

Building a Human Rights Culture
South African and
Swedish Perspectives

Karin Sporre &
H Russel Botman [eds.]

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Building a Human Rights Culture
South African and Swedish Perspectives

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OTHERING FROM WITHIN – SOMETIMES OTHER, SOMETIMES NOT ON BEING A YOUNG TURK IN SWEDEN

BY JUDITH NARROWE

In recent decades, the phenomenon of ‘othering’ has become a topic of constant concern in social scientific discourse. Beginning perhaps with Edward Said’s now classic study, *Orientalism* (1978), where Said suggests that Western social scientists and others have in fact created or constructed various ‘others’ in the Middle East and the Orient, much attention has been paid to describing the process by which ‘others’ (always opposite to the necessary ‘us’) are constructed, identified and/or defined in a variety of social contexts. Some of the ‘others’ readily identified are those defined by gender, age, sexual preference, socio-economic and geographic location (“the third world”), indigenous groups in a variety of places, and, most specifically for the purposes of this paper, immigrants in today’s Europe. ‘Othering’ in the general discourse is portrayed as the sometimes conscious tactic of the power holders to keep or make the powerless powerless, and is often seen as undemocratic, imperialist and quite wrong.

Othering from without and from within

My interest in this paper differs from the general discourse on othering. I am concerned specifically with the position of ethnic groups in the larger societies in which they live and the particularities of what I perceive as the ethnic dynamic – the need to stay *separate*, on the one hand, and the need to *share* traditions and experiences with the general population, on the other. The shape of the dynamic is no doubt affected by at least two factors: first, the background and/or agenda of the ethnic group and the kinds of processes occurring within the group which work to maintain the ethnic self;¹ and, second, the details

1 Fredrik Barth first identified the concept of *ethnic boundary* in his now-classic work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). I and those of us who view ethnic behavior as an aspect of interaction with identifiable others and try to identify the types of difference-maintaining boundaries raised in that context are indebted to him.

and perhaps ideology of national public policies with regard to the rights and obligations of ethnic groups.²

In this paper, I will explore this ethnic dynamic in one particular arena – that of immigrant children who attend a public school in urban Sweden. My particular focus is a language program which offers linguistic minority and immigrant children instruction in their mother tongue. This Swedish program is related to the fact that in 1962, the government of Sweden signed UNESCO's Convention against Discrimination in Education. The convention clearly recognized the rights of ethnic minority children to maintain and strengthen their language and cultural identity within the context of the larger society in which they live. In other words, it both defines the rights of the children to a separate identity if they so desire, and at the same time includes their rights to participate in the larger society as fully legitimate members. Previous policies in Sweden focused on only on the rights of minority populations to join the majority. We thus see here the beginning of a new society in Sweden – one in which human rights extended to the right to be culturally and ethnically different while at the same time, retaining membership in the majority society.

In order to set the scene, I will briefly review the Swedish immigrant policy of 1974 and the research I conducted in the early 1980's in one elementary school in greater Stockholm (Narrowe 1998). My concern was quite simply how the home language program was understood and implemented on the local level by a number of immigrant children and teachers from Turkey. I returned to the field fourteen years later and explored the views of some of the young adults who participated in the Home Language program as children. The study concluded with the young people's comments on their lives as Turks in Sweden.

Dealing with immigrants in Sweden: Policies and Programs

The UNESCO convention became especially relevant in Sweden in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s when – for the first time – large numbers of non-Nordic immigrants were admitted to the country. The situation prompted the articulation of a new nation-wide immigrant policy and led to the subsequent implementation of many immigrant-oriented programs. Thus, in 1974, on the

2 Charles Taylor (1994) has identified two types of public policies with regard to the recognition of difference. Either governments focus on the general rights of all citizens and ignore ethnic and other differences, or governments recognize ethnic and other differences and actively support and perhaps encourage groups to maintain ethnic difference. Since 1974, the Swedish government has followed the second type of policy.

basis of a series of fact-finding studies which it had commissioned in 1968, the Swedish Parliament, the *Riksdag*, enunciated a new policy with regard to the position and status of immigrants and linguistic minorities in Sweden (SOU 74:69).³ The policy was expressed in three main guidelines: *jämlikhet*, *valfrihet*, *samverkan*, equality, freedom of choice, and partnership. As individuals equal to Swedes, immigrants would be entitled to all the benefits of the welfare state and they would be expected to fulfil all its obligations. As members of groups which were said to be “culturally different” from Swedes, they would have the right to choose to maintain their culture⁴. And all activities and programs in conjunction with effectuating the policy would be conducted in the spirit of cooperation and partnership.⁵

In 1975, the *Riksdag* passed legislation to implement the policy. The legislation offered immigrants a broad series of programs to study their languages and their culture if they so wished. It also provided them with public monies to do so.

The home language program for immigrant students in Swedish schools was one of the most widespread programs instituted in conjunction with the new policy.⁶ The program offered immigrant children and children of linguistic minorities several hours per week of instruction in their mother tongues or, as it came to be called, “home language.” The instruction was included in the regular school curriculum. Children who belonged to the larger language groups – including the Turks described below – could receive most of their instruction

3 The fact-finding commission, utredning, is the traditional way of producing policy in Sweden. See Hecló and Madsen 1987:6.

4 Defining the concept of culture is not an easy task. I begin with Edward Tylor's classic definition: “Culture or civilization, taken in its broad ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” (1871). Since then, we have focused on ‘norms, values and ideas which some group of people share and about which they communicate.’ Hannerz has referred to culture as “meanings and meaningful forms which we shape and acquire in social life.” (1996:8), and Levinson and Holland have spoken of culture as “a continual process of creating meaning in social and material contexts” (1996:13). The focus is process. Gone, fortunately, is the view of culture as a static body of knowledge which is merely transmitted from generation to generation.

5 Hannerz (1983:146) has called the new policy a “conspicuous turnabout”. The policy was in fact the first time that Swedish lawmakers focused on the specific rights of immigrants as cultural or ethnic groups (see note 2 above). With regard to the focus on ‘culture’, Ekman (1996) points out that local cultural traditions were often heralded in regional development programs in depressed areas in Sweden in the 1970s. The focus on local traditions made ‘us feel good about us’ and sold rather well to others.

6 For a thorough evaluation of the program in terms of its aims and accomplishments, see Muncio (1987a, 1987b).

in their home language. The program was intended to accomplish the guidelines of the new policy in the context of school: the children would be equal to Swedish children in that they would be able to study in their mother tongue just as Swedish children could study in Swedish; they could avail themselves of the opportunity to *choose* their own culture if they so desired. And immigrants – parents, teachers and pupils – and Swedish school personnel would *cooperate* wherever and whenever possible.

Turks in a Swedish School: the contours of a study

At an early stage, my research concerns were similar to those being raised by educational anthropologists elsewhere. Based on a definition of education as cultural transmission (Singleton 1974) and "learning [...] as cultural acquisition" (Roberts 1976:1), much research addressed processes of socialization and acculturation, most often in the context of cultural discontinuities between minority and majority populations in schools. The studies were rampant with examples of failure; in addition to blatant discrimination on the part of school personnel, too many minority children and children with working class and/or lower socio-economic groups were unable to participate in the middle-class culture, linguistic codes and values of mainstream schools. (Bernstein 1971, Jacobs and Jordan 1993, Ramirez and Castaneda 1974, Ogby 1974, 1978).

While not discounting the importance of cultural values and norms in school performance, I found little research which illustrated the experience of ethnic minority children from the inside, that is, from their point of view. My intention, therefore, was, first, to explore the school world of a small number of Turkish immigrant children as they experienced it, and second, to consider how the institutional and political context – immigrant policy and the rhetoric of home language – contributed to or influenced their experience. My focus was the performance of ethnicity and the dynamics of the ethnic encounter rather than miscommunication or school failure.

Some of my initial questions were the following: hypothesizing that language is much more than syntax and grammar, what, I wondered, was the content of the Turkish home language – not so much in terms of its grammar but in terms of its underlying social and cultural codes? How did the Turkish teachers define or develop this home language in the context of a Swedish public school? Most simply, how were these Turkish children defining and practicing being Turks in a Swedish school?

The main field-site of my study was a school located fourteen kilometres northwest of Stockholm in a newly-built high-rise housing project which housed many immigrants. The school was a good microcosm of the new Sweden – a majority of Swedes and a goodly number of immigrants. It was a world which reverberated with a very clear discourse of difference; there were constant discussions about immigrant cultures, about cultural differences, and about the causes of and the cures for what were often called *kulturkrockar*, culture clashes⁷.

Turks, Turkish culture and the Turkish children were a major topic of these discussions due to the fact that fully one-third of the pupils in the school were children of immigrants from Turkey and most attended one of the five fulltime home language classes for Turkish children. Due to sheer numbers, the Turkish classes had the critical mass to resemble an actual Turkish school. Indeed, the Swedish principal often referred to the Turkish classes as a “*school within a school*,” and the Turkish children (and others as well) regularly called their school the *turk okulu*, the Turkish School. The principal’s view of the Turkish School as being (somehow) inside the Swedish School seemed to afford me a good opportunity to identify processes of othering within, or ethnic socialization, on the one hand, and the dynamics of culture contact and culture production, on the other.

I spent three terms in the school attending a third and a fifth grade class. My primary assumption was that the immigrant policy, in the form of the home language program, had created a particular framework wherein the Turks could define themselves – or perhaps invent themselves – as Turks, or, more exactly, as Turks-in-Sweden.⁸ What was happening in the Turkish School, it seemed to me, was a process I identified as ‘ethnification’, the gradual re-socialization of some Turks from Turkey – that is, “people bearing pre-constituted national identities” (Verdery 1994:55) who came to Sweden from several regions in Turkey to work, study or find refuge – into an ethnic minority, Turks in Sweden.⁹

Fourteen years later, I returned to the field and revisited eighteen of the

7 I use the concept of ‘discourse’ here to mean the reigning themes of the discussion of the times – what was talked about, how and by whom. With regard to the changing discourse concerning immigrants in Sweden during the past thirty years, see Björk (1997) and Sjögren (1996).

8 Magnusson (1986) has also suggested this.

9 My term, ‘ethnification’ differs from ‘ethnization’. The Danish sociologist Carl-Ulrik Schierup used the latter term to describe ethnic groups who remain in their enclaves. His point is that ethnization (as opposed to assimilation) “blocks the conscious formulation of those common interests that transgress ethnic-cultural divisions. It hampers the generation of trans-ethnic forms of organization and of the immigrants’ develop-

'children' whom I had known and worked with when they were in elementary school. My concern was the same: to probe the features of their now-adult Turkish home language and to understand how they were proceeding with the *process and the practice of ethnification*. No longer school children who were constrained to follow a set curriculum, the young people were now on their own, setting their own agenda and realizing their own plans within the structures of opportunities and constraints of Swedish (and local Turkish) society. What were their current views? And, in conjunction with my focus on ethnification, how did they now understand or define themselves – as Turks? Swedes? Both? Neither? I turn to these views below.

The purpose of home language: young adults retrospect

The ethnography which I refer to in this paper is a series of comments made by these young adults. All had attended fulltime Turkish home language classes when they were children, all had participated in the first study and all considered themselves seasoned informants for the study. The interviews were conducted on tape in Turkish and Swedish. I then translated the interviews into English and checked my translations with the young people. My questions and/or comments are included in the texts.

In the following comments, they explain why, in their opinion, they were offered home language. "Why home language in the first place?", I asked Sefa, now twenty-six.

Immigrants were a new thing in Sweden. They didn't know what they wanted to do with us. They really didn't know much about us, culturally, and they had to do something. Maybe they wanted to test our brains, our capacity, to see whether we really could learn both languages [Sefa acknowledges that bilingualism was one of the expressed purposes of the program]. And... well, the Turkish teachers probably needed jobs.

ment into genuine political subjects in their own right" (Ålund and Schierup 1991:121). Ortner (1991) uses ethnization in the same sense (1991:166). Roosens (1989) has used the term ethnogenesis to mean "the development and public presentation of a self-conscious ethnic group" (1989:141). I use the term 'ethnification' to refer to the process of generating, identifying and practicing an ethnic self within the constraints and opportunities of a specific national context. I further suggest that the boundary which this encounter generates is affected by and is responsive to the activities occurring on both sides. Understood this way, it is most probable that ethnic boundaries are not stable.

Fatma, now twenty-seven, viewed the issue somewhat similarly:

They [Swedish educators] didn't know anything before we came. An immigrant group comes here...what would you do? I'd do the same thing, begin a home language class, then I'd see what would happen afterwards. But it was the first time – our class was the first. And it was good that they did it, I think. Listen, they didn't know anything, they didn't have any experts that said that this model is good for this group, and that model for another group. It just became like that...and it was the best thing they did, I think.

Both refer to the fact that the 'Swedes' were uncertain: immigrants generally were new to them, and so they experimented. Fatma continued to point out that the Turkish parents were also uncertain. The Swedish school personnel were new to them too:

The Turks probably wanted [the home language program]. In the beginning, Turkish parents wanted us to be cared for – not like the Swedish girls – and to learn our culture.

Zekeriya, now twenty-eight, mentioned a popular argument: immigration was temporary and the Turks would soon return to Turkey.

Many parents were afraid that the children wouldn't know their language any more, that they would forget their culture and the actual language. Everyone said that 'in a few years, then I'm going to return to my country and then the children need their language and then, if they don't know anything, they can't adjust there'. Those kinds of thoughts.

Mehmet, also twenty-eight, mentioned the Turkish parents' fear that they would lose their children, and then added one of the most widespread arguments for the home language classes – that learning Turkish would facilitate learning Swedish:

Our parents were afraid we'd melt into the Swedish world, and the home language teachers thought it was a good idea... And they thought we'd learn Swedish better.

Note that Mehmet emphasized the importance of learning the first language in order to learn the second. This approach to the importance of home language was based on research done by socio-linguist Kangas-Skuttnab and colleagues, and was widely accepted in Swedish educational circles during the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁰ Mehmet continued:

10 The debates about when to teach the second language were long and vituperative, and I cannot do justice to them here. It was held that children who did not first learn their first language properly would become semi-lingual, thus the strong focus on mother tongue instruction. See Skuttnabb-Kangas 1975, 1976, 1978.

My personal opinion is that because we had our background, for us it's important to know our own home language in order to learn Swedish properly. If we have a weak foundation in our home language, we'll never learn Swedish...If we had gone directly to a Swedish class, we wouldn't have understood the content of what we were taught. It would have taken us twice as long, so it was very important that we learned Turkish first and well.

For thirty year-old Ibrahim, strengthened identity was the prime purpose of the home language program. He also pointed out that there is still too little knowledge about how the home language program is working:

I was one of those who began in 1982 or 1983 to question home language's role, how we could improve it. Since the home language reform [when the municipalities were obligated to offer home language instruction to children who requested it, and 'active bilingualism' was the goal], they've tried different models—they have two hours, four hours, half and half, fulltime home language classes, whole classes, half classes and so forth. It's always been an experiment. Always. They've never tried to deepen their knowledge about one model and how it worked. Two hours, OK, what can two hours give? Or four?

JN: So what do you think it should give?

It should most of all give an identity and security, nothing else.

JN: Turkish literature, history?

No. I mean, if I'm curious about literature or grammar, I can read about it, but home language is mainly a key to a secure identity and the development of the individual. If you create that identity, then I think you've given the children the keys to solve the codes of the home culture. But [...] not even the teachers knew what to give, they were so vague as a group, as a professional group. The whole time it's been an experiment. There has never been a generally fixed model. You can't throw the ball around like this.

Ibrahim also refers to the uncertainty – here on the part of the Turkish teachers – as to what the program was supposed to accomplish. Cengiz commented on the effect of the program on his social world. He remembered the Turkish and Swedish schools and as being quite separate: "We never really saw [the Swedes]." Serap also pointed out that "Our whole world was Turkish". Thus, while the two schools were physically under one roof, the Turkish children were more often socially *apart from* the Swedish school than *a part of* it. Some of the young people expressed approval of this separation: "It was good for us then", "We knew everything about Turkey". Others regretted it: "We should

have come into Swedish society and made some other friends”, “We should have learned the Swedish language sooner”.

Note the young people’s constant use of contrasts and the comparisons: “the Swedish world and our culture”, “the codes of the home culture” and “not to melt into the Swedish world”. No doubt this was one of the practical effects of the home language program; it generated a discourse which included a focus on both ‘us’ and ‘them’, and which located both entities in a common framework of comparison, the typical ethnic we and they.

Note also that the two-school model, “the school within a school” which depicted the structural as well as the cultural dynamic of their childhood as Turks in a Swedish school, worked as well – though now symbolically – as a metaphor for their present lives. Many years later, the “school within a school” surfaced as a root metaphor for how the young people perceived their current social lives as Turks in Sweden – sometimes a part of the Swedish whole, sometimes apart from it.

“We’re not split”: explaining a position

Some of the young people discussed where they find themselves in the Turk-Swede continuum. Safiye said outright that she wants to be regarded as a Turk and a Swede, and not, she pointed out with some amount of passion, as an outsider nor as an “immigrant”:

I don’t feel like an immigrant. I want to be understood as a Swede, but I have my [dark] hair colour and work and live in Rinkeby. I don’t want to be considered as a refugee and I don’t want to be regarded as an immigrant – my father is, I’m not. I want to be seen as a part of this society. With my family I’m a Turk but my child will speak Swedish outside.¹¹ I cannot stand being split in two, I must be accepted in Swedish society. As I am.

Note how Safiye refers to two possible reasons why she might not be regarded as a Swede, her dark hair colour and the fact that she lives in a particular neighborhood. But she insists that she belongs to “this society”, that she is and can be a Turk at home and speak Swedish outside. She intends to maintain this

11 J. L. Gordon (1831–1892), a Jewish poet writing in Hebrew in late nineteenth century Russia, wrote, in his poem, *Hakitzza ammi*, Awake, my people! “Be a Jew in your home and a man in the street”. This inside-outside framework seems to be endemic to the practice of ethnicity. The Swedish social anthropologist Ulla-Britt Engelbrektsson (1986) points out that Greeks in a small Swedish city refer to the ‘Greek part’ as belonging to the ‘private sphere’ and the ‘Swedish part’ as belonging to the ‘public sphere’ (Engelbrektsson 1986:166).

healthy “bothness”, and does not want to be regarded as sick or “split.”

Safiye’s comments and her desire not to be “split” echo some of the ideas of the Swedish immigrant policy as it was formulated in the mid-1970’s, and the whole discussion of difference and culture which it generated. Clearly, the policy not only created the “school within the school.” It also created a framework for thinking and talking about and practicing being an ethnic self in the Swedish context, being “both” or double rather than “split.”

Serap talked about her position in Swedish society in similar terms. Like Safiye, Serap also wants recognition of her bothness and the freedom to choose and maintain what for her are meaningful traditions, which, in her case, means continuing to practice some of the traditions of Islam. And like Safiye, Serap does not want to be regarded as a ‘Swede’ but rather as a Turk-in-Sweden.

When I say that we have to come into the Swedish society, I don't mean that we have to become like a Swede; I mean you have to learn what counts and what doesn't count. I think you need to know that in Sweden, this is the way to do things. That doesn't mean that you have to be Swedish just because you know that. I mean, all during the years, I've kept my traditions, and when I was out with Swedes, I could still say, 'I'm a Turk', 'don't take me for a Swede'.

A lot of people say [that I'm Swedish]; they call me Sarah at work,¹² I speak very good Swedish, and everyone says to me, "You? you're Swedish". No, I'm not Swedish, I'm a Turk, but I live here in Sweden and you have to accept the customs of the land you live in, some of them at any rate. But at the same time, you should not forget who you are, and where you come from, where your roots really are...because if you do that, you've lost yourself. Then there's no Serap, there isn't even a Sarah.

I asked her what defines the Turkish part of Serap. Her answer refers to the particular boundary which is important for her.

Some of my traditions, some things I do and some things I don't do. I mean, I don't celebrate Christmas, but I think it's really nice with Christmas, with candles and the tree and Donald Duck on TV¹³, but I don't have a special Christmas table with the food, but I think it's cozy with snow and we light candles and drink glögg, [sweet spiced wine] and ...

12 Serap changed her name to Sarah in high school because, she told me, one of her teachers found the name Serap too hard to pronounce.

13 Donald Duck and other Disney animated films are broadcast on Swedish television on the afternoon of Christmas Eve. The films have become part of the traditional way of celebrating Christmas in Sweden. For an expanded historical description of the celebration of Christmas in Sweden, see Löfgren (1991), and Bringeus (1976). Oddly, neither author mentions Donald Duck.

JN: And a tree?

Yes, all those things I can accept, but we don't have a Christmas dinner, nothing that has to do with the religion. It's just the cozy, nice things that interest me, and I can accept them. But at the same time I'm not Swedish just because I do that.

The part of Christmas which Serap as a Muslim will not accept is the "Christmas table", her euphemism for the ham and sausages served at the traditional Swedish dinner. She then points out how important it is to be "open" to culture, which she views as "other ways, another tradition".

If you move [to another country], you can't keep the blinders on and not notice the society around you. I would have suffered from this. But if you can keep your own ways and at the same time be open for other ways and not look the other way when you meet people with another tradition, you feel better. You don't have to give up parts of yourself to associate with Swedes. You just expand...

Serap regards "culture" as a continuous learning process, one which is additive rather than substitutive. But she also recognizes the importance and the possibility of defining boundaries and maintaining her "own ways". In other words, Serap and the others seem to want to remain other in some contexts. This internal othering has little to do with formal policy and formal programs, though it might be that the discourse of difference enunciated by the formal policy created a discursive space to think and practice difference – in short, to remain other in certain contexts.

Moving between 'pressure' and 'freedom': the young people's world

In the same vein, I want to suggest that the *ethnification process*, the process of becoming one or another kind of Turk in Sweden has involved a continuous dialogue between the practice of specific Turkish ethnic obligations and the practice of Swedish general rights – between what the young people identify as Turkish *baskı*, pressure, and Swedish *frihet*, *freedom*. All of the young people place themselves somewhere on the continuum – some closer to the Swedish *frihet*, others closer to the Turkish *baskı*. I think we can plot the answers on a line moving from Swedish individualism and rights – the goal of equality of the immigrant policy – at one end, toward another point that I have called Turkish ethnic obligations – the goal of culture choice of the immigrant policy.

The Turkish end, the young people say, is defined by the ideal and reality of relatedness, togetherness, *beraberlik*, where family is primary. Here they are involved as specific persons in an interconnected social universe with other

specific persons. Some define these connections in the area of gender; they want to maintain palpable boundaries between men and women. Others define relationships on the basis of age and insist on the importance of respect for their elders. The Swedish end of the continuum, in the young people's views, is defined by its freedom, openness, and by disconnected individuals.

When the young people contrast Turkish and Swedish, they refer to the fact that they are moving between these two ends of the continuum – Turkish relatedness (fusion) and Swedish individualism (fission), between the performance of what they choose (or have to choose) as their Turkish obligations, and by their expectations of what they perceive as their Swedish rights. *Indeed, one of their Swedish rights is to practice these Turkish obligations.* They do not see these obligations and rights as opposites, but as important aspects of their lives. They move between their adjacent social fields, between their two schools and link them with their on-going discourse of comparison.

In a real sense, the young people's two schools still endure in the sense that they still move from their Turkish world to the Swedish one and back. This is probably the most unremarkable and predictable aspect of membership in an ethnic group. But as adults, the young people are more directly defining the curriculum. By this I mean that they are practicing a Turkish home language, a particular "discourse of us" which works in, is responsive to, and is produced in the Swedish world in which they live. In the throes of this kind of commuting – moving between the particular Turkish and general Swedish spaces, between their inner school and outer school, they are producing and practicing a Swedish version of Turkish culture and a Turkish version of Swedish culture that can bear the label of an "ethnic culture." This ethnic culture is fluid; it is by definition responsive to influences from both the Turkish and the Swedish positions. It is thereby a culture of conscious contemplation, a culture of commuting and *a culture of becoming*. Put differently, the young people comfortably other themselves at quite the same time that they indicate that they participate in and are part of the greater Swedish we.

Today they are all involved in the constant and steady practice of everyday life – caring for their families, conducting their businesses, finding jobs and working, taking courses, attending parent-teacher meetings, and utilizing the institutions of the Swedish welfare state. And at some points in time and in some social contexts, they are also occupied with being Turks-in-Sweden, focusing

on interests and concerns which relate to that aspect of their lives. For these young people, being both 'a part of' and 'apart from' Sweden, has been one of the dominant facts of their lives.

Both, not either: a conclusion

What I want to suggest here is that in the course of the young people's unavoidable and constant interaction with the Swedish structure – their continuous participation in the *school within a school* – they have produced certain durable dispositions which they now can spread over a variety of contexts.¹⁴ They are comfortable with the rules of the Turkish as well as the Swedish games and have garnered some expertise in playing both.

This double-field participation has produced a new competence, new knowledge of "how to play the game." No longer quite immigrants in their own eyes, they have accomplished becoming Turks in Sweden: they are practicing some Turkish moral-laden practices, what I have termed 'ethnic obligations', within the context of their clearly definable Swedish rights. In other words, today they speak and practice the cultural codes of both their home language and Swedish. I think we can argue, then, that just as the home language program intended, they have become bilingual, or, perhaps more exactly, multi-cultural.

Othering-from-within is thus an important aspect of their lives as Turks in Sweden. Without staying other in some contexts, that is without practicing or identifying the obligations or particularities which they identify as Turkish, they acknowledge that they will give up an important part of their selves. Yet they also refer to the fact that the practice of these obligations is one aspect of their rights in the surrounding society – a society to which they feel they belong. Their mandate is to somehow find ways to remain *apart from* and practice Turkish obligations as well as to become *a part of* Swedish society and to adhere to their Swedish rights. From their comments here, they seem to be managing the dynamic quite well.

14 I refer of course to Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus*, "durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures..." (1977:72).

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