English Mother Tongue Instruction

Hidden Curriculum and Heteroglossic Repertoires

Anna Mazur-Andersson

Supervisor: Dr. Francis M. Hult

Centre for Language and Literature, Lund University
MA in Language and Linguistics, English Linguistics
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Abstract

In contrast to the peripheral role of mother tongue as a subject in Sweden, English has retained an elevated position. Together with Swedish, English is characterized as being crucial to Swedish society, positioning both languages at the top of the linguistic hierarchy. Given the generally perceived low status of mother tongue instruction (MTI) and high status of English in Sweden, an interesting paradox emerges: instruction in English as mother tongue. What further complicates the situation of English as mother tongue is the fact that students who participate in English MTI in Sweden are a highly diverse group. Some come from or were born to parents from countries like USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, while others come from or were born to parents from countries where English is an official language – in the present study's case, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania. These students are often multilingual and apart from English, they also speak a heritage language; however, in Sweden they are enrolled in English MTI.

The purpose of the present study is to establish the position of English within MTI and examine the connections between what is stated in the policy, what a teacher thinks and experiences, and what students do and believe. In order to investigate students' heteroglossic repertoires, a biographical approach was used with twenty students ranging from ages 6 to 15. This creative, multimodal method combines Linguistic Portrait Silhouette (LPS) with interviews, providing two complementary sets of data – visual and narrative. In addition to LPS, classroom observations and interviews with the students' teacher were conducted in order to investigate the students' as well as the teacher's attitudes towards the subject. Finally, to examine the way the subject of mother tongue is constructed in the curriculum and how it compares to the high status of English, the umbrella curriculum and the mother tongue curriculum were analyzed, specifically looking at how mother tongue is positioned compared to English and Swedish.

The results point to the complexity of the situation linguistic minority students are in. On the one hand, a hidden curriculum contributes to the marginalization of the subject; on the other hand, the global appeal of English leads to the neglect of other heritage languages. The interview with the teacher sheds light on how the discursive construction of the subject of mother tongue is implemented in practice, providing data on the teacher's way of working and revealing the challenges faced by students and teachers. Last but not least, LPS worksheets and interviews reveal how students with different sociological relationships to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires.

Key words: mother tongue instruction, minority education, heritage language(s), language policy, linguistic repertoire

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Abbreviations

MTI Mother tongue instruction

LPS Linguistic Portrait Silhouette

MT Mother tongue

Chapter 1 Introduction

Numerous researchers (e.g. Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Benson, 2004; Cummins, 2001; García, 2009) have shown that mother tongue instruction (MTI, hereafter) plays an important role in enabling students to benefit from their school education as much as possible, as well as in developing their bilingual identity, thus aiding the students' personal development and strengthening their self-esteem.

On another level, mother tongue education policy serves the political function of shaping the host country's pluralistic image. In Sweden, the right to MTI has been regulated by law since the implementation of the *Home Language Reform* in 1977 (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). However, even though legal support for MTI has been relatively strong, the subject has a marginal role in the Swedish curriculum, being, unlike other subjects, a voluntary subject that is allocated limited time and resources and often relegated to after school hours (e.g. Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Reath Warren, 2013).

In contrast to the peripheral role of mother tongue as a subject in Sweden, English has retained an elevated position also when compared with other modern languages (Hult, 2012; Josephson, 2004). Together with Swedish, it is characterized as being crucial to Swedish society – thus positioning both languages at the top of the linguistic hierarchy (Hult, 2012). Such a positioning is no doubt reinforced by the widespread use of English in the modern world. Given the generally perceived low status of MTI and high status of English in Sweden, an interesting paradox emerges – namely instruction in English as mother tongue. What further complicates the situation of English as mother tongue is the fact that students who participate in English MTI in Sweden are a highly diverse group – some come from or were born to parents from countries like USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, while others come from or were born to parents from countries where English is an official language, which in the present study's case encompass countries in sub-Saharan Africa, such as Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania. These students are often multilingual and apart from English, they also speak a heritage language; however, in Sweden they are enrolled in English MTI.

The purpose of the present study is to establish the position of English within MTI and examine the connections between what is stated in the policy, what a teacher thinks and experiences, and what the students do and believe. In order to investigate students' heteroglossic[1] repertoires, a biographical approach was conducted with twenty students ranging from ages 6 to 15. This creative, multimodal method combines Linguistic Portrait Silhouette (LPS, hereafter) (Krumm & Jenkins, 2001) with interviews, providing two complementary sets of data – visual and narrative. The multilingual and multicultural paradox of English MTI makes the study of the students' heteroglossic repertoires particularly interesting. In addition to LPS, classroom observations and interviews with the students' teacher were conducted in order to investigate the students' as well as the teacher's attitudes towards the subject and obtain data from different perspectives. In order to examine the way the subject of mother tongue is constructed in the curriculum and how it compares to the high status of English, I analyze the umbrella curriculum (points 1 and 2 in Lgr11, namely *Fundamental values and tasks of the school* and *Overall goals and guidelines*) and juxtapose it with the mother tongue curriculum, specifically looking at how mother tongue is positioned compared to English and Swedish. Since previous research (e.g. Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Reath Warren, 2013; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015) has shown that MTI is a marginalized subject, it was of crucial importance to investigate what the position of English as mother tongue is.

In order to examine the multidimensional nature of the phenomenon, the study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How is the subject of mother tongue constructed discursively and how does it relate to the status/position of English as a global language?

2. How is the discursive construction of the subject of mother tongue implemented in practice?

3. How do students with different sociological relationships to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires?

[1] *Heteroglossia* is understood as a multilayered linguistic plurality inherent to living language (Bakhtin as referred to in Busch, 2014, p. 24).

The results from the three complementary accounts – analysis of the curriculum, observations and interview with the teacher, and LPS worksheets (Appendix 1) and interviews with the students – reveal the complexity of the situation linguistic minority[2] (UN, 2010) students are in. On the one hand, the hidden curriculum contributes to the marginalization of the subject; on the other hand, the global appeal of English leads to the neglect of other heritage languages. The interview with the teacher sheds light on how the discursive construction of the subject of mother tongue is implemented in practice, providing data on the teacher's way of working and revealing the challenges faced by students and teachers. Last but not least, LPS worksheets and interviews reveal interesting aspects of students' linguistic repertoires and point to a fairly common practice the minority student engages in, namely teaching one or more of their languages to family members, so-called language brokering (Tse, 1996; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Weisskirch, 2010).

Regarding the outline of the thesis, chapter 2 focuses on migration as the main cause for the establishment of MTI in Sweden. The chapter presents migration patterns and a short historical background of MTI in Sweden with a focus on the challenges MTI has faced regarding the implementation process as well as structural problems. Chapter 3 explores a number of key concepts that are of particular importance to mother tongue instruction, such as linguistic repertoire and mother tongue. The purpose with this conceptual orientation is to build a foundation for the analysis of the policy and the participants' statements about the nature of linguistic repertoires. Chapter 4 presents the methodology used to explore the connections between the different layers of the phenomenon of English MTI, namely the connections between language policy, what the students do and believe, and what the teacher thinks and experiences. Chapter 5 presents the results of the discourse analytic study of MTI policy and practice. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study as well as proposes possibilities for future research.

[2] The term *linguistic minority* is understood as a group that is in a non-dominant position, and whose members use a language different from the one spoken by the national majority (UN, 2010). It does not refer to the five official linguistic minorities in Sweden.

Chapter 2 Mother Tongue Instruction in Sweden – Then and Now

Chapter 2 identifies migration as the main cause for the establishment of mother tongue instruction in Sweden. After a short description of migration patterns, details pertaining to the way MTI is organised are presented along with ten biggest languages among students who had the right to MTI in primary school, school year 2016/17. Further, a short historical background is followed by challenges MTI has faced regarding the implementation process as well as structural problems.

2.1 Sweden – a multilingual and multicultural country

Sweden's immigration policy makes it one of the most open countries in the EU. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, at the end of 2017, 18.5% of the Swedish population was born abroad, a rise from 6.7% in 1970 (SCB, 2017). However, it has not always been like this. In the past, the dominant population in countries like Sweden, as well as elsewhere in Europe, upheld a self-image of homogeneity and monolingualism (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). This illusory homogeneity fed the national myth of ethnic and linguistic unity by excluding minorities, such as Finns and Sami in the case of Sweden (Hult, 2004; Milani, 2013).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1930 as many as 1.4 million people emigrated from Sweden (SCB, 2017). This trend reversed in the 1930s and has continued (except for a short break in 1972 – 1973) until now. Since the end of World War II until 1970, the number of Swedish citizens born abroad increased more than fivefold, from 100,000 in 1945 to 538,000 in 1970 (SCB, 2017). Most came from Scandinavia or other countries in Europe where unemployment was high (Migrationsverket, n.d.). In 1969, labor migration laws were tightened and since then a significant amount of those who immigrated to Sweden have fled from war, violence and oppression (Migrationsverket, n.d.). Because of conflicts in different parts of the world, Sweden saw large numbers of immigrants from Asia and South America in the 1970s; Iran, Chile, Lebanon, Poland and Turkey in the 1980s; former Yugoslavia in the

early 1990s; Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Eritrea in the last decade (SCB, 2017). Apart from fleeing conflict and unemployment, other sources of migration to Sweden include people from eight new states that acceded to the European Union in 2004, international students as well as Swedish returnees. In the view of these migrations, it cannot be denied that the ethnic and linguistic makeup of Sweden has undergone significant changes. Twenty-first century Sweden is a multilingual and multicultural country.

Data collected in the present study reflect these changes, not only in the sense of students' different backgrounds but also different conceptualizations of mother tongue. Students with various kinds of family and language histories orient differently to what the idea of a 'heritage language' or 'mother tongue' means to them; they navigate their heteroglossic landscapes differently.

2.2 Mother tongue instruction in Sweden

One of the issues connected with linguistic diversity is bilingual education. According to the Swedish school law (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185), pupils who speak a language other than Swedish at home have the right to mother tongue instruction in compulsory primary and secondary school[3]. Municipalities are obliged to organize mother tongue lessons on condition that there are minimum five pupils who speak the language and that a suitable teacher can be found (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185). Unlike other subjects, mother tongue tuition is not compulsory and has to be requested by the parents or the student (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185). In most municipalities, mother tongue instruction in primary schools is provided on a weekly basis as a 40 to 60-minute lesson, usually scheduled outside school hours (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Students who are entitled to mother tongue instruction also have the right to study guidance conducted in the mother tongue (if it is deemed necessary) (SFS 2011:185).

[3] In 1985 the definition of eligibility for mother tongue tuition changed from those for whom the language was a "living element" in the home to those for whom it was "the daily language of communication with at least one guardian and who had basic knowledge in the language" (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185); the official national minority languages as well as those spoken by internationally adopted children are exempted from these regulations (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012).

Table 1 shows the ten biggest languages among students eligible for MTI in primary school in the school year 2016/17. Students, who had the right to MTI made up 27% of all students; however, only 15% took part in the tuition. The numbers in the table reflect the immigration patterns of the last decade with several of the languages being spoken in areas affected by conflict. English is the fifth biggest language on the list – out of over 16,000 eligible students a little over a half participated in the instruction. MTI was offered in 144 different languages.

Table 1

Ten biggest languages among students with the right to MTI in primary school, school year 2016/17 (source SCB, 2017)

Language	Number of students eligible for MTI	% of all students	Participants in MTI	
			Number	% of all students
Total	**275,329**	**27.0**	**156,711**	**15.4**
Arabic	64,261	6.3	42,625	4.2
Somali	20,661	2.0	15,321	1.5
Persian	18,984	1.9	10,568	1.0
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	16,070	1.6	8,289	0.8
English	16,033	1.6	8,555	0.8
Spanish	13,397	1.3	6,931	0.7
Kurdish	13,179	1.3	7,349	0.7
Finnish	8,920	0.9	4,438	0.4
Polish	8,864	0.9	5,268	0.5
Albanian	8,758	0.9	5,335	0.5
Other languages (144)	86,202	8.5	42,032	4.1

2.3 Historical background

The ethnic revival movement of the 1960s and 1970s brought pluralistic ideology to Sweden, which wanted to position itself as a modern and progressive country (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). In 1977, the Parliament passed the Home Language Reform, which obligated municipalities to organize MTI as well as study guidance for students who spoke other

language than Swedish. As one of the building blocks of the Swedish immigration policy in the 1970s, the Home Language Reform enhanced the image of the Swedish society as pluralistic promoting integration in favor of assimilation (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Sweden was one of the first countries to introduce legislation that guaranteed mother tongue education for all minorities (native minorities as well as immigrants) under certain conditions (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Mother tongue lessons would be offered to those for whom the language constituted a "living element in the home" provided at least four students spoke the same language and a suitable teacher could be employed (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012, p. 61). Since MTI was elective, it had to be requested by the parents or the student (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012).

The aim of MTI was to promote active bilingualism through, on the one hand, enabling the minority student to succeed in school by providing equal conditions to that of the Swedish national, and on the other, maintaining his/her ethnic and cultural identity (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012, p. 61). In reality the implementation proved to be challenging. The challenges were numerous and involved recruitment of teachers of over 100 different languages, development of teaching materials, putting in place teacher development programs, solving the scheduling and premises issues, not to mention financing or accommodating the wishes of parents and mother tongue teachers (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012).

2.4 Problems with mother tongue instruction

Early research on the implementation of mother tongue education (e.g. Municio, 1987) showed that the subject was not integrated in the schedule, mother tongue teachers were marginalized, and that parents of the students who were eligible for MTI were not involved in the decision making process regarding MTI or not at all informed about the subject (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012, p. 65). Later evaluations of the subject (see e.g. Hyltenstam & Toumela, 1996; Skolverket, 2008; Bunar, 2010; Skolinspektionen, 2010; Taguma et al., 2010) confirmed these findings and concluded that mother tongue education has been affected by a multitude of issues on a number of levels, such as organizational, content, teacher competence and training, not to mention the low status of the subject.

More recent research (see e.g. Lainio, 2012; Reath Warren, 2013; Cabau, 2014; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Dávila, 2017) as well as evaluations of MTI (Skolverket, 2008; Skolinspektionen, 2010) show that these problems are still valid, however positive effects of MTI have been noted. Even though MTI is limited to one-hour lesson a week, statistical analysis of the average merit ratings of student results has shown that students who have participated in MTI achieve a higher average merit rating than not only those who have not participated, but also than students with a Swedish background (Skolverket, 2008). As noted in the report *With a different mother tongue – students in primary school and school activities* (Skolverket, 2008, p. 18), it seems "remarkable" that tuition in a marginalized elective subject should result in such noticeable differences in academic performance. However, one has to be cautious about these findings, as they might be attributable to a number of factors that have not been controlled for.

2.4.1 Implementation process and its challenges

Lainio (2012) and Cabau (2014) address the recurring criticisms of Swedish MTI, which mainly relate to the implementation processes, by examining the practical conditions of MTI implementation in terms of regulation, organization and format in order to better grasp the discrepancy between the discourse enhancing MTI and the various challenges MTI faces. To illustrate the subject's low status, Cabau (2014) borrows from Josephson (2004) who described it using a parable of a teachers' room where everyone listens to the English and Swedish teachers; the Spanish, German and French teachers are under pressure, yet still somehow respected, while teachers of immigrant/minority languages are invisible (Josephson, 2004, p. 128).

One of the consequences of the negative image of MTI is the lack of qualified mother tongue teachers, another is that adequate teaching materials are hard to come by (Cabau, 2014). Furthermore, the organization of MTI outside school hours reinforces the marginality of the subject as well as negative attitudes towards it (Lainio, 2012), making cooperation between mother tongue teachers and other teaching stuff extremely difficult if not impossible (Cabau, 2014). As a result MTI lives 'a life of its own', without any connection with other teaching (Skolinspektionen, 2010).

Cabau (2014) further points to the term 'MTI' itself – according to Cabau, the term denotes a peculiar status, where a minority language is positioned as distinct from the dominant language of Swedish or other Modern Languages. This terminology enhances the feeling of 'otherness' that students with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds often experience.

Even though MTI has enjoyed a solid support, both legally and politically, the above-mentioned problems clearly signal a discrepancy between the official discourse and language policy on the one hand and the actual implementation of MTI on the other hand (Cabau, 2014). As a solution, Cabau (2014) proposes that "the richness of human resources represented in the Swedish society" needs to be valued (p. 422), which entails valuing multilingualism.

Similar discrepancies transpire from Reath Warren's (2013) research in which she examined mother tongue curriculum using the framework of Constructive Alignment and critically analyzed it in order to reveal what the hidden curriculum is. While the intended syllabus is well-aligned with the fundamental values, tasks and goals of the school (namely, the democratic principles, understanding and compassion for others, objectivity and an open approach, equivalent education) (Lgr11), the hidden curriculum, which comprises attitudes towards the subject, as well as the organizational and implementational aspects of the curriculum, often impede successful implementation. McLaren (2015) refers to the hidden curriculum as "the unintended outcomes of the schooling process" which "can often displace the professional educational ideals and goals of the classroom teacher or school" (p. 147). The hidden curriculum – even though not written – is well known, expected and experienced by students and teachers alike (Reath Warren, 2013, p. 96). These hidden aspects not only influence the perception of MTI and its value in the society, but also affect student results and attitudes towards the subject (Reath Warren, 2013). Reath Warren (2013) argues that awareness of the hidden curriculum can be used to influence implementation and improve outcomes. In an environment where the negative effects of the hidden curriculum are challenged and where MTI is implemented effectively, she has noted an improved alignment between the values, tasks and goals of the school and all aspects of the subject, even though MTI remains elective and is limited to a one-hour lesson (Reath Warren, 2013, p. 114).

2.4.2 Teachers' experiences

Ganuza & Hedman (2015) investigate pedagogical beliefs, practices and ideological assumptions of fifteen mother tongue teachers. Their findings confirm the subject's marginalization despite strong legal support for MTI. They point to the subject's elective nature, limited hours it is allocated, and the fact that its teachers and the subject itself are often contested in public debate as underlying problems. The teachers in Ganuza & Hedman's (2015) study struggle with issues of legitimacy regarding both the subject and the teachers themselves, especially their right to be perceived as 'real' teachers. It transpires from the interviews that in order to enhance the legitimacy of MTI and its teachers, the teachers construct mother tongue as a subject that can make a difference in the pupils' lives by contributing to their success.

Regarding multilingualism, while the teachers voice positive attitudes towards bilingualism and emphasize many benefits both for the individual and for society, the underlying ideology is mostly monoglossic, with the view of bilingualism as an equal mastery of two separate systems (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015). Even though the teachers allow for the use of Swedish during mother tongue lessons, its use is limited for specific purposes, like translations of words, and excessive use of Swedish or English is discouraged (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015). The monoglossic ideology, which is prevalent in Sweden and the strong belief in the separation of languages, which is at the bottom of it, has led to the marginalization of MTI in the Swedish educational system (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015, p. 12). Along these lines, languages, culture and identity are viewed as static and all students are seen as sharing a common heritage. In this way the students are perceived as a homogenous group, hence their cultural and linguistic diversity is discounted. The teachers, who themselves are advocates and role models for the mother tongue, believe in a close link between MTI, the development of the minority language and reinforcement of a shared 'common heritage identity' (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015). Despite unfavorable working conditions and other limitations characteristic for MTI, the teachers are deeply committed to their work and share a strong investment in their pupils (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015). On the other hand, the teachers express diffidence regarding pedagogical practices they employ in their teaching since they often meet scrutiny from colleagues and parents (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015).

Chapter 3 Conceptual Orientation: Key Concepts in Multilingualism

Rather than describing a single theoretical framework, Chapter 3 explores a number of theoretical perspectives on key concepts that are of particular importance to mother tongue instruction. These concepts include linguistic repertoire, mother tongue, heritage language and native speaker. The chapter begins with the notion of societal bilingualism, where it touches on the relation between language and power, moving on to a brief discussion of models of individual bilingualism. Finally, it focuses on translanguaging – a recent approach to multilingualism. The purpose of exploring these concepts here is to form the foundation for the analysis of the policy and the participant statements about the nature of linguistic repertoires.

3.1 Linguistic repertoires – language variation in social contexts

Past views on bilingualism - as leading to problems in educational achievement or as a problem of interference between two pure codes, have long been discredited. The shift from focus on linguistic form in isolation to linguistic form in human context has pointed to various roles individuals play in various situations (Hymes, 1974, p. 77). Hence, the conclusion that the bilingual plays a different role depending on which language s/he chooses since the languages have a different social meaning for him/her (Haugen, 1977, p. 127). The concept of domain explains the choice of language and topic as related to sociocultural norms and expectations, thus the variety of language chosen to talk to one's supervisor will differ from the variety one talks with a spouse (Fishman, 1965). In a multilingual setting, that could imply a change from one language to another.

Hymes (1974) underlines the importance of looking at language from its social matrix. Consequently, since language acquisition is very much a social process, it is important to consider not only what a child learns but also how and under which conditions s/he develops her/his communicative competence (Oksaar, 1971). Oksaar (1971) concludes that as a result of simultaneous exposure to LA and LB, her child, bilingual in Swedish and

Estonian, has developed a system that contains elements from both languages, a so-called LX. Having these three systems at his disposal, the child chooses the most appropriate medium of expression depending on the situation and interlocutor. The social aspect of language acquisition is central to Fishman's (1965) hypothesis that even though a bilingual speaker can hypothetically choose either of the two languages in any situation, the bilingual's habitual language choice is not random; on the contrary, one of the co-available languages will be chosen depending on a situation and/or interlocutor.

John Gumpertz (1964) introduced the notion of *verbal repertoire* defining it as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction" (p. 137). Not only is a certain register determined by specific circumstances, it also helps the speaker "create one or more social identities in interaction with others" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 188). In a sense, as MacSwan (2017) argues, we are all multilinguals since everybody chooses a different way of talking depending on what social and situational context one finds oneself in. These so-called social languages (Gee, 2014) are present in everybody's linguistic repertoires but in the case of bilinguals, the different register might correspond to a different language, and so my Polish-Swedish bilingual daughter will select Polish when speaking with her grandparents and Polish cousins, Swedish when talking to her father and Swedish friends, and a mixture of both with myself.

A heteroglossic ideology of bilingualism looks at the interrelationship between multiple language practices (García, 2009). These heteroglossic language practices, anchored in social context, are not arbitrary (Busch, 2014). Bakhtin's use of heteroglossic as multiple voices (as referred to in García, 2009) leads to the understanding of linguistic repertoire as fluid and flexible, related to different spaces and moments in time (Busch, 2014). The concept of language repertoire allows for a more fluid understanding of language, as opposed to the perception of languages as clear-cut entities (Busch, 2012).

3.2 Language constructions – language and power

Language and nation states are two closely associated concepts. Nation states often use language to consolidate political power marginalizing minorities who speak a different language or a variety not used by those in power. In this way, some ways of talking are

privileged and others are stigmatized. Linguistic stigma is further reinforced through traditional prescriptivism and linguistic purism, which promote the view that a certain variety has an inherently higher value and is indispensable in maintaining standards of communication. Language academies established in a number of countries (e.g. in 1582 in Italy, 1635 in France, and 1713 in Spain) were tasked with maintaining the purity of a regional language associated with the privileged classes. However, descriptive analysis of languages by means of the same taxonomy lead to a conclusion that all languages were equally complex, even those deemed 'primitive' (MacSwan, 2017).

Bourdieu (2014) and Foucault (1972), among others, have pointed to the close relation between language and power. According to Bourdieu (2014), an utterance does not only serve communicative purposes, but also carries signs of wealth and authority. Consequently, the value of the utterance is determined by the relation of power established between the speakers' linguistic competences as well as the whole social structure, present in every interaction. In the linguistic hierarchy of Sweden, mother tongue has been persistently surrounded by negative discourse, especially when viewed against the elevated status of English (e.g. Josephson, 2004; Hult, 2012). The negative discourse surrounding MTI is in conflict with the dominant ideology of pluralism, multiculturalism and multilingualism apparent in language policy. Two discourses in place can be identified here – on the one hand, the dominant ideology of pluralism, and on the other hand, the negative discourse surrounding MTI.

3.3 Mother tongue, heritage language and native speaker

A critical concept in the current study is mother tongue. As Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) points out, it is not an easy concept to define. She distinguishes four criteria that influence the way mother tongue is defined, namely origin, identification (further subdivided into internal and external), competence and function. Each of these factors not only changes the definition but also might point to a different mother tongue as spoken by the same person. Furthermore, with the exception of the definition by origin, mother tongue might change throughout a speaker's lifetime (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In terms of origin, it is the language one learned first or the language one has established the first long-lasting verbal contacts in; by internal

identification, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) refers to the language one identifies with/as a native speaker of; external identification – the language one is identified with/as a native speaker of by others; competence defines the language one knows best; and finally by function, she refers to the language one uses most (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, p. 106). García (2009) chooses to use the term *home language practices* (p. 58) on the grounds that the role of the family is rapidly changing in the multilingual world, and the language spoken at home might not be either the language of the mother's or the father's; however not without acknowledging that the term is, at times, limiting (p. 58). As discussed by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), the definition gains complexity in multilingual settings since "(...) parents and children may not have the same mother tongue ... [in] situations where the mother tongue by origin may not be learned in infancy and may not be taught by the primary care-takers (...)" (p. 111).

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), the definitions by function and competence should be used with caution when assessing minority children's mother tongue since many minority children are forced to use a second or foreign language simply because of lack of facilities, such as daycare and schools, which are run through the medium of their mother tongue. In such cases, one might say that the dominant language is imposed on a minority group. Similarly, when defining mother tongue by competence, one might easily overlook the fact that minority children fail to develop competence in their mother tongue because of limited chances to practice and use the language (the said daycare and educational facilities are run through the medium of dominant languages).

Closely related to the concept of mother tongue is that of native speaker. Similarly to mother tongue, the notion of native speaker is problematic. In order to account for the growth and global spread of English, Braj Kachru (1982) divided the World Englishes into the inner, outer and expanding circles. The inner circle refers to the countries where English is the native language or L1 (United Kingdom, USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia), by the outer circle, Karchru (1982) means countries where English is spoken as a second language (e.g. India, Nigeria), while in the expanding circle countries, English is spoken as a foreign language (e.g. China, Russia, Brazil) (Kachru, 1982). Even though the model has been criticized (see review by e.g. Schmitz, 2013) or could be seen as introducing divisions between the three circle countries (such as the generally perceived higher status of the inner circle English than the outer or expanding one), it presents the world as a multilingual and

diverse place (Schmitz, 2013). In the present study, the focus is on students who take part in mother tongue instruction in English. Some of these students have a parent/parents from or were born in the inner circle countries (USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand as distinguished by Kachru, 1982), while others have a parent/parents from or were born in the outer circle countries (which in the present study's case encompass countries in sub-Saharan Africa where English is an official language, such as Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania). These children depart from a traditional understanding of an English native speaker, typically associated with the former group. Moreover, due to their accent, it might be challenging to understand children from the latter group. Additionally, depending on the circumstances, the participants can be grouped according to the reasons why they emigrated. Ogbu's (1983) influential cultural-ecological theory of minority student performance distinguishes between autonomous, voluntary and involuntary minorities. Students in the second group (those with origins in the outer circle countries) better fit an involuntary minority, namely people who, for a number of reasons, were forced to emigrate. One of the many problems this group faces is segregation, which, according to the National Agency for Education's report (Skolverket, 2018b), has been on the rise in Swedish schools.

According to Valdés (2001, p. 37), a heritage language is a language with which an individual has a personal and historical connection, not necessarily defined by proficiency. Since the heritage language or languages are to some extent spoken in the home, the heritage language student has had a chance to develop some level of functional proficiency in the heritage language and is thus different from a foreign language student (Valdés, 2001). Valdés (2001) observes that compared to "students who have acquired the language exclusively in the classroom, the heritage language student may seem superior in some respects and quite limited in others" (p. 47). Students in the present study align with different conceptualizations of heritage language, proving that different backgrounds result in diverse understanding of the concept, often manifested by affiliation to one parent and not the other.

3.4 Individual multilingualism

To account for the linguistic complexity of the twenty-first century, García (2009) proposes a dynamic model of bilingualism in which a bilingual and his/her multiple language practices

need to constantly adjust to 'the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act' (p. 53). In the globalized world, language interactions often take place on multitude planes engaging multimodalities such as visuals, print, noun, or text. Such linguistic practices go beyond the linear models of subtractive or additive bilingualism and require a dynamic view of bilingualism.

The dual competence model views languages as two separate systems. García & Wei (2014) attribute the dual model to code-switching researchers viewing it as bilinguals having two separate languages, which are 'switched' or 'manipulated' depending on the context of use (MacSwan, 2017, p. 179). On the other hand in the unitary model, the structural knowledge associated with what is perceived socio-politically as two discrete languages is reflected in a single, internally undifferentiated system (García & Wei, 2014, p. 15). To account for the practices of translanguaging, the linguistic features in the unitary model can be used in ways to conform to societal constructions of 'a language' or can be used differently (García & Wei, 2014, p. 15). However, as MacSwan (2017) argues, García & Otheguy's (2014) unitary model of bilingualism lacks any internal structural differentiation that might correspond to named languages, thus it is a model that questions the way we think about code-switching and multilingualism. In the third model, called the integrated multilingual model, MacSwan (2017) contends that bilinguals have a single system with many shared grammatical resources but with some internal language-specific differentiation (p. 179).

MacSwan (2017) argues that the unitary model that lacks internal language-particular differentiation is not plausible since such a system does not account for the many contradictory parameters bilingual speakers choose from when they engage in code-switching behavior (e.g. consider adjective/noun word order, the underlying linguistic system of a Spanish-English bilingual will generate *the white house*, *la casa blanca*, and *the white casa*, but NOT *the house white*, *la blanca casa*, or *the casa white* (MacSwan, 2017, p. 181)). These restrictions point to some kind of structured and internally organized differentiation in the bilingual grammar (see MacSwan, 2017, p. 180-181 for more examples). MacSwan (2017) posits an integrated view of bilingualism in which the fixed items are shared linguistic resources, and the parameters of linguistic variation are encoded in the lexicon (MacSwan, 2017, p. 185). If this idea is further applied to different social languages and speech registers,

one can say that monolinguals have equally diverse linguistic systems as bilinguals (MacSwan, 2017).

3.5 Translanguaging and linguistic repertoire

García (2009) defines translanguaging as engagement in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices that approaches bilingualism from the point of bilingual practices that are readily observable and not, as has often been the case, from the point of languages (p. 44). Bilinguals translanguage in order to facilitate communication with others as well as to understand their bilingual world; they make use of their complete linguistic repertoire. For bilingual communities translanguaging could mean using their languages for different modalities, e.g. when children's literature is more readily available in English, then English will be selected while Spanish will be used to pray since Spanish is the language used for this purpose (García, 2009, p. 45).

In 1989, Grosjean famously stated that "the bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person". Nevertheless, balanced bilingualism is a commonly accepted idea in the society at large (García, 2009). Since societal forces constrain us to act in certain ways and since the monolingual monoglossic practices to a large extent constitute the norm, bilingual speakers often view themselves as individuals who speak two separate languages. The monoglossic monolingual ideology, especially predominant within education (García & Wei, 2014), is prevalent in Sweden (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015). The treatment of the bilingual's languages as two separate codes stems from the monoglossic belief in one code – one system, two codes – two systems feeding the expectation that the bilingual should be equally competent in the two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors.

Therefore, the ability to translanguage is often judged from a monolingual perspective and seen as deficient, hence the hybrid of e.g. Spanglish is seen from a monolingual Spanish or English perspective (García, 2009). García (2011) challenges the misconception persistent in the discourse about semilingualism that multilingual speakers are cognitively lacking. She maintains that translanguaging does not connote ignorance but reflects greater choices, a wider range of expression as well as conveying rich linguistic and cultural knowledge (García, 2011). As García (2009) states, the concept of translanguaging reveals a fluid nature

of the bilingual's linguistic repertoire comprised of a 'languaging continuum' (p. 47), with no clear-cut boundaries between the languages. Consequently, because there is one linguistic repertoire, García (2011) sees multilingual students as being positioned in different points of a bilingual continuum (p. 4). While the above example of translanguaging seems similar to Fishman's (1965) domains, García (2009) points out that translanguaging includes languaging within the same domain (p. 47) (however, she acknowledges that bilinguals usually have differentiated use and competence in their languages).

Even though García and colleagues' (García, 2011; García & Wei, 2014) view on multilingualism differs from MacSwan's (2017), there is room for common ground within the concept of repertoire. Looking through a translanguaging lens, García (2011) sees bilinguals' use of languages as resulting from "one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively" (p. 1). MacSwan (2017) agrees with this view; however, he contends the existence of internally undifferentiated unitary grammar (p. 172), positing instead that multilinguals have a richly diverse grammar. To support this view, MacSwan (2017) quotes numerous examples from code-switching research demonstrating "that bilinguals are exquisitely sensitive to an incredibly rich and intricate underlying system of rules for both languages in their repertoires." (p. 190). Additionally, both perspectives consider multilingualism as a norm rather than exception and advocate that multilingual children should have access to their full linguistic repertoires. MacSwan (2017) as well as García (2011) and García & Wei (2014) concede that linguistic diversity should be viewed as a critically important resource in promoting multilingual students' educational success.

3.6 Language brokering

Tse (1996) defines language brokering as "interpretation and translation performed in everyday situations by bilinguals who have had no special training" (p. 486). As Tse (1996) points out, language brokers do not only transmit information, often they make important decisions regarding themselves and their family, which normally are the parents' responsibility (p. 486). Acting as brokers, the children take on the roles of mediators and decision-makers, which unsurprisingly result in mixed affective consequences (Tse, 1996; Morales & Hanson, 2005). In the literature reviewed by Morales & Hanson (2005), the

children reported both negative and positive effects of language brokering (see also Weisskirch, 2010). On the positive side were increased confidence, the feelings of pride, independence and maturity, acquisition of first and second cultural knowledge, while on the negative side language brokers described added stress, feelings of frustration or pressure to translate accurately. In the scope of the present study, language brokering takes the form of teaching one or more languages to the parent(s) and/or siblings.

3.7 Conclusion

The fact that education often takes place in a multilingual context brings with it challenges for policy makers, administrators, educators and children. In the present day effects of old and new migration patterns, old concepts (such as mother tongue or native speaker) acquire new multidimensional ramifications as heteroglossic linguistic practices of individuals become ever more complex. In the translanguaging approach to bilingualism, multilingualism is seen as a norm rather than exception (García, 2009). Within education, where the opposite view has been persistent, this approach offers ways to utilize the linguistic potential of multilingual individuals.

This chapter's aim was to provide a conceptual orientation for the study through the presentation of key concepts, such as repertoire, mother tongue, native speaker, heritage language as well as issues pertaining to multilingualism, from societal to individual bilingualism, and the relation between language and power. These key concepts in multilingualism form the basis upon which the policy as well as participant statements about the nature of linguistic repertoires are interpreted.

Chapter 4 Methodology: A Discourse Analytic Approach to Investigating Mother Tongue Instruction in Policy and Practice

Chapter 4 presents the methods I used to explore the connections between the different layers of the phenomenon of English MTI, namely the connections between language policy, what the students do and believe, and what the teacher thinks and experiences. By means of nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2004), I attempt to illustrate how discourses from multiple scales intersect in the social phenomenon of English mother tongue instruction.

4.1 Setting

Through professional contacts, I made the acquaintance with a mother tongue teacher who expressed an interest in cooperation in order to find ways to improve her work. Already at the first meeting, a positive rapport with the teacher was established and the teacher suggested that I shadow her. The subsequent meetings and classroom observations were recorded in detail in the form of field notes with permission from all participants. The purpose with these observations was to obtain first-hand experience of what the MTI looks like as opposed to what is stated in the curriculum. The non-participant observations were conducted during mother tongue lessons and study guidance lessons in Malmö.

According to a recent report from the Swedish National Agency for Education, *Analysis of the importance of family background for school results and differences between schools* (Skolverket, 2018a), students' socioeconomic background to a large extent determines how well students do at school (however, since MTI students receive grades starting from grade 6, academic performance has been outside the focus of the present study). The report shows that since 2000, school segregation in Sweden has increased and students from different backgrounds rarely attend the same school, findings which are consistent with Ogbu's (1983) minority groups. Because of the way MTI is organized in Malmö, mother

tongue teachers conduct lessons in a number of schools. Consequently, data collection for the present study comprised all five schools where the focal teacher taught. The distinctly different student demographics in those schools confirmed the findings from the National Agency for Education's report that students from different socioeconomic backgrounds rarely attend the same school (Skolverket, 2018a).

4.2 Participants

Altogether 20 students took part in the study, 11 girls and 9 boys. The age of the participants ranged from 6 to 15, which reflects the way MTI is organized in Malmö municipality, namely mother tongue lessons start at grade 0 and continue through to grade 9 at the primary school level. All the children were assigned a pseudonym.

Because participants of the present study were minors, an affirmative consent from the parents to participate in the research was necessary. A consent letter in Swedish and English was drafted (Appendix 3). The letter informed the parents that one of the aims of the present research is to investigate how students perceive mother tongue education and how it helps them shape their linguistic identity. As required by law, children's anonymity was guaranteed at all times and no sensitive information, such as ethnicity or religion was collected. Contact information was provided in case the parents had any questions. After consulting the mother tongue teacher about how to best distribute the letter, it was decided that the letter would be handed out to the children who would deliver it to their parents. The idea to email the letter was abandoned on the grounds that the parents do not usually reply to correspondence from the mother tongue teacher. As a reminder, short text messages were sent with an option to scan the signed letter. Only students whose parents returned a signed consent letter participated in the study. Parental consent was obtained from 20 students and 19 were interviewed. One student was absent when interviews were conducted, and one interview failed to record due to technical difficulties.

The mother tongue teacher (pseudonym Lucia) is a middle-aged American female employed permanently by Malmö Stad as mother tongue teacher for grades 0 to 9 at the time of the study. She has taught mother tongue for over 6 years and also works as a translator. She moved to Sweden with her family in the 90s. Her career in Sweden has been tied to

education. She taught English "as part of the major, as an independent subject, as part of the teaching education program, as a part of personnel development, and as part of the international student program" at a Swedish university (Written Survey with Lucia, 10 April 2018). Lucia has an undergraduate degree not connected to education. She also did a fellowship year at a university in Sweden in the 80s and studied English/TESOL (Applied Linguistics) at the graduate level in the 90s (Written Survey with Lucia, 10 April 2018).

4.2.1 Grouping

As stated above, data in the present study were collected in five schools with a distinctly different student demographic. Two of the schools – School 2 and 5 – were the focus of non-participant observations. To obtain more detailed data regarding student demographics and the economic situation of the inhabitants in the area where the two schools are located, I downloaded a district report from www.hitta.se (Kvartersrapporten) for School 2[4] and School 5. In the area where School 2 is situated, 24% of the inhabitants were born abroad, compared to 30% in the area where School 5 is placed. The average income per person is over one third higher in School 2 area. Regarding accommodation, in School 2 neighborhood, 62% of inhabitants live in rental accommodation and 35% own their apartments, compared to 86% and 14% respectively in School 5 neighborhood. In the area where School 2 is located, 66% of the population has post-secondary education, compared to only 36% in the neighborhood where School 5 is situated. The data corroborate findings from the Swedish National Agency for Education's report *Analysis of the importance of family background for school results and differences between schools* (Skolverket, 2018a), pointing to the growing segregation in Swedish schools.

Because of distinctly different student demographics, participants in the study were divided into two groups (Table 2). Group A (shaded in Table 2) consists of 12 children born either in Sweden or in an inner circle country (Kachru, 1982). These children attend School 1, 2 or 3. Group B (white in Table 2) consists of 8 children born in or who have parents from outer circle countries (Kachru, 1982), apart from one child who was born in Sweden but whose parents are from two different countries in the Middle East and share English as a

[4] The reports are not included in the Appendix; to generate a report from www.hitta.se for an area, one needs to indicate a street name, which would reveal which schools were of interest.

common language. Students in Group B attend School 4 and 5. The observations focused on differences (if any) between the two groups of students as well as the teacher's perception of the difficulties encountered in the two settings. The grouping was further substantiated by commonalities found during coding and analysis. It is important to point out that the two groups to some extent pre-existed the study as students from different socio-economic backgrounds rarely attend the same schools. The teacher herself was of an opinion that the two groups would be impossible to combine (Field notes, 12 December 2017).

As shown in Table 2, students in Group A come from Sweden, England or the USA and speak English and Swedish[5]. Older children also listed another language, such as Spanish, German or French, which they take at school. Students from Group B, come from countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with an exception of one child who was born in Sweden (whose both parents were born abroad, as mentioned above). Apart from English, Swedish and another modern language that they take at school, these children speak at least one more language, such as Swahili, Twi, Krio, Yoruba, Pashto, Farsi, Urdu, Arabic and/or Danish (some of the children lived in Denmark before relocating to Sweden).

[5] It has to be noted that the children's proficiency in any of the languages listed was not tested in any way. As transpired from the interviews, some of the children listed a language because they can count in it or say a few words. The LPS should be understood as a self-representation and does not in any way prove linguistic proficiency.

Table 2

Participants, their country of origin, and languages (kept in the order listed by the students in their worksheets)

Group	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Comes from	Years in Sweden	Languages	School
A	Fiona	9,5	F	England	6	English, Swedish	1
A	Frank	11	M	England	6	Swedish, English	1
A	Sara	9	F	Sweden	9	Danish, French, English, Swedish, Norwegian	1
A	Molly	7	F	England	6	English, Swedish, Spanish	2
A	Lisa	7	F	Sweden	7	Swedish, English	2
A	Lena	9	F	Sweden	9	English, Swedish	2
A	Jaimi	10	M	Sweden	10	English, Swedish	2
A	Eva	11	F	USA	10	Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Vietnamese, English, German	2
A	Ellen	12	F	Sweden (USA)	10	English, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Croatian	2
A	Mike	12	M	USA	10	English, Swedish, Spanish, Croatian	2
A	Emma	6	F	Sweden	6	Swedish, French, English	3
A	Ron	12	M	Sweden	12	English, Swedish, German	3
B	Zoe	13	F	Tanzania	1,5	Swahili, English, Swedish	4
B	Jim	13	M	Ghana	1	English, Swedish, Twi	4
B	Dan	13	M	Sierra Leone	11	Krio, English, Danish, German, Swedish	4
B	David	15	M	Sierra Leone	10	Krio, Swedish, English, Danish, French	4
B	Ray	13	F	Nigeria	3	English, Swedish, Yoruba, Korean, Spanish, Japanese	4
B	Allan	7	M	Sweden	7	Pashto, English, Danish, Swedish, Urdu, Arabic, Farsi	5
B	Pete	10	M	Sierra Leone	9 months	Krio, English, Swedish	5
B	Sally	8	F	Uganda	2	English, Swedish, Swahili	5

4.3 Data collection

In order to answer the first research question – *How is the subject of mother tongue constructed discursively and how does it relate to the status/position of English as a global language?* – policy document *Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the recreation centre, 2011* (English version) (Lgr11) was downloaded as a PDF document from

the National Agency for Education's website (www.skolverket.se). The umbrella curriculum (specifically points 1 and 2 – *Fundamental values and tasks of the school* and *Overall goals and guidelines*) (Lgr11, p. 9-21) and the mother tongue curriculum (Lgr11, p. 83-94) were of particular interest in the present study. Apart from the curriculum, the National Agency for Education's website devoted to mother tongue (*Rätt till modersmålsundervisning* (Skolverket, n.d.)) was accessed and compared with the curriculum.

The second research question - *How is the discursive construction of the subject of mother tongue implemented in practice?* – was addressed by means of non-participant as well as participant observations (Nunan, 1992; Gobo & Molle, 2017), which were recorded in the form of detailed field notes. The first meeting with the teacher took place on December 12th, 2017. The meeting consisted of an informal interview with the teacher and non-participant observations of three mother tongue lessons – in grade 0, combined grade 1, 2 and 3, and combined grade 4, 5 and 6. The second meeting took place on January 26th, 2018 and consisted of an informal interview with the teacher, non-participant observations of five sessions of individual study guidance (each lasting between 20 and 40 minutes) as well as non-participant observation of a mother tongue lesson in a mixed grade group (children ranged from grade 1 to grade 6). These two sessions served the purpose of getting to know the teacher and the students, and to map the historical body cycles of actors involved in the practice of English MTI (Hult, 2017). Collected field notes were further complemented with a structured interview with the teacher.

Following the principles of ethnographic research, a range of interviewing methods was employed – from a spontaneous, informal conversation to a formally arranged meeting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Gobo & Molle, 2017). This kind of construction helped to reveal a fuller picture of the situation since, as shown in other research (Hergreaves, as referred to in Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 108), there is a problem about 'relating perspectives elicited in interviews to actions in other settings'. Conducting a more structured interview with the teacher at a later stage of the cooperation allowed for enough time to establish the relationship through participant observations by means of informal conversations. Questions in the interview (see Appendix 2) were divided into three sections. Section 1 comprised background information, such as age, education and former work experience. Section 2 focused on work situation and conditions, particularly the way MTI is

organized as well as the relationship with the parents and other school personnel. The last section referred to teaching content, methodology and way of working. By drawing attention to life history and experience of the teacher, the interview served the purpose of establishing the teacher's historical body (Hult, 2017). It investigated the beliefs the teacher holds about the issues related to the social action of English MTI and how these beliefs might influence the life experiences of others (Hult, 2017), namely the students.

The teacher elected to answer some questions in writing and send them by e-mail; the remaining questions were answered in one telephone session that was recorded with iPhone 7 and application Mp3 Recorder. The interview was conducted on April 13th, 2018 and lasted about 45 minutes. Regarding the interview with the mother tongue teacher, the fact that the conversation was recorded might have influenced what the teacher said. However, since other encounters with the teacher were not recorded and detailed field notes were taken directly afterwards, the responses provided during the interview could be compared with accounts obtained from field notes.

In order to answer the third research question – *How do students with different sociological relationships to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires?* – five data collection sessions were conducted between March 9th and 15th, 2018. During these meetings, the students were asked to complete a worksheet based on the linguistic portrait silhouette or LPS[6] (Figure 1). LPS is a task where the students color in their languages on a drawn silhouette of a body (Krumm & Jenkins, 2001). As an age appropriate activity, LPS has been used to investigate children's language awareness and identity, where the visual data was complemented with children's verbal descriptions of their drawings (see Dressler, 2014 for a review). It has also been used with adults where the visual modality was complemented with a written text (e.g. Busch, 2012; 2015).

[6] Used with written permission from Hans-Jürgen Krumm.

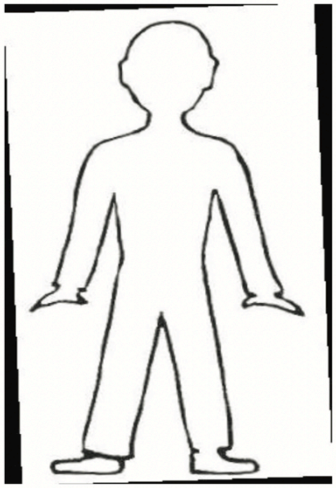


Figure 1. **Linguistic Portrait Silhouette**

Since the participants' grade level in the current study ranged from grade 0 to grade 9, the worksheet was designed in three versions determined by student maturity and language proficiency (see Appendix 1). Version 1 was LPS only, while versions 2 and 3 of the worksheet were complemented with extra activities designed to get additional data on language awareness with respect to repertoires and registers. The worksheets were developed in collaboration with the teacher, who also provided input regarding which version would be suitable in each group or in case of mixed age and proficiency groups, for each individual student.

The worksheet was done as a regular class activity and was incorporated in the lesson. Depending on the students' grade, it took between 20 and 40 minutes for the students to complete. Before the students drew their languages in the silhouette, they listened to two examples – example one was done by their mother tongue teacher and example two was done by the author, which could have affected the way the students completed the activity. In order to reduce observer's paradox, the children were told I was a researcher interested in children who speak more than one language. Apart from the fact that the children did not know me, such an introduction could have influenced the way they completed the activity, e.g. by marking languages that they knew only a few words of (such as e.g., 'bonjour' in French). However, even if the students had been influenced in any way, the collected data proved to be highly original and creative.

The final round of data collection took place between April 3rd and April 10th, 2018 and consisted of interview sessions with the students based on the completed LPS worksheets. The interviews were conducted in order to combine the visual data with narrative output. To collect more information about the students' linguistic repertoires and individual use of diverse languages additional questions were asked during the recording session. The interviews were recorded using an iPhone 7 and an application Mp3 Recorder. Because the awareness of being recorded might have played a role during conversations based on the LPS worksheet, the recording instrument was placed out of sight and a short warm up activity was conducted.

4.4 Data analysis

The study was conducted over the course of five months – the first meeting with the mother tongue teacher took place in December and the last recording session with the students was completed in April. The study resulted in three sets of data – field notes from observations and unstructured interviews with the teacher, completed LPS worksheets and interviews with the students, and interview with the teacher. The data were then juxtaposed with the curriculum analyzed by means of discourse analysis (Gee, 2014). Regarding the policy, of particular interest was the hidden curriculum (McLaren, 2015), or what is explicitly stated as well as what is not stated (Hult, 2014).

After a thorough reading of all texts (policy documents, interview with the teacher, field notes, LPS worksheets and interviews with the students), preliminary codes were created, followed by a more definitive set of categories organized around emergent patterns, categories, and themes, such as cultural diversity, values and multiculturalism (Saldaña, 2013). The structuring and ordering of the codes were determined by theoretical concepts discussed in the previous chapter; however, emergent, data-driven coding was applied to students' interviews and LPS worksheets (Saldaña, 2013).

The umbrella curriculum (Lgr11, p. 9-21), the mother tongue curriculum (Lgr11, p. 83-94), and the National Agency for Education's website devoted to mother tongue (*Rätt till modersmålsundervisning* (Skolverket, n.d.)) were examined looking for intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Of particular interest was contradicting content found within the policy

documents and website regarding multilingualism and diversity, as well as the way mother tongue is positioned compared to English and Swedish. Since previous research (e.g. Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Reath Warren, 2013; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015) has shown that MTI is a marginalized subject, it was of crucial importance to investigate what the position of English as mother tongue is. However, since mother tongue curriculum is not language specific, the general syllabus had to be analyzed. Interviews with the mother tongue teacher, who provided a first person input regarding the issue in question, were an important addition to the analysis. By looking at what is explicitly written (or not written) in the policy documents, textual evidence for discourses in place about languages (mother tongue, English and Swedish), their speakers, multilingualism, and diversity was uncovered (Hult, 2015). Instances of intertextuality (when elements of one text are indexed in another), interdiscursivity (when ideas or values move from one setting to another) (Johnson, 2015; Källkvist & Hult, 2016), as well as the contradictions identified in the policy documents and website were then referenced with the teacher's interview. The interview as well as field notes served the purpose of identifying the teacher's historical body with respect to language ideologies, professional training, and/or language learning experiences, and understanding how her values and experiences affect the way she interprets the policy (Hult, 2014). Similarly, the LPS worksheets and interviews with the students were used to determine the students' historical bodies as well as interaction order in terms of parent – child interaction (Hult, 2015).

In the first coding cycle, student interviews were transcribed and coded manually using the In Vivo Coding method. I opted for manual inductive coding because as Saldaña (2013) states, it could be overwhelming for first-time ethnographers to learn "the basics of coding and qualitative data analysis simultaneously with the sometimes complex instructions and multiple functions" of coding software (p. 26). The In Vivo Coding, also called "literal coding" or "inductive coding", refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record (Saldaña, 2013, p. 91) – the codes are what the participants themselves have said. It is particularly useful in educational ethnographies with youth since coding with the participants' actual words prioritizes and honors their voices, voices that are otherwise often marginalized (Saldaña, 2013, p. 91). Because In Vivo uses the participants' original utterances, it was a suitable method in the present study, especially

since one of the aims was to investigate students' attitudes and dispositions towards their languages as well as uncover how students with different sociological relationships to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires. As Saldaña (2013, p. 91) observes, coding with the children's actual words can reveal their cultures and worldviews resulting in an enhanced understanding of their world. In the second coding cycle, emergent patterns, categories and themes were collected and recorded as analytical memos (Saldaña, 2013) in the form of participant notes comprising information about the students (age, country of origin, and languages), a description of the Linguistic Portrait Silhouette and the worksheet, as well as the In Vivo codes from the interviews pertaining to the patterns, themes, and categories, which were then referenced across participants.

Nexus analysis was used in order to conceptualize scales and discourses in the multidimensional phenomenon of English MTI. As a meta-methodology, nexus analysis guided the integration of the conceptual foundation and methods used in the present study to understand the discursive flows within and across social actions (Hult, 2017). To integrate the analysis across the different kinds of data and find discourses across data types, the same set of patterns, categories, and themes was used. In nexus terms, English MTI became a "nexus of practice", which comprised language policy, its interpretation, and/or implementation, and the participants' experiences (Hult, 2017). Nexus analysis involves different discourses that intersect and interplay in a social action, such as *historical body* or individual life experiences of the actors involved (the teacher and students). As Scollon & Scollon (2004) point out, "different people play the same role differently depending on their history of their personal experience" (p. 13). Our life experiences shape the way we interact with others and influence how others see us. Another discourse present in a social action is the beliefs and ideologies present in the moment, or *discourses in place.* By discourses in place, Scollon & Scollon (2004) refer to all discourses present in a social action, indicating the need to study empirically which of the discourses are relevant and which are irrelevant (p. 13). Finally, the *interaction order* involves "any of the many possible social arrangements by which we form relationships in social interactions". The interest in interaction order stems from the fact that "people behave differently depending in part on whether they are alone when they act or if they are acting together in consort with other people" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13). As

meta-methodology, nexus analysis guided the selection and integration of multiple methods for data collection and analysis (Hult, 2017).

Chapter 5 Analysis: English Mother Tongue Instruction in Practice

This chapter presents the results of the discourse analytic study of MTI policy and practice. The first part touches on issues connected to the hidden curriculum, showing how MTI is positioned when compared to English and Swedish, pointing to the two conflicting discourses in place, namely the pluralistic ideology and the embrace of diversity as opposed to the negative discourse pertaining to MTI. Furthermore, the linguistic hierarchy of Sweden is discussed along with the influence English has on the marginalization of other minority languages, as well as segregation as a societal problem that is reflected in education. The second part shows the teacher's perspective – the attitudes towards MTI she has observed on the part of other school personnel, cooperation with parents and her ways of working, especially when the special nature of a mother tongue student is taken into account. The third and last part of the chapter focuses on the students. It examines the students' linguistic repertoires and how their historical bodies affect their identity formation. Next, it presents the ways the students navigate their heteroglossic repertoires including their reported participation in language brokering. LPS worksheets and interviews reveal how students with different sociological relationships to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires.

5.1 How is the subject of mother tongue constructed discursively and how does it relate to the status/position of English as a global language?

The first part of the discussion and analysis chapter aims at answering the first research question. The positioning of mother tongue is compared to English and Swedish, and to the dominant pluralistic ideology, followed by the investigation of the role of global English in the marginalization of other minority languages. Finally, even though outside the scope of the research question, the problem of segregation in Swedish schools is discussed. The reason to

include it in the thesis was the fact that segregation is in stark contrast with the pluralistic ideology present in the curriculum and it affects English MTI students as well as the teacher.

5.1.1 Linguistic hierarchy, mother tongue and the curriculum

The linguistic hierarchy of Sweden is reflected in the umbrella curriculum, where the Swedish language is constructed as a central cultural value, as are Christian tradition and Western humanism (Lgr11, p. 9, 15). In the *Knowledge* section (Lgr11, p. 15), among goals the school is responsible for, it is stated that on completion of compulsory school, each pupil:

- can use the Swedish language, both in speech and writing, in a rich and varied way,
- can communicate in English, both in the spoken and written language, and also be given opportunities to communicate in some other foreign language in a functional way (Lgr11, p. 15).

Swedish and English are given the most attention and apart from the phrase "in a rich and varied way" referring to Swedish, the requirements for the two societally dominant languages are the same. The rather vague mention of "some other foreign language" and complete omission of mother tongue contribute to the marginal role other languages are ascribed in the Swedish society. The goals pertaining to language do not mention mother tongue or the heritage culture but specifically list the knowledge about the Scandinavian and Western cultural heritage as well as knowledge about national minorities. Lgr11 states that on completion of compulsory school each pupil:

- has obtained knowledge about and an insight into the Swedish, Nordic and Western cultural heritage, and also obtained basic knowledge of the Nordic languages,

- has obtained knowledge about the cultures, languages, religion and history of the national minorities (Jews, Romanies, indigenous Samis, Swedish and Tornedal Finns) (Lgr11, p. 15).

The omission of mother tongue and heritage culture sends a signal that they are less important thus placing them at a lower end of the linguistic and cultural hierarchy. Furthermore, this omission in the umbrella curriculum stands in direct contrast not only with what is stated on the National Agency for Education's website about mother tongue (namely that mother tongue is of crucial importance to the child's linguistic, identity, personality and cognitive development (Skolverket, n.d.) but also with mother tongue curriculum. Section 3.7 of Lgr11 is devoted to MTI, where the importance of MTI is explained as follows:

> Language is the primary tool human beings use for thinking, communicating and learning. Through language people develop their identity, express their feelings and thoughts, and understand how others feel and think. Rich and varied language is important in being able to understand and function in a society where different cultures, outlooks on life, generations and language all interact. Having access to their mother tongue also facilitates language development and learning in different areas (Lgr11, p. 83).

A few lines further the curriculum asserts that "(t)eaching should give pupils opportunities to develop their cultural identity and become multilingual" (Lgr11, p. 83). Diversity is also present in the *Fundamental values and tasks of the school* section (Lgr11):

> The internationalization of Swedish society and increasing cross-border mobility place high demands on the ability of people to live with and appreciate the values inherent in cultural diversity. Awareness of one's own cultural origins and sharing in a common cultural heritage provides a secure identity which it is important to develop (…) (Lgr11, p. 9).

However, as shown above, the *Goals* in the *Knowledge* section (Lgr11, p. 15) focus on Swedish and English failing to mention multilingualism or multiculturalism. Even though cultural diversity is explicitly named in the curriculum, the impression is that the minority student is on a journey from multilingualism and multiculturalism to one language, one culture embodied by the Swedish language and values (Christian tradition and Western humanism as mentioned in the *Fundamental values and tasks of the school* section (Lgr11, p. 9)). As Ganuza & Hedman (2015) posit, the strong belief in the separation of languages, which is at the bottom of the monoglossic ideology, has led to the marginalization of MTI in the Swedish educational system. Viewing languages, culture and identity as static leads to the perception of students as a homogenous group with a common heritage, hence discounting the students' cultural and linguistic diversity (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015).

5.1.2 Global English and marginalization of minority languages

The National Agency for Education's website states that mother tongue is of crucial importance to the child's linguistic, identity, personality and cognitive development. Furthermore, it concedes that a well-developed mother tongue provides grounds for learning Swedish, as well as other languages and school subjects. Students who take part in MTI generally have better grades in all school subjects. Moreover, the National Agency for Education states that all teachers should work with language development (Skolverket, n.d.).

Even though the Swedish National Agency for Education defines mother tongue by origin (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 106; see also Section 3.3) and/or as the language used for communication at home (Skolverket, n.d.), neither the umbrella curriculum nor the mother tongue curriculum defines the concept of mother tongue (Lgr11). The lack of definition on the one hand and the limited definition by competence and/or function (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 106) on the other, lead to the exclusion of those minority children who, for whatever reason, fail to develop competence in their mother tongue. Moreover, regarding those students who have one more heritage language except English, it is important to address the issue of its marginalization and maintenance.

Pete (10) (see also Example 17) comes from Sierra Leone and has been in Sweden for nine months. Figure 2 shows Pete's linguistic silhouette. English (marked in red) is in the

head, Krio (black) is in the chest and Swedish (orange) is in both arms. In the worksheet, Pete indicated that he speaks Krio with his mother while both Krio and English with his father. When asked which language he prefers when speaking to his father, Pete answers:

(1)[7] Pete: "Krio."[8]

I: "So why do you speak English to him?"

Pete: "He always say you need to learn English."

I: "But with your mum, you only speak Krio?"

Pete: "Yeah."

I: "Does she speak English?"

Pete: "She speak a little bit English."

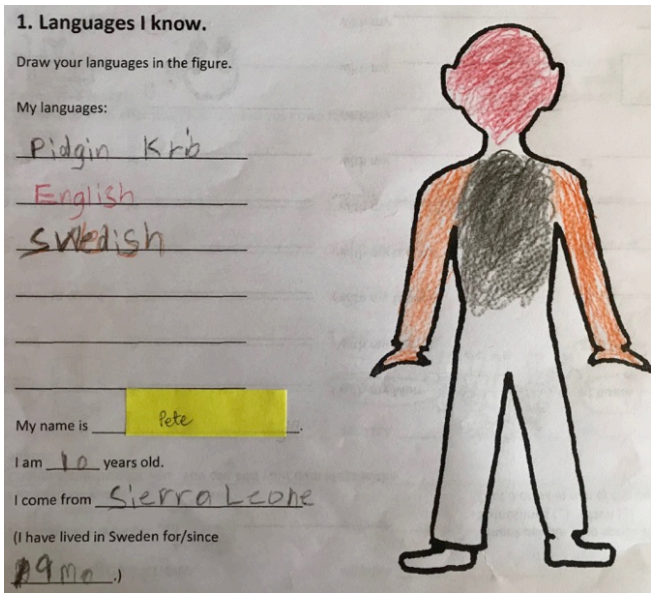


Figure 2. **Pete's LPS**

[7] All numbered examples come from interviews with the students.
[8] Some children listed 'Krio' on their worksheets while others 'Creole' when referring to the language spoken in Sierra Leone. The original spelling was kept.

As Example 1 illustrates, Pete's father chooses to speak English to his son because he believes that the boy needs practice, even though they also share Krio as a family language. While the father recognizes the importance of English, his personal belief leads to the marginalization of Krio. Even though Pete says that it is equally easy to speak English and Krio for him, he still prefers the latter when talking to his father. The situation is different with Pete's mother, who has a limited command of English, thus making Krio a natural choice in communication with her. The importance of English in Pete's family is evident from the interview when the boy says that his sisters speak English all the time (see Example 17); yet, his mother speaks very little English. All that possibly indicates the father's strong position in the family and the interaction order that is dominated by the father, who through his historical body has constructed English as an indispensable social commodity.

The marginalization of the other heritage language is noticeable in other cases too. David (15), who comes from Sierra Leone, was born in Denmark but at the age of five moved to Sweden. His cousins were born in Denmark and still live there. When asked about his Danish, David replies:

(2) David: "No, I only use it to understand my cousins, what they're trying to say cos they refuse to speak Krio so they speak Danish instead."

I: "Oh, why?"

David: "Yeah, they don't want to speak Krio, I don't know why. For example my cousins are here in Sweden, they can speak fluent Krio but they want to speak Swedish instead. They don't want to speak Krio, they speak Swedish because they speak it with their friends, every day at school. But I don't know how they do it at home."

David explains his cousins' reluctance to speak Krio with the fact that they speak Swedish or Danish at school and with friends, stressing that he does not know what language they use at home. According to David, his family speaks Krio and Swedish at home; however, his younger brother, Dan (13) says they speak Krio and English. Example 2 clearly shows that

Swedish or Danish are the languages of preference among David's cousins at the expense of Krio. The reluctance to speak Krio in the case of David's cousins could point to identity negotiation induced by a desire to belong to a certain peer group or to reinforce the belonging in the said group (Riley, 2007).

Another interesting example is that of Sally (8). Sally has been in Sweden for two years, her mother comes from Uganda and father is Swedish. In her LPS (Figure 3), Sally drew Swedish in her head, English in her heart and Swahili in her stomach. Even though Swahili takes more space than English, Sally hardly speaks Swahili. When asked about it, Sally says:

(3) Sally: "I guess I know a few words."

I: "Only a few words?"

Sally: "Yeah."

I: "Who speaks Swahili in your family?"

Sally: "My mother."

I: "So do you want to learn it? Are you learning it from your mum?"

Sally: "Not really. I have a book with [unintelligible] words in Swahili but I can only say one word."

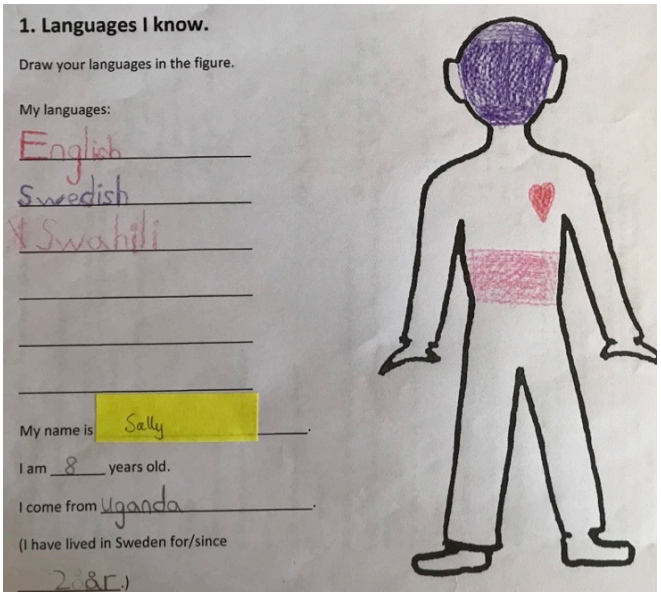


Figure 3. **Sally's LPS**

Sally is one of the children I had a chance to observe during study guidance when the students were asked to write about 'My Hero' in Swedish. Sally defined a hero as somebody who gives something up. At first, Sally wanted to write about her mother, since she gives up her time to make the best pancakes on weekends. However, after a moment she decided she would write about a fictional character, who is a superhero with a wide range of superpowers. The initial thought of her mother as a hero stands in contrast with Sally's weak connection to the mother's language. Whatever the reason, Swahili is not Sally's language of choice in communication with her mother.

5.1.3 Segregation

The curriculum points out the importance of establishing well-balanced perspectives in all educational contexts specifying the following perspectives: historical, environmental, international and ethical (Lgr11). International perspective is concerned with the understanding of cultural diversity and creating international solidarity through preparing the student to live in a multicultural society:

> It is important to have an international perspective, to be able to understand one's own reality in a global context and to create international solidarity, as well as prepare for a society with close contacts across cultural and national borders. Having an international perspective also involves developing an understanding of cultural diversity within the country (Lgr11, p. 12).

A recent report from the National Agency for Education reveals that segregation in Swedish schools is growing (Skolverket, 2018b). National Agency for Education defines segregation as when students with similar socioeconomic and migration background attend the same schools (Skolverket, 2018b, p. 3). Consistent with the report is the data collected during observations and unstructured interviews with the teacher. When looking at Table 2, it has to be noted that children who participated in the study can easily be divided into two groups based on their immigration background (economic background was not taken into account) – children in Group A attend schools 1, 2 and 3 while children in Group B attend schools 4 and 5. Observations were conducted in School 2 and 5 and the differences were evident – student composition in the former is predominantly White, in the latter predominantly non-White, with a very small number of ethnic Swedes. The teacher expressed a thought that the two groups would be impossible to combine because of the differences between the students (Observation Notes, 12 December 2018). An individual-scale historical body discourse on the part of Lucia is that the students' social connection to English determines what kind of students they are and that it would be impossible to teach a mixed class. Yet, a precondition for working with an international perspective is diversity. However, if the two groups rarely meet and stay within their own circle, the two worlds will remain separated. As the teacher points out when asked about how she is received in schools:

> It depends, I mean, if you're in a school that has a lot of, em, em immigrant children who are multilingual, they receive you with gladness. If you're in a school that's largely Swedish and it's in the outskirts of town where some of the families have elected to move because they don't want to deal with the immigrant question, em, you can meet some very ugly attitudes, and you're seen like, you know, oh, you're one of

> those mother tongue teachers that is taking away from our budget and after all if kids are here, they should speak Swedish (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018).

This comment shows that segregation is a societal problem that is reflected in education. As stated in the National Agency for Education's report, housing segregation and school choice are two major factors that contribute to the growing segregation in Swedish schools (Skolverket, 2018b, p. 3).

Segregation affects MT teachers in other ways too. Since Malmö is a segregated city, assigning schools to teachers solely based on geography would be problematic. According to Lucia:

> Geography has bearing on the kinds of students we get, and em, so you can't, we have said to our bosses – we can't go from one risk school to the next risk school to the next, I mean, you have to give your staff a reasonable working environment so that they have at least some functional schools. Cos mentally you can't take that. You have to have some place where things work and where, you know, you're not gonna get killed in the parking lot (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018).

If this statement sounds dramatic, the increase in violent crime and shootings in Malmö give rise for concern. Here one can identify a discourse in place about immigrants and crime, namely areas with a high number of immigrants are equated with high crime rate. In a recent police report, *Vulnerable areas. Social order, criminal structure and challenges for the police,* (Polisen, 2017), 23 *particularly vulnerable areas* have been identified in the country; three of them are in Malmö. A *particularly vulnerable area* is characterized by a general reluctance to participate in the judicial process (Polisen, 2017). There may also be systematic threats and acts of violence against witnesses, plaintiffs and notaries in the area. The criminalization of the area requires regular adaptation of working methods or equipment on the part of the police and makes it almost impossible for the police to carry out their duties. The situation has often been normalized and neither the police nor the residents reflect over

the criminalization. A particularly vulnerable area is characterized by the existence of parallel social structures, extremism or strong fundamentalist influence, a high concentration of criminals, and instances of travel to conflict areas in order to participate in conflict. Another critical factor is close proximity to other vulnerable areas, which intensifies the risk of collusion between criminals and criminal networks (Polisen, 2017). Neither of the schools I visited is located in a particularly vulnerable area but some are close by.

5.2 How is the discursive construction of the subject of mother tongue implemented in practice?

The following sub-sections aim at answering the second research question. By focusing on the teacher's perspective, I attempt to show different aspects of the teacher's work – some challenging, such as lack of interest in cooperation with the MT teacher on the part of other teachers or relations with parents, and others specific to the nature of the mother tongue student.

5.2.1 Implementational issues

Two of the factors that contribute to the marginalization of MTI are scheduling outside school time and insufficient number of hours assigned to MTI – in Malmö each mother tongue group is given 80 minutes a week, regardless of age (Written Survey with Lucia, 10 April 2018). And while Lucia's opinion is that 80 minutes is too long, especially when it comes to the youngest students, she also acknowledges that "there's lack of time, it's not possible in the course of one year to cover all of the points in that *kursplan*" (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018). Another thing that has to be taken into account is the high turnover rate among mother tongue teachers, which affects the continuity of the education, more specifically – "if a teacher is moved to another school, it is unclear whether pupils ever get the opportunity to pick up on the points that were missed" (Written Survey with Lucia, 10 April 2018).

The overall goals of MTI state that the students should be given opportunity to develop their ability to:

- express themselves and communicate in speech and writing,
- use their mother tongue as an instrument for their language development and learning,
- adapt language to different purposes, recipients and contexts,
- identify language structures and follow language norms,
- read and analyze literature and other texts for different purposes, and
- reflect over traditions, cultural phenomena and social questions in areas where the mother tongue is spoken based on comparisons with Swedish conditions (Lgr11, p. 83).

Even though it was beyond the scope of the present study to compare the mother tongue curriculum with the English and/or Swedish curriculum, one cannot avoid noticing that the goals for the three subjects are rather similar (with the exception of the second goal – *to use the mother tongue as an instrument for language development and learning*, which is missing from both English and Swedish curriculum). Nevertheless, the amount of time assigned to MTI is disproportionally less. Another disturbing fact that has to be considered is the virtual lack of MTI in kindergarten. If all these factors are taken into consideration, one has to conclude that it is not viable that MTI can reach the goals stated in the curriculum, being a voluntary subject limited to 80 minutes a week (see also Lainio, 2012, p. 83). The discourse in place is that MTI is less important.

5.2.2 Attitudes towards mother tongue as a subject

When asked about cooperation with other staff, the MT teacher was clearly perplexed saying: "I don't have some language that they don't know, I have English!" (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018). According to Lucia, the interest in collaboration is sporadic. This gives rise to another contradiction between the teacher's experience and the curriculum where in the *Knowledge* section about what *Teachers should* (Lgr11) the list includes "cooperation with other teachers in order to attain the goals of the education" (p. 16).

However, it is not only other teachers who are not interested in working with MT teachers. When asked if her work is evaluated in any way and what the feedback looks like, Lucia replied:

> I have never been observed or evaluated by a parent, a rector, or my management. In the course of soon 4 years in Malmö, only one rector has ever peered in to my class, and only three rectors have ever sought me out to introduce themselves to me (Written survey with Lucia, 10 April 2018).

But to ensure each school's development, the curriculum states:

> Both the daily pedagogical leadership of the school, as well as the professional responsibility of the teachers are necessary conditions for the qualitative development of the school. This necessitates continuous review, following up and evaluating results, as well as assessing and developing new methods. Such work has to be carried out in active co-operation between school staff and pupils, and in close contact with the home and the local community (Lgr11, p. 18).

These two quotes show how different the teacher's experience is from what is written in the curriculum. While on paper the guidelines and tasks are exhaustive and thorough, in practice the mother tongue teacher faces different conditions. As Reath Warren (2013) points out, the hidden curriculum, which comprises attitudes towards the subject, and the organizational and implementational aspects of the curriculum, impede successful implementation of MTI. According to Cabau (2014), the organization of MTI outside school hours hinders cooperation between mother tongue teachers and other teaching staff, intensifying the negative discourse associated with the subject.

5.2.3 Cooperation with parents

According to Lucia, a majority of the parents whose children take part in English MTI do not fully understand what these lessons imply, such as that MTI means "extra school" (Interview

with Lucia, 11 April 2018) or that the children will be graded. As stated by the teacher, the parents perceive mother tongue lessons as a means to help with the children's English (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018). The lack of knowledge about MTI is in contrast with a clause in the *Fundamental values and tasks of the school*, *rights and obligations* (Lgr11, p. 10) section in the umbrella curriculum, where it is stated that:

> The school should make it clear to pupils and parents what the goals of the education are, what requirements the school imposes, and what rights and obligations pupils, parents and guardians have. A prerequisite from pupils, parents and their guardians to be able to use their right to exercise influence is that the individual school is clear in specifying its goals, content and working forms (Lgr11, p. 10).

What transpires from the interview with Lucia is that either the parents have failed to fully understand the goals of MTI, or the goals have not been communicated. Similarly, Hyltenstam & Milani (2012) observe that parents of the students eligible for MTI were either not involved in the decision making process regarding MTI or not at all informed about the subject.

Lucia furthermore expressed a concern that most of the parents who raise bilingual/multilingual children do not fully realize what that implies:

> They [the parents] expect a lot from their kids and they don't know what they're asking for. So and what it is to raise third culture kids, you're not raising a Swede, you're not raising a Brit or whatever, you are raising somebody who is going to walk a line between the two, create their own different identity. What does that mean? What does that mean for cognition? (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018)

Lucia's comment suggests that the discourse in place in her classroom about being bilingual is that it is a cognitively demanding hybrid between the two languages and cultures. She believes that the children need to create a third identity, drawing from both cultures and

languages. While in general Lucia perceives bilingualism as something positive, her views remain dominated by the monoglossic ideology, similarly to the teachers' views from Ganuza & Hedmans's (2015) study. Unlike García (2009), who sees a fluid nature of the bilingual's linguistic repertoire comprised of a 'languaging continuum' (p. 47), with no clear-cut boundaries between the languages, Lucia views the two languages as two separate systems. In this sense, her understanding of bilingualism departs from both García (2011) and MacSwan (2017), who see bilinguals' use of languages as resulting from "one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively" (García, 2011, p. 1).

According to Lucia, only about 20% of the parents are involved in their children's MT lessons. These parents are interested, come to meetings, participate in the annual teacher – parent conference and actively respond to her text messages (she communicates with the parents three – four times a year). The remaining 80% are not involved and many change their phone numbers without updating their contact details (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018). This poses a problem since it hinders teachers from fulfilling their duties that are explicitly stated in the curriculum (Lgr11). In the section *School and home*, it is written that teachers should:

- work together with and continuously inform parents about the pupil's school situation, well-being and acquisition of knowledge, and
- keep themselves informed about the individual pupil's personal situation and show respect for the pupil's integrity (Lgr11, p. 18).

In the *Knowledge* section of the umbrella curriculum, the guidelines state that all who work in the school should "cooperate in order to make the school a good environment for development and learning" (Lgr11, p. 16). What transpires from the interview is that Lucia has never received feedback about her work, has been met with limited interest from other teachers, and encountered problems contacting the parents. In Lucia's case, the curriculum guidelines remain words on paper.

5.2.4 Way of working

Another aspect, specific to MTI, is the special nature of the mother tongue student. Since the heritage language or languages are to some extent spoken in the home, the heritage language student has had a chance to develop some level of functional proficiency in the heritage language and is thus different from a foreign language student (Valdés, 2001). Valdés (2001) observes that compared to "students who have acquired the language exclusively in the classroom, the heritage language student may seem superior in some respects and quite limited in others" (p. 47).

Because her students already have strong conversational skills in English, Lucia focuses more on writing and reading, the two emerging skills. Interviews with the students confirm that writing and spelling cause difficulties. Similarly, the teacher reported that the students have problems with spelling, writing, and being concrete, and have a superficial vocabulary with very few synonyms (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018). When asked how she works with the goals stated in the curriculum, Lucia used the metaphor of a four-room house built on two pillar foundations – the pillars symbolize lexicon and grammar while the rooms symbolize the four proficiencies (reading, writing, speaking and listening). Within each lesson she takes up the four proficiencies and the pillars that they are built on, and looks for cultural application for the material (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018).

To help her students develop their weaker skills, Lucia does word study, as well as reading and writing activities adapted to the children's age. She feels that because writing is a reflexive activity it gives the students solid growth (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018). An activity described below is an example of how Lucia works with the youngest students. Lucia read aloud Beatrix Potter's *The Miniature World of Peter Rabbit*; afterwards the children watched a short film *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* and worked on recognizing some key vocabulary items from the story:

> I called it Beatrix Potter hangman. And so they already know the words that are coming up but they feel like they have a little bit of power, you know they're actually learning to spell these words. And if kids say put up 'e', this is a big one, they end up writing the letter 'i'. So it's a way to sneak in spelling in there in a really controlled

way. So which at that age is age appropriate writing. (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018)

In this version of hangman the children got to practice spelling of challenging letters that they often mix up, such as *i* and *e* which are pronounced as /i/ and /e/ in Swedish. The above quote illustrates how students make use of their one linguistic system. On the basis of their historical bodies they make an overgeneralization. Similarly to previous research about MTI in Sweden (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015), the quote reveals that despite unfavorable working conditions and other limitations, Lucia is deeply committed to her work and demonstrates a strong investment in her pupils.

5.3 How do students with different sociological relationship to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires?

The following sub-sections focus on the third research question. MTI is presented from the point of view of the students, concentrating on LPS worksheets and interviews with the students. The students' linguistic repertoires and reported participation in language brokering are discussed.

5.3.1 Equally easy, but…

Since most of the students have strong conversational skills but their text-based skills are considerably less developed, the question of transferring reading and writing abilities across languages arises. Even though five students in Group A stated that English and Swedish are equally easy, two of them still pointed to certain skills that cause them difficulties. In Example 4, when asked if one of the languages is harder than the other, Lena (9) (who in an earlier exchange said that Swedish and English are equally easy for her), says:

(4) "Well, I think writing and reading is a bit harder in English because I have not like that much in school."

As many as six students in Group A said that one of the languages was easier than the other; however, their answers were so varied that it was hard to find a pattern. To some, English was easier, English 'made more sense' or as Lena (Example 4) above said – writing and reading was harder in English. According to others, Swedish was challenging or, as Mike (12) said in Example 5, some things were harder in Swedish even though he uses both languages equally. All these examples illustrate how the students draw from their one linguistic repertoire "strategically selecting features to communicate effectively" (García, 2011, p 1). Through the notion of one linguistic repertoire, students are seen as being positioned in different points of a bilingual continuum (García, 2011, p. 4) disproving the myth of balanced bilingualism, and confirming Grosjean's (1989) famous statement that a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person. In terms of nexus analysis, students' historical bodies are reflected in the way they use their languages – the language they feel closer to (either because of their place of birth or affiliation to a parent) is usually a dominant one.

In Example 5, Mike explains:

(5) Mike: "Well, between them [English and Swedish], like, I, English I feel is pretty easy and I speak it every day and it's the first part of my life, that was like the, well, I spoke it very much and yeah. Then Swedish, some things are pretty easy, some things are harder in Swedish and like, but I use them equally."

I: "When is it hard to speak Swedish? Can you think of anything?

Mike: "I don't know when, sometimes in school when we're doing something hard and I don't understand stuff."

I: "Ok, so it happens sometimes that you don't understand?"

Mike: "Yeah, but, like I understand but some words I don't know what it is, like Swedish people know all the time what it is. But that's because they speak Swedish every day and all the time. And I speak English at home, so yeah."

Mike (see Figure 7 for Mike's LPS) was born in the USA but has lived in Sweden for ten years. His father is American and his mother Swedish. In the above example, Mike says that at times he does not understand challenging content at school and attributes the problem to the fact that he speaks English at home, meaning that he does not practice his Swedish as much as Swedes do. Mike's socially situated language development (reflected in his historical body) allows him to use both English and Swedish equally, as he says; however, the occasional difficulty with Swedish at school could be attributed to lack of academic skills. It is critical to understand that even a student like Mike, who has lived most of his life in Sweden, can experience difficulties at school when it comes to Swedish. Molly (6), (who was born in England but has lived in Sweden for 5 years, and whose father is British and mother Swedish) when asked if Swedish can sometimes be challenging, summarized her experience very accurately:

(6) "I want to say maybe one word and then I don't know what it's called and all my other friends know and I don't know so it feels a bit hard."

While it could be surprising to some that children from Group A report such difficulties, it is rather predictable that students from Group B acknowledge struggles with understanding Swedish since as many as five of them have been in Sweden a considerably shorter amount of time (anything between 9 months and 3 years; see Table 2) than students in Group A. As Zoe (13) says:

(7) Zoe: "English [is easier] because I learnt English when I was a (sic) little. I'm not really good at it but learn it since I was little."

I: "And how do you feel about your Swedish? Is it easy to speak Swedish"

Zoe: "Not that easy but I'm working on it."

Zoe, who is from Tanzania, has lived in Sweden for 1,5 years. Example 7 in all its honesty, illustrates a particularly arduous situation. Zoe realizes her own limits in English but does not

give up and is working towards improving her Swedish. Zoe's historical body reflects the time she spent at school in Tanzania, when she first felt that her English was not good enough. Example 7 shows that she has taken this experience with her to Sweden and still holds this belief. While the umbrella curriculum states that:

> Language, learning, and the development of a personal identity are all closely related. By providing a wealth of opportunities for discussion, reading and writing, all pupils should be able to develop their ability to communicate and thus enhance confidence in their own language abilities (Lgr11, p. 11).

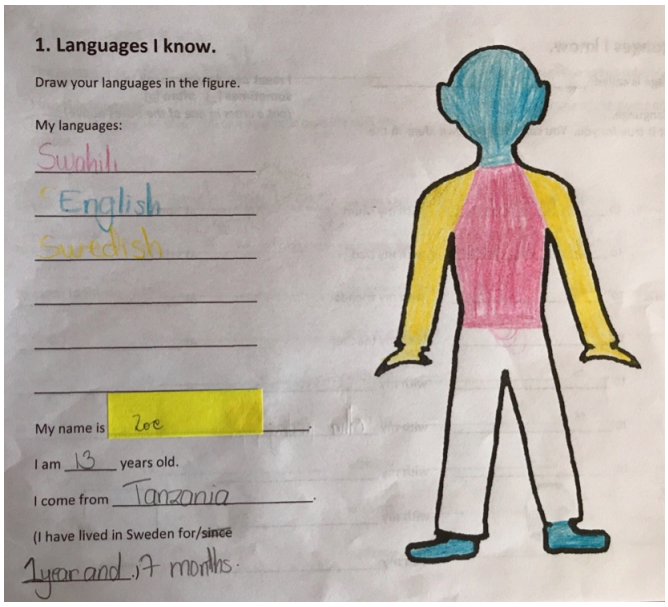


Figure 4. **Zoe's LPS**

It is quite clear from Zoe's interview that this fundamental value has not been met. In Zoe's description of her LPS (Figure 4), she says that Swahili is the language she loves most, nevertheless she does not get a chance to speak and learn it at school:

(8) "Yeah, I have English in my head because that's where I, real, have like, I don't speak it at home that much only at school so I learn it from school, that's why I put it in my

head. Swahili I put on my chest where my heart is [unintelligible] because that's the language I love the most and I speak it at home, yeah I just love it and it's where, like heart. And Swedish I put on my hands, I really don't know the reasons but I put yellow because it has yellow in the flag and blue. And I put also English down."

Zoe marked English in blue, Swahili in pink and Swedish in yellow. It proved to be quite common to put languages that one uses to think in – in the strict sense – in the head, while those that are close to one's heart are usually in the chest. During the interview, Zoe said she speaks Swahili at home with her mother and brother while English and Swedish at school. Before she came to Sweden, Zoe went to an international school in Tanzania where English was the medium of instruction. Even though Zoe's English is better than her Swedish, she feels it is not that good. However, within the notion of one linguistic repertoire, multilingual students are seen as being positioned in different points along a bilingual continuum (García, 2011, p. 4) – their languages should not be seen as good enough or not good enough. When asked about what was particularly difficult in Swedish, she admits to having problems with spelling, both in English and Swedish and explains these problems with the fact that Swahili, unlike English or Swedish, is a phonetic language:

(9) "Yeah, probably to write, like our language to say like writing, not like Swahili. Because Swahili is the same you write the same you speak, like in Tanzania, like you say /na:me/ instead of /neim/."

Apart from spelling and writing, some students experienced difficulties understanding content. And while the guidelines in the *Knowledge* section of the curriculum (Lgr11, p. 16) specifically list teachers' tasks, stating among other things that teachers should:

- take into account each individual's needs, circumstances, experiences and thinking, (…)

- stimulate, guide and give special support to pupils that have difficulties (…) (Lgr11, p. 16),

implementing these guidelines can be challenging at times. In the following excerpt, the teacher relays a study guidance session with one of the students during which she had to resort to Google translate in order to help the student understand the content of a particularly challenging unit:

> (…) for example, Zoe, in her 'studiehandledning', she's working on the subject of religion. There's a really really difficult task ahead of her. She just doesn't understand anything that's going on in that unit. So what we did, we took a Swedish passage, we translated it into English then we used Google translate and we used the English and translated it into Swahili. Then it made sense and then we reread it in English, then it made sense. But we had to go through all three of those steps. And you know what that means, it takes time. So with another kid I might have been able to cover all 15 questions on religion in a one-hour lesson, we only got to 4 (Interview with Lucia, 11 April 2018).

The above excerpt shows the hardship a child from Group B endures. Even though Zoe (13) comes from a country where English is an official language, she reported feeling that her English is not that good (see Example 7). As a result, she not only struggles with Swedish, but also experiences difficulties with English. A similar situation was noted during an observation session with Pete (10). While Zoe has been in Sweden for 1,5 years, Pete arrived in Sweden only 9 months ago (see also Examples 1 and 17). During the study guidance session I observed, Pete was preparing for a test on blood and circulation that was scheduled a week later. The teacher played an episode of *Bill Nye the Science Guy*, which Pete watched with interest. After the film, they worked on translating key vocabulary from English to Swedish. However, since Pete did not know some of the terms in English, he had difficulties concentrating and became visibly tired (Observation notes, 26 January 2018). Such problems are not encountered by students from Group A but are fairly common among students from

Group B, especially among those who arrived in Sweden fairly recently. In the case of children from Group B, before they came to Sweden, as many as five of them (Sally, Zoe, Jim, Ray, and Pete) went to school in their country of origin where English was the language of instruction. Taking into account that the other heritage language was already marginalized there, it comes with no surprise that Sally's proficiency in Swahili (Example 3) is very limited. Children from Group B are not really using their full linguistic repertoires in the educational contexts since the other heritage language is limited to the home domain. As a result, these children's historical bodies have been shaped in a way to see their linguistic practices as deficient and their languages as not good enough.

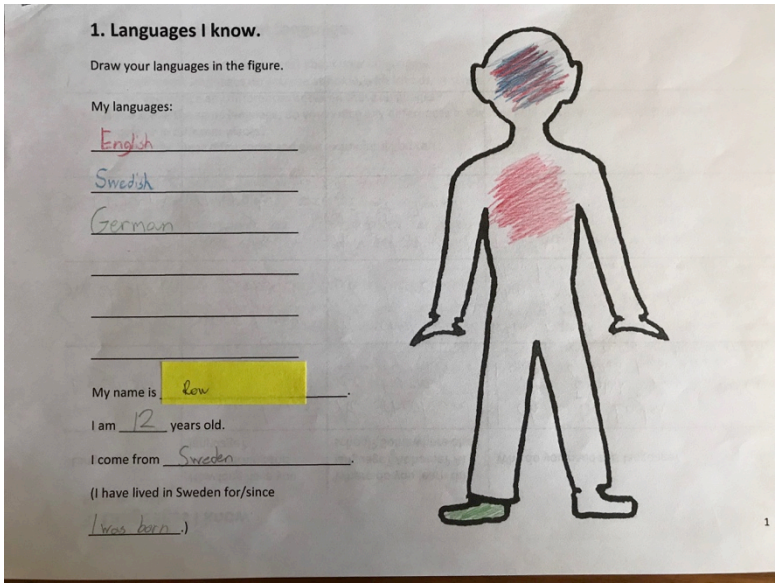
5.3.2 Navigating the heteroglossic landscape – linguistic repertoires, translanguaging and code-switching

As MacSwan (2017) points out, a *repertoire* is "a catalog of the ways we each can talk in different social contexts" (p. 188), as such it contains "our diverse internalized mental grammars, the diverse vocabulary and systems of knowledge pertaining to discourse, pragmatics, and other social conventions that we recruit in verbal interaction with others" (p. 189). Depending on context, one decides what kind of register is most suitable, bilingual or monolingual alike. Additionally, bilinguals have their different languages at their disposal and might resort to translanguaging or code-switching behavior. Code-switching understood as alternating languages between or within sentences is a common feature of bilingual speech (MacSwan, 2017, p. 168).

Students' worksheets (see Appendix 1) clearly show that they draw on all of their linguistic resources in communicating with others. They easily shift between their languages depending on their interlocutors and circumstances. Most of them report speaking language A with the parent and family members who speak language A, language B with the other parent and family members who speak language B, and speaking language A or B as a common medium. Such language practices, common in multilingual families, constitute translanguaging. García (2011) understands translanguaging as a flexible use of linguistic resources to make meaning of the world (p. 1).

Some of the children's accounts are to some extent contradicting. For example Eva (see Example 19), who, even though identifying as American (her mother is from the USA) chooses Swedish to communicate with her American friends. In nexus terms, there is a conflict in Eva's historical body regarding who she feels she is (Swedish) and who she would like to be (American). Jaimi (10), on the other hand, speaks English with his two closest friends, even though they are not native English speakers. Jaimi was born in Sweden to a Swedish mother and an American father. Jaimi explains that one of the friends is from Iraq and English is easier than Swedish for him to understand, the other friend "is more from Sweden" (Jaimi is not quite sure where the boy is from) but likes speaking English. Despite speaking English to his friends, Jaimi says he prefers Swedish. Similarly to Eva, Jaimi's historical body is divided between the two languages. David (15) also speaks English with his Swedish-born friends (see also Examples 2 and 10). In some cases, language choice is dictated by some external pressure – Pete's father insists on speaking English even though they share Krio (see Example 1). Here the discourse in place is that of global English, in which English is constructed as a desirable social commodity. Most of the students in the present study speak the English their Swedish and other friends strive towards and would not miss a chance to practice. Some of them are glad to offer this possibility while others seem to feel rather self-conscious about it.

Figure 5 illustrates Ron's LPS. Ron (12) was born in Sweden to a British mother and a Swedish father. Due to technical problems, the interview with Ron failed to record but his worksheet provides an interesting input into the use of his linguistic repertoire. Ron wrote that when he speaks English with his parents, he uses more complex wording than with his friends. Additionally he admitted to using a "different or slightly more funny" tone of voice with his friends because he feels "uncomfortable" speaking in his normal English voice with them. As seen in Figure 5, Ron marked English in red and Swedish in blue. While red and blue are mixed in the head, his chest is red – English clearly dominates in his portrait. Ron is aware that his English is much better than any of his friends'. A sensitive and thoughtful person, Ron changes the way he speaks English when he is with his friends in order to better fit in his peer group.


1. Languages I know.

Draw your languages in the figure.

My languages:

English

Swedish

German

My name is Row.

I am 12 years old.

I come from Sweden.

(I have lived in Sweden for/since

I was born.)

1

Figure 5. **Ron's LPS**

Such self-consciousness in language use has been noted among some of the older students, showing awareness of the fact that the choice of register affects the way others perceive us and that languages play a role in constructing one's identity. In this way the multilingual student's historical body is shaped by this awareness. Ray (13) comes from Nigeria and has lived in Sweden for 3 years and 4 months. Figure 6 shows Ray's LPS, where she marked quite a few languages. The largest blue part represents English; Yoruba is marked in green, Swedish in purple, Korean in orange and red, Spanish in black, and Japanese in brown. In the interview and worksheet, Ray explains how different languages affect her personality – when she speaks Korean or Japanese she "tend(s) to act and sound silly, cute or stupid"; in Yoruba she sounds and acts "more mature"; in Spanish, she sounds and acts "confusing (sic) and shy". Even though Ray states that the only language that matters to her is Korean because of her "obsession with it" and taste in music, she also writes that she needs Yoruba "to feel like an African".

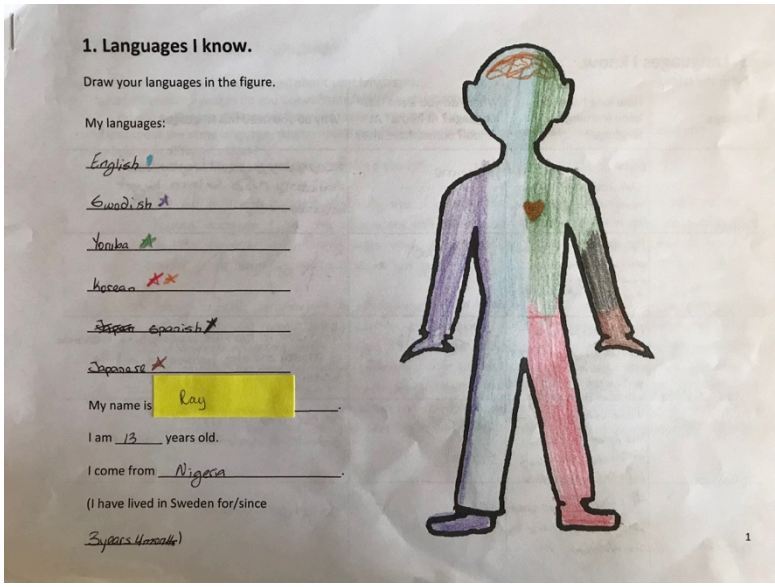


Figure 6. **Ray's LPS**

David (15) is another student who listed a number of languages in his worksheet (see Table 2; Examples 2 and 10). David admits to a tendency to switch between languages when talking to his English-speaking friends. He said that he switches between English and Swedish because his friends understand both and also:

(10) "(…) sometimes I can't find a word in either, when I'm speaking English I can't find the English word, so I speak Swedish and when I'm speaking Swedish and I can't find the Swedish word, then I speak English."

The above quote is an example of translanguaging, in which the fluid nature of the bilingual's linguistic repertoire comprised of a 'languaging continuum' (García, 2009, p. 47) is evident. David also shows awareness of different registers depending on the interlocutor and circumstances – he uses "a different choice of tone and words" with his brother and his teacher when speaking Swedish. He further clarifies that with his brother he uses slang and short words while with teachers he tries to use "more advanced words". As in Ray and Ron's case, he uses language to project certain identity. According to David, it is "cool to switch between the languages", and as a confident multilingual he easily engages in this kind of

behavior making use of all the resources his linguistic repertoire provides him with. If, after Riley (2007) and Jørgensen et al. (2011), identity is understood as socially constructed through communication with others, it becomes visible how multilingual speakers "decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly" (García, 2010, p. 524), as shown in the above examples.

5.3.3 Language brokering

As well as translanguaging, language brokering seems to be a common practice in multilingual families since it transpired from interviews with six out of twenty children. Notwithstanding, since details of language brokering have not been pursued in the interviews, the available data only document cases where the children assumed the role of a language teacher. It is interesting to note that all of the children who reported teaching their parents or siblings Swedish or other languages were born outside of Sweden. Moreover, when considering their background, only two children are in Group A, while Group B has as many as four children who have assumed teaching responsibilities.

Example 11 shows that a child as young as 7 has an acute understanding of the family situation and attempts to help in any way she can. Asked if she speaks Swedish to her dad, Molly (7) replies:

(11) "I'm trying to learn him [Swedish] because he can work (…) because he's just walking out with dogs and he made his own company, so I think he's supposed to like…, mum and dad's making their own restaurant, so I want that he should learn Swedish."

Molly's father comes from Great Britain and her mother is Swedish. The girl has lived in Sweden for six years. Molly seems to instinctively sense her father's alienation and intends to help by teaching him Swedish. She understands that her father would benefit from learning the language, especially if the parents open a restaurant.

In another example, Ellen (12), indicated in the worksheet that she speaks Swedish with her father but only 'half way' by putting a half-circle around the word *dad*. When asked about it in the interview, she admits:

(12) Ellen: "Half because I teach him, I try to teach him and sometimes we talk because he tries to learn, sometimes when we go to stores or something he always speaks Swedish with the one em…"

I: "With the staff?"

Ellen: "Yeah, and they always speak English to him so it's a bit hard…"

In this example Ellen describes a situation, familiar to many foreigners who attempt to speak Swedish only to be met with a response in fluent English, thus discouraging the said foreigner form trying to learn Swedish. Example 12 shows how the girl's effort to teach her father Swedish is countered by the fact that English is widely spoken in Sweden. As a result, an English-speaking person is hypothetically able to manage (at least on a superficial level) without ever learning to speak the language.

Children are very much aware of the difficulties their parents experience trying to learn Swedish. Some of them, like Sally (8), compare their language ability to that of their parents'. When asked if it was easy for her to learn Swedish, Sally answers:

(13) "Yeah, because my mother says when you're a kid you learn faster. And I believe it cos she's been trying to learn Swedish for two years. More than two years, em and she's been in Sweden more time than me."

Sally conforms to the wide-held belief that children in immigrant families often learn the language and culture of the new country at a quicker pace. While recognizing the challenges of learning a language as an adult, Sally continues to speak Swedish to her mother in order to

help her learn and perceives herself as the best person in the family to provide help. When asked who she speaks Swedish with, Sally says (like her father, Sally speaks rather fast):

(14) "My dad and mostly my mum. I speak it mostly with my dad because he is from here and I speak it with my mum because she asks and she wants help with it. My dad doesn't really know how to help and he can't be her teacher because he talks too fast."

In an instance of language brokering, the interaction order is the reversed roles of the child, who assumes the role of the teacher (prototypically an adult role) and the parent, who is the student, changing the power dynamics in the family. The parent, who normally is in control, is pushed to a position where s/he asks for help, possibly admitting a weakness. Another girl, Zoe (13), teaches her mother English and Swedish. When asked if it is easy for her mother to learn these languages, Zoe answers:

(15) Zoe: "No, not that easy, because like, it's for her like, when we're talking on the phone, like, she always not prepared for it, like she doesn't have a pen or book. So whenever like, I feel like, to tell her a word and we see if she remember."

I: "Do you give her grades?"

Zoe: "Yeah, like she give me grades too, like when I'm trying to cook something so I give also grade."

As shown in the above example, Zoe admits to giving her mother grades and testing her progress. Since her mother also gives Zoe grades for household chores, it is only just that Zoe does the same. In Zoe's life history, she has received grades both at school and at home. A good grade is a reward for a job well done, incentivizing the receiver to continue working hard. In the context of language brokering (interaction order), Zoe takes this experience (historical body) and takes on the role of agency (Hult, 2017, p. 94). Here, the typical roles of

child and adult are reversed. By encouraging her mother to learn Swedish, Zoe has the potential to influence her mother's life.

In some cases where children have siblings, they 'trade-teach' languages with each other. Example 16 illustrates how Jim (13) teaches his younger sister Twi and English, and in return she teaches him Swedish:

(16) I: "Do you teach your sister? You teach Twi to your sister?"

Jim: "Yeah. And she also teach me svenska."

I: "And here you said that sometimes you speak *a little English with your sister*[9]?"

Jim: "Yeah, because she doesn't understand but now she understands a little."

I: "What language does she understand best?"

Jim: "Swedish."

Jim comes from Ghana and has lived in Sweden for a year. According to the boy, the family is planning a trip to Ghana and because Jim wants his sister to be able to speak the language when they meet other family members there, he takes on the responsibility of teaching it to her. Additionally, he also helps her with English, all the while recognizing the fact that the little girl understands Swedish best. This example illustrates the situation in many multilingual families, where different family members have different levels of proficiency in their languages. Another boy, Pete (10) (see also Example 1) learns English and Swedish from his two sisters:

(17) Pete: "(…) my sisters, they talk English all the time that's why I learn from them."

I: "Do you speak Swedish at home as well?"

Pete: "Yeah, a little bit, because my sisters learn me how to speak Swedish sometimes."

[9] *Italics* indicate children's original answers from the worksheet.

By teaching the parents, the children contribute to the parents' well-being. As Weisskirch (2010) observes, language brokering serves as a means to bridge the acculturation and communication gap adults in immigrant families often experience since the children, who usually master the target language and culture at a faster pace, help the parents understand more about the culture and language (p. 74). All children who took part in the study, irrespective of their background, show an acute understanding of their family situation. Already at the youngest age, they realize that knowledge of multiple languages is an advantage, which also brings on certain responsibility or a willingness to help. They are aware that one of the parents is at a disadvantage because they do not speak Swedish; hence the child assumes the role of a language teacher.

5.3.4 Identity constructed through heritage language

According to Valdés (2001, p. 37), a heritage language is a language with which an individual has a personal and historical connection, not necessarily defined by proficiency.

Figure 7 shows linguistic portrait silhouettes completed by twins, Mike and Ellen (12). The children were born in the USA but have lived in Sweden for ten years. Their father is American and mother Swedish.

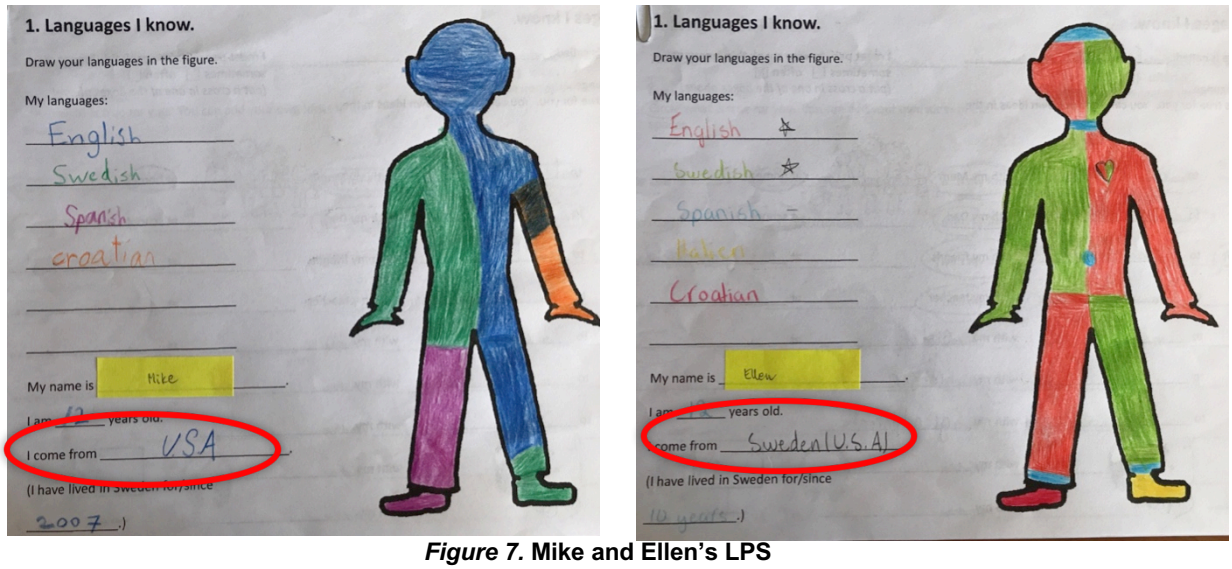


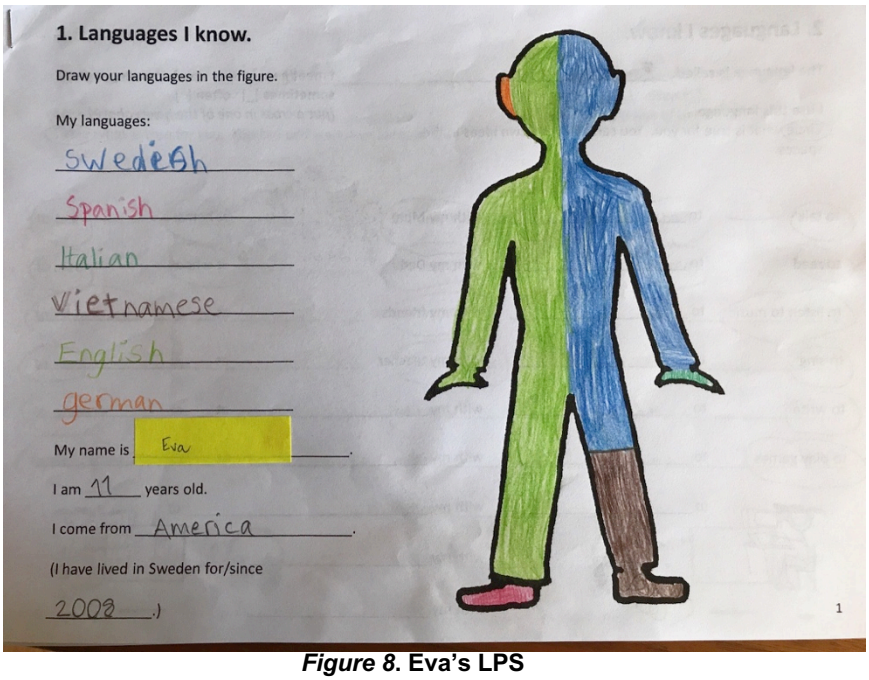
Figure 7. **Mike and Ellen's LPS**

In his picture, Mike marked English in blue and Swedish in green. English clearly takes more space than Swedish, and extends from the head, down through the left side of the torso to the left leg. Swedish takes up the right side of the torso and the arm. Apart from these two main languages, Mike also marked Croatian in orange and Spanish in pink (in the interview he said that Spanish should have taken less space and admitted that the reason he added Croatian was that his sister had it). In Ellen's picture, Swedish is green and English is orange, and the body is divided in halves – the right side of the head is English, the left Swedish; the right side of the torso is Swedish, the left English; the heart is also half English, half Swedish; the right leg is English, the left Swedish. The two main languages – English and Swedish – are a mirror image of each other. To make her design more elaborate, Ellen added some blue elements (which marks Spanish), namely the top of the head, throat, belly button and leg cuffs. The feet are red (Croatian) and yellow (Italian).

They are twins; yet, their pictures are so different. Mike identifies as American and his sister, Ellen as Swedish, as indicated by the red ovals in Figure 7. Their LPS reflect their unique personalities and different linguistic affinity and possibly indicate that the children identify with one or the other parent. The way Ellen and Mike visualize the embodiment of identity connects to their historical bodies. Even though they are twins and have grown up in the same environment, their historical bodies reflect their individualism.

Another example that shows how a child identifies with a parent's linguistic heritage is that of Eva (11). Eva was born in the USA but has lived in Sweden for 10 years. Her mother is American. Eva divided the body into halves and marked English in green and Swedish in blue (see Figure 8). English clearly takes more space in the body than Swedish. The reason why Eva's LPS is particularly interesting is the way the picture to some extent contradicts what she had said in the interview. When asked which language is easier – English or Swedish, Eva responds:

(18) "I just think English is a little easier. That's why I made a bigger part also."



1. Languages I know.

Draw your languages in the figure.

My languages:

Swedish

Spanish

Italian

Vietnamese

English

german

My name is Eva.

I am 11 years old.

I come from America.

(I have lived in Sweden for/since

2008.)

1

Figure 8. **Eva's LPS**

At a later stage during the interview, it transpired that Eva has two younger half-siblings, a sister and a brother, with whom she shares the mother and who she speaks Swedish to. When asked to compare how much Swedish and English she speaks, Eva says:

(19) Eva: "It's hard to say but I think probably Swedish since my grandparents don't live in Sweden, so, but my grandparents from my dad's side, they're Swedish and I meet them often, so I talk to him, my dad in Swedish, my grandparents – my dad's side of grandparents in Swedish."

I: "Do you have any friends you speak English with?"

Eva: "I speak Swedish to all of them but I have friends that are American but I still speak Swedish with them."

I: "Why?"

Eva: "I don't know but I think I feel more comfortable speaking Swedish with them."

Even though English takes half of her body in the LPS and Eva says that English is easier for her, she seems to speak more Swedish. Eva is carefully judging how much time she speaks Swedish and who she speaks Swedish to – her paternal grandparents who she obviously meets more often than the maternal grandparents, her father, and surprisingly also her half-brother and sister as well as her American friends. This could suggest that Eva identifies more with her mother's linguistic heritage than recognizes her own. In a way, Eva is on the opposite end of the continuum when it comes to affiliation with the heritage language compared to Sally (Example 3), who seems detached from her mother's language.

The above examples show the complexity of the notion of mother tongue and what it means to the students – language affiliation in some cases can be explained by proficiency, while in others by affinity and connection with a parent.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

By means of nexus analysis, I have aimed to show connections between the different layers of the phenomenon of English MTI, namely the connections between language policy, what the students do and believe, and what the teacher thinks and experiences. Nexus analysis investigates different discourses that intersect and interplay in a social action, such as *historical body* or individual life experiences of the actors involved (the teacher and students); *discourses in place* – the beliefs and ideologies present in the moment; and the *interaction order* – how the actors behave in relation to one another (Scollon and Scollon, 2004, p. 13-14).

6.1 How is the subject of mother tongue constructed discursively and how does it relate to the status/position of English as a global language?

Conflicting ideologies regarding multilingualism and diversity in language policy documents point to two discourses in place in the social action of MTI, namely the negative discourse surrounding MTI and the dominant ideology of pluralism. Curriculum goals pertaining to language (Lgr11, p. 15) do not mention mother tongue or the heritage culture sending a signal that they are less important, thus placing them at a lower end of the linguistic and cultural hierarchy. Regarding English MTI, another discourse in place is that of global English. The problem of language marginalization and maintenance concerns children from Group B, who apart from English have at least one more heritage language, such as Krio, Twi, Yoruba or Swahili. The right to mother tongue instruction in Sweden is restricted by two conditions – the language is used for daily communication at home and the student has basic knowledge of the language (Skolverket, n.d.). Since children from Group B come from countries where English is medium of instruction, they fulfill the definition by competence when it comes to English. The high status of English and its global role make it a seemingly obvious choice when it comes to education and is visible in the parents' belief that the child will benefit more from learning the dominant language than the mother tongue.

Even though outside the scope of the research question, the issue of segregation needs to be brought up. As stated in the curriculum, an international perspective is concerned with the understanding of cultural diversity and creating international solidarity through preparing the student to live in a multicultural society (Lgr11, p. 12). Nevertheless, the data collected during the study confirm that segregation is a societal problem that is reflected in education, especially regarding the two student groups – Group A and Group B that pre-existed the study.

6.2 How is the discursive construction of the subject of mother tongue implemented in practice?

The general impression from the interview with the mother tongue teacher is that MTI is a separate entity not fully integrated in the school system, an outsider. This impression is additionally reinforced by the way MTI is organized – MTI is scheduled outside school time, it is limited to an 80-minute lesson a week, MT teachers work at a number of different schools and are employed by a separate body (Språkcentralen in Malmö), and the turnover rate is high. The fact that MTI lessons are scheduled outside school time makes cooperation with other school personnel difficult. Whereas the guidelines and tasks concerning the teacher are thorough and exhaustive in the curriculum (Lgr11, p. 16), in practice the teacher faces difficult conditions. What transpires from the interview with the teacher is, that Lucia has never received feedback about her work, has been met with limited interest from other teachers, and encountered problems contacting the parents.

Another aspect, specific to MTI, is a special nature of the heritage language student. As Valdés (2001) observes, “the heritage language students may seem superior in some respects and quite limited in others” when compared to a foreign language student (p. 47). Most of Lucia’s students have strong conversational skills but experience difficulties with writing and reading. To help her students develop their emerging skills, Lucia does word study, as well as reading and writing activities adapted to the children’s age. Since most of the students have strong conversational skills but their text-based skills are considerably less developed, the question of transferring reading and writing abilities across languages arises, which is an implication for MT teachers.

6.3 How do students with different sociological relationship to English navigate their heteroglossic repertoires?

Through the notion of one linguistic repertoire, multilingual students are seen as being positioned at different points along a bilingual continuum (García, 2011, p. 4). Students' worksheets clearly show that they draw on all of their linguistic resources in communicating with others. They easily shift between languages and show awareness of different registers depending on their interlocutors and circumstances. In a modern day heteroglossic reality, translanguaging is a legitimate way of expression and meaning making, as the student interviews show. The LPS data suggest that, even though the languages are often represented as separate entities in the pictures drawn by the students, in a single communicative exchange the students turn to whatever language they need and make full use of their linguistic repertoires. In this way boundaries between the languages become blurred and all the languages make up the one linguistic repertoire. The LPS data also reflect the students' unique personalities and different linguistic affinity, showing the complexity of the notion of mother tongue and what it means to the students – language affiliation in some cases can be explained by proficiency, while in others by affinity and connection with a parent.

It has to be noted that regarding the use of their full linguistic repertoires, children from Group B were at a disadvantage since their heritage language was relegated to the home domain. As a result, children from Group B were not using their full linguistic repertoires in the educational context. Apart from experiencing problems with Swedish, some of them also struggled with English, despite coming from countries where English is the medium of instruction. As Cummins (1979, 2001) points out, it takes considerably longer (between 5 and 7 years) to reach academic proficiency than to develop conversational fluency in the target language. Nevertheless, in order to succeed in the Swedish school system, students need academic proficiency both in English and in Swedish. The implication for MTI is that children from Group B might need extra support to help them develop not only their Swedish academic proficiency but also their English skills, in spite of being labeled English native speakers.

Another interesting finding was language brokering. As student interviews revealed, even the youngest children show an acute understanding of the family situation and are very

much aware of the difficulties their parents experience trying to learn Swedish. Examples of language brokering also illustrate the situation in many multilingual families where different family members have different levels of proficiency in their languages. By teaching the parents, the children contribute to the parents' well-being helping them to bridge the acculturation and communication gap (Weisskirch, 2010). The linguistic, cultural and world knowledge that result from the specific experiences of a language broker who needs to convey information and concepts in a variety of situations could be incorporated into the curriculum.

6.4 Limitations and future directions

The study does not claim to be exhaustive. One of the limitations of the study is the fact that the parents were not interviewed. This limitation in scope was due to time considerations, yet parents' perspectives would have been very useful to understand, especially since they would have shed light on interaction order as well as parents' historical bodies in terms of values and beliefs. Similarly, a limitation in scope was focusing on one teacher only. Here too, time did not allow insight into other teachers' experiences, which would have been a valuable source for comparison. These limitations suggest directions for future researchers of MTI in Sweden, who could, for instance add parental perspectives or compare experiences of a number of teachers. Another direction for future research is language brokering, which proved to be a common practice among the participants in the present study. A study with a specific focus on different forms of language brokering would be needed to investigate the depth of this phenomenon. An important field to explore for future English MTI researchers is the problem of segregation in Swedish schools and how it affects students and teachers. Furthermore, there is the potential of visual analysis of the LPS drawings in order to shed light on students' own perspectives on translanguaging and how they conceptualize their linguistic resources as language.

The complexity of English MTI makes it a fruitful area for future research. On the one hand, there is the high status of the English language and the low status of MTI in Sweden; on the other hand, there is the diverse background of the students who take part in

the instruction and their different languages that are affected by the global role of the English language.

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Appendix 1 Worksheet 1, 2 and 3

Worksheet 1

1. Languages I know.

Draw your languages in the figure.

My languages:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

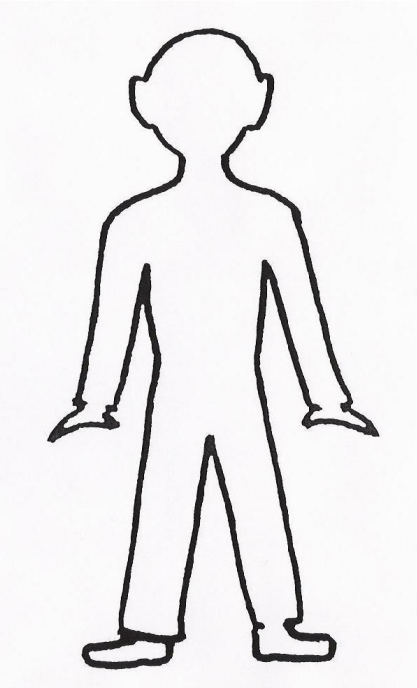
My name is _____.

I am _____ years old.

I come from _____.

(I have lived in Sweden for/since

_____.)



Worksheet 2 – Worksheet 1 and additionally the below page in 4 copies to allow space for different languages

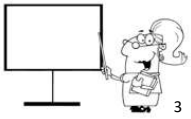
2. Languages I know.

The language is called: _____

I meet people who speak this language:
sometimes [_] **often** [_]
(put a cross in one of the boxes above)

I use this language…
Circle what is true for you. You can add your own ideas in the spaces.

to talk	to _____	with my Mum	at home
to read	to _____	with my Dad	at school
to listen to music	to _____	with my friends	at _____
to sing	to _____	with my teacher	at _____
to write	to _____	with my _____	at _____
to play games	to _____	with my _____	at _____
	to _____	with my _____	
		with my _____	
		with my _____	



3

Worksheet 3 – Worksheet 1 and additionally the pages below

2. Languages I know.

Fill in the table.

Language	How long have you been learning this language?	Where do you learn this language? At home? At school? Somewhere else?	Why do you need this language?

2

3. Things I notice about language.

Write a short text (about 10 sentences) about your languages.

- What different languages do you use at home/with friends/at school?
  - Do you notice any differences between these languages?
- If you speak the same language, do you notice any differences in the language when you use it with different people or in different places?
  - Describe these differences and give examples if you can.

3

Appendix 2 Teacher Interview Questions

A. Background

1. How long have you taught MT?
2. What kind of employment contract are you on – permanent, temporary, full-time, part-time, etc.?
3. Which grades do you teach?
4. What is your previous work experience?
5. What formal education do you have?

B. Work situation and conditions. Describe your work situation, as help check the questions below and add anything you deem important.

1. How many schools do you teach in?
2. How many groups and how many students per group do you work with? Do you have influence over student grouping? What is the group composition from the language level and age perspective?
3. How many hours MT do the groups have? Do you have influence over how long the lessons are?
4. When do MT lessons take place – during school time or outside?
5. What is the situation regarding teaching materials (pens, crayons, photocopying, etc.)?
6. What is the situation regarding classrooms?
7. What is the situation regarding other school personnel (admin, teachers) – attitudes, cooperation, etc.?
8. What is the situation regarding parents? Are they involved in any way in their children MT lessons?
9. Do you have the possibility to work with other MT teachers? If yes, what does the cooperation look like?
10. Do you have the possibility to develop as a teacher in the form of competence development, workshops, etc.?
11. If you could change something, what would it be?

C. Teaching content, methodology and way of working.

1. In your opinion, why is MT important? What is the goal of MT lessons? How do the goals stated in the curriculum relate to your experience working as MT teacher?
2. What are your responsibilities as MT teacher?
3. How do you organize your teaching?

4. How do you decide on the content? Do you base the teaching content on the curriculum? In what ways does the curriculum help/hinder your work?
5. What teaching materials do you use? Do you choose materials based on the curriculum?
6. What methods do you use? How do you adapt the methods depending on the students' needs?
7. Do you set grades? If so, do you use the knowledge requirements (kunskapskrav) from the curriculum?
8. What language(s) do you speak during class? When and in what circumstances do you use Swedish?
9. How do you work with student diversity and multilingualism? In what way (if at all) are diversity and multilingualism supported/discouraged in the curriculum?
10. How do you motivate your students?
11. In terms of competence development, what skills would help you to improve your way of working?
12. What factors influence the teaching content and your way of working?
13. Do you get feedback on your teaching? Is your work evaluated in any way?

Is there anything else you would like to add that you think is important?

Appendix 3 Consent Letters (English and Swedish)

Dear Parents,

My name is Anna Mazur-Andersson and I am a student at Lund University, studying language and linguistics, specializing in English. Currently I am working on a thesis project about multilingualism in Sweden. One of the aims of this research study is to investigate how students perceive mother tongue education and how it helps them shape their linguistic identity.

I am writing to you to invite your child to join this research project. Please take whatever time you need to think about your child's participation. The decision to let your child join, or not to join, is up to you.

WHAT IS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY?
Your child will be asked to complete a worksheet about language and take part in a short group conversation based on the worksheet. The activity will be done as a regular class activity and will not take away time from the English mother tongue lesson. The approximate time is one period.
This study is risk free and does not involve any costs on your part.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY
By participating in this study, your child may deepen his/her understanding of language.
Other mother tongue teachers may benefit in the future from the information found in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Only data collected from the children whose parents have agreed to their participation in the project will be used in the thesis.

Your child's anonymity is guaranteed at all times. I will take the following steps to keep information confidential:

- Your child's name will NOT be used at any time in the study; instead your child will be assigned a code name/number.
- The conversation will be recorded for analytic purposes and will not be available to anyone else but myself.
- Information from this research will be used solely for the purpose of this study and any publications that may result from this study. However, I want to once more assure you that **your child's anonymity is guaranteed**.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS
If you have any questions about the study contact Anna Mazur-Andersson at tel.: 0708260238 or mail: anna.mazur-andersson.0102@student.lu.se.

PERMISSION FOR A CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
As parent or legal guardian, I authorize _____ (child's name) to become a participant in the research study described in this form.

Child's Date of Birth _____

Parent or Legal Guardian's Signature Date
_____

Yours sincerely,

Anna Mazur-Andersson

Kära Föräldrar,

Mitt namn är Anna Mazur-Andersson och jag studerar språk och språkvetenskap på Lunds Universitet, med engelska som inriktning. Just nu skriver jag på en master uppsats om flerspråkighet i Sverige. Syftet med projektet är bland annat att utreda hur elever ser på hemspråksundervisning och hur den hjälper dem att forma deras språkliga identitet.

Jag skriver till er då jag önskar och skulle uppskatta att ert barn kan delta i detta forskningsprojekt. Vara vänliga och ta så mycket tid som ni behöver för att fundera om ert barns deltagande. Deltagandet i forskningsprojektet är frivilligt och beslutet om ert barns deltagande är upp till er.

VAD FÖRVÄNTAS AV DITT BARN?

Ert barn kommer att göra en övning om språk och delta i en gruppkonversation baserad på övningen. Övningen är som en vanlig klassaktivitet och kommer inte att påverka hemspråkslektionen. Uppskattad tid är en lektion.

Projektet är helt riskfullt och är inte förknippat med några kostnader för er.

POSITIVA EFFEKTER AV STUDIEN

Deltagandet i projektet kommer förmodligen att fördjupa ert barns språkförståelse.
Resultat från studien kommer att vara till nytta för såväl kommande elever som hemspråkslärare.

SEKRETESS

Bara uppgifter från barn vems föräldrar hade enats om barnets deltagande i projektet kommer att användas i arbetet.

Ert barns anonymitet garanteras. Jag kommer att hålla informationen konfidentiell genom att:

- Inte använda ert barns namn; istället kommer ert barn att tilldelas ett kodnamn/nummer.
- Gruppkonversationen kommer att inspelas för analytiska skäll; inspelningen kommer att uteslutande bli tillgänglig för mig.
- Resultaten av denna undersökning kommer endast användas i detta projekt samt att presenteras på vetenskapliga konferenser och seminarier. Viktigt är dock att återigen understryka att **ert barns anonymitet är garanterad**.

KONTAKTUPPGIFTER

Om ni undrar över något eller har frågor om projektet vara vänliga och kontakta mig, Anna Mazur-Andersson, tel.: 0708260238 eller mail: anna.mazur-andersson.0102@student.lu.se.

SAMTYCKE FÖR BARN ATT DELTA I FORSKNINGSPROJEKTET

Som förälder eller vårdnadshavare godkänner jag _____ (barnets namn) att bli deltagare i forskningsprojektet som beskrivits ovan.

Barnets födelsedatum _____

Förälder eller vårdnadshavares underskrift Datum

_____

Med vänliga hälsningar,

Anna Mazur-Andersson