

“So when can I start taking English?”

A study on language ideologies at the language preparation programme

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Abstract

In multilingual Sweden, several languages are used alongside the principal language Swedish. Although Swedish is the majority language among the population, 20,5 percent of the students at compulsory school have another first language (National Agency for Education, 2015). Likewise, the role of English is steadily increasing; thus, it is of high importance that students in compulsory school get a good education in English in order to participate in various domains in society now and in the future. However, in a more linguistically diverse Sweden, opposing ideologies on languages can be detected. The present paper engages in whether the curricula and syllabi in Swedish schools are framed on a monoglossic or heteroglossic ideology and how they are interpreted and appropriated by educators at the language preparation programme. In addition, this essay discusses what consequences the ideology in the documents and teachers' interpretation of it may have on newly arrived immigrants' chances to access English. These questions were answered with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) and three semi-structured interviews with teachers' at the language preparation programme. A CDA analysis of the material suggests that the curricula and syllabi are framed on a monoglossic ideology, whereas the semi-structured interviews suggest that the teachers negotiate the ideology framed in the steering documents in relation to the discourse reality in their classroom and their beliefs about language. Furthermore, two teachers stated they had adapted a translanguaging approach to teach the newly arrived immigrants, which this thesis will argue, can be a useful approach when teaching multilingual students in the 21st century.

Keywords

English, language preparation programme, multilingualism, translanguaging, language ideologies, educational language policies.

Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Aim of study	2
2. Background	2
2.1 Linguistic diversity in Sweden	2
2.1.1 English as a language in Sweden	2
2.1.2 Multilingual Sweden	3
2.2 Language preparation programme	4
3. Theoretical background	5
3.2 Theoretical framework	5
3.2.1 Educational language policies	5
3.2.2 Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality	5
3.3 Ideologies	6
3.3.1 A monoglossic ideology	6
3.3.2 A heteroglossic ideology	7
3.4 Previous research	9
3.4.1 A previous study in Sweden	9
3.4.2 A previous study in the U.S.	10
4. Method	11
4.1 Ethnography as a method	11
4.2 Curriculum and syllabi: documents analysis	11
4.3 Interviews and participants	12
4.4 Implementation	14
5. Findings	14
5.1 Educational language policies	14
5.2 Interviews	16
5.2.1 Importance of Swedish and mother tongue	16
5.2.2 Importance of English	17
5.2.3 Encouragement of languages in the classroom	18
5.3 Summary	19
6. Discussion	19
7. Conclusion	22
8. References	24

Appendix A26

1. Introduction

Even though 70 percent of the world population is bilingual, monolingualism is considered the norm in most societies (May, 2014). In fact, even in countries that are considered officially monolingual, such as Iceland, several languages are still used. Sweden is considered a multilingual country. Besides the five official minority languages (Finnish, Sami, Mieänkieli, Romani chib and Yiddish), more than 200 “immigrant” minority languages are spoken in Sweden (Lindberg, 2007). Some of these minority languages, such as Arabic and Turkish, have more than 100,000 speakers in Sweden (Lindberg, 2007). In addition, the great majority of the population speaks English and potentially also another European language (mostly French, Spanish or German) fluently to some extent as it is a mandatory subject in school (Lindberg, 2007). Despite the multilingualism among the population, Swedish is the only official language. In 2009, Sweden implemented a language policy which stated that Swedish is the principal language in Sweden (SOU 2009:600, p. 1). The new language policy also implied that everyone in Sweden has the right to use their mother tongue and a possibility to learn foreign languages (The Language Council of Sweden, 2009). Lindberg (2007, p. 73) summarizes the main reasons for the new language policy as follows:

English has won an increasingly strong position internationally, thereby also becoming an ever more important language in Sweden.

Sweden has become an increasingly multilingual country, primarily because of immigration but also as a result of the elevation of five languages to be status of national minority languages.

There are increasing demands in society at large for an ability to use language both orally and writing.

Sweden has during recent years become even more diverse in terms of language and culture. Due to war and crises in the world, Sweden has in the 21st century received a great number of refugees from mainly Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea and Somalia (Swedish Migration Agency, 2016). Only in 2015, 163,000 people sought asylum in Sweden where about 35, 400 were unaccompanied children in the age of 15 - 19 (Swedish Migration Agency, 2016). This became a great challenge for schools, which in a short time had to organize education for the refugees. This was particularly challenging for the programme Språkintröduktion (language preparation programme [my translation]), which, according to the National Agency for Education (2015), had 18,700 students enrolled in 2015, which represented a 21 percent rise from the year before.

At the same time, in international tests such as PISA, the results of Swedish students have been alarmingly low, especially for students with a mother tongue other than Swedish (Norberg Brorsson & Lainio, 2016). In previous studies, conducted in the U.S., low-achieving results from students have had an impact on policy-makers and their implementation of the curricula and syllabi, especially regarding language and language use (Evans & Hornberger, 2004; García & Flores, 2014). Thus, by looking at the curricula and the syllabi and how multilingualism is portrayed in them, we may gain a greater understanding of how it is viewed by policy-makers. In addition, by studying how teachers interpret and appropriate these documents in their practice at school, we can obtain a multi-layered view on how policies are negotiated from both a top-down and a bottom-up perspective (Johnson, 2015). Therefore, the aim of this essay is to detect if the curricula and the syllabi are framed on a monoglossic ideology, which favour one

language to be used at a time, or a heteroglossic one, which supports a dynamic use of languages (García, 2009). In other words, to examine whether students' multilingualism is valued or marginalized by the policy makers and educators. This essay will have English as the primary focus, but mother tongue tuitions and Swedish as a second language will be discussed and compared as well.

1.1 Aim of study

Sweden is considered a multilingual country where minority immigrant languages are encouraged rather than marginalized (Lindberg, 2007). However, during the last couple of years, Sweden has received thousands of refugees, which has put teachers and principals at the language preparation programme under high pressure. Additionally, the political climate in Sweden is becoming more nationalistic and xenophobic, which in previous international studies has been shown to affect the educational language policies towards a more monoglossic ideology (Milani, 2007; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Therefore, the aims of this study are, based on the framework of monoglossic and heteroglossic ideology, to examine how teachers at the language preparation programme interpret the steering documents (curricula and syllabi) in terms of multilingualism and how they implement these policy guidelines in their teaching. In addition, this thesis aims to look at how language ideologies from a top-down perspective affect the teaching of newly arrived immigrants at the language preparation programme. More specifically, the research questions that guide the analysis are as follows:

- Are the steering documents for the language preparation programme framed on a monoglossic or heteroglossic ideology?
- Do the English teachers at the language preparation programme have a monoglossic or a heteroglossic view on languages?
- How can teachers' interpretation of the curriculum and syllabi for the language preparation programme affect newly arrived immigrants' access to English?

2. Background

In this section, an introduction to the setting of Sweden as a multilingual country will be presented. Since the English language is of major focus in this essay, one section is dedicated to English alone. Also in this section, the language preparation programme as the upper secondary programme of focus in this study, will be introduced.

2.1 Linguistic diversity in Sweden

2.1.1 English as a language in Sweden

The question whether English is to be considered a second or a foreign language in Sweden is widely debated (Hult, 2007; 2012, Lindberg, 2007). It is undoubtedly an important language in Swedish society as it is used in various domains from entertainment, commerce to engineering and banking (Bolton & Meierkord, 2013). English is also important in education. As early as in primary school, children learn the language and it is an obligatory subject up to the first year of upper secondary school where the students can then enrol in two optional English courses. In the international European Survey of Language Competence (ESLC) for students at year 9 in compulsory school, Swedish students were at the top together with Malta, where English is an official

language (The National Agency for Education, 2015). However, although students perform well at standardised tests, everyone in Sweden is not bilingual. For some people, English is used only receptively when listening to music or watching films with subtitles (Hult, 2007). Nonetheless, in higher education, English enjoys a greater presence in the faculty of natural science and mathematics as well as economics and law than in the humanities and social science (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). Several studies show that the majority of dissertations in Swedish universities, in the area of medicine, mathematics, biology and psychology were published in English (Berg et.al, 2001, Gunnarsson & Öhman, 1997, Teleman, 1992 in Hult, 2007)¹. Since English is a relevant language in higher education, it is common that parents place their children in primary and secondary schools that have adapted English instructions in all subjects (Wingstedt, 1998). Still, the fact that English might eradicate Swedish as the language used in high-status domains seems to have little probability among scholars. Salö (2015) and Bolton & Meierkord (2013) argue that even though English is the language used in some domains, Swedish is still favoured among the Swedes as the national language. However, Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) raise the issue that if English increases in domains (such as education), which is considered high-status in society, Swedish might be restricted to low-status domains, such as in the home and within families (in Hult, 2007, Lindberg, 2007). Furthermore, this scenario would extend the social inequalities between those that have a high proficiency in English and those who possess low or no English proficiency. This is particularly relevant for speakers of minority and immigrant languages in Sweden who have to learn an additional language in order to access higher education and thus become trilingual (Hult, 2007, p. 169-172).

2.1.2 Multilingual Sweden

Sweden has despite its official monolingual status always been a multilingual country as the indigenous minority languages Sami and Finnish have been spoken in Sweden for centuries (Lindberg, 2007). In addition, Sweden has throughout history received a great number of immigrants. In 2010, 19,6 percent of the Swedish population was either born in another country or were children to parents born in another country (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Since authorities are restricted about documenting language and ethnicity among the population, it is difficult to count the languages spoken in Sweden. However, children with another mother tongue than Swedish are provided with mother tongue tuition and according to the statistics from the National Agency for Education (2015), 140 different mother tongues were spoken by 20,5 percent of the students at compulsory school. Despite the encouragement from the authorities in theory to maintain the multilingualism among the population, the mother tongue tuition has shown to be difficult to implement in schools. When it was first introduced during the 1970s, Sweden took the lead in teaching minority students and several European countries were inspired by the multilingual ideology that framed the Swedish education. However, what the other countries came to realise was that it was good in theory but harder to implement in schools, problems that still occur today. In many schools, the mother tongue tuition is placed outside the school-schedule and often late during the day and sometimes at a different location. Likewise, the mother tongue teachers, who are meant to be a resource for all teachers at school, have been needed at different schools and thus have not been the resource they were intended to be. In addition to this, it has been difficult to find

¹ However, Salö (2015) explains that although the published materials are in English, Swedish is used to a large extent along the way in the production of research outputs.

suitably trained teachers in all minority languages (Lindberg, 2007, p. 77). According to Hyltenstam and Tuomela (1996, p.95ff in Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012) these problems were identified and discussed by scholars already in the 1980's and the reason why no measures were done, is claimed by Municio (1996, p.183ff in Hyltenstam, 2012, p. 66):

Inte beror på att vi inte har kunskap om vikten av undervisning i och på eget språk. [...] nedrustningen beror på att tvåspråkighetens pedagogiska ideologi som hemspråksreformen introducerade inte fick något generellt genomslag i skolans praktik. I stället fortsatte enspråkighetens pedagogiska ideologi att vara vägledande (...).

[it is not about that we lack knowledge about the importance of schooling in the mother tongue [...] the reason for the disarmament is that the bilingual education ideology, which was introduced with the mother tongue tuition, did not get any effect in school practice. Instead, the monolingual pedagogical ideology continued to be the norm (...)] [my translation].

Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) state that although Municio (1996 in Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012) refers to the mother tongue in particular, this is applicable to education in general for students with a mother tongue other than Swedish. One subject where this becomes visible as well is in Swedish as a second language (shortened version: SVA). SVA is for students with a mother tongue other than Swedish and the syllabus is almost equivalent with the subject Swedish. As with mother tongue tuition, SVA has had problems with implementation in schools and studies show that the subject is not practiced as it was intended (Lindberg, 2007). Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) argue that even here the monolingual norm is dominating and they conclude that there is a power relationship between the majority and minority speakers where the majority speakers are more valued.

2.2 Language preparation programme

The language preparation programme is a programme for newly arrived immigrants at the age of 16 -19 that lack the sufficient grades to apply for upper secondary school. At the language preparation programme, the students study Swedish as a second language and other subjects that are required for the compulsory school 7-9 in order to rapidly move on for studies at upper secondary school. The students at the programme have varied knowledge in the subjects from previous schooling and they are all beginners of Swedish. In order to meet the needs of this heterogeneous group, schools need to evaluate the student's previous knowledge in the subjects and make individual plans to enhance the students' chances to receive grades that allow them to apply for upper secondary school and for further studies and employment in the Swedish society (The National Agency for Education, 2013). In order to be accepted to the upper secondary school, students need to have passing marks from the subjects at compulsory school. Seven subjects are needed for vocational programs and twelve for higher education preparatory programmes where two of the subjects must be the core subjects Swedish as a second language and maths. Previously, English was a core subject as well but in 2011, The National Agency for Education made English an exception (The National Agency for Education, 2011b).

3. Theoretical background

In this section, the theoretical framework and previous studies will be outlined. The theoretical framework that will be used is monoglossic and heteroglossic ideology and those concepts will be defined and discussed here. Also, previous studies in the field will be summarized and presented. Since there exist a myriad of studies on educational language policies, a selection on the most relevant findings for this study is outlined here.

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Educational language policies

Some scholars use the term language education policy, language-in-education policy and educational language policies interchangeably; however, in this study the concept of educational language policies will be consistently used when discussing the policies used by educators in schools. Educational language policy refers to those documents that are used in an educational setting and which often are created and implemented from a top-down organization, and interpreted and appropriated by teachers in a school. Therefore, the educational language policies can be argued to be multi-layered as they appear in several domains, from education ministers and the National Agency for Education, to principals and educators at schools (Johnson, 2013). The teachers may interpret these documents differently depending on the particular teaching context. Educational language policies can have both positive and negative impact on the education. On the one hand, they can be used as a power instrument aiming at marginalizing minority languages in favour of the official language, but on the other hand, they can also support the use and maintenance of minority languages (Johnson, 2013).

3.2.2 Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality

Discourse can be defined as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 1). Discourses are not limited to only text and speech. A social institution (e.g. a school), can be seen as a discourse setting where a certain frame is set, which constrains the teachers and students to act within the frame of that particular school (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse analysis then refers to the method used when analysing a discourse by looking at how specific criteria are portrayed, for instance gender, power and ideology. When adding critical to the discourse analysis, the focus is “to investigate and analyse power relations in society and to formulate normative perspectives from which a critique of such relations can be made with an eye on the possible for social change” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 2). For Fairclough (2011), critical discourse analysis is not only to examine discourses within a discourse, for him, critical discourse analysis needs to always be connected to social and cultural structures in society (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Fairclough (2001) explains “[c]ritical is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people- such as the connections between language, power and ideology” (Fairclough, 2001c [1989]:4 in Milani, 2007, p. 11). Thus, critical discourse analysis is a useful method when researchers want to detect and shed lights on inequality within a certain discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Fairclough (1995) uses interdiscursivity to refer to how discourses relate to each other. It is a concept within the broader term intertextuality, which refers to how texts relate to other texts and how they are interpreted differently based on the reader’s previous knowledge (Johnson, 2015). For Fairclough (1995), interdiscursivity and intertextuality are an opportunity to expand or change a discourse by shedding light on inequalities. However, this is limited in practice because

of the inevitable power relations (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In this essay, intertextuality analysis, as a tool within critical discourse analysis, will be used in combination with an ethnographic approach because of its usefulness when detecting how top-down policies (e.g. school documents) relate to bottom-up practices (e.g. teachers' interpretations of such documents). Furthermore, intertextuality analysis is useful when the researcher wants to identify how policies relate to discursive and sociocultural practices (Johnson, 2015). Intertextual language policy analysis can thus reveal data on "where the ideas and language in a document might come from, how they are connected to other texts and discourses, and what this might mean for those responsible for interpreting, appropriating, or implementing the policy" (Johnson, 2015, p. 169). In addition, as Jørgensen and Phillip (2002) say, intertextuality analysis should be viewed together with theories on power as policies might impose a certain ideology.

3.3 Ideologies

According to Woolard (1998) "Ideologies of language are not about language alone" (p.3). Rather, language is tied to beliefs, values and conceptions, which are "deeply entrenched in, and accurately tied to, broader cultural images of the people who factually or purportedly speak them" (Milani, 2007, p.8). Language ideologies are beliefs about language that are often made by specific social or cultural groups who "underlie attempts to use language as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those interests" (Milani, 2007, p. 10). Ideology is often combined with the concept of hegemony, which refers to power dimensions and the urge to control, for instance within a nation. Ideologies are shaped by the socio-cultural, political and economic situations in a society (Wingstedt, 1998). Thus, a change in the normative socio-cultural, political and economic- order in a specific society, may arise an ideological conflict. Milani (2007) argues that this is the case in Sweden, where different language ideologies collide due to an increased linguistic heterogeneity. Milani (2007) discussed the implementation of Swedish as a principal language in Sweden via the concept of ideology and hegemony. He argued that by legislating Swedish as a principal language in Sweden, it subsequently put Swedish at the top in a hierarchy order of languages and symbolically to the paradigm of one nation-one language (Milani, 2007). This is further argued as to clash with the beliefs from the Social Democratic party discourse that does not connect language and ethnicity. The language ideologies of focus in this essay are monoglossic and heteroglossic ideologies where the monoglossic ideology can be viewed to encourage assimilation to the majority language and heteroglossic ideology, which support multilingualism. These two ideologies are very different in theory; however, in practice, they are not completely separated but rather a question of degree (Wingstedt, 1998).

3.3.1 A monoglossic ideology

A monoglossic ideology considers monolingualism as the norm in society. The ideology views linguistic homogeneity as the normal and desired mode in society and among the individuals (Wingstedt, 1998). Thus, the concept neglects minority languages and believes that other languages, both high status languages such as English, and low status languages, such as minority languages, are inferior to the majority language (Wingstedt, 1998). From a monoglossic perspective, the view on bilingualism is that bilingual speakers are like "a double monolingual" who are equally good in the two languages and uses the second language the same way as their first (Jørgensen et al, 2016, p.149). Thus, the view on languages is that they are separate entities and they should also be used separately. Within this ideology, concepts such as, semilingualism, are used to refer to

speakers that mix their languages, something that is not encouraged (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

In schools, a monoglossic ideology might make a power asymmetry between the home and the school language where the first is viewed as unimportant in the school setting whereas the latter is privileged (García, 2009). Since languages are viewed as separated, when learning a new language, learners either add an additional language or subtract one in favor of the target language. A subtractive framework considers bilingualism to be a problem and encourages language shift to the majority language with the potential outcome that the language learner loses his/her first language. A monoglossic ideology with an additive framework has a positive view on bilingualism and sees it as “an enrichment possibility” (García, 2009, p. 116). This is often the case when the elite in a monolingual setting learn a foreign language. However, the view on language is still within the monolingual norm, meaning they are stored separately and should be used separately. Although the additional framework encourages bilingualism, the view on society is still monocultural, meaning that the speakers of the majority language might add an additional language whereas the minority speakers maintain their first language and culture but also get proficiency in the dominant language and culture, thus performing biculturalism, which refers to two cultures that co-exist (García, 2009). The monoglossic ideology is often favorable in times when a society becomes linguistically diverse and policy makers want to unite the society. Minority languages are thus neglected, either explicitly through policies or legislations or implicitly via attitudes among the majority population (Wingstedt, 1998).

3.3.2 A heteroglossic ideology

In contrast to the monoglossic ideology, the heteroglossic ideology encourages a linguistically diverse society and has a multifaceted view on language. It views languages as stored within the same system, which enables the speaker to use their full language competence within any situation. The heteroglossic ideology can be divided into two frameworks: recursive or dynamic. The recursive framework views bilingualism not only as a right, but also essential to the speaker and the community. This is often the case in societies where the language of minority speakers has been suppressed but the society wants the language to be living again (García, 2009). Rather than viewing language learners as second language learners, students are emergent bilinguals. García (2009; 2011; 2014) disagrees with the monoglossic notion of adding a language. Rather, she proposes that learning a new language means that new language practices emerge in the linguistic repertoire; hence, the concept of emerging bilinguals. According to García (2011), when not defining languages like single entities it removes the hegemonic structure of being a “native” or a “second language” speaker, which is needed in today’s multilingual world where people communicate in a much more dynamic way. The dynamic framework is similar to the recursive framework but whereas the recursive views language as a right, the dynamic framework views it as a resource.

The dynamic framework supports the discourse of translanguaging. The term translanguaging, first used by Cen Williams, is defined differently among scholars; however, in the present study, the definition by García (2009; 2011; 2014) will be used. García and Wei (2014, p. 21) define the concept as follows:

Translanguaging does not refer to two separate languages nor to a synthesis of different language practices or to a hybrid mixture. Rather translanguaging refers to new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different

histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states.

García's definition of the concept differentiates from previous scholars in terms of how languages are stored and used. For her, translanguaging is not about moving between one or two separate languages as the monoglossic ideology suggests, rather she views languages as stored into one's repertoire (García, 2009, 2011; García & Wei, 2014). In other words, bilingual speakers do not practice one language at a time and switch back and forth between them, bilingual speakers use their whole language repertoire. For García, translanguaging should be viewed as a practice of languaging: "That's why translanguaging uses an -ing form, emphasizing the action and practice of languaging" (García, 2011, p. 1). A translanguaging approach in school would mean that the first language is used to facilitate the learning of the target language and at the same time strengthen the first language (García & Wei, 2014). Such an approach could for instance include reading in the first language and writing in the target language or reading in the target language and discussing in the first language with peers who share the same first language. García & Sylvan (2010, p. 66) define translanguaging in the classroom as:

A process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include ALL the language practices of ALL students in a class in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate and appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality.

Taken the above conceptualization of translanguaging, it is not surprising that scholars have argued for translanguaging as a useful tool in education. However, it has not yet been established as a useful approach in Swedish schools. Studies have shown that translanguaging is good not only for the students' identity creation and self-esteem, but it also enhances the results in school (García & Sylvan, 2011; García & Flores, 2014). Baker (2001; 2011) outlines advantages of using translanguaging in the classroom. He argues that it helps students to gain a better understanding of the text/situation as well as it helps to reinforce the acquisition of the weaker language without losing the focus on the dominant language (Baker, 2001 in García and Wei, 2014). García and Wei (2014, p.65) express it as follows: "Translanguaging is part of the metadiscursive regime that students in the twenty-first century must perform", meaning that translanguaging should not be used as a translation method but rather used in the different activities in the classroom to gain proficiency. Furthermore, she argues that it is the only way to educate in the 21st century (García, 2009). Also, translanguaging is a valuable tool for the students to critically and creatively question the policies in society that clearly affect them and their future prospects and language use. In other words, translanguaging is linguistic equality (García and Wei, 2014).

Despite the fact that translanguaging is a natural mode of communication and the beneficial outcomes it entails, it has not reached a relevant status in schools as it should have. The reason why, that might be the case, as proposed by Creese & Blackledge (2010), is on the "sociopolitical and historical environment in which such practice is embedded and the local ecologies of schools and classrooms" (p.107). This is also applicable in a Swedish context where, as we know from previous research by Hult (2007), the monolingual norm is governing.

3.4 Previous research

In this section, relevant studies for this thesis will be reviewed. Firstly, a study in a Swedish context will be presented. This will be followed by a study in the U.S. which outlines a successful approach to teaching newly arrived immigrants in the 21st century.

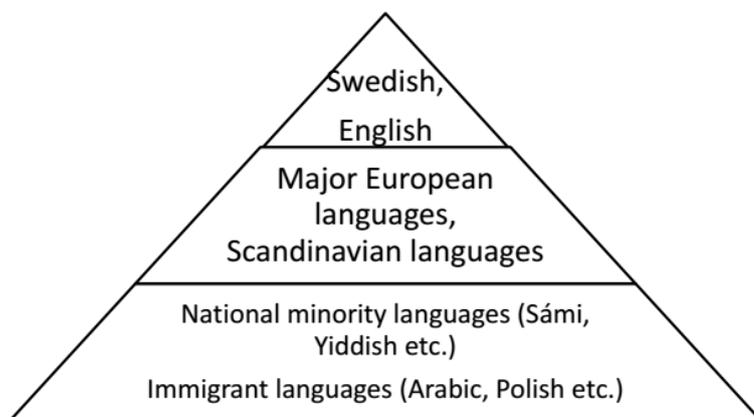
3.4.1 A previous study in Sweden

In his dissertation, Hult (2007) examined language policies and educational language policies (curriculum for upper secondary schools and language subject's syllabi) in Sweden. In addition, he observed the linguistic landscape of Malmö in the south of Sweden, as well as different schools in the area in order to give an overview of both the multilingual setting in which his study took place, but also to gain insight in how teacher candidates used *de jure* language policies in practice. When analysing the curriculum, Hult (2007) discussed several interesting findings that are relevant for this study. In terms of English, Hult (2007, p. 259) summarizes its role in Sweden as framed in the curricula as follows:

- a.) English is a useful language for international purposes,
- b.) English is widely available in Sweden, and
- c.) Students should develop English language communicative competence for oracy and literacy

He also concluded that many languages are given space in the curriculum but that the power asymmetry among them is clearly observable. The table below illustrates how the language hierarchy is portrayed in Sweden and arguably also in the curriculum.

Table 1. Linguistic hierarchy of Sweden (Hult, 2012, p. 242).



Swedish and English are at the top. Swedish because it is considered equal with access to the Swedish society and with education and English, as mentioned before, because of its primary position as an international language and its position in relation to the other minority and immigrant languages. The officially minority languages, which according to law should have minority official status, do not have an eminent position considering students are only required to “needing knowledge *about* those languages and their speakers” (Hult, 2007, p.194). Likewise, the mother tongue instruction is described as important for the students to acquire but not for the society in general.

In addition to the policy examination, Hult (2007) observed teacher candidates at a university and during their VFU (school placement) in order to identify how English and minority languages are perceived by teacher students and how they negotiate the language policies. A question that was asked by a teacher student in the study was: “What should

ELT look like in a country where English is widely present yet people do not necessarily acquire communicative competences through daily social interaction?” (2007, p. 268). This was illustrated by two teacher candidates who had their school placement at multilingual schools where the majority of students had no or little proficiency in Swedish and English. The pre-teachers found that their theoretical educational practices were hard to implement in the reality when the students had different first languages than Swedish. Therefore, Hult (2007) concluded that the curriculum is based on a monolingual premise where the linguistic diversity among students is neglected and no attention to how students with another mother tongue than Swedish can gain proficiency in all languages. Since Hult (2007) conducted his study, Sweden has implemented a new curriculum and it is therefore of high interest to see if any changes have been made in the curriculum and the syllabi that differentiate Hult’s (2007) findings from this study.

3.4.2 A previous study in the U.S.

In International High Schools (IHS) in the U.S., newcomer adolescent immigrants gained higher proficiency in English than newcomer adolescent immigrants who enrolled in an ordinary High School. In fact, after six years of schooling, 74 percent of the students enrolled in the IHS had graduated, which was 32 percent points higher than for students enrolled in high school (García & Sylvan, 2011). The group of students in the IHS schools was more or less the same as in Sweden, they came from 90 countries and spoke roughly 55 different languages, and some had prior academic schooling whereas some were illiterate. In addition, 70% of the students were unaccompanied youths and 90% of all students came from socioeconomic difficulties (García & Sylvan, 2011). García & Sylvan (2011) argued that in today’s 21st century multilingual classrooms, teachers cannot teach students as if they were monolinguals learning an additional language. Therefore, the pedagogy that was used was in alignment with the dynamic framework.

García & Sylvan (2011) outlined seven principles that were crucial for the good results at the IHS schools. First of all, heterogeneity as a strength. Rather than looking at the teaching situation as problematic, the teachers considered the heterogeneity to be seen as a strength considering it mirrors how natural group settings in society are. Secondly, collaboration among students was encouraged in order to scaffold everyone's learning. Weaker students learn from a peer and advanced students learn when they explain. Relating to this is the third principle, collaboration among teachers, which is based on the same premise that teachers have different strengths and can learn from each other. The fourth and fifth principles are learner-centred classroom and language and content integration, which is the idea that a heterogeneous group of students cannot learn the same way and achieve the same results; therefore, students need to be responsible for their own learning and teachers must facilitate that process to occur by enabling the students to use all languages in their linguistic repertoire in the activities that are chosen. Furthermore, the activities in the classroom need to be in an authentic setting, as language needs to be learnt in a context (García & Sylvan, 2011). The material the teachers choose in the classroom needs to be scaffolded in order to promote learning. The sixth principle regards language use, “the students use diverse language practices for purposes of learning, and teachers use inclusive language practices for purposes of teaching” (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 397). In other words, students use their whole repertoire to learn and teachers vary their language according to situations and speakers. In relation to the authenticity in the classroom, the classroom practices are also extended to the community where projects and field trips are common. In addition to this, every student gets an internship where they during twelve weeks work at for instance an office or a community centre. The last principle, localized autonomy and responsibility refers to the fact that teachers are

supported by the administrators and continually participate in professional development meetings and international networks. Overall, García & Sylvan (2011) state that these seven principles are the key to success when educating immigrant newcomer adolescents in the 21st century.

4. Method

Two methods were used in this study. With the purpose of detecting if the steering documents are framed on a monoglossic or heteroglossic ideology and how teachers interpret these documents: critical discourse analysis combined with semi-structured interviews with an ethnographic oriented approach. In this section, the choice of method will be described and justified.

4.1 Ethnography as a method

Ethnography has proven to be a useful methodological tool in educational language policy studies since it gives an overview of how language policies are interpreted from both a macro and a micro perspective. Therefore, it gives a tool in investigating the power relations that the policy makers may have over the agencies at the micro level, for instance in a school, and how agencies at the micro-level interpret and appropriate the policy (Johnson, 2013). The Greek word ethnography means “writing about people” (McCarty, T, 2015, p. 85). Wolcott (2008) narrowed it down into three ways of looking: *examining*, *enquiring* and *experiencing* (Wolcott 2008 in McCarty, 2015). *Examining* refers to the analysis of documents relevant for the study. It can be various documents ranging from official documents provided by the state to students’ essays. *Enquiring* concerns speaking with relevant people in order to access their lived experience on the particular topic, this often includes interviews of various sorts. Lastly, ethnographic research also involves *experiencing*, which refers to observations in the community of focus. In broader studies, an ethnographic approach is triangulated and includes all three methods but due to time limitations, this study focused only on analysing documents and interviews, which does not make it a full-fledged ethnographic study. However, during my previous school placement at the language preparation programme, I encountered some practical problems as well as ideological assumptions about which languages students should study and why. That experience gave me insight into how language ideology is negotiated among educators at the language preparation programme and thus give this study an ethnographic oriented approach. This will be further developed in the discussion section of the essay.

4.2 Curriculum and syllabi: documents analysis

The documents selected for the analysis were documents that all concerned the newly arrived immigrants at the language preparation programme (Språkintruktionsprogrammet). The programme is considered an upper secondary school programme, but since the students work towards the syllabi at compulsory school 7-9, the curriculum for compulsory school was selected in this study. In order to make a comparison between the languages the students encounter at the programme, the syllabi for English, Swedish as second language and mother tongue tuition were selected and analysed. These syllabi can be found within the curriculum document as presented in table 2 below. The Education Act, which is cited in the above-mentioned documents, was

also examined but will not be discussed here since the important information stated there can be found in the curriculum and syllabi as well.

Table 2. Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the recreation centre, 2011.

Swedish title	Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011
English title	Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the recreation centre, 2011
Year of implementation	2011
Authority	The Swedish National Agency for Education
Available languages	Swedish and English
Word count	264

4.3 Interviews and participants

In order to view how teachers at the language preparation programme interpret the steering documents, three semi-structured interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews are convenient in this type of research since it invites the participant to speak open about some prepared questions but still open for unexpected findings (McCarty, 2015). The questions that were asked were within four categories: relevant information about the participants and schools, the English enrolment, teaching approaches in the classroom and language policies (appendix A). The questions in the last category (language policies) were the same as Hult (2007) used in his dissertation. Prior to the interviews, all teachers received information sheet about the thesis and where it also was stated that participation was voluntarily and that data would be handled with care. The teachers were working in three different public schools in a large city in Sweden and were teaching English at the language preparation programme. One teacher, May, was well-known to the researcher beforehand as she was working at the school where the researcher's school placement took place. One teacher volunteered to be interviewed via a question to another teacher and the third had a student whom was well-known to the researcher. In other words, the participants were not randomly chosen, which according to McCarty (2015) is positive: "sometimes the best research context is not faraway or "exotic", but is one we already know something about" (p. 84). This is in particular relevant for teacher May and the school she worked at. Although, this study is not a full-fledged ethnographic study, the fact that the researcher had previous background knowledge of the environment where May worked, gave the study an ethnographic oriented approach.

Table 3. Overview of the interviewees.

	May	Jim	Robert
Gender	Female	Male	Male
Country of origin	Sweden	England	Sweden

Languages	Swedish, English, some French	English, Swedish	Swedish, Arabic, Chaldo-Aramaic, English, Spanish
Years of teaching experience	30 years	10 years	3 years
School location	In a little municipality adjacent to a larger city in Sweden	In a wealthy socioeconomic area of a larger city in Sweden	In a wealthy socioeconomic area of a larger city in Sweden
Programs offered at the school	3 introductory programmes	2 introductory programmes, 2 vocational programmes, 3 higher education preparatory programmes	1 introductory programme, 4 higher education preparatory programmes
Location of the interview	The school	The school	The school
Length of the interview	00:21:09	00:18:39	00:18:55

Teacher 1: May. She has Swedish as her mother tongue and also speaks English and some French. She has a teacher certificate for teaching Swedish in pre-school, compulsory school 7-9 and upper secondary school and English and SVA for upper secondary school. May has been a teacher for thirty years and is currently working at the language preparation programme in a small municipality adjacent to a larger city in Sweden. The school has 150 students from three different individual programs that are studying in mixed classes. In English, May teaches the group with "high proficiency". Arabic and Dari are the majority languages in the group but several other languages are represented as well. Some students in the group are native speakers of Swedish.

Teacher 2: Jim. He has English as his native language and is also fluent in Swedish. He has a certificate for teaching English at upper secondary school and has worked as a teacher, both qualified and unqualified for roughly ten years. The school where Jim works at is located in a larger city in Sweden and has 150 students studying at the language preparation programme. Jim teaches the students with "low proficiency" in English where the vast majority of students have Dari as their native language.

Teacher 3: Robert. He speaks English and Spanish fluently but has Arabic, Chaldo- Aramaic and Swedish as his mother tongues. Robert has worked as a teacher in English and history for three years but is waiting for his teaching certificate. He works at a school located in a larger

city in Sweden where 180 students study at the language preparation programme. Robert teaches the students with "high proficiency" in English where the majority of students speak Dari or Arabic.

4.4 Implementation

In order to detect which ideologies frame the curricula and the syllabi, the documents were re-read several times and comments on relevant quotes were provided. The line-by-line reading of documents takes time, but is essential when examining a document as it gives the best opportunity to analyse the data (McCarty, 2015). The comments were later compiled in a document where sources from the background section were added to support the findings. These findings were then categorised in relation to the research questions, as supported by McCarty (2015). Meanwhile, participants for the interviews were contacted and the interviews were conducted. The interviews were conducted in English to avoid translation and thus minimize the risk of wrong translation by the researcher. However, in the interview with May, the interviewee spoke Swedish at the end of the interview. In section five, extract 10 is presented in Swedish together with an English translation. All interviews took place in the respective teachers' school and were recorded with a mobile phone. The recordings were later transcribed and relevant quotes from the interviews were commented on. Afterwards, the findings from the interviews were analysed together with the document analysis to see if the findings differed or were in alignment with each other.

5. Findings

In this section, the findings from the educational language policies and the interviews will be presented. To facilitate the reading, they will be presented separately and summarized in a conclusion at the end of the section.

5.1 Educational language policies

Initially in the current curriculum, Sweden as an international and culturally diverse country is presented. It is later developed under the content of international perspective, where it says that "*having an international perspective also involves developing an understanding of cultural diversity within the country*" (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p.12). Since culture and language often go hand in hand, this can be interpreted as Sweden is a multilingual country.

As one of the overall aims that schools are responsible for, the curriculum mentions several languages to be learnt. However, the power asymmetry among them is evidently stated. The Swedish language is clearly the most important language and students should not only be able to use the language in speech and writing, but also "*in a rich and varied way*" (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 15). English has the second position in the hierarchy of languages considering students should be able to "*communicate in English, both in the spoken and written language*" (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 15). This can be contrasted with what is formulated as "*some other foreign languages*" in which students only should have to "*be given opportunities to communicate*" (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 15). Those languages refer, supposedly, to additional mother tongue languages as well as the

languages Spanish, French and German. Other languages that are mentioned are the Nordic languages and the official minority languages, which students just have to obtain knowledge about (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p.15). This shows that Swedish and English are the most important languages for the students to learn and to have fluent proficiency in, whereas other mother tongues are not a requirement as they are not framed as essential to acquire.

The syllabus for Swedish as a second language is introduced 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 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 227).

The syllabus for mother tongue tuition is equal to the Swedish as a second language syllabus; however, an additional line is inserted in the end of the initial paragraph: *“having access to their mother tongue also facilitates language development and learning in different areas”* (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 83). This indicates that it is important to have knowledge in one’s first language as that would help acquiring new knowledge, both when learning a language but also for learning in general. In addition, mother tongue tuition is described as important for the students’ identity creation: *“The pupils should be given the opportunity to develop their language, their identity and their understanding of the surrounding world”* (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 83).

The syllabus for English, on the other hand has other characteristics added in the overall aim:

Language is the primary tool human beings use for thinking, communicating and learning. Having knowledge of several languages can provide new perspectives on the surrounding world, enhanced opportunities to create contacts and greater understanding of different ways of living. The English language surrounds us in our daily lives and is used in such diverse areas as politics, education and economics. Knowledge of English thus increases the individual’s opportunities to participate in different social and cultural contexts, as well as in international studies and working life (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 32).

In this extract, English can be interpreted as being a second language in Sweden considering it is portrayed as being used daily and in various areas. This can be contrasted with the Swedish as second language syllabus where it is not specified which context the language is used. It shows that Swedish is used everywhere in Sweden and English surrounds us daily but only in specific context (where assumingly Swedish is used as well) and thus, Swedish is portrayed with the status of a principal language. In this extract, English is also viewed as the language of opportunities, which is important to acquire on other premises than the mother tongue as English skills are beneficial for the individual both in Sweden and internationally.

In addition, when examining the aims of the subject in the three syllabi on a word-level, one can see that the word *communication* or *communicative skills* are distributed differently in the three syllabi. In the mother tongue tuition syllabus, *communication* is mentioned once, whereas in Swedish as second language and English it is mentioned five times. This may indicate that English and Swedish are equally important to be fluent or

have communicative skills, something that is not required in the mother tongue. This corresponds to the above findings in the curriculum that both Swedish and English are essential languages in Sweden.

As mentioned earlier, the overall aim of the syllabi Swedish as a second language and mother tongue tuition is somewhat similar. Nonetheless, some features are different in the initial passage in which one of them will be discussed. In the syllabus for mother tongue tuition, the text says: *“Teaching should give pupils the opportunity to develop their cultural identity and become multilingual”* (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 83). Interestingly, this is the only place in the curriculum and the syllabi where multilingualism is explicitly stated. In addition to the previous quote above about the mother tongue as a facilitator and important for their identity, one can conclude that the mother tongue is a resource for the individual speaker, but not for Swedish society in general. Thus, Swedish and English are important languages in Sweden and speakers of another language can maintain their mother tongue but needs to develop skills in Swedish and English as well.

5.2 Interviews

5.2.1 Importance of Swedish and mother tongue

The teachers, who participated in this study, had different opinions on the importance of Swedish, English and the mother tongue in the Swedish society, and whether or not it is important for the newly arrived immigrants to acquire those languages. They all agreed on Swedish being an important language, both for the society in general and for the individual student. May and Jim believed that Swedish was the most important language although the students' mother tongues were felt to be important for the individual but not for society in general:

Extract 1 (May): That's very important but it's not the official language (...) It's important for their culture and their identity.

Extract 2 (Jim): I think it's important because it gives them a sense of belonging. I think that they would feel that they are a part of a group and I think for many it is unsettling being in a country far away from home.

May and Robert not only discussed why the mother tongue is important for the individual when learning additional languages, but also the importance of improving in one's first language while studying other languages.

Extract 3 (May): I think that the best for the students are if they study their mother tongue at the same time as they study Swedish because if you get better in your mother tongue you know that the next level of your next language can be as much but if you only have a very light degree in your mother tongue it is very difficult to improve your second language.

Extract 4 (Robert): Why I think the mother tongue above else, without it I think learning in other languages will be much harder to do actually (...) removing their mother tongue and only focusing on Swedish and English would not be a benefit to anyone, which studies have shown as well (...) by studying both your mother tongue and English and Swedish language at the same time will make your languages develop faster in both languages.

5.2.2 Importance of English

When it comes to English, the views on students' access to the language were more diverse. Jim and Robert, worked in schools where students enrol in both Swedish and English as soon as they start school, regardless of previous schooling. Jim felt that this system was not working and felt that English should not be taught to the newly arrived immigrants. In extract 6 below, he also comments on the exception that The National Agency for Education imposed in 2011, which made it possible for students who did not have a passing grade in English to still be accepted to upper secondary school:

Extract 5 (Jim): English less so (...) because I think that you can get too many languages (...) Swedish and the home language until they decide to move abroad, maybe working in another European country (...) Then of course English would be important but that is further in the future.

Extract 6 (Jim): Yeah I mean for me I think that sounds good (...) students take their time they need to learn. And I think you need to be more flexible within that respect. I mean some students may find that okay I did not enjoy English at compulsory school but perhaps I need more time to learn it at gymnasium [upper secondary school].

Extract 5 shows that although Jim admits English to be a world language, he did not consider English to be of importance for the students since they would not currently benefit from the language. Besides, he believed that one should not focus on too many languages. Robert, on the other hand, considered the English language to be important for the students and thought the new exception from The National Agency for Education to be a disadvantage (extract 8):

Extract 7 (Robert): Mostly because how the world is looking today. How much of a benefit it would be to actually speak English and Swedish of course in this country. But mostly just because of the world setting today it doesn't have anything to do with English being a better language it just happens to be the most globalised language today.

Extract 8 (Robert): I think it is terrible (...) to be able to study at the university they will need English 5 and maybe English 6.

Here Robert suggests that English is a world language and thus important for the students to acquire. He also states that the requirement to study at university is to have a grade in the above-mentioned English courses, which the students study at the upper secondary school. Without a passing grade in those courses, students cannot proceed to university after upper secondary school. In the school where May works, students who are beginners of Swedish and English cannot enrol in an English course until they have advanced from what they call the "beginner group" up to the "continuing group" in Swedish (where students study towards the syllabi for year 9). May questions this and says that the students that have to postpone English constantly contact the English teachers at the school and say: "*so when can I start taking English. I want English*". She also feels that the principals at the school consider Swedish to be more important, something that was not the case a few years ago:

Extract 9 (May): What I can feel (...) I think that maybe 5-10 years ago, English was really important (...) when the headmasters did our timetable they always thought that math, English and Swedish were the most important subjects to get grades in. It's not like that anymore. I don't

feel like English is that important anymore from our heads (...) and SYV [studie och yrkesvägledare- study counsellor] she senses that oh you can come, you can get a place at the gymnasium [upper secondary school] anyway if you don't have English (...) I think that's crazy. Because it is important. Nowadays English is a world language and (...) if you go to work in Sweden a lot of work speak English and you get mails and you have people from all around the world that you work with.

In extract 9, May questions that English is not a core subject anymore. She also highlights why English is important for the students as it is a world language but at the same time a Swedish language.

5.2.3 Encouragement of languages in the classroom

When it comes to the classroom and which languages that are used there, all the teachers expressed the similar problem with one language being the dominant one among the majority of students, and a few students who spoke different first languages. Robert and May did not have a language policy in their school that explicitly stated which languages should be used and not be used in the classroom. However, they both encouraged the use of other languages besides English.

Extract 10 (May): Förut när man jobbade på andra skolor så tänkte man, man hade engelska så var det engelska. Här är allting som, det är engelska, arabiska, dari, grekiska allt är bara mixat hela tiden (...) ibland är det svårt att fokusera kan jag känna, men vi är så vana vid det också så jag tänker inte på det längre (...) vi bara kör.

[Before, when I worked at other schools, I thought that when it is an English lesson, we use the English language. Here everything is different. It is English, Arabic, Dari, Greek, everything is just a mix all the time. Sometimes I find it difficult to focus, but we're so used to that so I don't think about it anymore, we just go with the flow] [my translation].

Extract 11 (May): I don't mind if they speak other languages. I mean that's not a problem for me. I think it's good. The important thing is that they understand what we are talking about. And if they know the words in English, Swedish, Arabic or Dari, that's great! And sometimes I do, when I have words and I'm going to test them I give them the Swedish translation and then they have to look it up into their mother tongue as well if they don't understand it. So sometimes is good to use Swedish as well so that they improve in all languages.

These extracts by May show that all languages are encouraged at her school. It also shows that May occasionally encourages a translanguaging approach since she lets the students work in both Swedish and English simultaneously. She also mentioned in the interview that she uses the multilingual competence among the students to facilitate the learning for other students and she mentions that she has some students that speak good English or Swedish who can translate for other students in, for instance, Arabic. In Robert's lesson, the mother tongue was the primary source when finding information.

Extract 12 (Robert): If they want to write something on their own and do research on something they always google or read in their mother tongue and then write their essays or move on to reading in English later on. So they start with their mother tongue and then move on to English is fundamental in these lessons I believe.

Jim, on the other hand, had a different experience from using the mother tongue in the classroom. In his group, students should only speak English during the English lessons and less in their mother tongues. Jim motivates this with the argument that they want to have an inclusive environment where everyone feels that they can contribute. In addition, he adds that it is important for the teacher to know what the students say in the classroom, otherwise they might insult each other, which Jim said had been the case before.

Extract 13 (Jim): we do have a policy. I can't speak for the other classes..eh..but with my mentor students we have said to them that we want them to speak English when they have English and Swedish when they have other subjects so they don't talk too much in their own home language (...) we think that it is a case of bullying. We have groups where there are, for instance my mentor group which is twenty students many of them the vast majority comes from Afghanistan and there are three or four that don't. And we think that we need to have an inclusive policy so that the other feel that they also can contribute. And I think it is also important for us to know what have been said. So that we..eh..I mean if they speak Dari for example, they can say nasty things to each other which has been the case. So that's why we imposed that kind of policy. But I don't know I can't speak on behalf of the others.

The teachers also discussed the mother tongue tuition and the fact that they rarely had a chance to discuss language issues with the mother tongue teachers. They all supported a more collaborative policy where the mother tongue tuition had a more visible position in the school. Robert viewed this as one of the key elements in order to improve the education for the newly arrived immigrants:

Extract 14 (Robert): If there could be a collaboration between the mother tongue teachers and let's say English and Swedish teachers that could help the language proficiency a lot. In all three languages.

5.3 Summary

The analysis of the steering documents showed that there was a hierarchy of languages. Swedish was framed as the most important one followed by English, which was portrayed as a very important language both in an international context as well as Swedish contexts. Communicative skills in Swedish and English were framed as essential. The mother tongue, on the other hand, was framed as important for the individual speaker in order to facilitate learning in other subjects and languages but not for Swedish society in general. The teachers shared the opinion on Swedish being the most important language. They also considered the mother tongue important as it strengthen the speakers' identities, makes them feel like part of a community and two of the teachers also expressed its importance as a facilitator for future learning. When it came to English, the teachers' opinions differed. Whereas two teachers considered English to be highly important for the newly arrived immigrants to acquire, the third teacher felt it was a burden to study too many languages at the same time.

6. Discussion

The aim of this paper was to determine whether the curriculum and syllabi for English, Swedish as a second language and mother tongue tuition are framed on a monoglossic or a heteroglossic ideology. In addition, this essay aimed at contrasting the ideology framed

in the steering documents with the ideology on languages among three educators at the language preparation programme. Also, these findings were intended to be discussed in relation to the newly arrived immigrants at the language preparation programme and their access to English.

Even though English has a strong position in the curricula and syllabi, Swedish is framed as the principal language, and clearly has the principal position in the language hierarchy in the curriculum. However, English is portrayed as a very important language in Sweden and viewed as important to have communicative skills in considering its position as an international language and used daily alongside Swedish in certain areas in Sweden. These findings correspond to previous studies by Hult (2007; 2012). The mother tongues are encouraged to be learnt alongside Swedish since it will help developing other languages and reinforce learning in other areas. Also, the mother tongue is portrayed as important for the individual and their identity creation. This is in accordance with previous studies on the importance of the first language when learning additional languages (García & Sylvan, 2010; García & Wei, 2014). As the findings from the steering documents show, the steering documents can be interpreted as framed on a monoglossic ideology, where learning a language is within the additive framework rather than a subtractive framework as multilingualism is encouraged rather than discouraged. Learning English is viewed as important and can be connected to what García (2009, p. 116) describes as an “enrichment possibility” where the majority speakers in a society learn an additional language. Likewise, speakers of a minority language maintain their first language at the same time as they learn the majority language, Swedish, and thus become multilingual, which is also in accordance with the monoglossic ideology with an additive framework, as outlined by García (2009).

In their turn, interviews with the educators in this thesis allowed us to witness that the ideology that frames the curricula and syllabi might not be the ideology that frames the actual organization in schools. Even though the steering documents encourage the learning of the mother tongue, the monolingual norm with a sense of subtractive ideology, as discussed by Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) seems to still exist as there still seems to be an implementation problem with mother tongue tuition in the schools. The teachers expressed that they rarely saw the mother tongue teachers and thus had difficulties in collaborating with them, even though that is an important aim by the policy-makers.

When looking at the findings from the interviews with the teachers, different ideologies seem to be represented. In the school where May works, some students were neglected to study English, a language that is framed in the steering documents, as important for a life in Sweden and which previous studies have shown is used extensively in the country (Hult, 2007; 2012, Lindberg, 2007). This indexes that Swedish is the only prioritized language in that school and thus framed within the monoglossic ideology. May’s school, which is also the school where my school placement took place, differs to the other schools in this study since they only have three introductory programmes. Thus, the particular interest at this school can be viewed as to complete the studies at compulsory school and then quickly progress to upper secondary school. Since English is not required as a core subject anymore, this may be the reason why the school focuses less on English. However, although May worked at a school framed on a monoglossic ideology, she seemed to adopt a more heteroglossic approach to her teaching as she encouraged the use of several languages in the classroom to reinforce the learning of all languages. The school where May works can be contrasted with Robert’s school, which had four higher education preparatory programmes in addition to the language preparation programme. This school does clearly have a certain academic ideology where students after upper secondary school

continue to university studies. This makes English highly relevant for the students. In addition, the fact that the school has an international profile and Robert himself speaks several languages also adds on to the heteroglossic ideology of languages as he revealed to have. The third teacher, Jim, worked in a school where students studied both at higher education preparatory programmes and vocational programmes, which makes the teaching aims more mixed and not necessarily as academic focused as Robert's school. The students at the vocational programs might not need English to a large extent after graduation as they already have their career path sorted. This may suggest why Jim did not see it relevant for his students to acquire English. Furthermore, the monoglossic ideology as a policy was his solution to make sense of the language use in his classroom where one language was the dominant language among the majority of students, a language he did not understand and thus had no control over.

The findings from the interviews can be connected to Fairclough's (1995) concepts of interdiscursivity and intertextuality. The findings showed that even though the monolingual ideology was imposed from a top-down perspective, the educators on the grass roots level negotiated the policies differently based on their previous knowledge and reality in the classroom. Robert and May found the monoglossic ideology in the steering documents problematic as it did not relate to their pedagogical competences, beliefs about language and language learning and the linguistic practices they encounter in their school and their classroom. Thus, they made a different interpretation than Jim in order to justify their teaching as compatible with the heteroglossic ideology.

The third research question in this study was: How can teachers' interpretation of the curriculum and syllabi for the language preparation programme affect newly arrived immigrants' access to English? First, by not giving the students access to English, as in May's school, the students access to English is rather limited. It is stated in the curriculum that the education in Sweden "should be equivalent, regardless of where in the country it is provided" (National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 10). By not providing the newly arrived immigrants with English education, the minority language speakers are discriminated. In this paper, several studies on English representation in Sweden have been outlined (Bolton & Meierkord, 2013; Hult, 2007, 2012; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Lindberg, 2007). They all conclude that English, together with Swedish, is by far an important language in Sweden. Thus, by limiting the chances of newly arrived immigrants' access to English, the schools also limit their future access to some higher education and employment possibilities in "high-status" domains, such as banking and technology. Furthermore, by limiting their future prospects, it consequently maintains a "we" and "them" hegemonic relationship among the population, where those who have access to both Swedish and English will have more power in the Swedish society. Brorsson & Lainio (2016, p. 12-13) claim that:

Att få tillgång till ett lands majoritetsspråk ger makt och möjligheter att göra medvetna val, medverka till förändring och påverka det egna livet. Brist på tillgång till språk, både majoritetsspråket och de egna modersmålen, bidrar till flerspråkiga elevers underordnade roll och förminskar deras självkänsla och självaktning.

[To get access to the majority language in a country, gives the individual power and possibilities to do informed choices, contribute to changes and exert influence in one's life. To lack proficiency in the majority language as well as the mother tongue, subscribes to multilingual students subordinate role and diminish their self-esteem and self-respect?] [my translation].

Thus, by neglecting the use of the students' full linguistic repertoires, and only focus on the majority language, the students will be marginalized. Furthermore, it is not sufficient to just give the newly arrived immigrants access to English education, the teaching must be adapted for these multilingual students in order to support the language to be acquired. All three of the interviewed teachers in this study felt that they lacked the suitable pedagogy for teaching multilingual students, which was the case in Hult's (2007) study ten years prior to this study as well. He proposed already in 2007 that the educational language policies need to be framed on an ideology that represents the linguistic reality in Sweden today. As it is difficult for the teachers to negotiate between the monoglossic language policies and the multilingual reality they are facing in schools, they need to be creative and enable new approaches to teaching where they can use the multilingualism among the students as a resource rather than an obstacle. Since it is the teacher's job to develop the student's language proficiency and to make the education instructive to all students, translanguaging is potentially a suitable approach in the classroom. The study by García and Sylvan (2010) showed that when students are allowed to use their full linguistic repertoire, they will enhance their learning. Likewise, the study also showed the importance of teachers' collaboration and opportunities to attend professional development meetings (García & Sylvan, 2010). This present study showed that two of the teachers interviewed, despite not being educated in multilingualism, used translanguaging in the classroom to some extent. However, in order for teachers to fully use translanguaging in their teaching practices, they need to get, as García and Sylvan (2010) emphasize, further training in the usefulness of translanguaging and how they can create classroom activities that facilitate the learning of English, Swedish as well as reinforcing the mother tongue.

Finally, Jim's concern of not knowing what has been said in the classroom needs to be taken seriously into account as well. If we do not know everything that has been said in the classroom, how do we make sure that no bullying is occurring without our knowledge? As teachers, we have a two-fold mission: we shall both teach our students in our subject of specialization but we should also shape them into democratic citizens that know the value of respect and equality. For me personally that is not possible without a safe classroom environment, which excludes all sort of discrimination. As the translanguaging approach has shown to have several advantages for the students learning, self-esteem and identity creation, I believe we as teachers need to create a classroom where we accept that we will not understand everything that has been said in the classroom, but still trust the environment we have created with our students, to be safe. We need to have a classroom where we, as García and Sylvan (2010) portray it, see singularities in pluralities as a strength.

7. Conclusion

As presented in the discussion above, the education for newly arrived immigrants seems to be within the monoglossic ideology although two of the teachers aim at a more heteroglossic approach in their teaching. This paper has also shown that even though newly arrived immigrants may need proficiency skills in English for future life in Sweden, their chances to access English vary depending on which schools the students attend.

Since all teachers in this study expressed that they lack pedagogical competence for teaching English to newly arrived immigrants, it brings forth a suggestion for universities

to make a change in the curriculum at the teacher training programme. The teaching training programme needs to prepare future teachers for a linguistically diverse reality in schools and thus a Swedish-English comparison is not sufficient in order to meet future teachers' needs. This paper has argued that translanguaging is a useful approach when teaching multilingual students in the 21st century; however, in order for teachers to implement this approach in their teaching, they need to be educated in how and why they should do it.

This study has revealed the negative effects of changing English to not being required for upper secondary school studies. The intention of the National Agency for Education was that students who study English but does not receive a grade in the subject can continue studying the subject at upper secondary school. However, it seems from the findings from May's school that her school focuses less on English after the implementation, which suggests that the change was not in the positive direction. These findings propose the idea that the National Agency for Education has to revise the implementation.

There are many possibilities for further research in this field. Since the language preparation programme is a rather new programme at the upper secondary school, not much previous research can be found, especially not regarding English. Furthermore, since translanguaging is an emerging theoretical framework in sociolinguistics and language pedagogy, further research on its usefulness in schools and beneficial outcomes for the students, will be of interest.

Lastly, it would also be interesting to investigate newly arrived immigrants' lived realities at the language preparation programme. In order to do that, a complete ethnographic study including a field study is needed. When adding a field study to the study, the researcher gets a useful analysis tool to further investigate how educational language policies are interpreted and appropriated on a micro-level.

8. References

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Appendix A

Interview questions

Background information

- * Do you have a teacher certificate for teaching English and/or another subject?
- * Did you get any education in second language acquisition in your degree?
- * For how long have you worked as a teacher?
- * Do you speak any other languages besides English?

About the school

- * How many students study at the language preparation programme at your school?
- * Which are the dominant languages?
- * Do the students study their mother tongue? At school? Is it included in the schedule or after school?
- * Do they receive tutoring in their mother tongue?
- * Do you and the tutors/ mother tongue teachers collaborate and if so, how?
- * Do you have any other teachers at the school who speaks the language of your students? Have you collaborated with them in any way?

Policies

- * What languages do you think are the most important for students to learn? Why?²
- * What languages do you think are the most important for Swedish society? Why?³
- * Do you have a language policy at this school? If so, what does it entail?

Enrolment in English courses

- * How do you/ and or your colleagues evaluate whether or not the students can/should study English? Previous studies in English, an English test, level of Swedish?
- * If the students cannot start the English course straight away, do they have a chance to do that at a later stage?
- * What do the students think about the enrolment process? Are they satisfied with your decision to let them study English or not?
- * Considering English is not a core subject in order to apply for Upper secondary school, do you think that is positive or negative for the students?

English lessons/ translanguaging

² Hult, 2007.

³ Hult, 2007.

- * Do you use any other language than English in the classroom? In which situations? Why do you use other languages in those situations?
- * Do the students use any other languages? In which situations can the students use other languages besides from English? E.g. peer-group with speakers of the same language, read a text in the mother tongue and write in English (or vice versa)
- * Why or why not do you use or not use any other languages than English?
- * Would you like to use other languages beside from English in the classroom? What is needed for you in order to do that?
- * How can we improve the education for newly arrived immigrants?

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