

Icelandic Studies on Diversity and Social Justice in Education

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Edited by

Hanna Ragnarsdóttir and Samúel Lefever

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Edited by Hanna Ragnarsdóttir and Samúel Lefever

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INTRODUCTION

HANNA RAGNARSDÓTTIR
AND SAMÚEL LEFEVER

Iceland is the smallest of the Nordic societies, with a current total population of 338,349 (Statistics Iceland 2017a). Migration to Iceland has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1995, 1.8% of the population were non-Icelandic citizens, but in 2017 it was found that 12% of the population (35,997 individuals) originated from other countries (Statistics Iceland 2017a). The population of Iceland is quite diverse in terms of country of birth. By far the largest population group born in another country is from Poland (13,811 individuals). Other large groups are those born in Lithuania (1,901), Philippines (1,727) and Thailand (1,279) (Statistics Iceland 2017a). Along with migration, Iceland is also witnessing an increase in the number of asylum-seekers and refugees arriving in the country.

The diversity of the population is also reflected in the education system. In 2016 around 12.6% of all preschool children and 9.3% of all compulsory school students had heritage languages other than Icelandic (Statistics Iceland 2017b, 2017c). In the capital city of Reykjavík, 20% of the children in the city's preschools are of foreign origin and speak about sixty different languages. This is a major development, since until recently the country was largely monolingual, with Icelandic as the official language (Act on Icelandic Language and Icelandic Sign Language no. 61/2011). This change in the linguistic landscape of Iceland is largely due to increased globalization, mobility, and tourism, phenomena which are occurring throughout Europe. Increasingly, English is being used as a lingua franca in Iceland, and its use has spread throughout many sectors of society. While the number of heritage languages now spoken in the country has multiplied, recognition of these languages in the school system and society in general is lacking.

Diversity in religious and life-stance organizations in Iceland has also grown in recent years. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the national

church of Iceland and has the highest number of registered members (around 71% of the population), although the number of members has been decreasing in recent years. Various other religious and life-stance organizations are registered in Iceland, including a number of Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Bahá'í, and Humanist associations (Statistics Iceland 2017d). Membership of these organizations is growing, reflecting the increase in cultural and ethnic diversity in the nation.

The public education system in Iceland spans from preschool education to higher education and is by and large free. Education is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16 and preschool and secondary school participation, although optional, is widespread. Municipalities offer subsidized preschool education for children from 2 years old or even younger and enrollment of 3–4-year-olds is over 95% (OECD 2016). Secondary education is also subsidized by the government and provides general education and vocational training in a wide range of fields. Finally, higher education is offered at several universities, both private and public. In Iceland, as in most OECD countries, university enrollment of those completing secondary education has increased substantially in recent years (Central Bank of Iceland 2016). In 2015, 39% of the adult population held a university degree, up from 29% in 2005. However, students with immigrant background are grossly underrepresented at the secondary and tertiary school levels and experience a much higher dropout rate than their Icelandic peers. A study from 2011 showed that nearly 60% of immigrant males and 40% of immigrant females in Iceland had not completed secondary level studies by the age of 22, which was far below the average for students with immigrant backgrounds in other EU countries (Garðarsdóttir and Hauksson 2011).

The underrepresentation of students with immigrant backgrounds contradicts a fundamental principle of the Icelandic education system: equal access to education irrespective of gender, economic status, geographic location, religion, disability, and cultural or social background. This principle is stated in the Constitution of the Icelandic Republic (no. 33/1944) and also in the legislation pertaining to the various educational levels (Compulsory School Act no. 91/2008; Preschool Act no. 90/2008; Upper Secondary Education Act no. 92/2008).

In 2011 the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture issued National Curriculum Guides for preschools, compulsory schools, and upper-secondary schools based on educational legislation from 2008. Six fundamental pillars of education—literacy, sustainability, health and

welfare, democracy and human rights, equality, and creativity—form the essence of Icelandic educational policy and encompass the basic values and beliefs of Icelandic society. Schools are charged with the task of implementing the pillars of education and of preparing children and young people for critical and creative thinking, and active and democratic participation in society (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture n.d.).

As Icelandic society becomes increasingly diverse in terms of cultures and languages, many initiatives have been developed to respond to the growing diversity of the student population at different school levels. For example, educational legislation stipulates that all students who have a heritage language other than Icelandic have the right to receive instruction in Icelandic as a second language and that all schools must have reception plans in place for students who speak languages other than Icelandic (Compulsory School Act no. 91/2008). Emphasis is placed on providing interpretation services for school staff and parents, and various ways of providing access to information have been introduced. The City of Reykjavík Department of Education and Youth (2014) has developed and implemented a multicultural policy in the city's preschools and compulsory schools that aims to implement diverse and inclusive teaching practices, and emphasizes second language instruction, bilingualism, and strong home/school cooperation.

While educational policy and curriculum guides in Iceland emphasize equity and inclusion, multilingual and heritage language issues have generally not been sufficiently addressed in these policies (e.g., Ministry of Education, Science and Culture 2014, n.d.). Research has documented the inequalities and marginalization of immigrants in schools and communities in the Nordic countries, including Iceland (Ragnarsdóttir 2008; Holm and Londen 2010; Horst and Gitz-Johansen 2010), while, on the other hand, findings from recent research in Iceland have indicated that particular schools and communities have succeeded in their quest for inclusion, equality, and social justice (Ragnarsdóttir and Schmidt 2014; Ragnarsdóttir 2015).

While the body of research on diversity in education in Iceland is growing, there are many issues that have yet to be studied. This volume introduces a range of topics currently being explored while simultaneously shedding light on the vast amount of work yet to be done.

Overview of the book

The nine chapters in this book address different aspects of diversity in Icelandic education. The first four chapters explore issues dealing with immigrant and refugee children's and young people's school experiences. Studies which investigate young peoples' attitudes toward societal values and beliefs are discussed in the next two chapters. The final three chapters discuss issues of intercultural awareness and inclusion, and present the perspectives of students, teachers, parents, and educators.

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LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE CHILDREN
IN ICELAND:
THEIR FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY
AND ICELANDIC PHONOLOGICAL AWARENESS

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Abstract

Icelandic schools are faced with increasing levels of linguistic diversity on account of the growing number of students being brought up with more than one language. Schools and parents are encouraged to foster active bilingualism among children with mother tongues other than Icelandic (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2014a). The purpose of the study in this chapter is threefold. The first aim is to describe the common language ideologies, methods, and maintenance in the family setting of linguistically diverse children, referred to as their family language policy (FLP) (King and Fogle 2013). The second aim is to evaluate such children's Icelandic phonological awareness (IPA) in preschools. Lastly, this study seeks to analyze the associations between FLP and IPA among linguistically diverse students in Iceland. Quantitative data were gathered from children in their last preschool year (N=45) via their results from the *HLJÓM-2* standardized screening test of IPA and from their parents' responses on the FLP questionnaire. Our findings suggest that children's families had various embodiments of FLP reflected in their different sociolinguistic circumstances and habits. However, contrary to foreign studies, our findings revealed that the mean score of the participants' *HLJÓM-2* results was less than the national average and that a higher percentage scored below average. Lastly, significant associations were found between some aspects of children's FLP and IPA. Results are discussed and some implications are suggested.

Introduction

Icelandic pre-primary and compulsory institutions are faced with steadily increasing linguistic diversity among students characterized by family origins (Statistics Iceland 2016a). As literacy is one of the fundamental pillars of education in the Icelandic National Curriculum Guides for these two levels, schools aim to provide all students with the opportunity for literacy development and to reach the literacy criteria set for them (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2011, 2014a). However, studies have shown that, on average, students with Icelandic as a second language tend to have literacy difficulties and generally struggle in attaining those criteria (Thordardottir and Juliusdottir 2012; Ólafsdóttir and Sigurðsson 2017). Furthermore, there is a tendency toward a persistent gap in vocabulary and reading comprehension skills among students who have Icelandic as a mother tongue and those who have it as a second language. These findings are found throughout compulsory schooling, the latter lagging behind the former according to Ólafsdóttir et al. (2016).

Studies have found phonological awareness to be an important factor for subsequent literacy development, both for monolingual and bilingual children (Hammer et al. 2014). This is also reported to highly correlate with Icelandic students' achievement throughout compulsory schooling (Einarsdóttir, Björnsdóttir, and Símonardóttir 2016). Furthermore, research reveals that bilingual children tend to develop phonological awareness in both their languages quite early and that this skill transfers between their languages, leading them to build a stronger grasp thereof (Parra, Hoff, and Core 2011; Hammer et al. 2014).

Little is known about linguistically diverse children and their emergent literacy skills prior to starting compulsory schooling in Iceland. This is, therefore, the core of our study as we investigated the family languages and phonological awareness of children with more than one language in Iceland. Three aims were formulated. Our first aim was to better capture the children's diverse language repertoire. The concept we used was family language policy (FLP) as an approach to study language ideologies, practices, and management of languages within the family setting (De Houwer 2007; Slavkov 2016). Another focus of this study was to examine their Icelandic phonological awareness (IPA) as part of their emergent literacy skills. As suggested by research in other countries, bilingual children tend to build a stronger phonological awareness of both languages due to having a larger inventory of speech sounds at their disposal than children exposed to only one language (Galambos and Goldin-Meadow

1990; Hammer et al. 2014). The third aim was to explore the association between the different aspects of FLPs and IPA, taking into account the foreign research findings that FLPs tend to have an influence on children’s literacy skills (Kim 2009; Parra, Hoff, and Core; Schwartz and Verschik 2013).

This chapter is organized into the following sections: description of the Icelandic context, review of literature on the concepts FLP and IPA, description of the methodology used, and presentation and discussion of the results.

Review of literature

The Icelandic context

According to Spolsky (2004), Iceland has managed to maintain a purist language policy throughout the country’s history. Essentially, there have been few changes in the Icelandic language since the age of settlement (Hilmarrsson-Dunn and Kristinsson 2010). However, as globalization has increased in terms of economy, migration, and technology, the widespread use of English has made its way into different societal domains in the country and was later deemed to be “Iceland’s second domestic language” (Albury 2014, 118; Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2018). Apart from that, an increasing number of foreign language minorities have also emerged due to continuous influx from migration.

These linguistic changes in the country prompted the Icelandic Language Council (*Íslensk málnefnd*), the government advisory panel on issues concerning the Icelandic language, together with the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture to draft an official language policy called the Icelandic for everything – Language Policy (*Íslenska til alls – málstefna*) (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2008). This policy emphasized the need for a more rigorous Icelandic language policy throughout the education system, giving children more opportunities to learn, use, and be exposed to the Icelandic language in their daily lives. According to the council’s report, most administrative actions indicated in the policy have been implemented five years after it was officially enacted (Icelandic Language Council 2015). A clear example of this is an educational reform administered by the Directorate of Education (*Menntamálastofnun*) aiming to increase Icelandic literacy skills and academic success among students in pre-primary, compulsory, and upper-secondary schools (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2014b).

The reform also includes added encouragement for parents' active role in their children's literacy development. In essence, a comprehensive national language policy is being enforced in all public domains of society, including education.

The Icelandic pre-primary level is the first stage in the Icelandic education system (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2011). Although not mandatory, over 95% of children between the ages of 2 and 6 attend preschools for between seven and nine hours daily (Statistics Iceland 2016a). This level focuses on the social and language development of all children, with an emphasis on parent–preschool collaboration. The preschools foster children's emergent literacy skills, such as IPA, to assist them before starting compulsory school where they are taught to read.

The percentage of children with a language other than Icelandic at home increased in 2016; the percentage in preschools was 12.6%, while it was 8.1% at compulsory level, with more than forty-seven different foreign home languages in the country (Statistics Iceland 2016a). This figure is determined by children who have either one or both migrant parents. Thus, children's linguistic diversity is often classified according to their parents' origin. Excluded from these figures are children who have learned other languages through experiential circumstances, such as those who have no foreign origin but have lived abroad and returned, or native Icelanders with bilingual parents. Consequently, there are no figures taking both origin and experience in languages into account when tallying children's linguistic diversity.

Family language policy

Different terms have been used to refer to students who are exposed to more than one language regularly and among the common ones are: students with a mother tongue other than Icelandic, students with Icelandic as a second language, and students with a foreign background (Dánielsdóttir, Jónsson, and Sigurðardóttir 2010). Using the concept of FLP, school communities can capture children's languages more broadly. FLP refers to how the languages are chosen, planned, and managed in the family (King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry 2008; King and Fogle 2013). It acknowledges the critical role of linguistic upbringing based on children's bilingual development. FLP studies also anticipate the possibility of changes to the FLP over time due to varying familial circumstances (Schwartz 2010; Schwartz and Verschik 2013).

FLP studies imply that there are different patterns of family language choice, use, and maintenance that can have an impact on children's language outcomes. For instance, the more exposed bilingual children are to both languages in the family, the higher the possibility for them to develop an active use, understanding, and speaking of both languages (De Houwer 2007; Hammer et al. 2014; Slavkov 2016). Studies have also linked home literacy exposure to bilingual preschool children's emergent literacy skills in the same manner, such that frequent reading by parents, alongside the abundance of books for children at home, predicted a better vocabulary and comprehension in both the children's languages (Lewis et al. 2015). However, studies suggest that the languages of children being raised in a linguistically diverse setting generally tend to develop irregularly because of unequal proportions of language use and available resources (De Houwer 2009). Furthermore, according to De Houwer (2013), the success of FLP can influence the experience in what she called a continuum of bilingual development, where harmonious and conflicted bilingual development are at the opposite ends. She proposes to focus on factors that promote the family's wellbeing in their bi- or multilingual family setting. According to her, harmonious bilingual development constitutes a positive experience in parent-child communication, including the child's proficiency and ability to use both languages relatively equally. This is similar to Kopeliovich's (2013) use of the term "happylinguals" when referring to raising bi- or multilingual children. She concluded that a successful FLP requires parents not only to be well informed, highly motivated, and correspondingly committed to fostering the children's linguistic skills in both languages but also be able to cater to their children's varying linguistic needs and wellbeing.

In Iceland, a particular FLP is mentioned by the Ministry of Education in the National Curriculum Guide for Compulsory Schools (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2014a). This places a clear responsibility on multilingual families in maintaining their home languages other than Icelandic and in reinforcing the child to learn both Icelandic and home language. It states that:

The family plays a significant role in creating a climate of respect for both languages, encouraging and nurturing them, and in maintaining the interest of pupils in active bilingualism (2014a, 107).

Qualitative studies indicate that multilingual parents have a positive attitude toward raising their children bilingually in Iceland and that their children generally fare well in preschools (Mosty, Lefever, and Ragnarsdóttir

2013) and in compulsory schools (Wozniczka and Berman 2011). However, longitudinal studies by Thordardottir and Juliusdottir (2012) and Ólafsdóttir et al. (2016) reveal that these children generally perform significantly below average throughout compulsory schooling. This is also the case according to research in the vocabulary of bilingual preschool children by Haraldsdóttir (2013) and Figlarska (2015). Even though most bilingual students in these studies were born and raised in Iceland, results showed that their Icelandic vocabulary was considerably lacking.

Here we have explained the importance of FLPs among linguistically diverse children. Equally relevant is the study of their literacy development. The next section focuses on phonological awareness, which has been found to be highly associated with subsequent literacy skills.

Phonological awareness

Phonological awareness refers to the ability to sense and distinguish speech sounds and how they are organized systematically together to build meanings (Verhoeven 2007). Given that Icelandic has a rather transparent orthographic system, or straightforward letter–sound correspondence, it is particularly integral in the development of further literacy skills (Bialystok 2003; Ziegler et al. 2010). For this reason, fostering children’s IPA is also emphasized in Icelandic preschools as part of their literacy development (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture 2011). A standardized screening test, *HLJÓM-2* (Símonardóttir, Einarsdóttir, and Björnsdóttir 2002), in the form of a game is widely used to evaluate children’s IPA during their last year of preschool (Þórarinsdóttir et al. 2010). The age-appropriate screening test measures phonological and metalinguistic awareness. According to a longitudinal study, children’s *HLJÓM-2* performance ranks significantly predicted their academic achievement throughout compulsory level (Einarsdóttir, Björnsdóttir, and Símonardóttir 2016). The better the children’s IPA in preschool, the better their achievements were in their national test results in grades 4, 7, and 10 in Icelandic and Mathematics. However, the IPA of linguistically diverse children has yet to be examined in Iceland.

Research projects in other countries on bilingual children’s phonological awareness postulate that they may be at an advantage because having constant exposure to two different phonological systems gives them an additional need to sense, distinguish, and differentiate speech sounds. Hence, they are more inclined to construct a wider inventory of speech sounds based on two different phonological systems in

their immediate daily language environment (Galambos and Goldin-Meadow 1990). Additionally, studies show that bilinguals tend to differentiate the two phonological systems very early (Hammer et al. 2014). The study by Hammer and colleagues posits that bilingual children's phonological awareness transfers between languages. Accordingly, bilingual children's amount of exposure to and use of both languages are highly relevant to the development of their phonological awareness in both languages (Kim 2009; Parra, Hoff, and Core 2011).

In the above sections, we explored the context of Iceland having a strong Icelandic language policy. We also explained concepts and presented some pertinent findings on FLP and phonological awareness studies.

Methods

Study population and sample framework

The target population for this study was identified as children in Iceland who regularly used and were exposed to more than one language, currently in their last year of preschool and had recently taken the *HLJÓM-2* screening test. These were children born in 2011 and had either one or both foreign-born parents, were Icelanders returning after having lived abroad, or Icelanders who had bilingual or multilingual Icelandic parents. Multistage cluster sampling was used wherein we obtained a list of preschools from two areas in Iceland as the first stage (Creswell 2012). We used a convenience sampling method in the second stage as information and consent forms were sent to sixty-four heads of preschools in Reykjavík city and fifteen in Suðurnes region in the southwest of Iceland (ibid.). The FLP questionnaire and consent forms were then sent to the parents of sixty-nine children who belonged in the target group. A convenience sampling method was also used in the last stage as the researchers gained consent from the parents from the participating preschools. In order to increase the response rate from parents they were made available in nine different languages, namely English, Filipino, Icelandic, Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Serbian, and Thai. Either one or both parents answered the questionnaire in their preferred language and returned it to the preschool within two days. There were forty-five responses received, giving a response rate of 65%. We then collected the parents' responses along with their children's results from *HLJÓM-2* screening tests. Additional e-mails and phone calls were made for queries and clarifications. There were slightly more boys than girls in

the study, as indicated in Table 1. The mean age was 5.9 (N=45), $SD = 0.29$, within a range from 5.4 to 6.3

Table 1 Participants

Municipality	Preschools	Children (%)	Sex	Frequency (%)	Mean age (SD)
Suðurnes	9	29 (64%)	Female	21 (47%)	5.8 (.27)
Reykjavík	6	16 (36%)	Male	24 (53%)	5.9 (.31)
Total	15	45 (100%)	Total	45 (100%)	5.9 (.29)

Instruments

FLP Questionnaire. The information on the children's FLPs was collected through a thirty-five-item questionnaire adapted from that of Slavkov (2016). It was modified to accommodate local conditions, pre-tested by five respondents and revised thereafter. Questions were divided into a general information section and five other sections. The first and second sections were about the parents' linguistic background and usage frequency of the languages used within the family. Home language patterns derived from the most frequent language(s) used by parents when speaking to their child. When parents used only one language, their responses were coded either as *majority language at home* (Maj@H) or *minority language at home* (ML@H). For parents who used two or more languages more frequently, their responses were coded into either *one-parent-one-language* (OPOL) or *mixed languages*. The third and fourth sets were about the languages spoken and understood by their children and the frequency of languages used in their children's weekly activities. The final section was on language attitudes and involvement in their children's language development, based on a five-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

HLJÓM-2 Screening test. The HLJÓM-2 screening test is based on six studies by Símonardóttir, Einarsdóttir, and Björnsdóttir (2002) and is used to measure the IPA of children in their last year of preschool. The test is a composite of seven subsets with a very good reliability coefficient of $\alpha = 0.91$ (ibid.). It has a total of seventy-one items grouped into different phonological tasks: identifying rhyme (12), syllable segmentation (8), phoneme identification (15), and combination of phonemes to form words (8). Included in the composite are metalinguistic awareness tasks that involve compounding two words (10), deletion of compound words (10) and identifying homonyms (8). The reliability of each of the seven subsets

ranged from 0.58 to 0.86. As stated in the handbook, the test is given to children from ages 4 years and 10 months to 6 years and 1 month. The children's ages are divided into four age groups: (1) 4:10–5:1, (2) 5:2–5:5, (3) 5:6–5:9, and (4) 5:10–6:1. The average performance score in the national standard was 43.9 ($N=1540$), $SD = 14.0$, and the performance scores could be divided into four performance ranks along with the percentage of children who fell into each rank: very low (10%), low (15%), average (50%), and high score (25%) (ibid., 51). Administered only by preschool professionals who have undergone *HLJÓM-2* training, the test itself is designed as a short game. The test is conducted at the beginning of the school year and repeated at the end of the school year for those who scored less than average. Only the first results were analyzed in this study.

Data analysis

Quantitative analyses were run in SPSS Version 20 (IBM Corp. 2011) and included descriptive statistics, independent t-tests, and ANOVA tests. Statistical significance was set at 0.05. In analyzing the associations between FLP and IPA, different ANOVA tests were used according to the type of variables (Morgan, Reichert, and Harrison 2016). One-way ANOVA was used to find whether the children's *HLJÓM-2* scores of up to 71 points were associated with different FLP variables. Levene's tests were conducted to check the homogeneity of variance beforehand. Alternatively, Welch ANOVA was also used when the variance was significantly dissimilar (Moder 2010). Post-hoc Tukey HSD was conducted to assess the pairwise differences after ANOVA. Moreover, Kruskal–Wallis ANOVA, a nonparametric test, was applied to find whether or not the children's *HLJÓM-2* performance ranks (very low, low, average, and high) were significantly associated with some FLP variables, although no significant pairwise comparisons nor trend analyses were made due to the lack of cases in our data set.

The personal data collected in this research were strictly confidential and anonymous. Appropriate measures were conducted in collecting, processing, and securing the data. The study was reported to the Icelandic Data Protection Authority (*Persónuvernd*) under reference no. S8289/2017.

Results

General attributes of FLPs

Linguistic characteristics of parents. Of the forty-five children in the sample, three were in single-parent households. The rest contained responses on parents' linguistic characteristics for dual-parent households. The forty-five mothers and forty-two fathers named twenty-one different birth countries: twenty-six were born in Poland, eighteen in Iceland, eight in the Philippines, five in Lithuania, and three in Serbia. One or two parents named sixteen other birth countries. The combinations of parents' birth countries in each household are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Combination of parents' birth countries in each household

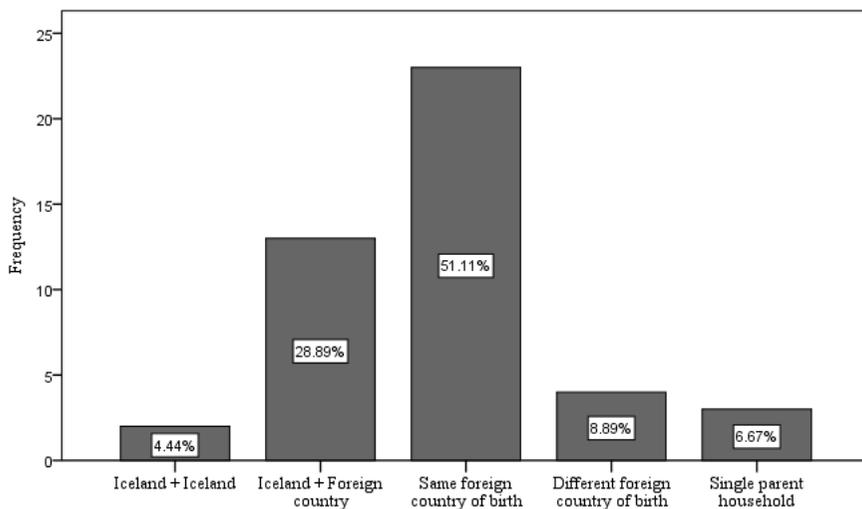


Table 2 shows the parents' languages. While most listed one native language, three mothers and four fathers had two native languages. They also had at least one second language except for two parents. There were twenty-four mothers (53.3%) and seventeen fathers (40.5%) who had Icelandic as a second language, while thirty-four mothers (75.6%) and thirty-two fathers (76.2%) learned English as a second language. There were twenty-four native languages and nineteen second languages enumerated by parents or thirty languages altogether, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Parents and children's languages

	Parents' languages				Children's languages			
	Mother's L1	Father's L1	Total	Mother's L2	Father's L2	Total	Understood	Spoken
Polish	13	13	26	2	3	5	14	14
Icelandic	10	10	20	24	19	43	45	45
English	2	4	6	34	32	66	18	13
Filipino	3	3	6				1	1
Lithuanian	2	3	5				3	2
Dutch	2	1	3				2	2
Berber	1	1	2				1	1
Bisaya	1	1	2				1	
French		2	2	8	4	12	1	

Linguistically Diverse Children in Iceland

Portuguese	1	1	2		1	1
Russian	2		2	5	4	9
Serbian	1	1	2	2	1	3
Serbo-Croatian	1	1	2			
Spanish	1	1	2	1	2	3
Thai	2		2			
Vietnamese	1	1	2			
Albanian	1		1			
Arabic		1	1	2	1	3
Czech		1	1	1		1
Danish	1		1	4	4	8
Faroese	1		1		1	1
German		1	1	4	2	6

Mandarin Chinese	1	1			
Slovak	1	1	1	1	1
Indonesian		1		1	
Italian		1	1	2	1
Latvian		1		1	
Malaysian		1		1	
Norwegian		2	3	5	
Swedish			1	1	

Frequency of languages used in the household by parents. Parents from twenty-seven households (60.0%) claimed they did not have a particular home language arrangement, as indicated in Table 3. Among the ten households that generally used Maj@H, some did not have it as a specific rule. There were sixteen cases that used ML@H and nine cases of OPOL. Other arrangements were named, such as mixing languages depending on circumstances, using a second language and Icelandic, and having a grandparent in the household who used one language while the parent used another. Parents revealed varied responses when asked how often the majority and minority languages were used when addressing their child. After recoding the valid responses, the most frequent language used by parents with their children could be graphed into the different home language patterns, as illustrated in Figure 2. The use of ML@H was the most common trend, followed by mixed languages where at least one parent in the household used two or more languages equally when speaking with the child. It was less common to use Maj@H and OPOL. These results suggest that all parents had varying language choice and use with their children although they might not be aware of a particular pattern.

Table 3 Home language rule or arrangement

Language arrangements	Responses	
	N	Percent
No arrangement or rules in family language	14	31.1%
No arrangement or rules in family language but Icelandic is generally used (Maj@H)	4	8.9%
No arrangement or rules in family language but parents' language other than Icelandic is generally used (ML@H)	9	20.0%
Yes, the rule is to use the parents' language other than Icelandic (ML@H)	6	13.3%
Yes, the one-parent-one-language rule (OPOL) is used	9	20.0%
Other	3	6.7%
Total	45	100.0%

Figure 2 Home language arrangements

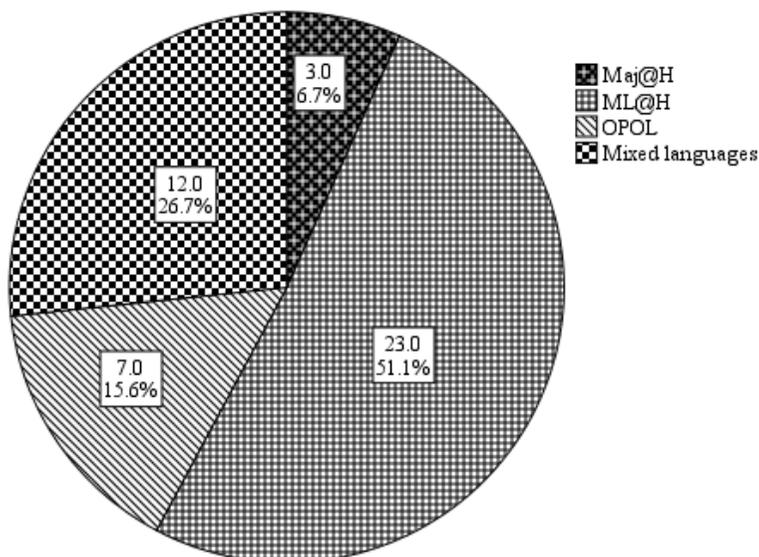


Table 4 Parents' language attitudes

Statements	N	M	Mode	SD	Strongly/ slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Strongly/ slightly agree
Important for my child to learn Icelandic.	44	4.93	5	.26			44 (100%)
It is possible for my child to be proficient in both languages.	44	4.77	5	.61	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	42 (95.5%)
We want our child to also learn our language other than Icelandic.	43	4.56	5	.93	2 (4.6%)	4 (9.3%)	37 (86.0%)
It is easy to raise my child to be an active bilingual.	44	4.16	5	1.12	6 (13.7%)	3 (6.8%)	35 (79.6%)
We have all the resources for it to raise my child with active bilingualism.	42	3.98	5	1.05	4 (9.5%)	11 (24.4%)	27 (64.3%)

Note: Indexes used a 5-point Likert scale of agreement where 1 was 'strongly disagree' and 5 was 'strongly agree.'

Parents' language attitudes. The parents' agreement to the statements on their child's bilingual development had an internal consistency of $\alpha = 0.51$, indicating that the scale was moderately reliable. All the parents agreed on the importance of their child learning Icelandic, although not everyone wanted their child to learn their minority language, as indicated in Table 4. Although 95.5% of the parents deemed it possible for their child to be proficient in both languages, only 79.6% thought this could easily be done, while only just over half of the parents agreed they had the necessary resources to facilitate this.

When asked who they most frequently turned to for advice on their child's bilingualism, 37.5% of all responses referred to preschool teachers. Other less frequent sources for advice were friends (18.8%), specialists or other professionals (17.7%), household members (12.5%), relatives (12.5%), and others (1.0%). They also claimed that their most-used materials for gathering information on their child's bilingual development were search engines (42.3%), booklets and information from preschool and specialists (26.8%), websites (18.3%), books on bilingualism (9.9%), and others (2.9%).

Children's linguistic characteristics. The children were mostly born in Iceland (80.0%; $N=36$); one of them had lived temporarily abroad after being born in Iceland. The rest (20.0%) were born in six foreign countries, namely Belgium, Malaysia, Norway, Poland, Serbia, and the USA. They moved to Iceland between the ages of 3 and 5. Two of them had resided in the country for nine months, the shortest residence time in the sample.

All the children spoke and understood Icelandic, as indicated in Tables 2 and 5. However, this was not the case for their minority languages. There were thirty-two children (71.1%) who could both understand and speak all their languages, as shown in Table 5.

Children's language use with family members also showed some variations within the sample. The general trend was that children either used Icelandic or minority languages with their family members, as depicted in Figure 3. More children chose to speak Icelandic with their mothers, fathers, and siblings, while minority languages were mostly spoken with other relatives at home. Less than half of the children preferred to speak their minority language with all their family members, while a small percentage of them chose to mix both languages.

Table 5 Languages understood and spoken by children

	Maj@H <i>n</i> = 3	ML@H <i>n</i> = 23	OPOL <i>n</i> = 7	Mixed languages <i>n</i> = 12	Total <i>N</i> = 45
Icelandic (U + S)	1	-	-	-	1
Icelandic (U + S), AB/C (U)	2	-	1	1	4
Icelandic (U + S), AB/C (U + S [-1])	-	3	2	3	8
Icelandic (U + S), AB/C (U + S)	-	20	4	8	32
Total	3	23	7	12	45

Note: U = Understood, S = Spoken, AB/C = Minority languages (each letter corresponds to a minority language), and [-1] meant one of the minority languages was not spoken.

Languages in children's activities. When reading to their child, eighteen mothers (40.0%) and ten fathers (23.8%) read in Icelandic, while minority languages were mainly used by seventeen mothers (37.8%) and twenty-seven fathers (64.3%). The rest used both languages equally when reading to their child, except for one case where the parents did not read at all.

Only six children attended minority language classes on a weekly basis. Additionally, only fifteen (33.3%) visited the library monthly and the rest visited less frequently. The number of books owned in the household was assessed using a six-point scale (0 = none, 1 = 1–10, 2 = 21–30, 3 = 31–40, 4 = 41–50, 5 = more than 50) and children had a mean of 2.38 (*SD* = 1.5) Icelandic books and 2.42 (*SD* = 1.6) books in minority languages. This meant that households generally owned between twenty-one and forty books in both languages. Furthermore, ten (22.2%) children had lived abroad, five of whom either had one or both Icelandic parents. Twenty-three of them (51.1%) went on frequent trips to the countries where the minority languages were spoken while the rest made occasional trips.

Parents reported some trends in the languages their children used in other activities, as portrayed in Figure 4. Icelandic was preferred when going to the movies or playing with other children, as well as when singing and listening to music. More children preferred watching television and online videos mostly in their minority languages. Interestingly, there were children who preferred English in these activities, particularly in playing computer games, even though they had not lived in English-speaking countries nor had parents with English as their native tongue.

Figure 3 Children's language most often used with family members

