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LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: YUGOSLAV YOUTH IN SWEDEN

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present some empirical findings concerning the relationship between language and cultural identity. The discussion is based on data from a research project on Yugoslav youth carried out by the Department of Sociology at Uppsala University[1].

The major part of the investigation was undertaken in Malmö and involved 730 children and youth of Yugoslav origin, from grade four of the elementary school and upwards. As Yugoslavs were considered those children having at least one Yugoslav parent. The data were gathered by a questionnaire administered in all schools where there were Yugoslav pupils according to the definition. In addition, 165 19-20 year old Yugoslav citizens from different parts of Sweden completed a mail questionnaire.

The results are, in a statistical sense, not representative of all Yugoslav youth in Sweden. The studies were conceived as total investigations and in both cases there is a problem of response rate.[2] However, the studies made in Malmö probably give a fairly accurate picture of the situation there.

The general purpose of the research project was to study the problem of cultural identity, that is, to answer questions like: To what extent does youth of Yugoslav origin identify as Yugoslavs? What are the main characteristics of their Yugoslav identity, and which factors are contributing to the maintenance of Yugoslav culture and identity in Sweden?

The theoretical frame of reference was based on sociology of knowledge, as formulated by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1967), having many points in common with symbolic interactionism. Very briefly,[3] in this perspective the maintenance of cultural identity is seen as a function of social interaction. A person's identity is formed during the process of socialization and is maintained in social interaction, especially by the identification with significant others. This means that an individual's world view and self concept, his personal and sociocultural identity, are shaped and reinforced by his social environment. Somewhat simplified, a given sociocultural reality will be real to the individual if those with whom he interacts in every-day life perceive reality in largely the same way as he does.

Cultural identity as an objective social fact is understood as a multidimensional structure, representing on the individual level those symbolic realities that are characteristic of a given culture. Its dimensions and the relations between them will, moreover, vary according to social affiliation. That is, an individual never identifies with a culture in its totality, but will adopt those aspects of a cultural tradition which are mediated by his concrete social environment.

It is taken for granted that Yugoslav culture is a very complex phenomenon (Magnusson 1986a). In this context, however, we will not go into its objective properties, but restrict ourselves to the subjective aspects of Yugoslav identity. By cultural identity is thus meant the awareness of being a member of a certain group, as well as the subjective identification with this group.

Examples of items used to measure this aspect of cultural identity are found in table one[4]. It is evident that a majority of those taking part in the investigation identify as Yugoslavs. They are, moreover, proud of being Yugoslav, and they would like Yugoslav culture and language to be maintained in Sweden. It should be added that this identification seems to be rather stable and unproblematic. There are, for example, very few who consider themselves being

TABLE 1

Cultural Identity

	Grade 7-9 Malmö	Gymnasium Malmö	Youth Sweden
Proud of Yugoslav Origin			
Proud	60.9	72.2	73.9
Proud/Not proud	20.9	18.8	17.6
Not proud	12.6	7.0	7.8
No answer	5.7	2.0	1.2
Important save Yugoslav language			
Important	80.4	87.1	87.3
Undecided	12.2	8.9	10.3
Not important	3.5	3.0	1.2
No answer	3.5	1.0	1.2
Yugoslavs should save identity			
Agrees	43.5	76.2	79.4
Undecided	18.3	28.7	18.2
Disagrees	4.4	5.0	6.7
No answer	33.9	7.9	4.2
Type of ethnic identification			
Yugoslav	60.9	74.3	72.1
Yugoslav/Swe	7.4	3.0	4.8
Swedish	23.9	15.8	18.8
No answer/DK	7.9	7.0	4.0
Intensity of ethnic identification			
Mostly Swedish	32.1	19.8	24.9
Both equally	24.8	19.8	21.8
Mostly Yugoslav	40.4	58.4	50.9
No answer	2.6	2.0	1.9
N	230	101	165

neither Swedes nor Yugoslavs, and, on the whole, these young people do not experience any serious emotional problems. Conflicts with parents are rare, they do not manifest anxiety or psychosomatic symptoms, and their self-esteem is generally high. There is, furthermore, no correlation between ethnic identification and positive or negative self-esteem (Magnusson 1986b).

From the idea that identity is created and preserved by social interaction follows that the maintenance of cultural identity is dependent on certain demographic as well as institutional factors. In order to reproduce itself a cultural group should have a certain size, a sufficient degree of concentration, and also what has been called "institutional completeness" (Breton 1964), providing a basis for social interaction, or an arena for the expression of cultural symbols. Of importance when discussing migrant children is therefore the extent to which members of the "second generation" are born in the country of immigration, or during what stage in the process of socialization they have migrated. Using a classification suggested by German scholars (Schrader et al. 1979) migrant children could be categorized into three major groups: the "infants", that is, those born in the host country or immigrating during their first year of life, the "pre-school children" (between 2-6 years old on migration) and the "school-children" (7 years and older).

As seen from table two, in this investigation age on migration is closely connected to age. Among those 19-20 years old almost no one was born in Sweden and a majority arrived as "school-children". Among those between ten and twelve years old, however, more than 90 percent belong to the category of "infants".

As far as institutional affiliation is concerned, more than half of the children are, or have been, enrolled in mother-tongue instruction, whereas around 25 percent consider themselves being members of Yugoslav clubs or associations. About the same percentage is more closely involved in the activities of such associations. As to the character of informal interaction, about one third of the children interact mostly with Yugoslav friends, one third with Swedes and the rest with both Swedes and Yugoslavs. It should be added

TABLE 2

General Characteristics

	Grade 4-6 Malmö	Grade 7-9 Malmö	Gymnasium Malmö	Youth Sweden
	Country of Origin:			
Yugoslavia	14.8	37.0	71.3	98.8
Sweden	81.5	58.7	25.7	1.2
Other	3.8	3.5	3.0	
	Age on Migration:			
Infant/Sweborn	92.4	72.3	38.1	1.2
Preschool Age	6.9	23.2	43.3	40.9
School Age	0.8	4.5	18.6	57.9
	Mother Tongue Instruction:			
No Instruction	27.7	40.4	46.0	47.0
Instruction	72.3	59.6	54.0	53.0
	Attending Yugoslav Club:			
Every Week	25.3	15.7	19.8	16.9
Every Month	11.6	13.9	16.8	18.2
Seldom/Never	45.6	53.5	50.5	58.8
No answer	17.8	17.0	12.9	6.1
N	399	230	101	165

that in most cases one's Yugoslav friends do speak the same language and also tend to belong to the same Yugoslav nation. This is related to the fact that a very large majority of their parents have married within their own ethnic and religious group. In the case of Moslems (Albanians, Turks, Bosnian Muslims, Macedonian-speaking Muslims) this is one-hundred-percent true, but it is evident also among others, although to a slightly lesser degree. Intermarriage outside the Yugoslav group seems to be most common among Croats and Slovenes.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT: A DESCRIPTION

Before discussing a model of the relationship between language and cultural identity we will present some descriptive tables providing a general overview of the situation. At first it should be noted that linguistic behaviour has not been investigated directly, by means of tests or analysis of spoken or written language. Our data concern language use and attitudes towards language as reported by the informants themselves.

TABLE 3

Language Use

	Grade 4-6 Malmö	Grade 7-9 Malmö	Gymnasium Malmö	Youth Sweden
With Mother				
More Yugoslav	66.8	66.4	80.8	81.7
Both Equally	13.6	9.1	8.1	7.9
More Swedish	19.6	24.5	11.1	10.4
With Father				
More Yugoslav	66.6	67.3	82.7	87.0
Both Equally	13.7	8.5	7.1	5.2
More Swedish	17.7	24.1	10.2	7.8
With Brother/Sister				
More Yugoslav	29.9	33.2	26.7	29.3
Both Equally	17.4	20.3	36.0	25.9
More Swedish	52.6	46.5	37.2	44.9
With Friends				
More Yugoslav	21.4	29.6	36.4	34.4
Both Equally	14.8	15.5	31.3	20.8
More Swedish	63.8	54.9	32.3	44.8
N	399	230	101	165

Admittedly these are rather crude measures of linguistic behaviour, but they could, nevertheless, be of interest in the sense that they provide insights into the social character of the process of linguistic change.

On the one hand there are data on language use with parents, siblings and friends, and on the other information on the extent to which these young people are in contact with the standard versions of their respective languages, through reading newspapers or books, watching TV or listening to radio.

From table 3 it is clear that a majority of Yugoslav children and youth use their mother-tongue when talking to their parents, but that Swedish is becoming quite prominent in communication with brothers and sisters, or with friends of the same age. Which is, of course, a reflection of the fact that a fairly large number of these children, even in a "Yugoslav" city such as Malmö, in many situations constitute a minority. This is very well illustrated by the extent to which Serbo - Croat or other Yugoslav languages are used during breaks at school. Only around 15 percent report that they predominantly use their own language in this context. The opportunity to speak the mother tongue outside the home is thus restricted, whereas the use of Swedish is a necessity in every-day life. On the whole, however, the spoken language still seems to play a rather important role.

If we look at the exposure to standard-language (table 4) it is evident that only a minority is regularly reading Yugoslav newspapers and, especially, books. Furthermore, the difference between reading Yugoslav and Swedish texts is dramatic. Between 60 and 90 percent of the pupils read a Swedish newspaper at least once a week, whereas Yugoslav papers are read regularly by 20-30 percent. Or again, 30 percent never reads a Swedish book, while at the same time between 60 and 80 percent never reads a book in any of the Yugoslav languages. Similarly, most of the young Yugoslavs rather seldom listen to radio programs in their mother-tongue, whether they are broadcasted by Yugoslav or Swedish radio. Television is then a far more important medium.

TABLE 4: Exposure to Standard Language

	Grade 4-6 Malmö	Grade 7-9 Malmö	Gymnasium Malmö	Youth Sweden
Reading Yugoslav newspaper				
Weekly	20.1	17.8	30.7	27.9
Monthly	14.0	11.3	10.9	16.4
Seldom/Never	54.4	66.1	55.4	55.8
No answer	11.5	4.8	3.0	
Reading Swedish newspaper				
Weekly	60.7	87.0	89.7	91.5
Monthly	8.3	5.7	4.0	4.8
Seldom/Never	27.3	5.6	5.0	4.8
No answer	3.8	1.7	1.0	
Reading Yugoslav books				
Weekly	9.3	3.9	5.0	0.6
Monthly	23.3	11.7	18.8	19.4
Seldom/Never	61.7	79.1	75.2	80.0
Reading Swedish books				
Weekly	32.6	32.2	12.9	20.0
Monthly	37.8	35.7	56.4	52.1
Seldom/Never	27.3	28.2	30.7	27.2
No answer	2.3	3.9		0.6
Watching Yugoslav TV program				
Every Time	19.5	18.7	35.6	37.0
Every 2nd Time	47.4	32.2	25.7	29.7
Seldom/Never	27.1	46.6	37.6	33.3
No answer	6.0	2.6	1.0	
Radio from Yugoslavia				
Weekly	10.9	10.8	21.8	15.7
Sometimes	34.8	41.3	48.5	35.8
Seldom/Never	48.1	41.7	28.7	48.5
No answer	6.3	6.1	1.0	
N	399	230	101	165

This state of affairs is reflected in answers to questions about linguistic competence and attitudes towards language. At first, a great majority consider themselves to know Swedish very well and in most cases do not believe that Swedes would be able to recognize their foreign background from their way of speaking.

When asked about what language is easier to speak, more than half of those interviewed say that Swedish is easier, whereas only ten percent think that their Yugoslav language is easier. That is, many are dominant in Swedish and those which could perhaps be considered bilingual would amount to about one third.

In view of their reading habits and general conditions of life it is natural that quite a few will have difficulties in understanding written Serbocroatian. More than half of the pupils say that it is often or sometimes difficult to understand texts in their mother tongue and only between ten and twenty percent claim that they understand everything.

TABLE 5

Language Use and Parental Constellation

	Yugoslav/ Yugoslav	Yugoslav/ Swede	Yugoslav/ Other
With Mother			
More Yugoslav	80.8	15.6	53.1
Both Equally	9.0		9.4
More Swedish	10.2	84.4	37.5
N	411	32	32
With Brother/Sister			
More Yugoslav	32.1	4.0	37.9
Both Equally	27.3	4.0	6.9
More Swedish	40.6	92.0	55.2
N	374	25	29

It could be added that there are interesting differences as to the name of the language. A comparatively large group, about 25 percent among both Serbs and Croats, refer to their mother-tongue as "Yugoslav". However, whereas the Serbs generally speak about "Serbocroatian", and only a few of "Serbian", the Croats largely identify their mother-tongue as "Croatian", rather than "Serbo-Croatian" or "Croato-Serbian".

What factors, then, are associated with language use? At first, and this is sometimes overlooked, there is a great difference between those having two Yugoslav parents, and those having only one. The distinction is actually between parents speaking the same and different languages, as about half of those having a non-Yugoslav parent live in a monolingual environment[5]. Anyway, in almost all cases where a Yugoslav marries a Swede, the children will not know his or her language, which is in contrast to cases where one of the parents is English- or French-speaking.[6] The further discussion will therefore refer to those children that are living in families where both parents are Yugoslav.

If we look at tables six to nine it appears that language use and exposure to standard language are associated with country of origin, age on migration, participation in mother tongue instruction, involvement in Yugoslav associations, and interaction with friends.

However, there are distinct patterns. If we look at those participating in mother-tongue instruction, for example, there is practically no difference as far as language use with parents is concerned. Those who participate and those who do not participate are in both cases Yugoslav-dominant. However, mother-tongue instruction seems to have effect on communication with siblings and peers. While among those who do not participate about 25 percent most of the time speak their mother tongue with brothers and sisters, 40 percent of the participants do this.

If we go on to involvement in standard language those who participate in mother tongue instruction more often read Yugoslav newspapers or books, but the difference is not very large. About 30 percent of the parti-

cipants read a Yugoslav book at least monthly compared with 15 percent among the non-participants. In other words, as many as 70 percent of those receiving instruction never or seldom read Yugoslav books. There is, further, no difference as to the subjective expe-

TABLE 6

Language and Institutional Involvement

	Participation in MT instruction		Membership in Yugoslav club	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Language Use				
With Mother				
More Yugoslav	78.3	83.6	75.8	90.5
Both Equally	9.0	8.5	11.9	4.4
More Swedish	12.7	8.5	12.3	5.1
With Brother/Sister				
More Yugoslav	25.4	40.9	29.1	36.2
Both Equally	23.9	30.2	24.8	31.5
More Swedish	50.7	28.9	46.2	32.3
Exposure to Standard Language				
Reading Yugoslav newspapers				
Weekly	22.2	32.8	17.2	47.5
Monthly	14.7	13.8	12.6	16.9
Seldom/Never	63.1	53.4	70.1	36.0
Reading Yugoslav books				
Weekly	2.2	5.1	3.8	2.9
Monthly	12.5	25.0	12.3	28.3
Seldom/Never	85.3	69.9	83.8	68.8
N	423			

rience of proficiency in Swedish. In both cases more than 90 percent believe that their knowledge of Swedish is good or very good.

However, there are differences as to the perception of what language is easier to speak. Among those who do not participate in mother tongue instruction more than 60 percent think that Swedish is easier, whereas the percentage among the participants is 45. There are thus more participants who are Yugoslav-dominant, and

TABLE 7

Language Attitudes and Institutional Involvement

	Participation in MT instruction		Membership in Yugoslav club	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Language Dominance				
Swedish	63.9	45.1	62.3	42.3
No Difference	31.3	39.9	31.5	42.3
Yugoslav	4.8	15.0	6.2	15.3
Knowledge of Swedish				
Bad	0.4	2.2	1.9	0.7
Neither Nor	4.0	6.7	5.3	6.6
Good	95.6	91.0	92.8	92.7
Understanding Yugoslav text				
Difficult	52.7	48.6	57.3	37.0
Almost all	28.8	35.4	30.6	33.3
All	18.6	16.0	11.9	29.7
Language Identity				
Swedish	55.8	33.1	55.1	26.1
Swedish/Yug	21.0	27.2	20.7	27.6
Yugoslav	23.2	39.6	24.2	46.3
N	423			

slightly more who think they have equal command of the languages. However, it is striking that almost half of those participating in mother tongue instruction feel that Swedish is easier.

Perhaps the most unexpected result is that there is no difference between the two categories as far as understanding of the written language is concerned. About fifty percent in both groups think that it is often or very often difficult to understand Yugoslav texts. Less than 20 percent say they understand all or almost all. On the other hand, this corresponds to the reading habits just referred to.

As far as language preference or linguistic identification is concerned, there is a clear difference between participants and non-participants. Around 40 percent of those enrolled in mother tongue instruction prefer to speak their Yugoslav language, compared to slightly more than 20 percent of the others.

A similar pattern emerges if we look at activity in Yugoslav clubs and language variables. However, this factor seems to have effect also on communication with

TABLE 8

Language Use and Age on Migration

	Infant or Sweborn	Preschool Age	School Age
With Mother			
More Yugoslav	69.9	83.1	91.5
Both Equally	11.8	8.8	3.4
More Swedish	18.4	8.1	3.4
With Brother/Sister			
More Yugoslav	28.7	29.2	38.4
Both Equally	25.6	32.1	24.2
More Swedish	45.7	38.7	37.4
N	423		

TABLE 9

Language Use and Social Interaction

	Yugoslavs	Yugoslavs and Swedes	Swedes
With Mother			
More Yugoslav	91.5	87.9	63.5
Both Equally	6.2	6.4	14.6
More Swedish	2.3	5.7	21.9
With Brother/Sister			
More Yugoslav	53.0	25.6	18.3
Both Equally	22.2	36.8	21.7
More Swedish	24.8	37.6	60.0
N	423		

parents. It is, further, interesting that understanding Yugoslav texts is more common among those involved in the clubs. They are more Yugoslav-dominant and above all more emotionally identified with their mother tongue.

If we look at country of origin the differences are in fact not that great. They are more clear if we classify the informants according to the categories used by Schrader and others (1979). That is, among children with two Yugoslav parents about 70 percent of those who migrated to Sweden as infants, or were born here, are Yugoslav-dominant in communication with their mother, whereas 90 percent of those who migrated during school age are. The differences are most visible when it comes to understanding the written language and to the exposure to standard language through newspapers and books. 40 percent of the school-age children do read a Yugoslav newspaper weekly, compared to only 20 percent of the infants. They also tend to read more Yugoslav books, although the difference is not great.

The influence of informal interaction semms to be greater than the variables just discussed. 90 percent of those whose friends are mainly Yugoslav usually speak a Yugoslav language with their parents, against 65-70 percent of those interacting most frequently with Swedes. Or more dramatically, more than 50 percent of the most Yugoslav-oriented are linguistically Yugoslav--dominant, compared to less than 20 percent of those interacting mostly with Swedes.

The same is valid for perception of linguistic competence. Those interacting with Swedes are clearly dominant in Swedish, more than 70 percent, compared to only 40 percent in the Yugoslav category. Finally, those interacting with Swedes are also identifying linguistically with Swedish, whereas those interacting mainly with Yugoslavs tend to identify with the mother--tongue. Even in this category, though, there are quite a few who identify with Swedish.

Let us finally look at language use and cultural identity. As an indicator of Yugoslav cultural identity were used answers to the question "How would You describe Yourself? As Yugoslav, Swede or both?"

It is evident from table 10 that there is an association between this type of identification and language behaviour. Those with a Yugoslav orientation do in fact more often speak their mother tongue with parents and especially with siblings and peers. 45 percent of those categorized as "Yugoslav" are Yugoslav-dominant lin-guistically against only 12 percent of the "Swedes". The same pattern emerges in respect to competence and attitudes (see table 12). Twice as many of the Swede--oriented consider themselves to be Swedish-dominant. It is also interesting to note that it is among those with a Yugoslav orientation that you find the largest group of bilinguals. At the same time it is obvious that even they have difficulties in understanding Yugoslav texts, that large numbers among them seldom or never read Yugoslav papers or books, or listen to radio.

This is an illustration of Fishman's thesis that bilingualism in an immigrant context often is a passing matter, among other things due to an inherent opposi-

TABLE 10

Language Use and Cultural Identity

	Swedish	Swedish/ Yugoslav	Yugoslav
With Mother			
More Yugoslav	56.8	81.1	90.5
Both Equally	14.8	11.6	5.0
More Swedish	28.4	7.4	4.5
With Brother/Sister			
More Yugoslav	12.2	23.3	44.3
Both Equally	12.2	32.6	30.8
More Swedish	75.6	44.2	24.9

TABLE 11

Exposure to Standard Language and Cultural Identity

	Swedish	Swedish/ Yugoslav	Yugoslav
Reading Yugoslav Newspaper			
Weekly	10.0	17.7	39.3
Monthly	1.1	13.5	20.1
Seldom/Never	88.9	68.8	40.6
Reading Yugoslav books			
Weekly	4.5	1.1	4.5
Monthly	4.5	16.8	24.3
Never/Seldom	91.0	82.1	71.2
N	423		

TABLE 12

Language Attitudes and Cultural Identity

	Swedish	Swedish/ Yugoslav	Yugoslav
Language Dominance			
Swedish	84.4	65.2	38.6
No Difference	10.0	33.7	45.7
Yugoslav	5.6	1.1	15.7
Knowledge of Swedish			
Bad	1.1	2.1	1.3
Neither Nor	5.5	3.1	7.1
Good	93.4	94.8	91.5
Understanding Yugoslav text			
Difficult	75.3	57.3	37.9
Almost all	19.1	33.3	35.7
All	5.6	9.4	26.3
Language Identity			
Swedish	83.3	55.9	25.3
Swedish/Yug	10.0	25.8	26.7
Yugoslav	6.7	18.3	47.9
N	423		

tion between vernacular and standard language in such a situation (Fishman 1966, 1980).

The general picture emerging from these tables is thus, that a majority of those participating in this investigation have a Yugoslav orientation. They maintain their mother tongue in communication with parents, but are using Swedish with people of their own age. Further, a majority of the young Yugoslavs are comparatively less exposed to standard language. Those who often read newspapers or books, or regularly listen to programs on the radio, constitute a minority.

We have also seen that language behaviour is related to the following factors: those born in Yugoslavia, and especially those who came to Sweden at a later age, those who are involved in Yugoslav institution, as well as those who during their leisure time are predominantly interacting with other Yugoslavs, are retaining more of their language than others.

The question now is, what is the importance of these factors compared to each other? Many of the variables associated with linguistic behaviour are also related to each other, and in order to see the indepen-dent effects of certain factors we will present a theoretically based model which is tested by a statistical method called LISREL.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: A LISREL-MODEL

LISREL stands for Analysis of LInear Structural RELationships by Maximum likelihood and Least Sqare Methods. Somewhat simplified LISREL makes it possible to perform both factor analysis and path analysis at the same time, or, expressed differently, to simultaneously analyze multidimensional structures and causal relationships. The method has been developed by K. G. Jöreskog and Dag Sörbom of Uppsala University, and is based on breakthroughs in the study of factor analysis made by professor Jöreskog.[7]

The idea behind factor-analysis is to find an underlying theoretical concept or variable that could explain the variation in several observed variables. One problem with factor analysis is that its solutions are to some extent arbitrary. This has been overcome by the introduction of what is called confirmatory factor-analysis. That is, one postulates in advance, on theoretical and/or empirical grounds, the existence of a certain relationship and then investigates whether the variation in one's data corresponds to the hypothetical model.

LISREL is built on similar assumptions. In the social sciences the object of study is very often not available to direct analysis. Theoretical constructs

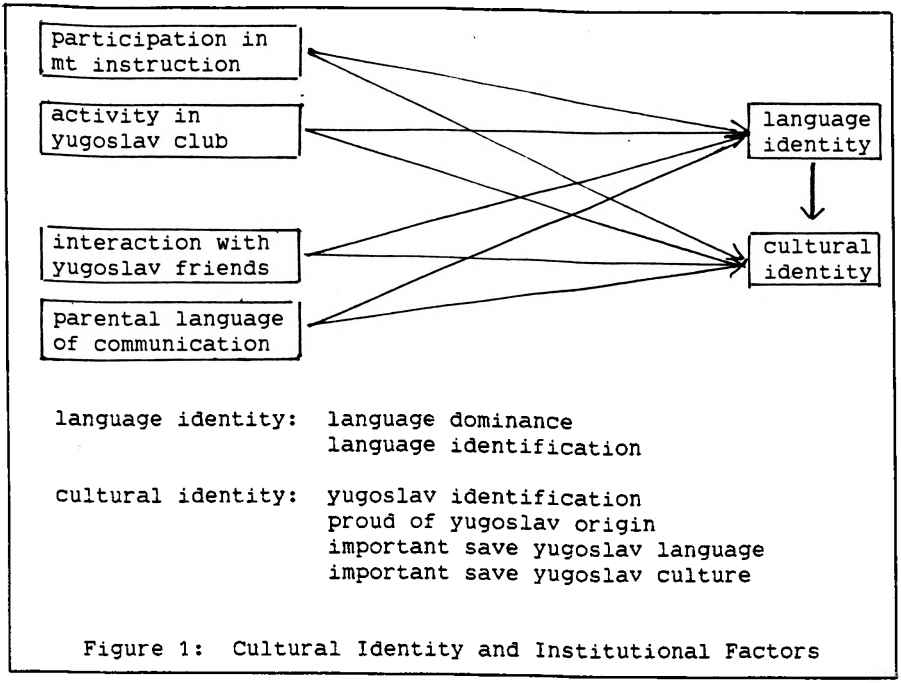

Figure 1: Cultural Identity and Institutional Factors

such as identity, self-esteem, or social status, can only be studied indirectly by means of indicators. Concepts of this kind are referred to as latent variables, whereas the indicators are called observed variables. What LISREL makes possible is to study relationships between theoretical concepts (latent variables) through an analysis of the relations between indicators (observed variables) of these concepts. A LISREL-analysis thus consists of two models: a measurement model measuring the relations between observed variables by analysis of covariance matrixes; and a structural model which on the basis of these relations accounts for the relationships between the latent variables.

As an example of how LISREL works we will study a model which tries to capture the relationship between social interaction, institutional involvment and cultural identity. At first, it is assumed that subjective

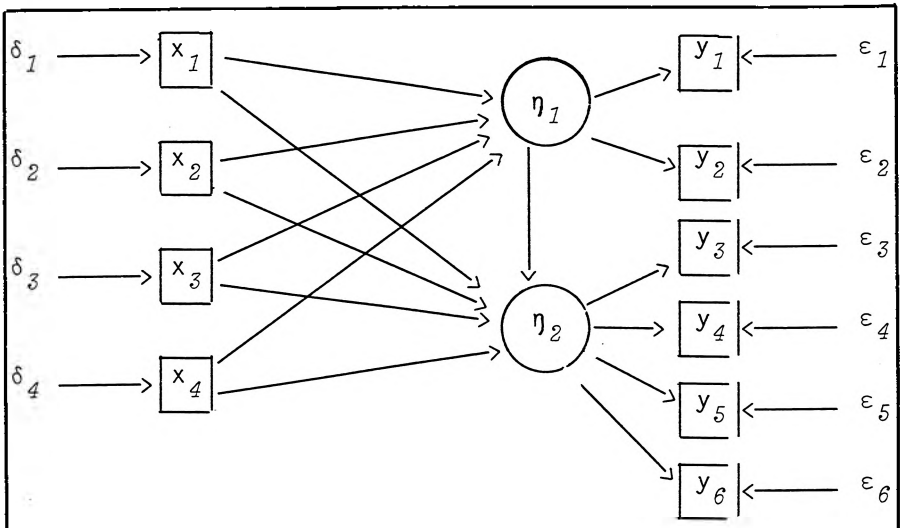

Figure 2: LISREL-Model: Institutions/Interactions and Cultural Identity

cultural identity consists on the one hand of linguistic identification, and on the other of cultural identification. It is further assumed that cultural identification is caused by language identity, and finaly it is assumed that the maintenance of cultural identity depends on both informal social interaction and involvement in formal (ethnic) institutions.

Two variables are in this case used as indicators of language identity: language dominance and linguistic identification. Indicators of cultural identification are: degree of identification as Yugoslav or Swede, and three attitudinal items: pride of Yugoslav origin, the importance of saving one's Yugoslav language, and the importance of saving Yugoslav culture in Sweden.

The independent variables are single-item indicators of institutional involvement and informal interaction: partitipation in mother tongue instruction, activity in Yugoslav club, interaction with Yugoslav friends, and language of communication between parents.

TABLE 13

LISREL Estimates (Maximum Likelihood)

	ETA1 Language Identity	ETA2 Cultural Identity
Y1: Language Dominance	.850	
Y2: Language Identification	.949	
Y3: Ethnic Identification		.850
Y4: Proud of Yugoslav Origin		.665
Y5: Important Save Language		.564
Y6: Important Save Culture		.706

BETA:

	ETA1	ETA2
ETA1		
ETA2	.606	

GAMMA:

	X1: MTINSTR	X2: YUCLUB	X3: FRIENDS	X4: PARLAN
ETA1	.169	.172	.206	.185
ETA2	.025	.039	.104	.215

T-Values GAMMA:

	MTINSTR	YUCLUB	FRIENDS	PARLAN
ETA1	2.877	2.972	3.450	3.266
ETA2	0.426	0.674	1.731	3.735

Goodness of fit:

Chi-Square	20 df	24.60
GFI		0.982
AGFI		0.951
RMS		0.031

The problem is, then, to test whether there is a relationship between linguistic and cultural identification, and to what extent subjective cultural identity is maintained by informal interaction and affiliation with ethnic institutions. [8]

In LISREL-analysis the parameters of the model are estimated [9] after which the fit of the model is judged according to various statistical criteria which we will not discuss in detail in this context. [10]

The results are found in table 13. According to usual criteria, it seems that the hypothetical model fits the data reasonably well. [11] There are two distinct factors (cultural and linguistic identification) which are correlated with each other and could be interpreted as dimensions of cultural identity. The gamma estimates show that mother tongue instruction and involvement in Yugoslav clubs are of importance for the maintenance of Yugoslav identity, but also that interaction with friends and parental language use are more important. There are, further, no direct effects of institutional affiliation on cultural identity. The only significant relationship is between cultural identity and parental language of communication. The general conclusion would then be that the atmosphere of the home and Yugoslav friends are more important in explaining language loyalty and maintenance of cultural identity than are formal ethnic institutions.

Let me emphasize, that this does not mean that mother tongue instruction is unimportant, or that it could not be important. The results must not be used as an argument for abolishing the teaching of Yugoslav languages in Swedish schools. What they show is that mother tongue instruction and Yugoslav associations as they are organized today, and in respect to the place they occupy in the lives of these young people, do not add very much, when compared with the effects of the home on the maintenance of Yugoslav identity.

Notes

[1] The project "Between Two Cultures: A study of Attitudes and Behaviour among Yugoslav Youth in Sweden" was financed by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and the Social Sciences.

[2] Only slightly more than one fifth of those expected to participate in the mail questionnaire responded. The response rate in Malmö is better, but highly correlated with age. 85 % of the pupils in grades 4-6 (10-12 years old), 66 % of those in grades 7-9, and 50 % of the pupils in high school responded.

[3] The theoretical issues are dealt with in detail in Magnusson (1986a).

[4] The tables are simplified. As a rule they contain more than the three categories (positive - neutral - negative) used here.

[5] That is, one parent is, for example, Italian or Turk from Yugoslavia, and the other Italian from Italy or Turk from Turkey.

[6] This is revealed by a comparison of official statistics on parental structure among the "second generation" and data on mother tongue instruction (Magnusson 1986a).

[7] For a short introduction to LISREL see Colbjornsen, Hernes & Knudsen (1984); a more detailed discussion is to be found in Long (1983a,b). See also Jöreskog & Sörbom (1981), the version of LISREL used in this analysis.

[8] The analysis is based on 262 pupils from Malmö (grades 7-9 and high school) whose parents are both Yugoslav.

[9] In this case the parameter-matrixes are lambda-x, the independent observed variables, and lambda-y, the dependent observed variables, eta, the dependent latent variables, beta, the relation between the latent varia-

bles, gamma, the relationship between independent observed and dependent latent variables, as well as epsilon and delta, measurement errors (see figure 2).

[10] The estimation is made by the method of maximum--likelihood (ML). As a global measure of the fit of the model is used chi-square, "goodness of fit index" (GFI), "adjusted goodness of fit index" (AGFI), "root mean square residual". Inspection of standard errors and t-values may give an idea of the significance of individual estimates. (T-values greater than 2 are significant.)

[11] The use of ML and statistical tests is built on several assumptions which in this case might not be entirely met. The results must therefore be interpreted with caution.

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CHILD LANGUAGE IN DIASPORA

SERBO-CROATIAN IN WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

PAPERS FROM A SYMPOSIUM

LUND 1987

This volume of Slavica Lundensia contains materials from a symposium held at the Department of Slavonic Languages in Lund, August 26th-29th, 1986. A paper by T. Paulsson, presented at the IVth Swedish-Polish Slavonic Conference in Jurata in September of 1986 and concerned with Polish children's language in Swedish diaspora, is also included.

The articles discuss different aspects of Yugoslav children's language in West-European diaspora (phonetic, grammatical and lexical structures, children's communicative competence, linguistic aspects of the "home language" instruction in Swedish schools).

The symposium was organized by the Archive for Diaspora Languages at the Slavonic Department of the University of Lund, a research project subsidized by the Swedish Board of Education (Skolöverstyrelsen), the Swedish Ministry of Employment and the Tercentenary Foundation of the Bank of Sweden.

The recommended abbreviation for Slavica Lundensia is SlaL.

C O N T E N T S