**

Loran has a medium build, a scruffy look to him with glasses and enunciates his words clearly in English. He speaks good Swedish when he has to but in the loud and packed classroom, he speaks English with his desk mates whenever he can. Two Turkish girls pointed him out to me, saying how they didn’t like that he assumed everyone spoke English or perhaps should speak English. In seeing his ability to speak a language that they could not, they reacted to the differences of distribution of capital. Where Loran can speak English, a very important form of cultural capital in Swedish society, they do not have this ability and his English aids his learning of Swedish significantly more than their Turkish language could help their Swedish acquisition. They mediate this asymmetrical distribution of capital and the contradiction of being placed within the same course with Loran through an expression of resentment. Resentment, as distinguished by Didier Fassin (2013) is the reaction of an individual to an unfavorable social situation which can generate forms of frustration. These women are frustrated when they see Loran and hear him speak English in a Swedish class, and as a result are resentful. Where the two Turkish girls express their irritation with Loran’s speaking English, others continue to remark how I don’t need Swedish, shocked and confused that I would even consider taking Swedish. Within the course, students are stratified regarding their cultural capital. Not only do the students have varying backgrounds in education but they also have different language abilities and language knowledges.

I thought Loran was a native English speaker at first, I couldn’t place his accent but I later learned that he was from Albania and had a deep love for the English language, living in England for a while. Now coming to Sweden with his girlfriend was creating a whole different life for him. Loran was someone who absolutely loved being able to speak English with me, he did so excitedly, and he is a very charismatic individual. I tried to switch the language back to Swedish, encouraging him to speak Swedish especially as we sat outside with his classmates, those of whom do not speak English. Despite his very friendly attitude and nice disposition, there was something about him that made me initially feel a little distaste due to his refusal to speak Swedish. He asked me how I began studying in Sweden so fast and I explained how I had come as an exchange student taking only classes in English and how my current program was international and in English as well. I did not need
Swedish to study at the University, especially at an advanced level. He was curious and interested in classes in Lund due to the fact that they may offer English-Bachelor programs. “Why should I learn Swedish for a bachelor’s? I don’t want to.” He elaborated and told me that he had no motivation to learn Swedish like he did with English. He came across as entitled and arrogant when it came to his ability to speak English, how it justified his desire to not speak Swedish. His Swedish was good, he had good diction and had a very easy time articulating himself. Loran is very much aware of his ability to speak English and how important and functional it is in Sweden. He by extension has begun to think of Swedish as kind of useless when English is the ‘more important language.’ This ostracizes his classmates who do not have this capital and also illustrates how different students have different proportions of cultural capital. Where Loran can speak English fluently and flaunts it often, his classmates are very resentful in how they see him. They think it is rude and also very cocky of him to assume that everyone should speak English.

resentment

During the 30 minute break that SAS G got the break up the 3 ½ hour block of time for their class, a handful of women hung back in the classroom. Most mornings I would follow whoever I was talking to out for coffee or stand outside while they smoked their cigarettes, but today I stayed back. A woman from Iran, Mercedeh, approached me within class, she was older probably late 40's, and had a scowl upon her face. She was petite, had drawn on eyebrows, and sat in an office chair in class because of her back issues. She immediately began to complain about how she disliked Sweden and would rather move to the United States despite not knowing much about the country. She wants to move for a number of reasons. She cannot move into town because it is impossible for her to find a rental or afford to purchase an apartment; she does not have a job. She may have to rely on her sister who has been living in Sweden for 25 years to buy her an apartment. She misses Iran, not the regime, but the culture and the people. Worst of all in Sweden is her living conditions now. Mercedeh is the only immigrant living in her area and she finds the people she lives next racist and rude. She didn’t go into too much detail regarding the racist remarks, and to be honest her Swedish was muddled and she spoke in a hushed tone, mumbling.

These experiences she has like having difficulty finding a job or housing within the center of town along with finding the people around her racist has shaped the way she views Sweden as a whole and views Swedish culture. She does not like the Swedish language, because she views English as better but was unable to articulate why. She voiced her jealousy
of my ability to speak English and having a Swedish partner, she told me it put me at an advantage for learning the language. All of these hardships she viewed sculpted the way she perceived the Swedish culture and in juxtaposition saw herself, an immigrant. She saw my own ability to speak English, saw my connection to a Swedish individual, and in turn saw her won inability to speak English, her disconnection to the Swedes around her including her neighbor, and her struggles in SAS. Within Didier Fassin’s (2013) discussion on the dualism of resentment, as being two fold with a deeper, generational resentement and a current reaction and frustration to social injustices being resentment (pp.251) we see that this woman is very resentful and frustrated with her current situation especially when meeting a student who does not have the same struggles as herself and more cultural capital. In experiencing the contradiction of the course in what is projected to the reality of the unequal distribution of cultural capital, she reacts in this manner. Her scowl and angry manner of speaking, frustrated and resentful persisted throughout the course.

It is also important to see understand this resentment and where it stems from because as Malin, one of the instructors told me, students can begin to become frustrated with struggling within the course due to their life factors, like lack of friends, lack of a job, lack of the ability to speak Swedish, and begin to think of how it was back home, how good it was without remembering what made them move. They begin to equate their struggles with the education to a resentment of Sweden all together. Resentment is how people mediate and respond to this contradiction between the one-size-fits-all course where diverse students meet and study together with the unequal distribution of the different forms of capital.

People felt resentment and frustration within the course and that was not limited to those whose cultural capital was ‘lacking.’ Some saw those around them as obstacles to their own education. Within diverse classrooms with individuals of all different education backgrounds, the course can sometimes be slowed down in pace to help those who perhaps were struggling with understanding the material. As a result, for some with higher education, the course was going too slow which hindered their own social competence and the time they would have to spend in the classroom. Mojan had only been here for 1 ½ years and saw the mixed and diverse class of students with lower and higher education as a source of aggravation and hindrance in her education path. I met her during the break of SAS G while sitting with some other students. Most of the other students left to go stand outside or get a coffee from the coffee machine. She came up to me and sat next to me and one other student chatting and immediately offered me coffee, pouring it into the cap of her thermos,
essentially giving me her own cup of coffee. When I talked with her again towards the end of the semester, she stopped me in the hallway and we caught up. I asked her how the course was going and she began to complain telling me how frustrating it was to be placed within a course with people who did not have the same level of education and studied at a slower pace. She insinuated that despite the fact that those who had been here longer have a higher level of vocabulary and local knowledge, due to her background in education (with a degree in economics, hoping to take MA at a Swedish university once she had the proper requirements) she had better opportunities in education and was more successful. She understood more about the language itself and how it functioned grammatically.

Malin and Berit, during our meeting, discussed the difficulty of having a course with such varied students. Those who are more educated and have an easier time may be frustrated or bored by the slow pace of the course, and on the other hand those who have difficulty at the course may become irritated when the instructor cannot go at a very slower pace. At the end of Malin’s course, I was standing beside her desk, hoping to catch a quick word with her. As everyone was filing out, this one student who had been predominantly silent for most of the class time that I was observing came up and asked Malin about a grammatical rule. The question was regarding where to place adverbs in a sentence and why it was different when it was a supporting clause rather than in a primary clause. It was a piece of material that the class had been doing worksheet after worksheet after worksheet on. Students even had little bookmarks with a diagram of all the different parts of a sentence in Swedish to help them learn it. This student who had stayed silent during all those classes was asking about a piece of material that Malin had been explaining time and time again. Although the student did not understand, Malin did not have the time to help the student out especially with the exam later that week. It is in this manner, this asymmetry of cultural capital, and in conjunction other types of capital that people not only react with resentment but begin to feel humiliation and embarrassment, and as a result, their grades and performances decline.

**Grades**

When grades are released for a test, the teacher calls out a student’s name to speak with them individually regarding their score and what they did well on or not so well on. Usually a student will be sitting with the teacher for 3-5 minutes, perhaps longer; I knew this first-hand. I was observing a class who were waiting for their grades and a large portion of the class time is separated out for the student-teacher grade discussions. The teachers
understood that receiving a grade causes people to have questions and handing them back a paper with their grade without the chance to talk to them would probably mean that nobody would pay attention to class anyway. This day the students took this opportunity to chat with one another, both in Swedish and their native languages, while they waited for their grades. Tensions were high and as students began to rejoin the classroom the grade sharing began. A woman wearing a black hijab with a bright pink heart pattern with a matching pink shirt and pink socks peeking out of her black boots, came back in and everyone seemed to look at her, expectantly before she said, “I didn’t pass.” There were a lot of “WHAT! (Va!)” around the classroom and she sat down and began to cry softly. Classmates began to come up to comfort her as the next girl came in, beaming with pride. She had gotten the grade of 72, she had passed and she wrote her grade on the white board for all to see. The woman who had failed revealed that her grade was only 50,5. As the next woman came in, people began to chant “Skriv! Skriv!” Write! Write! She had gotten 80.

One class member said that she believed that those who could speak Arabic did better in Swedish, they are the most clever and best (duktigaste). In order to account for the differences of class performance, this woman created a reason. The next student walks in from leaving the classroom to go to the bathroom and writes 100 on the board as her classmates begin to clap for her, she laughs scribbling it out, joking about her grade. The next person comes in, does not write any grade on the whiteboard and walks to her seat with sad, red eyes. The teacher comes in, breaking up the excitement, handing out worksheets for everyone to work on so they aren’t wasting time before going back outside the classroom to deliver grades. After the next student walks in and shares his passing grade (61) on the board, a woman who wrote the 100 on the board called out “whoever gets the best grade is going to buy everyone coffee!” As the next person walked in, she gave a thumbs down, the class goes quiet. She sat near the others who had not passed and I heard them say “you didn’t pass either? It was the grammar, right?”

Just then the oldest student of all, who is around her 60s, walked in proudly, she is short with glasses and a gray hijab that is pinned together by a decorative broach and walks up to the board to write 78 points. Everyone applauds. Student after student came in, writes their grades, some passing and some saying simply I did not pass. People applaud for those who pass and sigh for those who fail. Muhsin, one of the only men in the class, had received the highest grade and everyone clapped while others called out for him to bring coffee.
Later the instructor asked me what had happened, why I was writing so much down in my notebook, I said that people were sharing their grades on the whiteboard and she immediately scoffed saying that it was childish, even mean to those who have failed to make the comparison like that. That it was so early within the year. Her opinion brings up something very important, about why people share these sorts of things, create the environment where people compare and show off who has done the best, who is the duktigast, cleverest and best. The grading scale has become a social tool for the students, a way to categorize, classify, and compare one another which contributes to stereotypes and overall feelings of incompetence. The students in the class ranged in age from 20 to 60, and yet there was something almost immature about the grade sharing, something reminiscent of high school or middle school, and within the classroom everyone was living in that moment, in that space where individuals gossiped and shared grades and ranked one another and judged one another. The high school mentality was in full bloom, and stereotypes and judgements were happening among the students among these immigrants, within this school walls.

This active judging and participation from the students, judging each other’s cultural capital, their objectified cultural capital in the form of a test grade and in the end the comparison served to really highlight this asymmetry, to show who was doing well and who was not, and for some students who came out smiling and proud, they felt good about themselves and those who failed had to publicly announce it. Cultural capital, and by extension the differences in cultural capital that students have, has a significant role in the conveyance of educational inequalities within a school system (Zimdars et al. 2009: 651). The educational inequalities here are the grades, and by showing who has passed and who has failed in front of the whole class, we see a presentation and performance of a level of cultural capital, showing how some students are successful while others fail. In a class filled with students who range from 20-60 years old, the atmosphere became giddy and excited as students proudly would strut to the board and for others their shoulders began to slump and perhaps begin crying. Advertising the differences among themselves also can breed resentment as students are constantly being reminded of their differences in cultural capital.

THE EXPRESSION OF RESSENTIMENT

Class time not only provides time for students to show off their abilities to speak Swedish, but also to criticize one another. Within a classroom there are always those who tend to talk more than others, and those who would openly judge others within class. Samir,
as I explained before, is an accomplished young man and speaks out in class with ease and makes most of the students laugh. A different student, Suhaan, uses his Swedish in order to not only question other students but the teacher. Suhaan was a talkative, know-it-all from South East Asia who was a student in SAS 1. He was thin and short with dark skin and spoke Swedish carefully and deliberately, which was reflected in the strong cacophonous sounds he made. He was strongly opinionated and loved to hear himself speak, raising his hand in class every chance he got.

During one lunch, I was sitting with two other students, friendly Turkish men who loved to practice Swedish and talk to me, a woman. Suhaan joined us one day for lunch and in his style of speech, looked directly at me and began to interrogate me with questions. His accent made Swedish lose its melody, cutting short of the flow of each word so it never flowed into the next one as it should. He looked directly at me and asked where I was from. Before I could even answer one of the Turkish guys said enthusiastically: “She is from the strongest country in the world!” Suhaan’s eyes went wide and he stood up at once, exclaiming “I hate USA!” Despite his hatred for the US, he continued to question me. He asked me why I was here, if I or my boyfriend cooked more, and where my family was. The conversation inevitably turned to my project and the courses we took and he said that immigrants can only learn in class, distance learning was no good for immigrants.

I found that within my study, ressentiment as opposed to resentment was hardly expressed. This may be due to the fact that many students did not openly express this to me, but when Suhaan expressed his hatred for the US and began to question me, it was probably due to the fact that he was a very open and outgoing individual. Coming from a country with a lot of political discord, as he often talked about poverty in his home country, Suhaan had a deep ressentiment in the Nietzschean sense, which is the type of resentment that is a response to historical, sometimes generational, oppression and domination (Fassin 2013: 249-250). In Swedish class, and as all students, he had the space in order to showcase his ressentiment to my own background and used it as an opportunity to grill and interrogate me about my personal life, asking me question after question until he was somewhat satisfied. He saw the difference in our backgrounds, especially with me coming from the United States and knew exactly how important that is in Sweden and wanted to take the opportunity to speak to me, to assess my cultural capital. To see where we both stand both at home and at school.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN CLASS
Suhaan brought this kind of interrogative, brisk attitude to class and frequently posed deep and somewhat personal questions in response to casual conversations. His confidence also led him to ‘correct’ the instructor at times. He is always jumping in—adding onto Berit’s (his instructor) commentary and explanations. After the oral presentations we must conduct as part of the National test, which is required to move onto the next level of Swedish, he asked questions sometimes stressing out his peers who dreaded his inevitable commentary due to their inability to answer him to his content. But his commentary, presence, and input in the course is enthusiastic and shaped the perception of the course and the Swedish language for his classmates, it made the language somewhat stressful and deeper. They felt unable to answer his questions to his satisfaction, but he pushed the course forward and made people begin to think critically and theoretically. He is an active participant within the course and within the learning process for others—inputting his opinion as much as possible and not just regarding language, but daily life, questioning my personal life for example. During the planning of the presentations, he prompted his neighbors in Swedish to discuss religion, to which the guy replied to his suggestion “I don’t care about religion.” He interrupted the course often apologizing and then speaking with authority while using improper forms of the subject and making mistakes in his grammar.

Lucia, a middle aged Colombian woman, is a student in Suhaan’s class and an old classmate of mine from SAS G. Lucia asked a lot of questions in our class together, constantly raised her hand, and with her thick Colombian accent, tries and figures out the same grammar rules the instructor has been going over for weeks. She speaks slowly and rolls her r’s as carefully as she can to make her Swedish understandable. I remember Lucia from my class and how I found her annoying and would roll my eyes. Now coming in as an observer, I watched how other students reacted to her questions. I sat close to Lucia because we had studied together the previous year and at the beginning of my observation she was a face that I recognized. During class one day, Lucia began to ask questions as she always does, and after she got the answer she leaned forward and said, “they are angry when I ask, but I need to make sure I understand.” Despite the looks she got in class, she continued to ask her questions, to prioritize her education, prioritize what it meant. The students would roll their eyes, but Lucia knew that she had to understand so that she could communicate and understand Swedish to the best of her ability. It was important to success in Sweden. Students can be seen getting frustrated and at times perhaps exhibiting forms of resentment towards Lucia and her slow learning, which would slow down the course for all of them.
The unfortunate consequence of being in such a mixed classroom with students with all different backgrounds was the comparisons people made among each other. Instructors like Malin and Berit would try and dissuade comparison among students, which can result in resentment and dissatisfaction with the course. It can also discourage individuals from participating and also from fully interacting with the course material and performing well within the classroom. A student who perhaps only has a basic high school education may feel stupid or incompetent when comparing themselves with a classmate who has a master’s degree and speaks multiple languages. As Malin explained to me, it breeds discontent with the Swedish language and that leads to discontent with Sweden as a country. This kind of foundational cultural capital which enables some can breed resentment and dissatisfaction in others due to the asymmetrical distribution of cultural capital among classmates.
CHAPTER SIX: ECONOMIC CAPITAL

Bourdieu’s system of capital is based upon the idea of appropriating economic capital and applying it to all forms of life, employing it to be used to understand all types of transactions and exchanges that occur that are not limited to simple monetary transactions. It is in this way that Bourdieu’s system of capital ultimately is very broad in its basis on monetary and financial exchanges and transactions (Moore 2008: 101). Capital is convertible and different forms of symbolic capital like cultural and social can be derived from economic capital with an expenditure of effort, labor, and time (Bourdieu 1997: 53). Economic capital is basically “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (ibid, pp. 47). Bourdieu argues that economic capital is the foundation of all other types of capital and that furthermore the other forms of capital are simply disguised, but deep down their root is the economic value and capital that they yield. This means that cultural capital and social capital when it comes down to it and is stripped down, it has a price on it, something that denotes monetary value. For cultural capital that may be the academic qualifications that will yield the opportunity to work in certain positions and therefore a certain pay grade. For social capital, which requires labor in time and socialization, has economic value when it comes to gift exchanges and other exchanges made among individuals in the same social network (ibid, pp.54).

It is this convertibility of economic capital and the access to economic capital that interests me most and that affects those in SAS. For immigrants, SAS is a means to convert cultural capital into economic capital, using knowledge of Swedish in order to go to apply for jobs, go to job interviews, work, or study more until they can go into a new career line. Economic capital is also needed to attain cultural capital within the course, money to pay for housing, and food while studying. In order to gain economic capital through having SAS you need economic capital to even support yourself while studying and struggling to get a paycheck to support oneself in school is common among students. There is a gamble in studying and potentially getting a better job versus the safe bet of a lower status job like cleaning and getting a paycheck immediately. Annika, one of the SAS instructors, brought up one important factor as well when I spoke with her, and that is that many female students within the class were coming into Sweden having been housewives before. Now they were expected to get a job and that for many meant education, especially depending on the type of job they wanted in the future.
There are many factors that affect the distribution of economic capital among students. My classmates often asked me how I was able to support myself, at this point of time I did not have a permanent residence permit, meaning that I was not eligible to receive financial aid from the government, called CSN. I would sheepishly tell them that my parents from the United States continued to send me money. But that was a privilege that none of my classmates had. Money was an issue for a lot, either it was the CSN check they got every month or the job they worked while studying. It could be the spouse that supports them, or perhaps even the monthly welfare check.

Economic capital, being the base form that symbolic capital like cultural capital and social capital can be reduced to, presents a price tag for the other forms of capital. Struggling to speak Swedish or lacking the courage to hand out CVs can be debilitating for immigrants, the fear that their linguistic and cultural competence may be lacking, may be judged as incompetent and therefore may limit their ability to get a good job. Finding a good job implies cultural capital. Certain jobs can also yield more social capital, due to the connections and relations that you can make at the job and also the respect that can be earned with having a well-paying job. There are not as many social opportunities when one is cleaning a house. Many students seek to be reemployed in their same field that they had in their home countries and they face a dilemma. Get a job fast outside of their field with a lower social status and lower pay like homecare, hemstjänst, or possibly spend years getting recertified or retrained in Sweden and struggle to make ends meet with limited CSN or work options in the meantime. When it comes to employment, especially possible future employment, there is this assessment of the monetary value, the capital or return on the time spent investing in education with a corresponding salary amount. Unfortunately for many immigrants, employment prospects and economic capital can be quite poor for immigrants.

Within Sweden there is a large wage and earnings gap between Swedish natives (with two Swedish born parents)\textsuperscript{16} and immigrants. The gap between the two groups can be especially large for newly arrived immigrants who originate from developing and poor countries and this gap persists even 20 years after their arrival despite having similar job and work characteristics as native born Swedes. The wage and earnings gap increases when the

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item[16] In a different article, the same economist Nordin(2013) refers to natives this way, but unknown if he means it for this article.
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immigrant\textsuperscript{17} is non-European (Nordin 2011: 144). Nordin accounts for the wage gap due to a lack of “Swedish-specific knowledge” and ability to speak Swedish. Also immigrants have a higher amount of unemployment which also contributes to a large wage-gap between native Swedes and immigrants (Nordin 2011: 145). In current trends in migration, we see a difference among immigrants due to the fact that they are comprised of two main subgroups with highly education immigrants searching for jobs within the technical industry in one category and a large number of lower educated individuals from third world countries who end in low-paying jobs. Current research on immigrants shows that those who take lower-paying jobs end up lacking the opportunity for upward mobility (Horevits 2009:749). Those who have also received education in some developing countries may have their experiences and education devalued when searching for a job in Sweden and those with higher education are suffering from a devaluation of their education and experiences when searching for a job. This forces those with higher education to accept jobs they are overeducated for (Nordin 2011: 146).

\textbf{INFORMAL THERAPIST}

Carmen comes from Chile, and we had the pleasure of sitting beside each other during one day at SAS G. She spoke English fluently and was a highly educated, trained speech therapist. She had lived in Sweden 2 ½ years. Her sambo or partner is Swedish and they lived together in Chile for a while before coming to Sweden. Her main goal for studying in Sweden was to earn her legitimation or certification to begin working as a speech therapist again. She does have a job though, and she in fact practices speech therapy here in Sweden, in particular with Spanish speaking immigrants, but on paper she is a personal assistant/caretaker. Carmen speaks four languages including Swedish, Spanish, English and German and juggling these languages leaves her mind confused and cloudy. When speaking about learning the Swedish language she shared her disbelief and confusion over why certain individuals do not speak Swedish even after 30 years here. At a certain point, she said, regardless of teaching your children your native language, you have to learn the language here.

\textsuperscript{17}Nordin (2011) refers to immigrant men in Sweden due to their presence within his field of interest. In my own research it became obvious that the reason he looks at men is due to the fact that a lot of women may not be in the work force, as one of the teachers that I spoke with at my field site elaborated, this is due to the culture of stay-at-home wives that presides in other cultures and leaves the women who come to Sweden undereducated and having to reeducate themselves for jobs.
Unfortunately Carmen had no story about any sort of fast-track system, that allowed her to get to work using her experience, but instead at 2 ½ years in Sweden she was at the ground level course for Swedish as a Second language with at least another year of Swedish classes ahead of her. Her employer obviously sees her cultural and linguistic competence through her ability to speak multiple languages, including Swedish quite well, but also her cultural competence with her foreign degree. What she lacks is the academic qualification and recognized certification in Sweden, despite the certification from Chile that certifies her cultural competence, which highlights how this functions as an institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1997: 50). Her employer though uses this cultural and linguistic competence to obvious economic gain, paying her the income of a personal assistant and utilizing the skills of a professional who simply lacks the proper certification. She needs the economic capital to support herself but unfortunately she is getting cheated out of an income that she deserves. She must gain the relevant academic qualification from Sweden that will make her cultural competence of being a therapist recognized. Her work, she told me, was mainly taking care of and helping stroke patients speak again and she was currently working with a man who spoke only Spanish. She expressed resentment when telling me about how the people she worked with had lived years in Sweden and did not speak the language. She seemed exasperated and frustrated at the concept of people coming into Sweden and not trying to learn the language while she herself takes a lower level job to earn money despite her degree. Her class was filled with individuals who had spent up to a decade in Sweden and still struggled to learn the language while she herself spent less time here. Her taking this lower job despite her college degree from Chile marks a very common problem among immigrants who struggle to look for work within their fields. Those who are lucky have the privilege to work within certain fields that value their background education. Carmen is smart, educated, speaks multiple languages and is placed within the same slow-paced course as those who have not held a job in a long time or those who have hardly any school experience. Unfortunately the education system does not account for the struggles that students may have in order to support themselves economically.

FINANCIAL AID

When it comes to raising children there is the question of money. Mariana and Salma told me that parental leave can take up to and over a year before a child can start going to daycare. With a breadwinning husband, like Mariana has who works for an international corporation, it is financially difficult for the family if he were to take the majority of the
paternal leave which would incur a 20% decrease in income. In her case, being unemployed/underemployed that means that she would have to stay home with the children and stop studying. For Salma, as the school year went on the time she spent in class began to wane, her husband who had been staying home with her young child got a job and unfortunately, that meant that she would have to stop going to class in order to focus on raising her children. Economic capital is not limited to the individual, but is something that affects the whole household. It is also something that is not accounted for within the curriculum, as this is a determinant to whether or not they will be able to go to class or even have the means to succeed. As some students do not have the financial burden of raising children, they may have more economic capital and time to spend studying which affects their performance within the class. Students who are parents are placed within the same class as those who are not and as a result, people begin to judge themselves and one another and become resentful as a response to this contradiction.

There is a choice new parents must face: who will stay home with the baby while the other works. This could prevent the unemployed one from studying and taking time to perhaps gain more cultural capital through courses. Having children is expensive and financial aid from the government was limited when having children. Salma and Mariana one afternoon in class were telling me about their children, childcare, and barnbidrag, which is a child grant that parents receive every month for each one of their children in Sweden. It isn’t much money, just over 1000 SEK and as they told me, it only pays for diapers or contributes to daycare costs. But those Somalis, they use that money as their income since they have 10 or 12 kids! They began to laugh as they both leaned towards me to tell me but their judgment was clear. They saw Somalian people with many children as cheating a system by using their children as their main source of income. For Mariana and Salma, they were in their minds in the right by not “using” their children as an income in Sweden by “taking” welfare when it perhaps wasn’t deserved. It was interesting how they framed this question of financial aid, a source of income as economic capital that can be misused or used in a negative fashion. Costs of childrearing, financial aid, access to income all were important factors of how economic capital and how it was unequally distributed among students affected the progress of the course. There was a direct effect on education for those who would have to stop studying and take care of their young children, due to a lack of economic capital or a reliance on the breadwinner’s whole paycheck. This marks the differences in economic capital due to childcare that immigrants have in the classroom, and
despite their laughing at their stereotype of Somalian women, they showed a little bit of resentment on how that can be used as an income while they struggled.

There were many different factors, other than one’s ability to learn a language that affected a student’s success. As Malin, a SAS G teacher, told me after one class, a big problem that students face is economic. The students who can receive financial aid (CSN) must fulfill a certain amount of credits and for those who perhaps take too many classes at once in order to receive the full amount of grants and loans, they can struggle and perhaps fail. It is difficult for them, as teachers, she said, to tell students to take fewer classes when they are financially dependent on the loans and grants CSN could give. But failure in courses of course means that that financial support is short-lived. This reliance on CSN and the differences of economic capital among students is not a part of the curriculum or the structure of the course and it has a direct effect on their being able to study and focus on school.

Nour was one of the only people in our class to get an A, a top mark, on her written essay. Her grammar was impeccable in Swedish, she was incredibly sharp and beautiful. She was tall, thin, spoke French, Arabic, and Swedish. She studied at university in Morocco and wanted to continue her studies in Sweden and become a pharmacist. Unfortunately, due to her residence permit’s status she is not entitled to getting financial aid from the government (CSN). As time goes on the prospect of continuing with her education, despite her ability to do so, would take too much time and be too financially unsound. She was thinking of taking some sort of trade program which would take less time to be an administrative assistant or something instead. She needed to work, needed to make money and despite wanting to continue, school is so time consuming that it makes working and juggling school difficult and near impossible. She told me that in the future she would like to have children with her partner, who is originally from Iraq but has been living in Sweden for 20 years and is a Swedish citizen, but there was no time while seeking financial stability.

There is a very important link between the cultural capital that the course presents and the economic capital it may one day yield. Staying within SAS, taking the time necessary to study in order to accumulate cultural capital to be used for better jobs and higher incomes, requires the initial conversion of economic capital to support oneself, may it be CSN or a working spouse. For many it is the lack of economic capital that can actually force them to leave school temporarily or permanently.
Annika explained to me quite plainly how the system is aimed to get people employed, but not to return to school. The goal is to get them working and did not function well when individuals came back to school and wanting a new career. We see a link between education and the possibilities it offers to get a better career, a less stigmatized career. For Farahzaz, who had come back to school after 9 years of working at a cafeteria in the kitchen, she wanted to become a dental hygienist. How does her dreams of getting a better career, making more money coincide with the model that Annika presented with Farahzaz staying in her job, in the kitchen? Obviously there is a disconnection between what is implicitly being endorsed by the education system and what it in fact projects for possible students. This creates a lot of discontent and resentment among students who may feel boxed in or pigeon-holed into a job that they do not really want.

**BOXED IN**

I had the opportunity to meet with Mariana to learn a little more about her and her experiences in Sweden. Her voice was stressed and she was excited to talk about her problems, vent them out and explain what she found frustrating within the Swedish education system. Her dreams, as she put it, had to dramatically change and came crashing down during the process of her education from beginning Swedish to her current position. She said that when she started SFI all of her classmates and herself included saw the school system and saw themselves going from SFI to komvux, or adult school where students can receive high school equivalence, and then onto university. Now at this point many of them are straying off this path and instead choosing a shorter trade program that would require fewer courses and would not require SAS 1,2,&3. A popular trade program was the undersköterska or nurse’s assistant program. As time went on and fewer people continued with SAS (see Appendix B), Mariana felt pretty resentful about where she would end up.

Mariana has experience both in Colombia and in Argentina with administration and briefly studied at university before leaving her studies to pursue her relationship with the man who would later become her husband and the father of her children. Her biggest issue is the lack of information and how incomprehensive the Swedish education system can be. Most of the information she could find, in her opinion, is provided for these programs like nurse’s assistant. She feels pressured to go down the same route because she will be unable to gain the requirements, like English, needed to get into some of the other programs. In her opinion
there is no guidance counselors, nobody to provide the information that she believes is lacking within the system. The English language was her biggest obstacle that she felt she would never overcome. English was so desired for certain jobs and university programs that she honestly was beginning to believe that she would never be able to get a position that she felt she was qualified for.

When I asked Mariana how important jobs were for integration, she immediately replied that they were an integral part, that if there was a way to enter a job smoothly and meet people without knowing Swedish fluently, it would actually take advantage of people’s skills and they would learn Swedish faster. The system as it stands now makes her feel out-casted. The employment agency, she tells me, simply tells people to go around with their CVs and talk to people but for an immigrant, she said, this is impossible to do. She doesn’t dare do it, but now she has to and it takes a lot of courage to muster to put yourself and your language skills on display.

With the path of education not being as smooth or as rewarding as it is projected, it leaves Mariana very frustrated and resentful due to her current social position. Furthermore this representation of the social environment serves a very important function, because it breeds and fuels resentment. According to Didier Fassin (2013), resentment is fueled by a vision or perception of another group committing an injustice against you and the imagery it creates shapes the reality one lives in (pp. 257). Resentment is how Mariana mediates the contradiction of a projected ‘easy’ path of education and the reality of her struggles and the dropouts of her classmates. Her emotions were palpable in our interview, her voice growing in volume and she was quick to place judgment on the system that had judged her in her opinion.

What Mariana expresses and shares may indicate a greater problem within the structure of education. Bourdieu states, “it [education] is in fact one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one” (Sullivan 2002: 145). Bourdieu argues that education perpetuates and promotes social patterns that serve as a justification for social inequalities within society and gives those who are successful in Sweden, like Swedes are seen as naturally gifted in a way that people like Mariana are not. Mariana in this model is lacking something rather than
the structure of education lacking. This further highlights how incompatible the education system is with the actual people who are students.

Mariana feels as though her career path is predetermined due to her positionality in Sweden as an immigrant, especially a non-English speaking, without a higher education, immigrant from Latin America without a degree. When it comes to seeking economic capital, Mariana sees herself as boxed in, predetermined to receive as little economic capital as possible. She sees her classmates all slowly change their career paths to that of the yrkesutbildning, trade school, as an alternative to pursuing higher education. Mariana’s account of immigrants going into the trade school to become a nurse’s assistant, undersköterska, was very prominent and real. One classmate of mine told me that she was thinking of enrolling in the program, even though she had no interest in it. She shrugged when I asked her if that is what she wanted to do, not really, she replied. At what point does the need for a secure job, even one that does not pay that well or hold as much cultural capital, overtakes the desire to go back to the career one had before, or go further in education and perhaps go to university?

Hinar, a Kurdish woman that I had interviewed, worked within hemtjänst, a job that consisted of going to someone’s home who is disabled or elderly and help them around the house along with other tasks. She remarked in an interview that working with elderly people was helpful for Swedish because they spoke slowly, clearly. She liked speaking with Swedish people, but mostly spoke about the elderly people she had met at work as the Swedish people she had most contact with. Hinar told me she was putting her full effort in studying three courses in order to move forward with her education, but as the semester creeped forwards, her presence in class dwindled as she began working again. “I want to go to the university,” she told me, “it is important for me; I don’t know when I will study but I hope that one day I will, I dream.” It became clear that the need for the paycheck unfortunately put her dreams on the wayside. The financial need for economic capital directly affects studying SAS and is a clear determinant of success within SAS. Unfortunately this determinant is not accounted for within the curriculum that would enable people like Hinar who dream of going to university unable to keep up with the course or even attend. Other students experience this clash between the course schedule and juggling with work, which overall makes students feel disenchanted and frustrated, which can be mediated through resentment.
JALEESA’S EDUCATION PATH

Jaleesa was in her early 40’s from Iran. With 22 years of office experience, she was now taking Swedish courses to make herself employable in Sweden. She was an old classmate from my SAS G courses and currently was a peer in my SAS 1 course. She had been living in Sweden for 3 years at the point that we met for an unstructured interview, sitting in the loud and bustling cafeteria. She had a 13 year old daughter, who spoke Swedish fluently and perfectly and was able to pick up the language at an incredible speed. Her husband was a naturalized Swedish citizen who had returned to Iran where they met and got married. The bad economy in Iran spurred their relocation to Sweden in search for better paying jobs and a more stable economic environment. Sweden presented itself as a place for both her and her husband to grow their economic capital. While her husband and daughter spoke Swedish fluently, Jaleesa struggled. She recounted for me how after she attended her first Swedish class after coming to Sweden, she came home and cried. She had not understood a single word throughout the whole class and the language at that point seemed impossible to learn. Jaleesa explained to me how she didn’t know any Swedes; she only interacted with Swedes when she went out to stores or to the tax office, Skatteverket.

Employment clearly plays an important role for gaining economic capital and also plays a significant role in gaining social capital through connecting with other individuals, something that Jaleesa lacks. Jaleesa does not know a Swede other than her teachers, and the gaining of employment not only would make her financially stable in Sweden, something her and her husband sought out in coming to Sweden but also make her socially stable. Economic capital and employment therefore is so embedded the education system which is used in finding employment through cultural capital. Employment also plays a social role to provide social networks with Swedes via the workplace. These sorts of factors of the lives of immigrants are not addressed within the course structure or curriculum as well.

Despite her 20+ years’ work experience, Jaleesa would have to become retrained as an economic assistant to get work in Sweden. In order to reeducate herself she would have to finish up two more Swedish courses after SAS 1, take the appropriate math classes, and take English. In her calculations it would take her about 5 more years to reenter the job market under her desired field where she has so much experience. English is good for office work, but Swedish on the other hand is important to understanding the rules of a society and understanding how things work, making things better for everyone. I had at this point heard many other accounts of people hoping to finish up school, and immediately look
downtrodden when they began to count and say aloud how many years they had left of their education. Jaleesa at the end of the conversation embraced me and said “thank you, thank you for speaking in Swedish with me; I hardly get the chance to practice.” She hardly had the chance to speak Swedish outside of the classroom, and I had just met with her and spoke Swedish with her for almost an hour. The practice was very much appreciated and I realized how little Jaleesa actually used the Swedish language.

By the end of the term, Jaleesa’s plans had changed. She told me that she had failed SAS 1, the course we were taking at the time, and she had decided to become a nurse’s assistant, or undersköterska, due to the fact that the program only required grammar school requirements like SAS G which she had already passed. This program was only 3 semesters long and she would be able to start work thereafter, which she was looking forward to. Her decision was practically made for her though. She said that this was the only program, other than carpentry, that was offered with teachers and not distance-learning and a classroom setting was necessary for her education and for her to learn properly. Although Jaleesa did not openly express frustration or exasperation over the change in plans in her education, she does exhibit a discontent in her current social situation within her struggles in Sweden. Unfortunately the structure of SAS does not account for the struggles or the differences that students have among one another and without accounting for the different determinants of success, failure occurs.

**ECONOMIC CAPITAL OF THE SCHOOL**

The school itself suffered a lack of economic capital, and as a result many of the teachers were just as stuck within the system themselves, only able to work with a limited amount of tools. They told me that the school system has changed due to the introduction of private schools. Vux Linné was a school whose resources and funding were becoming more and more limited over time. As a result, the teachers did not have the time, the funding, or the diversification to individualize the education of their students. Malin explained to me how incredibly difficult it was for her as an instructor to see a class where some students are struggling to understand the basic material and others were rolling their eyes at how slowly the course was going. The students, despite their great differences, were placed in a single course together. Malin and Berit, as my former instructors, knew how much I found some of the material awful or boring, and they understood how difficult it was for their students. The prospects they faced. But financially, they did not have the resources to diversify the course as much as they wished they could.
This also contributes to the contradiction, students lack individual care and specialized teaching and the school system cannot financially support their needs. The economy of the school and the finances of the municipality make the disproportions of capital ever more important due to the fact that students must adapt their lives to meet the needs of the school and are placed into a one-size-fits-all course that does not successfully enable students to pass the class and reach the goals it projects.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is one important form of capital that affects the gaining of cultural capital within SAS. A school where students constantly meet and interact with classmates, peers, and teachers along with school curriculum, is an incredibly social setting and also plays an important role in civic life. Where many students do not have jobs, a school is an important setting where immigrants come in and become students, interact and participate in the educational process both within the classroom and outside of the classroom at the cafeteria, within the hallways, at the small library. It is a place where people can go during the day, especially when they are unemployed. Students who perhaps have no classes after 12 make sure to stay and interact at lunch because of the sheer social aspects that the school presents. It is a place of meeting and a place where people can network and make friends. After moving to Uppsala and enrolling in SAS G, before I had enrolled in the university, Vux Linné provided the first social situation that I had access to where I could meet potential friends and interact with people in the cold winter and dark days.

Students from all over Uppsala Municipality would commute to the school in order to take not just Swedish courses but other high school and grammar level equivalent courses to either enroll in a yrkesutbildning (a trade program), begin work, or perhaps for the select few, to go onto a Swedish university. As I would sit within the cafeteria or in the many areas where people can take a coffee break, a Swedish fika, I would focus on listening to what language students were using with one another. Groups of individuals would use their broken Swedish to begin to communicate, using this common language to forge friendships and communicate over shared experiences. For Mariana and Salma, from Colombia and Morocco respectively, Swedish became the language that they shared to speak about their children, husbands, and the other classes they took together. For Anton, a young man from Russia who had aspirations of going to Swedish university, Swedish became a language where he could speak with a group of middle-aged women from Thailand that would fawn over him and laugh at his jokes. For those who had Swedish spouses or partners, as Swedish became introduced into their relationship, new things could be discussed, mediated, and understood.

Bourdieu claims that the education system plays a key role in legitimating and reproducing social inequalities through academic and educational credentials (Sullivan 2001: 894). One part of the social inequalities and status quo that people have is also exhibited in not just their cultural capital, but the social capital that individuals have. Social capital is the
total amount of resources, both potential and actual, that are available through the social networks that people establish. The resources could be the social and emotional support, reliance upon an individual within their social networks. I use the term social network based off of my interpretation of how Bourdieu uses it. Bourdieu (1997) uses the term to describe all people that are in one’s life, including friends, family, and acquaintances that one can call upon for support (pp. 51). I use social network to also account for all the people in one’s life that can provide support or help, this can even include the family. These networks are created through membership to a group, or mutual recognition, acquaintanceship that could lead to a social credential or good reputation. As Bourdieu states, it is a “more or less institutionalized relationships…they may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of the family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc.)” (ibid, pp.51). The school provides a perfect meeting place for people to make these acquaintances, friends, and also find people with mutual interests or even life experiences. Social capital is not as easy as becoming friends with classmates through using the Swedish language. Social capital is a very time consuming effort with a lot of hard labor behind it. Social capital’s production and reproduction “presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bodvarsson & Van der Berg 2013: 273). For some individuals, the school is a good setting to find people who have shared languages and cultural backgrounds, are from the same country. For others it is a place where people find others who have the shared membership in Swedish society: fellow immigrants and non-Swedes.

When it comes to social capital, it is important to acknowledge that “access to social capital is also unequally distributed among the population because such access depends on both economic capital and cultural capital” (Bodvarsson & Van der Berg 2013:273). Unequal distribution of social capital among students can affect the building of social networks as well as their education. It is also unequally distributed due to the amount of time being spent within social settings, social capital is “accumulated gradually” (ibid, pp. 273). Social capital is not only based in the networks that people have among other immigrants, but also within the family. Some may be able to mobilize greater social capital because through marriage to perhaps a Swede or another person who has an established social network in Sweden; they can connect to more people. One key word and identifier to keep in mind is ‘immigrant’ because for many who have migrated from their country, away from the majority of their family, and resettled, there is hardly any network that they can call upon;
seeking out social situations to create those networks is incredibly important. This satisfaction in life and belonging within a social network or ability to use the Swedish language within your family is an important determinant to success within SAS. For many of the students within SAS, Vux Linné is very important; being in a social setting is essential for learning, especially learning Swedish.

It is also in this space where through these social interactions people audibly express how much they belong or do not belong both within Swedish society. They express each other’s differences in capital, this contradiction that course presents through the conversations they have, and through the stereotypes they have both of Swedes and other immigrants. Social settings are also the space where resentment and ressentiment can be expressed. Social capital, especially Swedish social capital, can affect education. The dominant social capital, being Swedish, puts immigrants in the minority for being able to connect with others and build social networks. It can be confusing and not relatable, which makes their own social capital in this Swedish society lacking. This aspect of life, being able to not only feel part of a group but also have a group to speak Swedish with and learn Swedish customs, is definitely a determinant for success within SAS. This is due to emotional and psychological support friends and connections can offer, as well as building confidence and belonging in Sweden. Students have very different positionalities and connections within Sweden and when students are placed all together in a single course, they can begin to compare themselves and become discontented. This also applies to family life, where parents who have previously identified and shared the same network with their children, begin to see their children become more and more Swedish through their use of the Swedish language over their native ones, building their Swedish social capital.

THE CAFETERIA

Fieldnotes:

April 2014, Vux Linné, Adult School in Uppsala Sweden

It was lunchtime in the cafeteria at Vux Linné, adult school in Uppsala, Sweden. I had been conducting my fieldwork there since January of that year and had been a student since the previous January. There was a hum in the cafeteria, the dings of microwaves done warming food and the clinking of cutlery hitting plastic lunch boxes holding homemade food. The majority of the faces in the cafeteria were tanned and brown, many women were veiled, and the air held the blend of several different languages, hardly a Swedish word to be heard.
The groupings in the cafeteria were predominantly dependent on shared languages, not necessarily age. The scene was familiar to me. I never ate in the cafeteria until my fieldwork but now I made sure to pack my lunch every day. A typical American sandwich sliced diagonally was in my lunch box and I was waiting for two girls who inevitably would never show up for an interview. The majority of the people were sharing food and I learned very fast during lunchtime informal and unstructured interviews and casual conversations to start packing extra snacks to share with people. I watched as people pulled out their white and red food containers of all different sizes purchased from the nearby IKEA or their repurposed potato salad or ice cream tubs for their rice dishes and casseroles. I once even saw a group of veiled women from Somalia with their own electric kettle that they stored in a nearby locker out in the hallway leading to the classrooms. The cafeteria was a large open room with decorative white globes hanging from the ceiling, two partitions near entrance with sinks and microwaves and two 5 Swedish kronor coffee machines. The walls were a stale pink, the tables white and the chairs a plastic-fake-wood color with red cushions. Against the east side of the cafeteria were large windows with sofas situated underneath them.

Today was interesting because I saw a new group of students, young in contrast to the other students with varied ages from 20’s to 60’s. These students did not fit the description I just gave, they did not pack their lunches, did not share food, and they dressed in fashionable H&M black clothes. These four girls were Swedish. They took a round table near me and sat there with their take away lunches, sushi and sandwiches with bottled Evian water and sparkling flavored water. They had their hair pulled up in long ponytails high on their heads, hair swinging while they giggled and chatted. Their black tote bags and Fjällräven bags, a popular and trendy backpack company in Sweden, hung over their chairs. The staunch juxtaposition of perfect high pitched Swedish with the quintessential front-of-the-mouth twang of the Swedish language to the hum of the other students eating lunch speaking Arabic, Persian, Somali, Thai, and broken Swedish made them seem even more interesting to me, and in Sweden where they were the majority, here at this adult school they were the minority. They did not share food; there was absolutely no assumption that they would. Their lunches were not last night’s dinner, but a separate 50-70 SEK meal around 8-10 US dollars. They did not share coffee from a communal thermos like others in the room. They did not have an electric kettle to make tea that they stored in their lockers.

This image brought forth an even more relevant one to me, the image of myself. There I was sitting there in my low black boots, high-waisted black jeans, forest-green cargo
jacket. My outfit was from H&M and Lindex, two Scandinavian stores and my wardrobe, like these Swedish girls, had muted colors. My skin is pale and white, and my hair that day was up in a high ponytail. But at least I brought my lunch in a red and white IKEA container...

The Swedish girls, although taking high school competency courses as well at Vux Linné, stood out in opposition to the other individuals in the school, the immigrants. Where I fit in within this school and among my peers within SAS was a constant discussion. I was an outlier and that became incredibly obvious to me when students often remarked on the fact that I spoke Swedish with relative ease, spoke English fluently, studied at a Swedish University, and had a Swedish partner. “It’s so easy for you,” they told me. People would say that due to my Swedish partner things were easier, that I was lucky I had the opportunity to speak Swedish, that I was already embedded within the society. The social capital, being the networks I had in place in Sweden and my connections to the university definitely was a determinant to my own success within SAS. I had a place to practice Swedish unlike a lot of my peers. The description from my field notes also exhibits how I feel sitting in this in-between space, with my Swedish fashion contradicting the fact that I was studying SAS and eating a lunch from home and often times bringing extra food as was customary among a lot of my classmates to share.

LEARNING ABOUT ‘THE SWEDE’

The Swedish culture was a constant topic of debate within class, whenever there was a spare moment people relished talking about their lives and where they fit within Sweden. During one of these breaks in class, a group of women I was sitting with began to complain about the typisk svensk man or typical Swedish man, as being lazy and dirty. They complained about their Swedish husbands and how they hardly cleaned. This group talking about the typical Swedish man included a woman from the Phillipines, Jae, who I later scheduled two different conversations with, Jaleesa, a woman from Iran, and a couple of others. At this point I did not know the backgrounds of all of their husbands, but the group was made up of women who had a mix of ethnic Swedish husbands and husbands who had naturalized or had immigrant parents in Sweden. But, the interesting part of this is their desire to create a category and ascribe it to a nationality; the Swedish men that they knew acted a certain way and that was generalized as the normative according to them.

I observed a similar situation of reporting on perceived Swedish norms within one of the SAS G courses. I had come into this particular course a couple of times a week for the
past 3 weeks. My old teacher from when I studied SAS G, Malin, let me come in and conduct observations, introducing me as an old student, which meant for most students, I could help with homework and in-class assignments. I spent a lot of my fieldwork and observation time explaining grammar to students. This particular SAS course had 12 different native languages among them. The majority of the class had Kurdish as a native language, and that was only 5 individuals. The other languages included Thai, Arabic, Turkish, English, Bengali, Russian, Persian, Albanian, Amharic, Oromo, and Portuguese. Learning Swedish provided the incredible option to converse with other individuals within their class, move beyond the linguistic bounds and perhaps seek out new friends.

In this class and during this particular day, the students and I were going through questions from a boring literature book that they were reading. I myself thought the book was boring when I took the class and Malin chuckled when she told me that they were reading the same book. She remembered that for the final exam in SAS G my book report was a scathing review of this novel. The students I sat with, a group of women from all different backgrounds, four of them coming from Thailand, two of them wearing hijabs and from Iraq, also thought the book was boring based off the way they spoke about it. They wasted no time speeding through the questions as fast as possible to reward themselves with the best part of the class, a conversation with your classmates which can break up the monotony of a 3 hour lesson.

The conversations among this group of women were fascinating. They talked about everything from comparing childhoods from across the world to raising children. It all started with a discussion of corporeal punishment—“sometimes kids need to be hit” one of the women from Iraq said with a nod and a knowing smile. I tried to say that this is illegal in Sweden and even our teacher was noticeably uncomfortable –unsure how to address this issue. She tried to explain how this was not acceptable in Sweden, but when somebody had grown children there was no time for conversion. Both the Thai women and the Iraqi women had similar experiences of being hit as children and would never categorize that as abuse in their childhoods and saw it as a necessary part of raising children. The conversation shows an important part of learning about Swedish culture, where the teacher and other students come in. I immediately intervened and stated what I knew about the laws in Sweden and Malin, the instructor, had overheard the conversation and tried to also explain how that is completely looked down upon in Sweden. The Iraqi woman in the lilac hijab shook her head, and made a look like she knew better. *These silly Swedes* her expression said.
The same Iraqi woman in lilac had a clear makeup-less face that appeared both youthful and matronly. She placed a hand on my knee as the conversation turned towards alcohol and parties, and asked if I drank alcohol or got drunk. It was phrased as a rhetorical question, “you don’t get drink alcohol or get drunk do you?” I found my face heat up and trying to muster out a white lie, telling the woman that I only drank delicately and not in that fashion. She patted my knee saying that her husband smokes cigarettes and she absolutely hates that. This woman was quizzing me on my social life and how I acted, and brought up her family and her own opinions in order to essentially size me up and see if I had any shared traits with her. This was an essential process of creating social capital and creating social networks.

Her son on the other hand did not do any of that, he did not drink or smoke; he was a good boy. In line with the conversation of alcohol and partying, she then remarked that she does not want her son with a Swedish girl, because in her eyes Swedish women were too dirty and overtly sexual. There was absolutely no way her son would be with a Swede! In her effort to align herself, situate her positionality, she spoke freely of how she understood Swedishness and what specifically she did not understand or agree with. It was with this conversation that I could see that she was making her group membership very clear, which Bourdieu speaks about, and seeking recognition from other ‘non-Swedes,’ not like them. Her son was not like them, and as she patted my knee she asked me if I was not like them as well.

It is important to contextualize this type of ‘seeking out other members’ within what is required for group membership. Bourdieu(1997) states that “each member of the group is thus instituted as a custodian of the limits of the group: because the definition of the criteria of entry is at stake in each new entry, he can modify the group by modifying the limits of legitimate exchange through some form of misalliance” (pp.52). It is important that with every member of the group, every person you connect with in your social network fits into the guidelines that are projected onto the group, and over time as people enter your network with different perspectives, they begin to modify how the group identifies itself. In the end this woman is not just speaking to me, but speaking to a very diverse group of people and some of which actually have connections to ‘Swedes.’ This is also important because this woman is very social, she pats my knee, engages with those around her for the sake of building friendships and building up her social capital which has been lacking especially when settling in a new city, new country, with a new language. Understanding Swedishness and customs is a very important aspect of SAS and this sort of knowledge is usually fostered
through social capital. This woman lacks the Swedish social capital that would enable her to reach the goals that Skolverket projects and unfortunately, her lack of social capital is not accounted for within the structure of the course in order to aid her success.

A middle-aged woman from Thailand within the group replied to the woman’s claim that Swedish men do not like sex by explaining how her Swedish husband was a snuskgubbe, a dirty old man, who would flash her in his towel. The Iraqi woman wearing lilac was quick to question the sexuality of the snuskgubbe, she was shocked that he expressed that sort of sexuality. She said that Swedish men do not like sex at all! But in contrast the women wanted sex way too much. I found myself taking on the role of the Swedish-defender, using my knowledge to try and explain the confusion and their perceptions to them. I said that Swedish men love having sex, just go to any club on a Friday night! I also tried to say that in Sweden people are very equal, and sex is treated so as well—as something that women aren’t constantly propositioned for or catcalled into, it is more respectful and less sexist or stigmatized. The woman from Iraq shook her head at me. The wife of the snuskgubbe chimed in that her stepson is constantly telling her about his sex-life and the women he has slept with.

There is an important process of understanding Swedishness that is underway within classrooms and among immigrants. This conversation exemplifies the intersubjective sculpting of both the Swedish identity and where they situate themselves in juxtaposition. The woman from Iraq had perhaps observed a lack of catcalling and saw how sexuality was dealt with in Sweden and made a judgment regarding Swedish men and women in regards to their sexualities based off of her own opinion. The woman from Thailand who has a very different life and view on sex contradicted what this Iraqi woman had believed on two different accounts, her snuskgubbe husband and her stepson.

Swedish norms are seen as a necessary part of finding and holding employment, it is part of the cultural competence that is part of the makeup of cultural capital. Having knowledge of the Swedish culture and an appropriate use of language in order to properly express oneself is an important goal for SAS courses set by Skolverket (Skolverket n.d). We can observe in the above social transaction that within class, non-Swedes are shaping one another’s views of Swedishness and the perception of the norms. This understanding of the dominant culture may be completely blurred, misconceived, and distorted but it illuminates how students may not only see the dominant culture but see themselves in relation to it. The
way in which these immigrants situate themselves in relation to the dominant culture as either a part of their family like the Thai woman is with her husband the *snuskgubbe* and her step son or someone who would not consider a Swedish person as a proper partner for their own children shows a key part to how people see themselves within Sweden. In the end, by building these networks and using their Swedish language to explain their positionality within society, their own connections (the Thai woman with her Swedish family, the Iraqi woman who does not know Swedes personally) we can see how they have different sets of networks and social capital that are distributed asymmetrically among them. They are also partaking in the important process of gaining more social capital, to question one another’s social capital and belonging, and using their surroundings and themselves as context for this sociability. Social capital is an important aspect of SAS and an important determinant for success which should be accounted for. The accounts of these women also exhibits the many different forms of social capital that people may have, be it the social capital built by acquiring friends who are immigrants, or having connections to Swedes and having Swedish social capital and these different forms all affect the ability to succeed in SAS.

**The Difficulty of Building Social Capital in Sweden**

Loran from Albania who spoke English fluently and had lived in England previously, had some problems in Sweden. He did not have a higher education and he was in his mid-20’s. He also lacked some high school courses from Albania and the prospect of taking math, social sciences, and other high school level courses in Swedish seemed daunting and in his opinion unnecessary. He was frustrated with how long the process took, how long it would take him to gain all of these certifications and move forward with higher education in Sweden. He had experience working in restaurants and when I met him he had a job at a local bar, but when I ran into him a couple of months after I had finished my fieldwork in Uppsala in town, he immediately came up to me, remembering my name, and proceeded to tell me how he had lost his job. I at first asked him how he was doing “not good, I had to ask for some money from the government and that was not something I wanted to do.” It turns out that he had lost his job and without an income coming in, he was struggling to pay his rent. He and his Swedish girlfriend had moved out of the same apartment and were now living separately as well. He was looking forward to a job interview at the local IKEA. We grabbed something to drink and sat by the river that runs through the small city. It was a sunny day, and we hung our feet over the edge of the deck, hovering above the river. It was
then that he started telling me his views on Sweden and the culture here and primarily discussed what he disliked, what he was discontented and frustrated with in Sweden.

He turned to me and asked “do you ever feel like you’re outside here in Sweden?” I responded that I knew what he meant since most of my friends were foreigners, not Swedes, Swedes I said can be a little closed up. He said exactly! He went on to tell me how when he asked his Swedish girlfriend to invite over her work friends so they could have a party and he could meet some new people, have fun, she was quick to shut down the idea saying that “they weren’t friends in that way.” We went on to talk about other little quirks of Swedish culture that bugged us, in particular for myself, I told him, I didn’t understand how people never opened doors for elderly people or gave up their seats on the bus to those who need them more. Loran had his own example to share, telling me how at the lake in the south of Uppsala he saw a man injure his foot in the water and he kept calling out for help, saying that he had hurt himself, but only Loran came over and helped him out of the water.

He asked me why I was here in Sweden, a question I was used to getting: if you are from Los Angeles, why are you here?? I gave him my standard answer, that although I love California there are a lot of problems there right now: the difficulty finding a job, affordable housing, plus the drought and loss of resources. He nodded knowingly, saying that in England it was a lot more expensive to find housing and wages weren’t so great, that it was better here, but he missed the people, the way they acted, and he missed the friendliness.

Loran has a very specific view based off his experiences of Sweden. He compares it to his life in England and despite the fact he would later get that job at IKEA, using his Swedish that he speaks very well, he has a very negative point of view of the Swedish norms. He sees people not help a man in a lake when he is hurt and sees people who are uncaring. His own relationship, which was on the rocks, included his girlfriend not introducing him to her own work friends, which makes it hard for him to network, meet people, and live a social life. He was very interested in my own studies and very interested that I took an interest in him. His wide grin showed his eagerness to speak with someone, and we ended up talking for a couple of hours along the river after simply running into one another. He was lonely and did not have many people to connect with; he did not have a lot of social capital in Sweden. Loran was unenthusiastic to learn Swedish and complained often, declaring that it was pointless for him and a waste of time. This was all bottled up together and served as his views of Swedishness, and the reason he stayed? That included his access to free education,
higher wages, and lower rent. Loran expresses resentment to his current social situation in Sweden and his lack of social capital. Not only does Loran have a lack of economic capital and support, but his relationship was breaking apart and his girlfriend was the reason why he came to Sweden. This affected his education simply because he stopped studying and his resentment for what he saw as Swedish norms and lack of social capital bled into how he conducted himself within class. He constantly spoke English and commented often about how the requirements for education were irrelevant in his point of view.

FAMILY LIFE AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: ASYMMETRY BETWEEN CHILDREN AND PARENTS

While observing presentations within SAS 1 courses, I took detailed notes throughout them. Listening to class presentations are a perfect way to see how individuals not only take in the course material and internalize it but modify and create presentations regarding what they think can be applied to the course. Part of the National Test that all SAS 1 students had to take at Vux Linné in order to move onto the next level of SAS was an oral examination; the other parts included a written essay and a reading comprehension portion. Each student would conduct a presentation regarding the topic “Different Worlds.” It was an open topic with a lot of room for students to design and create presentations regarding topics they found interesting and important. The presentation allowed students to make comparisons and see similarities and differences between different cultures or perhaps present something they find important or interesting. The presentations ranged from the music production to topics of rural versus urban life. I found these presentations as the perfect opportunity for me to not only see what my peers found important but hopefully hear their opinions about Sweden.

A mid-30s—to early 40s man from Afghanistan had one of the most thought provoking 15 minute presentations I saw. His presentation centered not around what is happening around the world or in history, but what is happening in his neighborhood, Gottsunda, a suburb of Uppsala, regarding cars being burnt and vandalism. Within the presentation he said that people acted out with vandalism due to the fact that some people don’t know how to “handle freedom”, a freedom that is in Sweden that stems from a change in power within the family through the different institutions that are in place in Sweden. The freedom happens when encountering a new culture and new norms. According to this man, in Sweden the children gain the power within the family due to their ability to learn Swedish fast and become interpreters for parents. He began by bringing up the images of burning cars, stones being thrown at buses and at bus stops. In this way, the children are forced to become the interpreter for the aspects of the life that previously had been reserved for the parents like
reading bills, dealing with the tax office, going to the doctor’s office. Parents must rely on translators or their children. He called this phenomenon of moving to Sweden as having a sort of liberation, a freedom he called it. This sort of freedom that is given to children can make them act out and do things that are sometimes labeled as gang-related through destroying public property. This negative side of freedom, as he said, was forcing the family dynamic to change and families to break up after immigrating. He explained how the children were taking the power of the family, because the parents had difficulty learning Swedish. This capital the children had, they could use to their advantage. The teenagers become the translators, and with that power that they have they can control whether or not they will use the knowledge they have, whether or not they will read that letter that came from the Migration Board or perhaps the doctor’s office. This is coupled with the fact that they get involved with some bad kids. Parents have trouble “controlling” the power within the family structure (kontrollera makten). Parents try and learn the language as fast as they can, to have this power back. He went on further to say that the government, politicians, and especially the anti-immigration party Swedish Democrats should be looking at these family dynamics. To this man, this was a political issue. It does not just affect the bus stops or the families who have teenagers who go out in gangs, but there something wrong where people are overwhelmed by coming to Sweden and as a result, bad things are happening.

As he expressed it, parents were losing their social capital especially the capital that gave them a role of power within the family. As Bourdieu (1997) states, “every group has its more or less institutionalized forms of delegation which enable it to concentrate the totality of the social capital, which is the basis of the existence of the group (family or a nation, of course, but also an an association or a party), in the hands of a single agent or a small group of agents to mandate this plenipotentiary” (pp. 53). In this case the parents are supposed to have the delegation of this social capital, the ability to take control of it and with “collectively owned capital, to exercise power incommensurate with the agent’s personal contribution” (ibid, pp.53). The children begin to gain more social capital than the parents through their ability to utilize their new cultural capital in the form of the Swedish language in order to change the power distribution of the family, this ability to control the collectively owned capital changes. The family, and more specifically the parents, experiences a shift in power, an asymmetry in power and a mini contradiction in itself. These parents have a disproportionate amount of social capital and ultimately this affects their lives when they go
to school and their lives when interacting with other people and it also affects their ability to perform well in class.

The process of children acting as translators for parents is called language brokering, sometimes referred to as cultural brokering. It is a very prominent subject of study within social sciences, including anthropology. Researchers focus on the processes of language brokering and how it affects development of children and family dynamics. It may also affect the psychological well-being of children and also is an integral part of both the social and economic prosperity of the family (Wu & Kim 2011: 1542). When a child is engaged in language brokering, it can affect family dynamics by “threaten the traditional power relationship between parents and their children” (ibid, pp. 1545). After class I was able to ask him more questions about his presentation and he elaborated even more. He said that this sort of gang-related activity in Gottsunda with cars burning and glass being broken around bus stops was a symptom of a power struggle within the family. During his elaboration it became clear that the parents in this scenario are lacking in the different forms of capital and their children have the sort of power that the parents no longer have access to. He believed that certain individuals went from a country or culture that had very limited rights and moved to a free place like Sweden would not know how to handle this freedom, and subsequently this would lead to hooliganism.

This man had lived in 10 different countries and had a lot of different experiences as an immigrant in all of these countries. He said that he wished he had come to Sweden when he was young, the amount of opportunities he would have had would have helped him lead a better life. He would have become a doctor instead of working at a kiosk. For this man, the way he saw himself in Swedish society and in Sweden is dependent on the different circumstances that affected his life, rather than the intelligence or potential he has to do “bigger” things in life. He sees himself being a doctor if he had a different life, if he had a life that allowed him the privilege to come young and begin the immigrant-process sooner. He references how if things were different, he would have access to greater cultural capital which would have changed his life.

This presentation made me begin thinking about the linguistic and social powers that come with learning Swedish faster, while having the confidence and the daring-ness to actually speak the language and be incredibly outgoing with it. It is a lot of work, daunting, and stressful to say the least. When operating under a second language, it is embarrassing,
stressful and difficult to be one’s own advocate in a new city and a new country. When I briefly spoke with one of the instructors, Malin, I asked her about the idea of linguistic and social power in this way, how one student said it could lead to this kind of hooliganism that the presentation described. She told me that she thought it was not good when children had this sort of power in the family, disrupting the traditional power relations. Feeling powerless due to not being able to adequately speak the language or have a job creates discontent, she told me; people want to go home because they begin to see it as better, simpler. This discontent in one’s position in Sweden and the lack of social capital and other forms of capital can create resentment among immigrants. She told me how she encourages students to become their own advocates and take control of their children’s educations by going to parent-teacher meetings and interact with Swedes and other parents. But the embarrassment and shame of their language discourages them from even taking this step. Parents have the opportunity to build their social capital and in turn the capital that they can employ within the family exhibiting power by perhaps joining in with other parents at parent-teacher meetings, but their lack of confidence within their ability to speak Swedish prevents them from making this step. It is ironic and contradictory when I see the same parents that Malin talks about within her class chatting in Swedish and participating in class, but the school and the classroom presents an environment where people have the confidence because they are among other individuals with the same lack of social capital as them, the same lack of cultural capital within Swedish society. Unfortunately the determinants of success within SAS and in Sweden are not being properly developed within the curriculum and as much as Malin encourages students to go forward, she still sees resentment and frustration among her students.

LANGUAGE: AN IMPORTANT DETERMINANT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Due to the fact that SAS, first and foremost, is a language course, it is important to touch upon the linguistic aspects of the course and how they relate to social capital and family dynamics especially in light of language brokering and children losing the ability to speak their parents’ native languages. Feeling embarrassed or incompetent when speaking Swedish or while handling matters of the home like dealing with a doctor, the tax office, the employment agency, and other institutions is very much linked to the linguistic relation to one’s children. Social capital is social in nature and using language and speaking is a part of that. As the man in the presentation highlighted, immigrants must now rely upon their children who can speak the language better to handle these “adult” matters. For a lot of them
it begins by telling me that their children, who do speak Swedish fluently, tell them that they cannot speak the language whatsoever. As Mariana from Colombia began to gain more confidence in her Swedish her daughter would stop her from speaking when other parents would approach Mariana by exclaiming that her mother did not speak any Swedish at all. The judgment from her daughter was humiliating and shocked her into not wanting to speak, and also the embarrassment of having to convince those around her that she in fact can speak Swedish. Students talked often how their children tell them they are terrible at Swedish, and this in turn affects their education.

The immigrant parents that I met and studied with spoke many times about how their children spoke Swedish and how well they spoke. One woman who was older and around 60 mentioned that not her children, but her grandchildren were the acting tolk or interpreter in Swedish for two generations, the children’s parents and grandparents. When parents and children are effectively placed on the same level with a singular goal: to learn the Swedish language and gain a functional way to communicate within Swedish society as related to the goals presented for SAS, there can be problems when the children begin to learn the language faster, gaining more cultural capital, and employ that ability to gain more social capital within Swedish society. This relates back to how parents may as a result lose their ability to utilize their social capital to solidify and hold power within their own families which can affect how they connect with other people and how they view the language and the course itself. As a result their positionality and social inequalities both within the family and in Swedish society can be legitimated and through education and the different credentials that students have, this affects their status quo in society (Sullivan 2001: 894).

In this struggle to gain capital within Sweden, there is a struggle with maintaining the capital that was once useful outside of Sweden, back home. Sanem, the young mother from Afghanistan, had told me that it was difficult for her and others to hold onto their culture, to preserve their cultural identities when there are not so many others who share the same background. She complained that even when children could speak Dari, which is mutually intelligible to Persian, or Persian they choose to speak Swedish instead with each other because they believe it is easier and simpler. Jaleesa from Iran told me that she found it hard to maintain the cultural linguistic link at home when her 13 year old daughter, who speaks perfect Swedish, is beginning to lose a lot of her native language, Persian. Her daughter has begun to speak only Swedish with her Persian-speaking friends at school and she only receives a minimal bare minimum of native language courses per week. Children lose their
native language on one hand and on the other gain the ability to speak Swedish much faster than their parents. Children are beginning to use that language ability to act as translators for their parents and although there is the option of spending time speaking Swedish at home with one’s children to improve Swedish, there is the dilemma of perhaps one’s children losing their ability to speak their native language, modersmål. As the children begin to use Swedish more and more often, utilizing their cultural capital as well as using Swedish within their own social networks as a primary language and way of acting, they in fact contribute to the asymmetry because they are part of the changing of the conditions necessary for gaining social capital. As they begin to use Swedish with their friends who speak the same native languages as them like Dari or Persian, then, they change the conditions of social capital, they are showing how Swedish is a way to connect to people and as a parent that can be disconcerting when they themselves do not have such a handle on the Swedish language. As a result, coming to school and learning the language can be seen as a losing battle, despite their ability to speak and hold meaningful and deep conversations with me.

Jae from the Phillipines with her Swedish husband also has issues keeping the languages straight at home. Her first daughter from a previous relationship picked up Swedish immediately upon moving to Sweden and even corrects Jae on her Swedish which makes her feel self-conscious about learning Swedish. Due to the fact that her daughters speak Swedish so well and her husband speaks Swedish to them, Jae feels that they are losing their ability to reply in her language Tagalong. Connection to one’s native language is also seen as a connection to one’s culture and home. When Jae’s children begin to lose their language ability it Tagalong, it marks the loss of a companion to speak with and share that culture and language. The native language one has is a direct connection to the background of the parent, to their personal history.

Sabina from Iran had moved to Sweden four years before with her husband and child. He came as a Master’s student at the university and continued on as a doctorate student. We talked about language and how her husband who spoke English was now learning Swedish. She struggles with learning Swedish and trying to maintain the English she does have. We spoke in Swedish and throughout our conversation, another classmate overheard us, came over offered me her coffee from her thermos and she was tense and anxious for her grades in this class. I tried to do my best to reassure her, telling her that she will pass and that her teacher will help her if she didn’t. She remarked on my ability to speak English and how that made Swedish much easier for me. My ability to speak the English language contributed to
the capital necessary for succeeding within SAS. Persian on the other hand was completely on the other spectrum with word order and script. Sabina told me how her child is perfect at Swedish and even does her best to explain the language to her mother. She told this story of how her daughter became exasperated and finally explained the difference of *stor, större, störst* (big, bigger, biggest), with hand movements to show her mother what the difference between the three words were. She still speaks Persian with her daughter at home, but says that her daughter only speaks Swedish with her friends even those who can speak Persian, and the children listen to the Persian but don’t use the language.

**Lack of Social Capital and How It Shapes the World Around You**

Mariana from Colombia has moved around a lot, from Colombia to Argentina to Sweden. But in this new country, where the language is new and strange, she is skeptical of how Swedish people treat her and what they think of her. I find her Swedish easy to understand and she is able to pull off humor and tell stories in Swedish, which can be very difficult as a non-native speaker. But like all of us learning Swedish, there is a certain amount of nodding and smiling despite not understanding what is being said. Moving to Sweden has been really hard for Mariana who said to me that she is normally outgoing and lively with lots of friends but here in Sweden her life can be depressing and boring. Where her social capital was large back in a Spanish-speaking country, with her ability to be outgoing and confident, her ability to be social here is severely limited and lacking. The people she does meet only speaks to her in Spanish and knows her through her husband who is Swedish. Her husband grew up in Sweden but is part Chilean and speaks roughly 8 or 9 languages and is the primary breadwinner. She often speaks about him and his abilities before describing her lacking in abilities. For Mariana, her lack of confidence in her ability to speak Swedish plus her ability to articulate herself has affected her social capital in Sweden. In this way, we can see how language plays an integral part of social capital building. Within SAS, which is a language course, students do build social capital within the social setting of the school. Social capital also plays a very important role in the success of the course and it is an important determinant that is asymmetrically distributed among students. Where some students like Samir from Palestine, can be aloof and sociable in Swedish and have jobs and friends, are placed in the same class as Mariana, the differences and the social capital that certain individuals lack become very prominent.

Mariana has two children, the oldest is 7 years old, and translates a lot for her mother, and steps in as an interpreter even if her mother does not need it. As she would take her kids
to the park, she initially felt embarrassed and noticed that all the parents would leave when she went to the park. As she put it and in her perspective, the parents were making a point to purposely leave the park when they saw her. This sort of perspective and memory is most affected by her feelings and struggles within Sweden with finding a job, learning the language, and navigating the education system, but it shows the effect of seeing a Swedish person and analyzing their movements, finding purpose within it. Mariana sees herself being actively secluded. She says that now she is does not care about their actions when she goes to the park, and now it seems that she has begun to speak with the Swedish parents. In speaking Swedish and interacting with people to build social capital, Mariana is nervous and feels ostracized and this has created resentment that has shaped the way she views the park and speaking in front of her children. Social capital and other forms of capital function in this multilayered fashion, with different types of social capital affecting the lives of students and subsequently their studies.

**Opportunities: and how this relates to judgements and stereotypes**

Through speaking with one another and sharing different aspects and differences in backgrounds and customs, a lot of stereotypes and judgements occur. This happens when people begin to compare and try and categorize other individuals especially with themselves. While one lunch with my classmates, I learned more about the different stereotypes that circulated regarding women and Swedish husbands. This group of women, all mothers and all married to Swedish citizens, some ethnic Swedes and others naturalized or second generation Swedes, were creating judgments by making assessments on each other’s backgrounds. Nairi was one of my SAS 1 classmates from Thailand; she is mid 40’s and has two daughters from a previous relationship. She met a Swedish man online and she moved here with her two daughters for a fresh start after her last relationship ended in Thailand. Her first daughter actually joined us for our lunch meeting; she was around 20 years old. As we sat down other classmates began to join us from SAS 1 including Jae from the Philippines and Sanem from Afghanistan. I had met with Jae a couple of times previously; she was incredibly friendly and nice, spoke a mix of Swe-english and switched constantly back and forth between the two languages. She had also met her Swedish husband online and had one child from a previous relationship. After she moved to Sweden her and her husband had another baby. Sanem was a young woman from Afghanistan, she was talkative and opinionated but also nervous and skeptical of not only me but questions in general. Once she was in a group she was open and spoke freely. She is in her mid-20’s and met her husband in
Afghanistan. He was a naturalized citizen who had lived in Sweden for 13 years. They met in Afghanistan and went to Pakistan together to get married. After 20 days they went to the Swedish embassy and applied for her residence permit.

While I was asking Nairi about her immigration experience, Sanem was quick to chime in her opinion. She said that she knew many women from Thailand and other South East Asian countries that moved to Sweden with their children from a previous relationship and then had a baby in Sweden with their new Swedish husbands. But Nairi who was mid-40s, was ‘too old for that,’ Sanem quipped. Jae was quick to reply, “oh like me!” Sanem began to ask Nairi the questions, questions I would normally never be so direct with like age or who the father of her children was. Yet this worked in my favor and I learned more about Nairi’s family and her two daughters.

Sanem rarely sat, she mostly stood, and she wore tight bright colored clothing. Her hair was long and dyed and she wore a lot of eye makeup. She loved leopard and other animal prints and looked very young. Her story of her immigration was permeated with her frustration for the Swedish migration system. She was quick to point out that the Swedish system was discriminating against her in her opinion, due to the fact that she must wait 8 years to naturalize as a citizen in comparison to the 3 years that many others with the same residence permit (for those who are married or sambo with a Swedish citizen). When she was pregnant, she told us, she could not have her mother come and stay with her through her birth in Sweden, but she had a friend whose mother from Iran was able to come for the first three months of her baby’s life. She began to rant saying how she hated how people, immigrants, were separated into different categories. “I am the same as you, I came here and live like an immigrant, like everyone who applies for asylum or some other permit, but they treat me different from the others because I come from Afghanistan! When I am better at Swedish, I am going to write an editorial or some article about this!” She labeled her experience as discrimination and her feelings completely charged not only the conversation but how she views other immigrants. Sanem expressed her resentment of her own asymmetrical distribution of capital in comparison to those around her. A part of how Sanem constructed her reality was through this perception of the injustices committed against her as an immigrant (Fassin 2013: 257).

Despite claiming that all immigrants should be categorized and treated the same, Sanem was quick to not only label Nairi and Jae as internet-wives who bring their children to
Sweden but quick to contrast herself and her birth story to her classmates. Her strong opinion affects those around them, making Jae think about her own positionality with her “like me!” chiming in after Sanem’s assessment of them. So for someone who wants everyone to be treated equally regardless of residence status or background, she was part of recreating and building stereotypes that separate them.

It is in this social sphere where differences, and most importantly the asymmetry of capital that is distributed among classmates who are placed within the same class are expressed and exposed. This is something that is experienced and when students line themselves up among their classmates and see how different they are, usually in the effort to gain more capital, social capital, they see how truly contradictory it is. Because in the end they are all different, all treated differently, and all taking one course that has one big promise of success. When looking at the social capital of the students within SAS it is important to acknowledge how the success within the classroom is not limited to the classroom. Education in fact serves as a way to solidify these inequalities that are affected through the legitimizing power it has to give some people cultural capital to be used in society to climb the social ladder and the power it has to maintain the status quo. Social capital feeds into cultural capital and it is stated that it is dependent on “both the networks and cultural capital manifested in skills and dispositions that confer social advantage to individuals” (Fanning et al 2011: 4). It all feeds into itself and as a system and as a structure, it is simply ineffective and in fact promotes social inequality. It is in this social capital that the contradiction of the structure of education and the implication of domination in order to legitimize the status quo is exposed (Bourdieu 1977: 184). Within the “social universes in which relations of domination are made, unmade, and remade in and by the interactions between persons and on the other hand social formations in which, mediated by objective, institutionalized mechanisms such as those producing and guaranteeing the distribution of “titles”….relations of domination have the opacity and permanence of things and escape the grasp of individual consciousness and power” (ibid, pp.184). Within the social universe of the school, we can see how people not only the unequal distribution of social capital among their peers, but how it contributes to the institutionalized mechanism of the education system and how it aids in the distributing of “titles,” in this case certificates or good grades, success within the course. While those who are experiencing this feel resentment, irritation, or stereotyping and judging, there is a process happening in which their lower social status is being solidified and legitimised. Unless these different factors are exposed and the education structure is mapped
around those, students will continue to experience these differences and inequality within the classroom, which they internalize and which serves as a determinant for their success.
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

The objective of this thesis was to explore the experiences of adult immigrant students of SAS in Uppsala, which is part of a social policy of integration as seen through SAS’s goals and curriculum. Within this anthropological research, this thesis examined the determinants for successful academic performance: social, economic, and cultural capital. By examining the determinants for success despite the one-size-fits-all course structure, we can see what is really affecting students’ performances within SAS and how that reflects upon the effectiveness of the SAS course as it functions as a social policy for integration. Skolverket proposes a course that has goals for students to "develop skills and knowledge of the Swedish language" as well as giving students the opportunity to "reflect over their own multilingual abilities and conditions to conquer/seize and develop a functional and rich other/second language in the Swedish society" (Skolverket, n.d., translated by C. McEvoy). This discourse for integration is utilized within a course that places a highly diverse group of individuals within a single course in spite of their different backgrounds, education, language abilities, and ages. Examining this course has allowed me to present the experiences that immigrants have and the different factors that affect not just their schooling but their lives in Sweden. This led me to my research question: How do students experience and mediate the contradiction between the one-size-fits-all course and the asymmetrical distribution of the respective forms of capital that determine their academic performance?

Taking Bourdieu’s theoretical framework of the different forms of capital and building upon contemporary research both within anthropology of education and within migration studies as a point of departure, the different determinants of success for immigrant students of SAS were laid out: cultural, social, and economic capital. SAS as a course is a form of cultural capital that students aim to acquire, and the determinants affect reaching those goals. Bourdieu mainly accounts for cultural capital as a foundation for students’ success within education, and by supplementing that posit with an exploration of the distribution of not only cultural capital, but social and economic capital, it was highlighted how the distribution of the different forms of capital affected academic performance. In order to mediate this contradiction in the course and the asymmetrical distribution of capital that affects their lives some students begin to express primarily resentment and in one particular case, ressentiment.

After introducing the theoretical framework, the concept of capital and its operationalization was introduced, in spite of the vague boundaries set by Bourdieu.
Following how social scientists within the field of education use Bourdieu’s concepts to look at education (Sullivan 2001, Sullivan 2002, Zimdars et al 2009) this led the analysis to focus on different forms of capital (cultural, social, and economic) and how these three main determinants were unequally distributed among students within SAS. These determinants, in turn, are not accounted for within the curriculum and students therefore would struggle. Following the description of methods used within the field was a brief account of the historical factors within Sweden that affect the treatment of immigrants; this included a look at Swedish individualism.

Following the background chapter, this thesis moved on to the ethnographic side of the study and began with an introduction of the contradiction. The observations and conversations I had with students highlighted an important fact: that there was something that wasn’t working within the course. This was not due to the students or their ability or the teachers’ ability, but due to the social structure of education that was projecting an unattainable model that did not resonate positively with students who were struggling. The temporal factors of education and how students continue to come back to school (see Appendix B) highlights a clear discrepancy between time spent in Sweden and time spent in school. The discrepancy is not only among individual students who may have lived in Sweden for a decade but still studied lower-level courses, but the asymmetrical distribution of capital among students within the classroom.

The next ethnographic chapter examined the asymmetrical distribution of cultural capital among students, and this was both potential cultural capital with the hopeful success within the course and foundational cultural capital through perhaps the ability to speak English or higher education. In this chapter I also presented an interesting observation where students, without a teacher present in the classroom, began to show off their grades in an almost juvenile fashion despite the ages within the classroom being upwards to almost 60 years old. People felt the need to explore and also present their differences, their achievements and failures were being shared, discussed, and examined within the classrooms. Students pointed out constantly why certain students were more successful than others, accounting for their own dissatisfaction and struggles. This kind of foundational cultural capital is only one part of the determinants that enable certain students to be successful within the course. The lacking of this capital is unaccounted for in the structure of the course and therefore is part of the contradiction.

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The succeeding chapter presented asymmetry of economic capital among students. The school itself lacks the economic capital to even accommodate the students and their diverse backgrounds, and that in itself also forces the school to create a generic one-size-fits-all execution of the model for SAS which affects students and their lives. Students struggle to choose between the desire to gain a better job with a higher social status in Sweden, which will be presumably enabled through the success in SAS, and the need for an immediate paycheck. Not only are students struggling with the availability of financial aid as a source of income, which is not universal, but the dynamics at home depending which spouse is the breadwinner. For young immigrant mothers who have spouses who have well-earning jobs and are Swedish, their education and their future attainment of economic capital are tabled in order to facilitate the paycheck that the breadwinner spouse would receive by taking the majority of the paternal leave. Some students, despite relevant job experience, are labeled as unqualified for certain jobs due to their struggles within the Swedish education system and are boxed into lower-status positions like becoming a nurse’s assistant, undersköterska, or any other job that has a steady, but probably lower, paycheck. This lack of economic capital is directly affecting their attainment of cultural capital in the form of success within SAS. Unlike adolescent students, adult students must pay bills and provide for their home, and therefore economic capital is an important determinant and element of success for adult immigrant students.

The final ethnographic chapter regarding social capital by far had the largest amount of data due to how important social capital really is for the attainment of cultural capital in the form of success in SAS. The classroom, being a highly social setting, presents the environment for students to not only compare themselves to one another, but also build up social capital by making friends that make one feel welcome, happy, and settled. Social capital is not categorized as the social network at school, but is affected by the home life. As children and families begin practicing language brokering, where the child uses their ability to speak Swedish and translate for their parents, there is a shift in power as accounted for by one of the students in SAS 1. Their ability to speak Swedish and exercise this linguistic power through their knowledge of both the Swedish language and culture is coinciding with the experience of losing their home language, their modersmål. When adults have these struggles at home, they bring that sort of experience with them to the classroom. When parents are struggling to hold on to their native languages at home, they spend a lot of their study time teaching their children their language rather than practicing their Swedish. When
students struggle to make friends and have social capital in the form of a social network made up by civic society, this has a great affect on their education and therefore should be accounted for as a determinant of success within the curriculum.

There is a contradiction between the one-size-fits-all curriculum and class structure and the real determinants of success which are asymmetrically distributed among students. Through the accounts of students within my ethnographic material, we can see how students constantly interact with this unequal distribution and comment upon it. It affects their education, and these determinants are not being properly accounted for within the model of education that executes a one-size-fits-all model with high goals like integration. It is contradictory that the curriculum and goals stated by Skolverket can and will be reached by students, especially within a classroom of individuals with such variance the forms of capital. And in their differences, or different distributions of capital, we can see the asymmetry, which gives students more or less capital than others despite all being placed at the same level. Students mediate and understand the contradiction of the one-size-fits-all curriculum and the asymmetrical distribution of the forms of capital that enable success through the expression of primarily resentment, and occasionally ressentiment. Students exhibit more forms of resentment rather than ressentiment, but both are expressed within the confines of the school in response to the contradiction of the unequal distribution of capital among peers. Where Mariana expresses clear forms of frustration and anger in her resentment, Jaleesa changes career paths and education due to the discontent she has in studying SAS. Suhaan expresses his deep ressentiment to me as an American within this diverse setting. Overall students are discontent with the prospects of their future and in creating stereotypes, judgments, and self-deprecation and we can see the different expressions of resentment and ressentiment as the result of the mediation and understanding of the contradiction.

There is a problem. If social, cultural, and economic capital are determinants for success and the current SAS structure does not account for this, then the class would be better modelled upon a structure to aid students build these forms of capital in Sweden. That may in fact lead to the success and reach the primary goal of integration. These determinants and the distribution of the forms of capital affect the academic performance of students and as a result students primarily become discontented and frustrated with their current situation, feeling resentful. By not accounting for or structuring the course around the determinants of success, this structure is hindering students’ integration within Sweden. The structure, especially with the one-size-fits-all classes and predetermined grading scales set by
Skolverket, can account for the difficulties of integration among students. Those who are, by all accounts, integrated like Samir, are trapped within the system of education and the certificate it can provide to legitimization. The key towards integration through education is creating a curriculum that is based upon the determinants of success and aiding students in a more individualized manner rather than a one-size-fits-all course that promotes a *cult of certificates* over the skills of the students. This is not a new account by any means, around the world there are discrepancies between the structures of education reflecting the lives of the students. Having generic or appropriated versions of curriculums can create problems and render as Bourdieu states ‘pedagogic transmission’ inefficient (Sullivan 2002:145), especially when it does not reflect the lives of the students taking the course. This is hypocritical of what is ideologically presented within education as a means for raising one’s social status with the reality of struggling students. This is very relevant when education is presented as a means for integration and when students are struggling within the course. Accounting for appropriated or generic versions of curriculum and the effects that they have is an important part of researching education within social sciences, particularly anthropology of education. Exploring contradictions and problems has led to positive changes within education around the world and is a necessary process in the evolution of education. Education is an important structure with a huge potential to help individuals; by creating awareness of certain determinants or factors that are affecting the model of education, we can use that information in order to reform education.

Coming into Sweden as a foreigner, I see Sweden as progressive and having the potential as a society and as a country to create a model of education that is successful for immigrants and help them ‘integrate.’ When I immigrated to Sweden, I was surprised and honored to receive *free* language courses; this was unheard of in my own home, the United States. As immigration and the number of asylum seekers grow in light of current conflicts and wars, education will play an important role for immigrants and this course in particular will play a very important role. Hopefully the analysis of the unequal distribution of capital among students can be used to create a model of education that can help students be successful, and enable the integration of immigrants with the use of education. These changes within the structure of education and how an individual’s background is evaluated and valued in Sweden will hopefully include the breakdown of the privilege of English. English is not the national language, and needs to not be treated as a requirement for all university programs as well as within the workplace. Civic society and the growth of
community life can also increase students’ social capital as well as cultural capital, as a place where they can speak Swedish with other individuals. When it comes to economic capital, there needs to be a greater tie to the employment agency and jobs. Adult students cannot be treated the same as adolescent students or young adults, and employment and economic capital is incredibly important to the success of students and their integration. Diversification of courses as well as integration of education within communal life and work life can greatly improve the happiness of students and breakdown the feelings of resentment and ressentiment that they exhibit. Breaking down these feelings of resentment will potentially stop or end the future manifestations of ressentiment that second or third generation immigrants may feel due to their positionality within society as a result of treatment of immigrants and the brewing resentment that many feel currently.
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APPENDIX

A. SURVEY QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH

This is how my first survey that I handed out during my fieldwork looked like, with an English translation. I handed out the survey in two SAS G courses and two SAS 1 courses. The SAS G course consists of two semesters whereas SAS 1 is simply one semester. After my fieldwork had ended, I did return to the field to conduct a second survey in the second semester of SAS G. That one was structured a little differently but received a lot of the same data.

Age: 20-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-60 ☐ 61+ ☐ Sex: Woman ☐ Man ☐

Native Language:_______________ Which language do you speak at home?________________________

What country are you from?:_________________ What country are you from?:_________________

Do you have children and can they speak Swedish?____________________________

How many languages can you speak and which ones?_________________________

How long have you lived in Sweden?:__________________ How long have you lived in Sweden?:_______________

How many years have you studied Swedish in school:_________________________

What are you studying to be and how many more years left do you have?_______________

If you want to write anything extra, please do it on the back side! Thank you!

Note: I hardly got any replies on the back. This is a limited selection due to the fact that I conducted the survey only one day and some students were missing from class. I used the same survey in the four classes I observed which included the two SAS 1 courses and two SAS G courses. The survey filled the main purpose of filling in the blanks of who the students were and where they were from. I did not have the opportunity to speak to every single person and find out where they were from or how old they were. This allowed me to access that information and also show how diverse these classes are. I knew they were diverse by just looking at them, but having the data in my hands allowed me to really see how mixed they were. Figures 1,2,3 in Appendix B show some of the results of the surveys that give some basic information regarding the genders, ages, and years living in Sweden within the four different classes. It is obvious through the information presented how the number of students sharply decline from the SAS G courses to the SAS 1 courses. SAS 1 Morning Class had a special case of a Swedish student who had mistakenly been placed within the course and subsequently stayed in the course even after the teachers told him that the course would not count towards anything. He had been living in Sweden for 23 years and categorized his native country as Chile. I am unsure if he listed Chile because it was part of his heritage and his parents were from Chile or he was in fact born in Chile and then moved to Sweden.
B. SURVEY RESULTS

Figure 1: Gender

Figure 2: Age

Figure 3: Years in Sweden

Figure 4: Years studying Swedish

Figure 5: Gender: SAS G Follow up survey in their second semester

Figure 6: Age: SAS G Follow up survey in their second semester

Figure 7: Years in Sweden: SAS G Follow up survey in their second semester

Figure 8: Years studying Swedish: SAS G Follow up survey in their second semester

Note: For Figures 5-8 some of the variables do not match the variables in the previous figures but that is mainly because I am dealing with a smaller sample size and I structured the survey to be a little more readable and easier to understand. Figure 4 does not log one student because he was an outlier in the course. It was a student who had mistakenly enrolled in SAS 1 despite growing up in Sweden and speaking Swedish as a native language. Despite the error, he stayed in the course.

**Figure 1: Gender**
**Figure 2: Age**

**Figure 3: Years in Sweden**
Figure 4: Years studying Swedish

Figure 5: Gender: SAS G follow up survey second in their second semester
**Figure 6: Age: SAS G Follow Up Survey in Their Second Semester**
Figure 7: Years in Sweden: SAS G Follow up survey in their second semester

Figure 8: Years studying Swedish: SAS G Follow up survey in their second semester
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