English-medium instruction for young learners in Sweden
A longitudinal case study of a primary school class in a bilingual English-Swedish school

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Abstract
This thesis aims to highlight the policies, perspectives, and practices of language use in a bilingual English-Swedish primary class during Grades 4–6, where English was the medium of instruction in several subjects. A rapidly increasing number of Swedish compulsory schools offer these programs, which are often associated with high status and academic achievement (Skolverket, 2010). Although several studies have investigated content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and English-medium instruction (EMI) at upper secondary schools in Sweden, there is little research on such programs for young learners in the Swedish context. As students may start learning English in Swedish schools as late as Grade 3, young learners who begin attending English-medium programs in Grade 4 may have limited knowledge of English, which can have implications for their content learning.

In this thesis, which is situated within an ecology of language framework (van Lier, 2004), questions about language ideologies, teacher and learner beliefs regarding teaching and learning in an additional language, and translanguaging practices have been explored in the three studies included here. Data has been collected over three school years within the larger longitudinal case study, including policy texts, informational brochures, schedules, statistics, instructional materials, student texts, audiotaped interviews with 13 members of staff and 22 students, audiotaped lesson observations, fieldnotes, and photos of the school and classroom landscape as well as of instructional materials and student texts.

Study I, which focused on stated and practiced language policies concerning languages of instruction in an EMI program in a Swedish compulsory school, revealed a linguistic hierarchy privileging English and a native speaker ideal. While Swedish was also valued as the other language of instruction, minoritized languages such as multicultural students’ mother tongues were marginalized. Likewise, in Study II, which explored stakeholder beliefs about the EMI program, it was found that while English was highly valued among the participants and Swedish was considered to be a source of support for students in the English-medium classroom, other languages were mostly invisibilized in the mainstream classroom. However, despite a prevailing belief that students learned English naturally through language immersion by being “forced” to use it to communicate with the native English-speaking teachers, there were also concerns about implications for students’ development of subject-specific Swedish. Finally, in Study III, analysis of language choices in English-medium Science and Mathematics lessons revealed how the use of English and Swedish could function as resources for teaching and learning.

Although the findings from this case study may not necessarily apply to other English-medium programs, they nonetheless have implications for policymakers at the national and local levels, as well as for teachers and students involved in such programs. Ideological assumptions about languages and language learning have been shown to shape both policy and practice within educational contexts such as the school in this study. It is therefore imperative that stakeholders are made aware of the challenges involved with teaching and learning in an additional language, so that these programs can be organized in a way that promotes content learning as well as learners’ multilingual development.

Keywords: English-medium instruction (EMI), content and language integrated learning (CLIL), bilingual compulsory school, English in Sweden, young learners, native speaker teachers, language ideologies, translanguaging.

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Jeanette Toth
For my family
Acknowledgements

Where do I start?

This has been an amazing journey... yet I don't really see this completed thesis as an end to that journey, merely a stopping-off point. Although I have finished my PhD studies, the learning process never ends. Lots more to explore!

The bridge on the cover of my thesis (thanks to Paul Toth, who graciously agreed to let me use this picture taken in Venice where I attended my first CLIL conference) represents many things to me. First and foremost, I see it as a fitting metaphor for translanguaging and the model of bridging pedagogy that are mentioned in this thesis. When I first learned of translanguaging, it seemed to bring so many things together in my mind in terms of understanding the practices and processes of language use among bilinguals/multilinguals. As someone who has grown up bilingual in Swedish and English, raised bilingual children, and taught in multilingual classrooms, I could see the potential that this model has for teaching and learning in multilingual contexts.

Bridges can connect people, and allow them to get from one place to another. For me, the PhD program has also been a bridge, one that has made it possible for me to work toward my dream of being a researcher. The knowledge, experiences, and friendships that I have gained during these years are something that I will continuously draw on, so I see that bridge as being a stable resource for me as well as a connection to my colleagues at the Department of Language Education (ISD) and elsewhere.

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Stockholm, May 15, 2018
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Abbreviations

BE - bilingual education
CBI - content-based instruction
CLIL - content and language integrated learning
CEFR - Common European Framework of Reference
EAL - English as an additional language
EMI - English-medium instruction
LOI - language(s) of instruction
L1 - language one, also referred to as mother tongue(s) or native language(s); the first language(s) learned
L2 - language two; also referred to as second language or additional languages; one or more languages learned after the mother tongue(s)
MT - Mother Tongues
NNS - non-native speaker
NS - native speaker
SGMT - study guidance in the mother tongue
SLA - second language acquisition
SSL - Swedish as a second language
SwMI - Swedish-medium instruction

Transcription conventions

/.../ = text has been deleted

\text\ = original utterance in English

\text\ = original utterance in Swedish

\text\ = English translation of utterance

\text\ = added information about what is happening (not speech)

\text\ = emphasized word or utterance

"text" = reported speech

\ldots\ = pause or trailing off of speech
1 Why EMI in Sweden?

"If you know English then you can communicate almost anywhere in the world."

The statement above was made by Nina, a school leader at an English-Swedish bilingual compulsory school in Sweden, where this study took place. Her statement reflects a common perception among the participants in the study, and indeed among many others as well, that knowledge of English is of key importance in a globalized society. This perception is often of particular consideration for stakeholders in terms of medium of instruction (MOI) policies and practices at various levels of education.

In recent years English-medium instruction (EMI) has become a topic of some controversy in Sweden. While advocates of content-based language teaching have highlighted its benefits (see Coyle, 2007; Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014; Eurydice, 2006), and English-medium programs have been associated with a high status among stakeholders (see Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014), some Swedish researchers (e.g. Hyltenstam, 2004; Josephson, 2004; Lim Falk, 2008; Sylvén, 2013) have begun to question the unqualified expansion of EMI in the Swedish context. As Swedish students already exhibit a high level of English proficiency (see EF English proficiency index, 2017), perhaps due to the effects of extramural English (Sundqvist, 2009), it is not clear what additional value EMI programs have to offer in the Swedish context.

Many challenges associated with acquiring the various aspects of an additional language, while at the same time learning subject content in that language, may be similar for students in EMI and Swedish language learners in Swedish mainstream schools, yet there has been little focus on this issue in research. Moreover, the popularity of EMI in Sweden, owing to the higher status of the language compared to other foreign languages, has resulted in a rapid expansion of the number of schools offering these programs. Whereas it was previously more widespread among upper secondary schools and relatively rare among young learners, a number of organizations have recently begun to offer bilingual English-Swedish programs in primary school. These students receive increased exposure to the target language from a young age as a result of English being the medium of instruction for several subjects, compared to traditional foreign language programs where English instruction is limited to a few hours per week as its own subject. However, it may be
worthwhile to note that "it is not just the quantity of exposures to English that affects learning, but it is the quality as well" (Echevarría, Vogt, & Short, 2008).

According to the Ordinance for Compulsory School (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185), compulsory schools in Sweden that offer EMI for the national curriculum are allowed to provide up to half of the instruction in English. Aside from this restriction, there are no particular guidelines or requirements concerning organization or professional qualifications with regards to teaching in these programs. Teachers in these programs are exempt from the law requiring a Swedish teacher’s license, a detail that has been the target of criticism in the education community as well as media. While some criticism of such programs at the upper secondary school level has addressed the English language proficiency of teachers who are non-native speakers of English (Lim Falk, 2008), little attention has been given to situations in which native speakers of English have been recruited from English-speaking countries to teach subject content through English. As those teachers may have little or no knowledge of Swedish, there may be limited instructional support provided for students through Swedish. Further, when students in such schools study subjects exclusively through the medium of English, there may be few opportunities for them to use and develop Swedish disciplinary language in these subjects (see Lim Falk, 2008, 2015). For students who enroll in English-medium programs from a young age, this may have implications for their future studies through Swedish. It is therefore of interest to explore the conditions for content and language learning in Swedish primary EMI programs.

1.1 Aims and research questions

The overarching aim of this thesis is to describe and critically examine the policies, perspectives, and practices of language use in a program offering English-medium instruction (EMI) to young learners in Sweden. In it the following research questions are in focus:

1. What language ideologies can be found in the policies and practices of a Swedish primary school that offers EMI?
2. How do various staff members and students view the teaching and learning of content and language(s) in the Swedish primary EMI program?
3. What do participants' language choices reveal about affordances and constraints in the English-medium content classroom?

As this is a thesis by publication, the above questions are investigated in the three studies comprising the thesis. In Study I, national and local policy documents governing the program under study are examined together with staff
interview data and classroom observations using critical discourse analysis, revealing linguistic hierarchies where the hegemonic status of English and to a lesser extent Swedish are reproduced, while minoritized languages such as students' other mother tongues are more or less invisibilized. Study II looks at stakeholder perspectives on the EMI program, making use of qualitative content analysis to explore themes concerned with content and language teaching and learning in an additional language using data from classroom observations and interviews with staff and students. Finally, Study III shows how *translanguaging practices* in English-medium classrooms highlight participants' agency in terms of language choices, as well as the affordances associated with the use of both languages of instruction.

1.2 Outline of thesis

Following this introductory chapter, an overview of provisions for language education in the Swedish context is provided in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, various program models of content-based language education are briefly described as well as the reasons for the choice of the term EMI in this study, followed by previous research on such programs and related language policy in the Swedish context. The study's overarching theoretical framework, an ecological approach to the study of language in use, is presented in Chapter 4, as well as a discussion of language ideologies, teaching and learning content and language in an additional language as well as translanguaging. Chapter 5 presents the methods used in the study, with a brief background on case studies, linguistic ethnography, the different types of data collected and the analytical approaches taken. In Chapter 6, summaries of the three articles comprising the thesis are provided, followed by a description of the context together with an overview of the participants. The findings are then discussed in relation to the main study's research questions. Finally, the thesis concludes with a discussion of the study's implications in Chapter 7, as well as suggestions for future research. A Swedish summary in Chapter 8, a list of references in Chapter 9, and appendices in Chapter 10 complete the thesis.
2 The Swedish context

This chapter presents a background to the study, beginning with a brief description of Sweden's current linguistic landscape as described in Swedish language and education policy documents. An introduction to the Swedish education system is then provided, followed by an overview of the provisions for languages in Swedish education that are mentioned in the Swedish national curriculum for compulsory school.

2.1 Languages in Sweden

Although Sweden has in many cases been considered to be more linguistically homogeneous than many other countries, many other languages nonetheless are used and officially recognized in Sweden, such as the five official national minority languages. Sweden's Language Act states that "Swedish is the principal language in Sweden" (Kulturdepartementet, 2009:600). It is further stated that the "public sector has a particular responsibility for the use and development of Swedish" (Kulturdepartementet, 2009:600). Meanwhile, the Language Act also designates the public sector as responsible for the protection and promotion of Swedish sign language and the national minority languages, namely Finnish, Yiddish, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish), Romany Chib, and Sami (Kulturdepartementet, 2009:600).

In addition to the languages named in the Language Act, between 150 and 200 languages are believed to be spoken in Sweden, many as a result of immigration (Parkvall, 2015). A provision in the Language Act states that "[P]ersons whose mother tongue is not one of the languages specified in the first paragraph are to be given the opportunity to develop and use their mother tongue" (Kulturdepartementet, 2009:600). Such languages (see section 2.3.3) may be studied in formal education as an elective school subject, including English. However, although English is not specifically mentioned in the Language Act, it nonetheless has a particular status in Swedish education, in that it is also a core subject in the curriculum (see section 2.3.2), as are Swedish and Swedish as a Second Language (see section 2.3.1).
2.2 Education in Sweden

Swedish education at the compulsory school level is guided by national policy documents such as the Education Act (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010:800), the Ordinance for Compulsory School (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185), and the Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the recreation center (Skolverket, 2011, 2017b). In Sweden, education is funded by taxes; students who are residents of Sweden may use vouchers to choose which school to attend. Compulsory school, which comprises Grades 1–9 (students aged 7-16), is organized either by municipalities or by independent providers, called friskolor (free schools). Schools that are run by municipal authorities generally have a local uptake of students, as municipalities are required to provide schooling for students who have their place of residence in the municipality. Meanwhile, independently run compulsory schools admit students according to the order in which they register for enrollment, and can often have long waiting lists due to their popularity. However, students who have siblings already enrolled at such a school have priority.

Most schools (with the exception of international schools; see Toth, 2017) follow the Swedish national curriculum, but may also choose to offer special profiles to attract students, such as language enrichment. These schools are open to all students with no particular language proficiency requirements, according to the Swedish national education system's guiding principle of educational equity. As such, schools are expected to provide support for all students to reach the curriculum goals, including language support in the form of Study Guidance in the Mother Tongue, or SGMT. Also referred to as Multilingual Study Guidance (MSG), it is "a form of short-term educational support aimed at helping pupils reach the learning goals of subjects in the national curriculum by using languages they understand to work through material from Swedish-medium lessons" (Reath Warren, 2016). This transitional support is generally at best offered to nyånlanda (newly arrived) students who have been enrolled in Swedish schools less than four years; however, practices often vary from school to school.

In Swedish compulsory schools, oral and written formative assessment is provided beginning in Grade 1. This assessment is discussed at biannual meetings between individual students and their mentors. Parents or guardians are invited to these meetings, where they are informed of students' development. Grades in each subject studied are given at the end of each term starting in Grade 6. At the end of compulsory school, students may choose to apply to programs at upper secondary school based on their final grade point totals, with popular programs and schools requiring higher totals. While other languages are not mandatory in compulsory school, passing grades in the subjects Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language and English are required for entrance to a national program at upper secondary school.
2.3 Languages in Swedish education

In the Swedish curriculum for compulsory school, language is described as "the primary tool human beings use for thinking, communicating and learning" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 30). This phrase is found in the introductory text of the syllabuses for almost all of the language subjects, emphasizing language as a tool for learning, not just an object of study. As part of the background to this study, the following sections describe the various language subjects addressed in the Swedish curriculum for compulsory school; however, it should be noted that only Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language and English (and in the case of some multilingual students, Mother Tongues) were studied by the students in this study during Grades 4–6.

2.3.1 Swedish and Swedish as a Second Language

In the Swedish national curriculum for compulsory school, the first knowledge goal in the section on overall goals and guidelines concerns the Swedish language, stating that each student should be able to "use the Swedish language, both in speech and writing, in a rich and varied way" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 15). Further, one of the aims mentioned in the syllabus for the subject Swedish specifies that students should be given the opportunity to "meet and become familiar with both other Nordic languages and the national minority languages" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 211). Core content to be addressed in instruction is provided in the subject syllabus for Grades 1–3, for Grades 4–6, and for Grades 7–9. "Knowledge requirements for acceptable knowledge at the end of year [Grade] 3" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 216) are set forth in the syllabus as benchmarks for students, as they receive instruction in Swedish (or Swedish as a Second Language) beginning in Grade 1 but do not receive grades until Grade 6 (see section 2.2). In addition to this, the syllabus provides descriptions of the knowledge requirements for different grades at the end of Grade 6 and Grade 9, and students take national exams in Swedish (or Swedish as a Second Language) in Grades 3, 6, and 9.

As a school subject, Swedish as a Second Language (SSL) has been developed as an equivalent subject to Swedish, but specifically tailored to meet the learning needs of students for whom Swedish is an additional language. The syllabuses for both Swedish and SSL state that the subjects are intended to help students to "develop knowledge in and about the Swedish language" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 211 & p. 227). However, although the syllabuses are similar in many ways, the SSL syllabus points out that students are to be given "a wealth of opportunities to communicate in Swedish based on their level of knowledge, without putting at too early a stage demands on language correctness" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 227). Further, whereas the syllabus for Swedish mentions the other Nordic languages and the national minority languages, the syllabus for SSL does not. It does, however, include contras-
tive elements in which certain aspects of Swedish are related to corresponding aspects in students' mother tongues.

Although the subjects of Swedish and SSL are allotted equal time in terms of hours assigned in the timetable, the "history and prerequisites of ... [the two subjects] are diametrically opposed" (Magnusson, 2013, p. 64). Whereas Swedish "has a solid position in school as one of the first school subjects in the system" (Magnusson, 2013, p. 64), SSL is not even always provided, as vague wording in the Ordinance for Compulsory School states that it should be offered "if needed" (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185, my translation). SSL has been the object of misconceptions as to the nature of its standing as a subject with equivalent aims and merit points for the purpose of higher studies (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). It has also been a common topic of debate in the media regarding matters of inclusiveness (see Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Hedman & Magnusson, 2018; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Lindberg, 2009). The subject SSL has thus faced numerous difficulties with implementation as a result of its low status and "high share of unqualified teachers" (Magnusson, 2013, p. 64).

2.3.2 English

The introductory text in the syllabus for English states, "The English language surrounds us in our daily lives and is used in such diverse areas as politics, education and economics" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 32). As a language of high status, English is often seen and heard in media such as many films and television programs, which are generally subtitled rather than dubbed in Sweden. In fact, the ubiquity of English in Sweden has led some researchers to describe it as a second language in Sweden, rather than a foreign language (Hyltenstam, 2004; Phillipson, 1992), and Swedish students are generally considered to be highly proficient in English (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014).

Since 1962, English has been a mandatory subject in Sweden for all students (Cabau, 2009, p. 134). As it is a core subject in the Swedish education system, English teaching sometimes begins as early as Grade 1, but is expected to begin no later than Grade 3. During Grades 1–3, students should receive 60 hours of English instruction, and 200 hours during Grades 4–6 (Skolverket, 2018b). Core content is specified in the syllabus for English for Grades 1–3, for Grades 4–6, and for Grades 7–9. Knowledge requirements for different grades at the end of Grade 6 and Grade 9 are described as well, and students take national exams in English in Grade 6 and Grade 9.

By the end of compulsory school, students should have received 480 hours of English instruction (Skolverket, 2018b) and are expected to be able to "communicate in English, both in the spoken and written language" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 15). This knowledge goal, the second in the curriculum for compulsory school's section on overall goals and guidelines, goes on to specify that students are also to "be given opportunities to communicate in
some other foreign language in a functional way" (Skolverket, 2011, p. 15). This foreign language may be studied within the subject Modern Languages (see section 2.3.4).

2.3.3 Mother Tongues

Since the enactment of Sweden's *Hemspråksreform*, or Home Language Reform, in 1977 (see Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Reath Warren, 2017), there has been official support for the maintenance and development of languages (other than Swedish) spoken at home by students enrolled in Swedish schools. This support is seen in Swedish national education policy by way of a provision for the subject *Modersmål*, or Mother Tongues (Skolverket, 2017b), sometimes referred to as *modersmålsundervisning*, or Mother Tongue Tuition (Skolverket, 2011), alternatively Mother Tongue Instruction, or MTI (see Cabau, 2014; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Reath Warren, 2017), and previously known as *hemspråksundervisning*, or home language instruction. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), a number of criteria can be used to determine a person's mother tongue. These include *origin*, based on the first language learned; *competence*, based on the language in which a person has the highest level of proficiency; *function*, based on the language most used; or *attitudes*, based on the language with which a person identifies most (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, pp. 14-15). Therefore, as Baker and Jones (1998) have pointed out, the term *mother tongue* is ambiguous in that it can be defined in a number of ways, and "can have negative connotations and be politically loaded" (p. 47). However, although it may be considered to be problematic, the term is nonetheless used in this thesis in accordance with current Swedish national policy documents.

The subject Mother Tongues is generally timetabled for up to an hour each week, often after school. However, school providers must only provide instruction in a language through Mother Tongues if a suitable teacher can be found, and if at least five students in the municipality qualify for it. In order to qualify for instruction in Mother Tongues, students must have good knowledge of the language and use the language as a daily social language with guardians, one or both of whom should have a language other than Swedish as the mother tongue (see Skolverket, 2016). Enrollment in Mother Tongues during the 2016/2017 school year was approximately 56% of students who qualified for it (Skolverket, 2017a). However, there are less stringent requirements for the national minority languages, whose protected status entails more official support.

In the most recent revision of the curriculum for compulsory school, a distinction is made between the national minority languages and other languages that may be studied within the subject Mother Tongues. Sami has its own syllabus (see section 2.3.5), while the other national minority languages
have their own separate syllabuses within the subject Mother Tongues. Other languages, such as immigrant languages, share general descriptions of the core content and knowledge requirements, and are grouped within the syllabus for Mother Tongues Except for National Minority Languages (Skolverket, 2017b).

2.3.4 Modern Languages
The subject Modern Languages is offered as part of pupils' options or language options, and schools have been free to decide which year students begin studying the subject, although not later than Grade 7 (Skolverket, 2011). Although it has in many cases been offered beginning in either Grade 6 or Grade 7, Modern Languages will be offered from Grade 6 beginning in the fall of 2018. According to the Ordinance for Compulsory School, school providers are required to offer at least two of the languages French, Spanish, and German, and to strive to offer other languages as well (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011). However, in place of these languages, a student may within the language option instead choose to study a language that would otherwise be offered to the student as Mother Tongues (see section 2.3.3), Swedish or Swedish as a Second Language, English, or Sign Language for the Hearing (see section 2.3.5), if at least five students choose this language (note: the minimum of five students is not required for the national minority languages) (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011).

2.3.5 Sami and Sign Language for the Hearing
One aim of the subject Sami is to give students "the opportunity to develop a functional bilingualism" (Skolverket, 2017b, p. 229, my translation), as "[k]nowledge of Sami and Swedish and knowledge about the Sami culture strengthens the individual identity and makes possible participation in both Sami and Swedish society" (Skolverket, 2017b, p. 229, my translation). Core content and knowledge requirements are provided for both Sami as a First Language and Sami as a Second Language.

Much like the subject Modern Languages (see section 2.3.4), Sign Language for the Hearing may be studied within the framework of pupils' options or within the framework of language options, with different knowledge requirements depending on which framework is chosen. The subject syllabus describes the core content in years 4–9 and knowledge requirements at the end of year 9; however, no mention is made of the year that studies in the subject should begin, which thus varies from school to school (Skolverket, 2017b).
2.4 Summary

In addition to the syllabuses for the language subjects presented above, the Swedish curriculum for compulsory school makes mention of Swedish, English, as well as other languages, such as other Nordic languages and the national minority languages. As Sweden's principal language (Kulturdepartementet, 2009:600) and the most common language of instruction in Swedish schools, Swedish may be considered to have an unquestioned position in Swedish society, while the other languages mentioned above could be considered to be of secondary importance. However, the status of English, Swedish, and other languages in Sweden has in recent years become the subject of much scrutiny in studies of policy and ideologies (e.g., Björkman, 2014; Cabau, 2009, 2014; Cabau-Lampa, 2007; Hult, 2005, 2012, 2017; Milani, 2007; Wingstedt, 1998).

English is considered by some to be a second language in Sweden (Cabau, 2009; Lindberg, 2007; Phillipson, 1992). Attitudes toward English in Sweden are generally very positive (Wingstedt, 1998; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). A number of Swedish researchers, however, have addressed the question of English as a potential threat to Swedish (see Cabau, 2009; Gunnars-son, 2001; Hyltenstam, 2004; Höglund, 2002; Josephson, 2004; Lindberg, 2007), perhaps due to the mostly unrivalled position that English maintains in domains such as higher education. In addition to its dominance in international publications and course readings (especially in the natural sciences) in higher education, English has been used as a language of instruction at a number of Swedish upper secondary schools (see Lim Falk, 2008; Kontio & Sylvén, 2015; Olsson, 2016; Sandberg, 2016, 2017; Skolverket, 2018a; Sylvén, 2004; Washburn, 1997; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). Further, the use of English in compulsory school has extended beyond its previous position as merely a subject of study, to also include being used as a medium of instruction to teach non-language subject content in a number of Swedish schools. Such content-based language programs have been referred to with a range of labels, which will be described in the following chapter.
3 Content-based language teaching and learning

This chapter begins with an introduction to the various terms used to refer to content-based language teaching and learning programs, with a brief overview of how the terms are used in various contexts and an explanation of the choice to use the term EMI in this study. Thereafter, previous research that has investigated policies, perspectives, and practices in such programs is presented. Finally, the findings in these studies are summarized, and the research gap is highlighted.

3.1 Program terminology

One of the problems in studies of content-based language teaching has been the "lack of terminological clarity" (Paran, 2013, p. 319; see also Bruton, 2013, 2017) that exists in distinguishing CLIL from other types of bilingual education, including EMI. In some cases, CLIL is described as an umbrella term (Cenoz, 2015; Coyle, 2007; Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo, & Nikula, 2014; Roila, 2014), one which could be used to describe programs also known as immersion (Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2013; Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Paran, 2013) as well as content-based instruction (hereafter CBI) (Coyle et al., 2010; Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013; Tedick & Cammarata, 2012). As Cenoz (2015) points out, "the use of an L2 as the medium of instruction, the language, societal and educational aims and the typical type of child are the same in CBI and CLIL programmes" (p. 8). Other CLIL researchers, however, maintain that CLIL is unique with regard to factors such as how linguistic objectives differ among the programs (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010) and its integrated approach (Coyle, 2007). As such, "advocates of CLIL argue that there is more systematic planned integration of language and content in CLIL than in immersion" (Cenoz et al., 2013, p. 252).

Meanwhile, although CLIL is commonly used to describe a variety of these programs in the European context, Yoxsimer Paulsrudd (2014) has suggested that EMI more accurately describes such programs in Sweden, where learners encounter English outside the programs in addition to using it at school (see also Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010, p. 370). Further, Yoxsimer
Paulsrud (2014) points out that such programs in the Swedish context are not "actually integrated content and language learning" (p. 215, original emphasis). The following comparison of these terms can therefore help to clarify how their similarities may in some cases justify treating them as a common model, which in turn may enable educators in these programs to more easily be able to gainfully share their knowledge and experiences (Cenoz et al., 2013).

3.1.1 Bilingual education (BE)
Bilingual education (BE) may be defined as the use of two (or more) languages in education (Baker, 2011). It encompasses a wide range of educational models, such as the education of minorities in both the minority and majority languages as well as the education of language majority students learning an additional language. Swedish national policy distinguishes between tvåspråkig undervisning (bilingual instruction) that denotes instruction through the student's umgängesspråk (social language) and models of engelskspråkig undervisning (English-medium instruction) (see Toth, 2017; Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185). For the school in this study, BE would refer to the use of two languages of instruction (LOI), English and Swedish, for English language learners in the Swedish context.

3.1.2 Content-based instruction (CBI)
Content-based instruction has been defined as "the integration of particular content with language-teaching aims" (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 2003, p. 2). The term CBI, although it at times may refer to foreign language immersion for majority language students (Cenoz, 2015; Genesee & Lindholm Leary, 2013), is at other times used to refer to programs that are intended to improve the majority language proficiency of minority language speakers (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013; Turner, 2013). While this application of the term CBI to a broad variety of program types leaves room for considerable confusion as to the specific characteristics of the model, including its intended students, it may be stated that CBI programs employ an additional language as well as the majority language as the media of instruction for content and aim for multilingualism, features that can be used to describe some content and integrated learning programs as well (Cenoz, 2015).

3.1.3 Immersion
Sometimes considered to be a form of CBI (Lin, 2016; Tedick & Wesley, 2015), immersion has been defined as "a form of bilingual education in which students who speak the language of the majority of the population receive part of their instruction through the medium of a second language
and part through their first language" (Genesee, 1987, p. 1) Although the term immersion may encompass a range of language enrichment programs, they all share the common feature of increased exposure to the target language through content instruction, as compared to traditional foreign language learning. Traditionally, the additional language is used for at least 50% of the instruction in primary school immersion programs (Tedick, Christian, & Fortune, 2011). In addition to being the main source of students’ exposure to the immersion language, these programs typically enroll students who have similar levels of proficiency in the target language, employ bilingual teachers, and have an aim of additive bilingualism (Cenoz, 2015, pp. 13–14).

The widely acclaimed success of French immersion programs in Canada has led them to be described as "the quintessential model of content-based L2 instruction" (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013, p. 3), inspiring similar initiatives in other contexts. In these French immersion programs, the target language that is being used as the language of instruction is an official language of the country. Further, enrollment often begins at a young age, with total immersion in French during the first school years. Here, the aim is native-like proficiency in the language and teachers in the program are native speakers of the language. Meanwhile, although they may differ from Canada’s programs of French immersion in a number of respects, many other educational models in which a second or a foreign language is used as the medium of instruction are known as immersion programs as well, in accordance with the aforementioned broad definition employed by Genesee. As Turner (2013) points out, "The term ‘immersion’ is an illustration of how terminology is used in different ways depending on context" (p. 400).

While conditions for language acquisition vary a great deal among learners, the notion of "the younger the better" (Rixon, 2015, p. 35; see also Coyle et al., 2010, p. 18) has gained a large following with regard to popular programs for language education. As Genesee points out, there is neuropsychological and psycholinguistic support for the advantages of an early start to language learning (1987, p. 13). Further, the increased exposure to the target language that early immersion entails is credited with resulting in a higher degree of fluency in the target language at no cost to the native language, a seemingly win-win scenario that may contribute to the portrayal of such educational models as ideal. However, the Canadian model of French immersion for native English speakers, after which many immersion programs are modeled, is not always fully applicable nor is it necessarily transferable to other contexts (Hylenstam, 2004). In Sweden, for example, existing language-in-education policies restrict the use of languages of instruction other than Swedish to no more than 50% of the total instructional time in compulsory school (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185). Partial immersion, therefore, rather than full immersion, is the most common model of language enrichment (aside from foreign language instruction) used in Swe-
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dish compulsory schools. Further, Swedish education policies governing these types of programs do not explicitly require teachers to be bilingual. Also, while such models have existed for a number of years among lower secondary schools, it is only somewhat recently that content instruction in languages other than Swedish has been offered more commonly at the primary school level in Sweden, whereas students in Canadian French immersion programs often begin at the start of primary school.

3.1.4 Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

Content and Language Integrated Learning (hereafter CLIL) has been defined as "a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 1, original emphasis). Although the practice of teaching content through an additional language is not a new one, the term CLIL has been adopted by the European Council as referring to an educational initiative with the potential to improve language education (Coyle et al., 2010; Eurydice, 2006). It is an approach premised on "naturalistic language learning" (Mattheoudakis, Alexiou, & Laskaridou, 2014, p. 220; see also Coyle et al., 2010) rather than formal language learning; learners receive increased exposure to the target language, as it is the medium of instruction in other content areas besides the language itself, as compared to solely in foreign language classes. Further, learners are expected to use the language for authentic communication. Such additional opportunities for interaction using the target language, as well as motivation, are considered to be instrumental factors that contribute to the perceived success of such programs in terms of content and target language learning outcomes (see Pérez Cañado, 2012). As Pérez Cañado (2017) explains,

The theory of language underpinning CLIL sees language as a resource for meaning rather than as a system of rules. The focus is on the substance or meaning of the content that is being taught, with language learning being a by-product of such a focus. (pp. 83-84)

Languages are thus seen as being learned naturally through language use (Cenoz, 2015; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013).

The term CLIL may be said to originally have sprung from the desire to distinguish content-driven language learning programs in the European context from the Canadian immersion programs after which they were modeled. While there is often less contact with the target language in CLIL programs as compared to immersion programs, CLIL programs are considered to improve learners' receptive language skills as a result of increased target language input. Since its adoption in 1994 (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 3), the term CLIL has been employed in a number of contexts outside of Europe as well.
Much like the wide range of immersion programs that exist around the world, CLIL programs in different contexts may differ with respect to such things as organization, teacher training and instructional practices. Cenoz et al. (2013) point out that characteristics of different CLIL programs can vary widely, such as which target languages are involved, participants' backgrounds, goals of instruction, and the balance between content and language as well as their integration (p. 243).

CLIL programs are commonly implemented at the secondary level, after students are literate in their L1, as opposed to Canada's early total immersion programs in French, where students' first literacy skills are learned in the target language. Further, Dalton-Puffer (2011) has stated that

CLIL is about using a foreign language or a lingua franca, not a second language (L2). That is, the language of instruction is one that students will mainly encounter in the classroom, given that it is not regularly used in the wider society they live in. (p. 183)

However, studies have shown that this balance between content and language is seldom realized in actual practice (Cenoz et al., 2013). CLIL teachers are generally nonnative speakers; in other words, content experts rather than language experts (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, & Smit, 2013; Nikula, 2015; Ortega, 2015). As such, in some cases these content experts lack sufficient proficiency in the target language to address questions of linguistic character. They may also lack the training to know how to incorporate language objectives in a content lesson, and therefore deliver the content lesson in the target language, but with no particular attention paid to linguistic form. Further, their lack of sufficient language proficiency may result in the content instruction being less cognitively advanced than comparable instruction in the L1 (Paran, 2013). Meanwhile, for teachers trained as language experts but who lack competence in the CLIL subject, there are issues of insufficient content expertise (Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). Such teachers indicate their desire for more support from content teachers, but time and lack of opportunities for collaboration inhibit this possibility (Pladevall-Ballester, 2015, p. 54). In order to achieve the content and language integration aims of CLIL, teachers who are trained in the CLIL subject as well as the target language would ideally be equipped to provide the balance between content and language. Despite this, in many cases, CLIL teachers in these programs have one or the other competence rather than both, and have difficulty integrating content and language in instruction.

3.1.5 English-medium instruction (EMI)

While the term CLIL is commonly used to refer to content-based language learning programs in the European context, the term EMI is often used in
many Asian contexts and within higher education. Policies designating English as the medium of instruction have been in place in a number of school systems in Asia, including Brunei, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore (Lin, 2015, p. 75). Official education policies in these school systems often endorse the exclusive use of English for classroom instruction in these types of programs, as a result of "monolingual immersion ideologies" (Lin, 2015, p. 75). Meanwhile, although no such official English-only policies exist in Swedish higher education, English is increasingly used as a medium of instruction at many Swedish universities (Björkman, 2010). The particular status of English as seen in Swedish language policy and education has been highlighted in a number of studies that have addressed language ideologies in Sweden (see for example Björkman, 2014; Cabau-Lampa, 2007; Hult, 2005, 2010). However, use of the term EMI has been somewhat inconsistent across various contexts and age groups of learners, and Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) has called for a definition of EMI that could help to clarify it.

A working definition of EMI used in a report from the Centre for Research and Development on English Medium Instruction at Oxford University is stated as follows: "The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English." (Dearden, 2014, p. 2) Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) argues that EMI rather than CLIL more accurately describes such programs at the upper secondary level in Sweden, in that they lack the integration and "equal focus on language and disciplinary content" (p. 215) associated with CLIL. Further, although CLIL has often been used to describe programs within primary and secondary education, EMI can be implemented "at any stage of the education cycle" (Simpson, 2017, p. 3). However, the practice of implementing EMI has been considered to be especially controversial with regard to young learners.

In the present study, the term EMI is applied to such a program in a Swedish primary school, as it best represents this model as described in relevant Swedish national education policy documents (which mention engelskspråkig undervisning, here translated as English-medium instruction, rather than CLIL) and as seen in classroom practices.

3.2 Previous research on content-based programs

Programs offering content-based language learning have been investigated in a number of contexts. In addition to studies of programs aimed at developing the English proficiency of minority language students in English-majority contexts, many studies have considered learning outcomes in content-based foreign language enrichment programs, in both English-majority as well as non-English-majority contexts. For example, findings from studies of French
immersion programs in Canada have shown that there appears to be no differences in English outcomes between students in immersion programs and students in all-English programs, nor between students in early immersion as compared to students in delayed or late immersion programs. Further, evaluations of students’ results indicate that similar levels of academic achievement in subjects such as Science and Mathematics are attained by majority language students in immersion programs and students in L1 programs where English is the language of instruction (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013). Evidence of such successful outcomes have therefore inspired content-based language learning initiatives in other contexts; however, conditions for these programs vary widely across non-English-majority contexts in terms of policies, perspectives, and practices.

3.2.1 Policies

While European languages such as French as well as Asian languages are often the focus of content-based language programs in English-majority contexts such as Canada and Australia (see for example Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013; Turner, 2013), English has been the instructional language of choice for such programs in many Asian contexts. Policies designating English as the medium of instruction have been in place in a number of school systems in Asia, including Brunei, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore (Lin, 2015, p. 75). Official education policies in these school systems often endorse the exclusive use of English in classroom instruction, as a result of "monolingual immersion ideologies" (Lin, 2015, p. 75). Although such programs may support students’ development of English proficiency, concerns have been raised that CLIL students who have not yet reached a "threshold level of English proficiency ... may lag behind in academic and cognitive development, when compared with their peers learning through the first language" (Lo, 2015, p. 271). In addition to students’ proficiency in the medium of instruction, CLIL programs face challenges including the availability of teacher education and in-service training that incorporates CLIL methodology as well as the necessity of adapting curricula and assessments to local requirements (Lo, 2015, p. 271). In the face of these challenges, many CLIL teachers have been found to make use of students’ L1 in lessons as a means to facilitate the teaching of abstract concepts in academic subjects.

Hüttner et al. (2013) conclude that partly due to the lack of national directives in Austrian educational policy concerning language management and CLIL implementation, little research evidence exists regarding levels of competence achieved through CLIL provision. Further, they argue that as CLIL in the Austrian context is largely focused on English, as are many CLIL programs in other non-English-majority contexts, the aim of "increasing European multilingualism as proposed by EC policies" (Hüttner et al.,
2013, p. 280) is in practice limited to developing learners' English proficiency in these contexts.

Subject-specific languages are addressed in the new Finnish curriculum, which emphasizes the role of language (Skinnari & Nikula, 2017, p. 227). Although the focus on language in CLIL tends to be directed toward students acquiring the target language, the use of both instructional languages in bilingual programs is common, particularly among students. However, other languages, such as those spoken by students with immigrant backgrounds, may thus be overlooked. As Skinnari and Nikula (2017) point out, "strategic bilingualism of some CLIL programs seemed to lead to ignoring the growing multilingualism in society" (p. 240). In cases where access to such programs is determined on the basis of English and Finnish skills, students with immigrant backgrounds may not be represented to any great extent (Skinnari & Nikula, 2017, p. 233).

CLIL implementation in the Netherlands has been guided by national guidelines that govern details such as teacher training requirements and program organization. Here, the CLIL option has up until recently mainly been offered in secondary schools (as is often the case with CLIL), with English as the most common language of instruction in addition to Dutch (de Graaff, Koopman, Anikina, & Westhoff, 2007). Goals of CLIL programs are explicitly stated as having both a language focus, with an improved "command of a language" (de Graaff et al., 2007, p. 605), and an international focus, with an expectation that these programs prepare students for the demands of future English-medium instruction or studies abroad as well as an "international society" (de Graaff et al., 2007, p. 605). Content teachers in these programs generally receive professional development intended to improve their English language proficiency, as well as training in CLIL instructional methodology. However, a recent small-scale study revealed "significant gaps in Dutch CLIL content teachers' knowledge of language pedagogy" (Koopman, Skeet, & de Graaff, 2014, p. 133).

In a comparison of English-medium CLIL in Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and Sweden, Sylvén (2018) draws attention to a number of factors by which these programs in Sweden differs from such programs in the other countries. Sylvén (2018) maintains that the relative lack of policy guidelines, specialized teacher training, and generally late introduction of English-medium programs in Sweden may account for what is described as a lack of successful outcomes for Swedish students in these programs. As Hult (2012) has pointed out, "educational language policy is a discursive space in Sweden where the negotiation of ... views about the status of English plays out" (p. 251). With regard to English as a subject at Swedish upper secondary schools, Hult (2017) has found that the "syllabus presents teachers with a challenging tension in encouraging both dominant use of the target language and plurilingualism" (p. 277), and that teachers are "key agents in the policy interpretation process" (p. 276). This is also the case in Swedish compulsory
schools, while policy decisions such as determining the year at which English instruction begins are left up to the school providers (Cabau, 2009, p. 138).

Hult and Källkvist (2016) have likewise called attention to the situation in Swedish higher education, where "national language planning goals are taken up and reinterpreted by higher education institutions" (p. 56). Further, in their review of EMI at universities in the Nordic countries, Airey, Lauridsen, Räsänen, Salö, and Schwach (2015) conclude that there is a need for "course syllabuses to detail disciplinary-specific language-learning outcomes" (p. 1). Malmström, Mezek, Pecorari, Shaw, and Irvine (2016) point out that in these types of English-medium environments, students are often expected to "acquire subject terminology incidentally in the first language as well as in English" (p. 1). Airey et al. (2015) also make the point that although EMI in higher education has undergone rapid expansion, there has been little guidance regarding where and how it should be implemented, stressing the need for university language policies that:

1. Encourage the faculty discussion of disciplinary literacy goals.
2. Require disciplines to declare the language-learning outcomes of each course. This includes detailing how these goals relate to the overarching disciplinary literacy goals of the curriculum and how these skills will be taught and assessed. (p. 12)

Although the instructional focus has traditionally tended to be on content in non-language subjects, the challenges associated with teaching and learning in an additional language have demonstrated the need for a focus on language as well.

3.2.2 Perspectives

There has been an extensive amount of experience with and research on CLIL in Spain, "one of the leading countries in Europe in the implementation of CLIL programmes and in the research in this field" (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014, p. 220). Many of these programs benefit from a high status and immense support from stakeholders at all levels, and numerous studies have reported that CLIL students are motivated and enjoy the challenge of learning content in the foreign language (Doiz et al., 2014; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). However, at the same time, there have been some concerns regarding low achievers struggling to manage learning content in the target language (Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). As Lorenzo and Rodriguez (2015) state, in CLIL lessons, "learners are forced to process academic language, the content of which is considered to be of prime importance for subject content learning" (p. 70). For CLIL students without sufficient levels of
proficiency in the instructional language, this is a challenge that requires increased explicit instructional support.

The adoption of the CLIL approach in Austrian schools has often met with a great deal of enthusiasm by its stakeholders, with generally positive attitudes regarding its benefits. A number of factors are considered to have contributed to the perceived success of CLIL programs in the Austrian context, particularly stakeholder beliefs (Hüttner et al., 2013). For example, many stakeholders consider a naturalistic environment to provide ideal conditions for incidental language learning, and believe that learning equates to "using the language as much as possible, and being exposed to it as much as possible" (Hüttner et al., 2013, p. 275). Learners report feelings of confidence in using the target language (English), which is taken as an indication of the program's success (Hüttner et al., 2013), rather than indications based on language aims and assessments of proficiency outcomes. The perceptions of language learning held by CLIL stakeholders in the study reveal a possible threat to the future of foreign language instruction, as attention to specific language objectives that have traditionally been addressed in language lessons are considered to be secondary to the opportunities for language use available in CLIL lessons.

In a survey among Swedish university teachers, Pecorari, Shaw, Irvine, and Malmström (2011) found that although teachers saw the use of English-language textbooks as "a useful opportunity for incidental language learning" (p. 55), the courses contained few learning outcomes focused on language. Likewise, when looking at physics lecturers' attitudes regarding their expectations for students' language learning in lectures involving bilingual instruction, Airey (2012) found that they did not consider themselves to be "teachers of disciplinary Swedish or English" (p. 64). However, Airey (2012) points out that this can entail difficulties for students in terms of learning disciplinary discourse, and argues that "all teachers are language teachers" (p. 64). Airey (2012) goes on to suggest that rather than acting as a model of discourse, a lecturer should act as a "discourse guide (in both languages)" (p. 76).

Some challenges in English-medium programs and strategies for addressing them are addressed in recent studies that have looked at teacher and student perspectives in CLIL at Swedish upper secondary schools (Sandberg, 2016, 2017). As the teachers (who were native speakers of Swedish) at times were not prepared for the subject-specific vocabulary demands in spontaneous classroom discussions that were in English, and also wanted students to be able to formulate questions freely, Swedish was often chosen as a way of overcoming the perceived "linguistic 'barrier' " (Sandberg, 2016, p. 221). Meanwhile, students in the CLIL programs were generally positive about their choice to study subjects through English, as it was seen as potentially improving their English proficiency and preparing them for their future studies. However, although students felt that studying through English made
them concentrate more when listening to lectures as compared to listening to Swedish, they found producing spontaneous oral output in English during whole-class discussions of tasks to be particularly challenging (Sandberg, 2017).

3.2.3 Practices

Wannagat's (2007) comparative study of a secondary CLIL history class in Germany with a secondary EMI history class in Hong Kong examines "the influence of classroom interaction on teaching and learning processes" (p. 667). Analysis of classroom interaction revealed a higher proportion of student contributions in the German CLIL class compared to the Hong Kong EMI class, where classroom interaction was dominated by teacher talk. Furthermore, the average length of utterances by students was substantially longer in the CLIL class. Although students in the Hong Kong EMI context had more L2 exposure than the German CLIL students, interaction in the EMI class was characterized by a higher proportion of L1 use compared to interaction in the German CLIL class. Taking his standpoint in constructivist theory, Wannagat (2007) states that "an advantage of learning in the CLIL context is the increased opportunity for learners to develop their constructive abilities in L2" (p. 678). He maintains that exposure to the target language is not enough in itself, arguing that "comprehension is not reactive and receptive, but it is a highly active, constructive process" (Wannagat, 2007, p. 678). However, it should be pointed out that Wannagat's (2007) study does not address a number of considerations relevant to the contexts under study, such as the typological differences between the L1 and L2 in the different contexts.

Classroom interaction is also in focus in Nikula's (2012) study of subject-specific language use in peer discussions among Finnish secondary CLIL students. Although students exhibited an awareness of the "particular type of language use" (Nikula, 2012, p. 149) required in the subject, it was not an explicit focus of discussion. With regard to the use of the L1, a few words of Finnish were used, although this was not addressed in this study, as students were seen to primarily use English as

the working language during group work ... [perhaps] due to the teacher as well as one of the students in the class being native speakers of English. However, it is notable that even in groups where everyone has Finnish as their L1, the use of English prevails. (Nikula, 2012, p. 137)

Meanwhile, Nikula's (2015) study of CLIL secondary science classrooms in Finland addresses the importance of explicit instructional attention to disciplinary language. In the study, Nikula (2015) found that although students engaged more in language use that incorporated subject-specific terms dur-
ing pre-task and post-task phases as compared to the hands-on portions of the tasks at hand, attention to subject language was more implicit than explicit (p. 1). While "content-appropriate action" (Nikula, 2015, p. 8) such as calculating was also considered to be an important part of the learning process, it was most often referred to by students in everyday terms such as "count" rather than the disciplinary term "calculate." Nikula (2015) thus concludes "it may take time for the more academic versions to become part of their repertoire" (p. 8).

Recent studies have explored the use of students' L1 in CLIL lessons and considered the potential advantages this practice may offer. Lo's (2015) study from the Hong Kong context revealed a tendency for teachers to more strictly adhere to school policies regarding the medium of instruction when students' proficiency levels were sufficiently developed to understand the academic content. However, it was also found that this may have contributed to limited teacher-student interaction, as some students were unable to "respond or participate in interaction actively" (Lo, 2015, p. 284).

Similarly, in a study of undergraduate physics instruction in English and Swedish, Airey (2006) noted that Swedish students were less active in both asking and answering questions when taught in English, and concluded that this could have implications for students' content learning in subjects taught through English. However, when examining language use in six English-medium university courses in Sweden, Söderlundh (2010) found that spoken Swedish was used in all of the courses, primarily in interaction not involving foreign students. The use of Swedish among Swedish-speaking participants filled a function as an "unofficial medium of instruction (in talk between lecturers and students)" (Söderlundh, 2010, p. 217). Meanwhile, Swedish was also used as a "study language (in talk among students)" (Söderlundh, 2010, p. 217), which allowed the Swedish-speaking students to overcome difficulties in understanding and/or producing English in the course. Likewise, although English has been considered to be a threat to Swedish in terms of domain loss, Salö (2016) has nonetheless found that Swedish-speaking researchers within physics and computer science used discipline-specific Swedish both orally and in writing in the development of academic texts.

In one of the first studies of English-medium instruction at an upper secondary school in Sweden, Washburn (1997) found that although students in the English-medium program initially performed at a similar level as their peers in the control group (a traditional Swedish-medium program), the EMI students had fallen behind their peers in all subjects by the end of the two-year study. Although the EMI students exhibited more fluency in speaking and writing than their peers, their grades in English were not actually better than grades given to students in the traditional program. Some years later, in a larger study involving four Swedish upper secondary schools offering CLIL, Sylvén (2004) found that CLIL students acquired a larger vocabulary
compared to students in traditional programs. However, Sylvén (2004) pointed out that this could not necessarily be attributed to the CLIL program itself, as CLIL students were also exposed to more input in English outside of school. Further, as it was noted that CLIL students had already scored higher in the first round of tests at the start of the program (Sylvén, 2004), self-selection could be a factor regarding the English proficiency of students enrolling in these programs, with students who are highly motivated and high-achieving choosing to study in English (see also Apelgren, 2018; Lim Falk, 2015; Sylvén, 2004; Yoxsimer Pauulsrud, 2014).

This self-selection was also found in a more recent study of academic vocabulary in two CLIL classes in Swedish upper secondary schools, which showed that although CLIL students used a larger proportion of academic vocabulary than did the non-CLIL students ... the analysis showed that the CLIL students did not progress more than the non-CLIL students did in their use of academic vocabulary, despite the fact that they encountered and used English more often at school as well as in their spare time (Olsson, 2016, p. 87).

As students in the CLIL program had already been using academic vocabulary to a larger extent than their peers at the start of the program, it was concluded that their gains could not be attributed to CLIL.

In a study of subject-based language use in a CLIL class vs. a non-CLIL class, Lim Falk (2008) found that although "CLIL teaching entails more exposure to English ... students' active use of English in speech and writing remains very limited" (p. 291). A limited use of disciplinary language in CLIL lessons was also found in Lim Falk's (2015) study of a CLIL history class at the secondary level in Sweden. Analysis of written answers to questions on a history exam revealed patterns of language choices and a "frequency of field-specific lexis" (Lim Falk, 2015, p. 312) that could be related to students' results on the assessment. As Lim Falk (2015) points out,

The teacher may not be explicitly assessing language, but the language is obviously inextricably linked to content ... There would seem to be a connection between the possession of significant vocabulary and the ability to use field-specific resources in building the genre. (p. 316)

Lim Falk (2015) concludes that as both languages of instruction are of relevance for learning, the role of the L1 in the CLIL content classroom warrants further investigation in order to get a sense of what opportunities there are for content learning, as CLIL students need to "get access to the 'language of the subject' " (p. 316).

Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) has also looked at language choices and the role of the L1 in the classrooms in her study of EMI at two Swedish upper secondary schools, highlighting, among other things, the function of Swe-
dish in English-medium content instruction. Various instances of language alternation were categorized as either non-pedagogic or pedagogic translanguaging, which could be either "planned or serendipitous" (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 182; see also Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a). The affordances offered by translanguaging were seen to promote both content learning and language use, allowing students to develop subject competency in Swedish and English while also encouraging "pushed output" (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 183). However, Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) also points out that practices vary significantly from school to school, and calls for educational policy to use a clear definition of EMI with regard to these programs, as well as guidelines for practice.

Although most studies of English-medium programs at Swedish upper secondary schools have looked at national programs that are oriented toward preparation for higher education, Kontio and Sylvén (2015) have looked at a vocational vehicle mechanics program in Sweden that uses CLIL. In their study of language alternation and language norms in the English as a foreign language (EFL) and workshop lessons, Kontio and Sylvén (2015) found that students employed various strategies, including the use of Swedish, for purposes such as requests for clarification. Students were then guided toward the use of English by questions from the native English-speaking workshop teacher, who it was (incorrectly) thought did not know Swedish. While the focus was communication of meaning in the workshop lessons, the English teacher (who was bilingual in Swedish and English) emphasized the monolingual norm and placed more focus on the correct use of English by students in the EFL classroom, something that could potentially inhibit students' willingness to speak and lead to silent classrooms (Kontio & Sylvén, 2015, p. 282).

As these programs are most common at the upper secondary level in Sweden (Sylvén, 2018), few studies exist of CLIL or EMI at the compulsory school level in Sweden. However, a survey of schools offering English-medium instruction in compulsory school found that professional development for teachers in such schools primarily focused on developing their language proficiency in Swedish or English, rather than instructional strategies for integrating content and language (Skolverket, 2010). It was further found that teachers' (limited) knowledge of Swedish could constrain their ability to support students' learning, in terms of explaining concepts or understanding students' mother tongues, as well as helping students to learn concepts in Swedish (Skolverket, 2010, p. 65). In studies of classroom interaction at bilingual compulsory schools in Sweden, Cromdal (2005) and St. John (2014) have shown that students' use of other languages, including Swedish, together with English enabled them to complete tasks as well as promoted language learning. As Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, and Llinares (2013) have pointed out,
classroom discourse at the primary level is to date an underexplored area. Studies that exist, both on CLIL primary settings (Bucholz, 2007; Serra, 2007) and immersion kindergartens (e.g. Mård, 2002; Savijärvi, 2011) suggest that the role of L1 and learning as shared practice are important areas of inquiry when researching young learners. (p. 92)

In Sweden, where the number of compulsory schools offering EMI has increased substantially in recent years, more such studies as well as ones with "ethnographically-oriented approaches" (Nikula et al., 2013, p. 92) are needed.

3.2.4 Outcomes

With regard to language learning outcomes, some studies have found that CLIL students exhibit increased confidence in their target language proficiency (e.g., Goris, Denessen, & Verhoeven, 2017; Hüttner et al., 2013), as CLIL "fosters spontaneous L2 speaking skills... [and] CLIL students are particularly strong in strategic competence" (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 187). Likewise, evaluations of learning outcomes for Dutch CLIL students have shown positive effects for their English proficiency (e.g., Admiraal, Westhoff, & de Bot, 2006), apparently at no cost to their L1 or academic subject proficiency (Huibregtse, 2001, in de Graaff et al., 2007, p. 605). However, in a recent longitudinal study involving CLIL and non-CLIL students at German secondary schools, Rumlich (2017) found that although CLIL students demonstrated considerable "language learning characteristics ... the observable differences with regard to general EFL proficiency cannot be attributed to CLIL, however. Rather, they are a direct consequence of CLIL-related selection, preparation, and class composition intended to help students master the challenges of CLIL." (p. 128) Further, in a study of skill development in English and History among German CLIL students, Dallinger, Jonkmann, Hollm, and Fiege (2016) found no particular gains in general English skills or subject knowledge among the CLIL students as compared to their non-CLIL peers, arguing that "CLIL-classrooms need to invest substantially more time to achieve comparable learning outcomes" (p. 23).

Likewise, other studies have shown that although CLIL students also develop very high levels of reading and listening proficiency ... [they] do not do as well in productive skills ... [and tend to] use restricted vocabulary and non-idiomatic language and they have some problems with grammatical accuracy and sociolinguistic competence. (Cenoz, 2015, p. 19)

This may be due to the fact that CLIL teachers as content experts tend to focus on content rather than language and therefore do not provide corrective linguistic feedback to any significant extent. Learners' errors in pronunciation and syntax tend to receive less attention than lexical errors, and teachers
have been found to employ a "largely intuitive approach to language-focused work as such" (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 192). This may be indicative of an incidental view of language learning (see Llinares, 2015, p. 65; Matheoudakis et al., 2014, p. 220) in some CLIL programs, one which may have implications for students’ language learning outcomes in terms of accuracy and complexity in their oral and written production. However, a comparison of texts written in Swedish and English by Swedish upper secondary school students in English-medium CLIL with texts written by students in Swedish-medium programs has shown no significant differences in progression with respect to the instructional languages (Apelgren & Holmberg, 2018). Rather, the study’s findings would appear to support the notion that skills acquired in one language can transfer to another language.

In addition to language learning outcomes, students’ development of subject literacies (Lim Falk, 2015; Llinares, 2015) remains an important question to be investigated. Studies have revealed that CLIL students without sufficiently advanced proficiency in the instructional language may have difficulty with classes that are too demanding (Lo, 2015; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). Both of these issues may thus ultimately lead to gaps in students’ knowledge in the subject (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). A number of studies (Evnitskaya & Morton, 2011; Lim Falk, 2015; Lorenzo & Rodriguez, 2015; Nikula, 2015) have investigated instructional practices, classroom interaction and learner texts in content instruction in second and foreign language contexts with the aim of shedding light on the processes involved as well as the outcomes yielded. Results from some of these studies show that there may be negative implications for learners’ production in terms of such features as the use of field-specific lexis in the target language (Hüttner et al., 2013; Lim Falk, 2015) and in students’ first language (Lim Falk, 2015). Likewise, a survey study done among Swedish upper secondary students after completion of their studies in English-medium CLIL programs found that there were some drawbacks associated with the programs in terms of students' development of terminology in Swedish (Olsson & Sylvén, 2018). However, as these studies are small in scope, more research is needed in order to draw any definitive conclusions.

With regard to overall outcomes, a study that has looked at grade progression among students in English-medium CLIL programs in Swedish upper secondary schools has shown that the CLIL students generally had higher grades, both upon entering the programs (based on their final grades from compulsory school) as well as when they finished upper secondary school (Apelgren, 2018). Building on conclusions from Apelgren’s (2018) and Sylvén’s (2018) studies as well as other studies that have drawn on data from a longitudinal project on Content and Language Integration in Swedish Schools (CLISS), the Swedish National Agency for Education has emphasized the need for schools offering EMI to address teachers’ competence in teaching and assessment in what is an additional language for students,
knowledge of Swedish and English, and knowledge of the Swedish education system (Skolverket, 2018a, p. 11).

3.3 Summary

The demands of learning content in an additional language while at the same time learning that language are well-known in the field of second language education, necessitating both an awareness of these among CLIL educators as well as knowledge of instructional approaches that provide learners with support in dealing with language demands in content learning (Baker, 2014). Concerns that CLIL could have negative implications for students’ development of academic subject competence illustrate the need for research studies that focus on content learning in CLIL, as findings with a focus on content in such programs have been less conclusive and consistent than those with a focus on language learning (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Roiha, 2014).

Although bilingual programs offering EMI to young learners in Sweden may tend to attract students who have previous experience with the English language, they also enroll students with limited knowledge of English. These learners are expected to learn subject content in an additional language at the same time that they are learning the language itself, developing academic literacy in the two languages of instruction. In the case of students for whom both English and Swedish are additional languages, this may be particularly challenging, and require particular support. It is therefore of interest to explore the positions and roles of languages in these classroom contexts in order to gain an understanding of conditions for students’ content and language learning.
4 Theoretical framework

This chapter describes how the study draws on ecology of language as its overarching theoretical framework. Connections between language ideologies, beliefs about the teaching and learning of content and language through an additional language, and the concept of translanguaging are outlined. Taken together, they provide a lens for examining the policies, perspectives, and practices in the context under study.

4.1 Language ecology

A theoretical framework first conceptualized by Haugen (1972), language ecology can be understood as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 325). As Haugen (1972) points out, this interaction is both "with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers ... [as well as] with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication" (p. 325) Therefore, in order to understand languages and language use from an ecological perspective, not only is the speaker's immediate setting of interest, but also the wider community, society and culture of which the individual is a part. In a study of language use in the classroom, it is therefore necessary to take into account various factors that operate at different structural levels in the context (see Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Here, individual language choices as seen in classroom practices are viewed in relation to the local and national contexts.

4.1.1 Classroom contexts

"Classrooms and schools are contexts designed to afford opportunities for learning, and they may be more or less successful at doing this" (van Lier, 2004, p. 11). Although educational research studies can look at learning outcomes for students in different schools or programs in the interest of determining how successful they are, such studies do not always take into account the specific conditions that may have a role in the learning process. While language may be studied from a variety of perspectives, language in use is situated in a context, where communication is mediated by features that are specific to the context. With regard to classroom contexts, teachers' and students' language practices are generally guided by institutional constraints.
For example, educational curricula and syllabuses outline the objectives and content areas that are to be covered in instruction, forming the basis for teachers' lesson planning. It follows that lessons will generally have a focus on the content area of interest, and follow a certain structure.

Classroom discourse will likewise usually adhere to a general structure, in which the "main discourse is firmly in the hands of the teacher ... [and] parallel discourse is controlled by the students" (Dalton-Puffer, 2007, p. 28). For example, in the CLIL classroom, teachers may exclusively use the target language, while students tend to use the L1 during group work (Dalton-Puffer, 2007, p. 31). At the same time, classroom language practices will vary according to a number of factors specific to the particular conditions of the context under study (for a discussion of problematizing context, see Canagarajah, 2017). In linguistically diverse classrooms, participants bring with them a range of linguistic repertoires as well as varying experiences and perspectives, which need to be taken into consideration with respect to their language practices. Further, in addition to local policies dictated by the school and classroom policies determined by individual teachers (and to some extent by students), factors such as available resources, both linguistic as well as other types, play a part in participants' language choices.

4.1.2 Affordances

The term affordances was first used within the field of psychology by Gibson (1979) to denote "what [the environment] offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill" (p. 127, original emphasis). Drawing on this concept, van Lier (2004) suggests that the term affordances should replace the use of the term input within the field of second language acquisition (SLA), as the latter "comes from a view of language as a fixed code and of learning as a process of receiving and processing pieces of this fixed code" (p. 90). In contrast to such a view, learning is seen as social and interactive from the perspectives of sociocultural theory (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotskij, 1978) and ecological approaches to language learning (van Lier, 2000). Classroom environments provide a number of social and/or cultural affordances that can take the form of physical objects, such as artifacts, as well linguistic affordances in interaction (van Lier, 2004, pp. 94-95). Teachers can make these affordances available and apparent to students, who then have the possibility of making use of them. Affordances thus offer an action potential (van Lier, 2004, p. 92) that individuals may or may not act on.

Further, as Bronfenbrenner (1979) has pointed out, "what matters for behavior and development is the environment as it is perceived rather than as it may exist in 'objective' reality" (p. 4, original emphasis). As van Lier (2008) puts it, "[L]anguage learning begins with learning to perceive while engaging in language-related activity" (p. 61). Observed language practices may thus be understood in terms of both affordances in the wider context as well
as of the agency of individuals making choices about languages (van Lier, 2004).

4.1.3 Agency as seen in language choices

Within the field of education research, agency has been defined as "learners' socioculturally mediated right to choose whether to partake in a communication and in what language" (Suwannamai Duran, 2014, p. 74). These choices may be linked to "learners' available linguistic resources and their desire to participate in constitutive and discursive interactions" (Suwannamai Duran, 2014, p. 74, original emphasis), as well as to affordances in the context at hand (see sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). Further, teachers may also be seen as exercising their agentive potential through their language choices in the classroom, where language policies are individually interpreted and negotiated (see also Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011, p. xvii; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 418).

In a study of a classroom's language ecology, attention is paid to "the importance of exploring ecological minutiae of interactional practices in classrooms, linking these to the ideologies that pervade language choice and language policy" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 104). This can in turn shed light on how language ideologies may be reproduced or contested in educational settings.

4.2 Language ideologies

Bilingual education settings can be understood as products of language ideologies as well as sites for ideological transformation through individual agency. As García (2009) puts it:

Linguistic ideologies include the possibility of agency and resistance as speakers' abilities and options are recognized. Language is also a place of resistance, of power, and of solidarity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Blommaert (1999: 10) says that linguistic ideologies are produced and reproduced through what people say and do not say, and do and do not do, through language itself. (p. 84)

These ideologies may be explicitly articulated in policy documents and institutional discourses as well as implicitly expressed by speakers' words and actions (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015). A critical, interpretive examination of discourses as expressed in policy documents and as observed in the "communicative practices of teachers and learners in schools" (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 163) can provide insights into how language ideologies play out in multilingual educational settings.
A broad definition of language ideologies or linguistic ideologies treats them as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (Rumsey, 1990, p. 346). Such commonsense notions regarding language include assumptions about linguistic hierarchies and the relative value of various languages and native speakers of these languages, as well as about monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism, and plurilingualism.

4.2.1 Linguistic hierarchies

In institutional settings such as schools, language ideologies may be reflected in discourses that reveal the relative positions of languages, both locally and globally. Such discourses can contribute to unequal power relations among the languages as well as among their speakers (for further discussions of the relationships between languages and power, see Bourdieu, 1991; Cummins, 2000; Fairclough, 2015; Mayr, 2008). In cases where powerful languages such as English are involved, knowledge of other languages may be less valued, with "English as the key medium for prestigious purposes, and proficiency in English correlating with socio-economic privilege" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 7). English can thus come to dominate even in non-English-majority contexts through processes of linguistic imperialism (see Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992). Medium of instruction (MOI) policies often favor powerful languages at the expense of minoritized languages, without necessarily taking into account "the importance of medium of instruction as a factor in students' subject-content learning, language learning, and overall school performance" (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p. 292). Linguistic hierarchies as seen in MOI policies thus have implications in education, particularly for students for whom the MOI is an additional language.

4.2.2 Native speakers

The label *native speaker* (NS) has been criticized for its inherent assumptions, such as the idea that "native speakers are presumed to be monolingual" (Ellis, 2016, p. 597), that it may be used to index authority (see Davies, 2003), and that it takes "the native as the norm" (Phillipson, 2000, p. 98). Graddol (2012) has addressed "the special status accorded to native speakers" (p. 210), highlighting the "centrality of the native speaker" (p. 210) in the fields of linguistics as well as education. Being a native speaker may thus be seen as a desirable level of language proficiency for language teachers (Cook, 1999), a notion that contributes to a "discourse of linguistic superiority" (Gundermann, 2014, p. 170). The use of such a label may therefore imply a hierarchy among language users, in which native speakers of named languages are positioned as model language users and second language speakers, by implication, would be less so. This thus raises the questions as to who
is considered to be a native speaker (see Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi, 2014; Davies, 2003), as well as who determines their status.

As Leung, Harris, and Rampton (1997) have pointed out, "the pedagogical relevance of the notion of native speaker" (p. 543) can also be questioned with regard to students, in that it has often been applied to differentiate between ethnic majority students and ethnic minority students, not recognizing the variation in language expertise that exists among students of similar language backgrounds. Such variation likewise exists among teachers who are considered to be native speakers of English, but whose knowledge of the language may not necessarily include extensive knowledge about the language, particularly from the perspective of English as an additional language (EAL). Further, the linguistic repertoires of such teachers may vary substantially, as they may have knowledge of one, two, or many languages.

4.2.3 Monolingual, bilingual, multilingual, or plurilingual?

Use of the term languages is not neutral among all researchers, in that it implies that as bounded systems, named languages are countable, as are their speakers (see Makoni & Pennycook, 2006). Following this, use of terms such as monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual may further reinforce the notion of languages' countability, thus emphasizing the languages as separate with respect to the language users. Monoglossic ideologies that reflect the "one language/one people assumption" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 61) have traditionally espoused the idea that languages should be kept separate (see Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Lin, 1996, 2006). This may result in functional separation of languages, with English dominating high-status domains such as education. While plurilingual ideals are explicitly expressed in official language policies, actual practices may be dictated by monolingual norms. Therefore, stated aims of bilingualism may thus in actuality be realized as aiming for parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999). Meanwhile, although the term multilingual could in a sense be considered to endorse a view of separate languages with respect to individuals' linguistic repertoires (see Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), it reflects the reality of how individuals with knowledge of several named languages are described in the school context, particularly in relation to bilingual, which refers to knowledge of the two languages of instruction.

In this thesis, while the problematic nature of these terms is acknowledged, they are nonetheless used in accordance with how they feature in discourses in the context under study, as they are also indications of the language ideologies at play. Dominant language ideologies may thus shape both policies and practices within the field of education (Hornberger & Hult, 2008; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011; Hult & Johnson, 2015; Milani, 2007; Spolsky, 2004), including those that involve teaching and learning in an additional language.
4.3 Teaching and learning in an additional language

Content-based approaches draw on, among other things, an idea from the field of SLA that learners who are exposed to comprehensible input in the target language acquire the language incidentally (Krashen, 1982). This process is thought to proceed much in the same way that children learn language, through implicit mechanisms that mimic L1 acquisition. However, studies in immersion settings (e.g. Swain, 1985) have shown that comprehensible input in itself does not necessarily lead to satisfactory outcomes in terms of L2 proficiency. In addition to exposure, interaction in the target is necessary as well (Long, 1996). As learning can be seen as socioculturally mediated, teachers therefore need to provide second language learners with opportunities to interact in the target language (Lindberg, 2005). Having opportunities to engage in meaningful interaction in the languaging process (Swain & Suzuki, 2010) is thus seen as vital for learners' language development, as well as attention to the "formal aspects of language output" (Grabe & Stoller, 1997, p. 6). Under ideal circumstances, content and language would therefore be equally in focus (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010), in a balanced approach that lends weight to both form and meaning for promoting language development (see Lyster, 2007).

4.3.1 Development of language proficiency

With regard to development of second language proficiency, Cummins (1979) makes a distinction between conversational fluency, which can be described as basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS), and the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) required for academic success. Axelsson and Magnusson (2012) likewise distinguish between vardagspråk, or everyday language, and skolspråk, or academic language (see also Schleppegrell, 2004). In face-to-face interaction, learners can negotiate meaning with the help of shared experiences and various contextual cues (Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Collier, 1987). Emergent bilinguals may thus acquire everyday language in the additional language within 1-2 years after their initial exposure to the language, and thereby exhibit conversation- al proficiency relatively quickly; meanwhile, it may take up to 5-7 years for these students to learn academic language to a sufficient degree where they achieve at the level of peers who are native speakers (Cummins, 1981a). Although younger learners may exhibit faster rates of achievement, older learners may benefit from a common underlying proficiency (CUP) that can support the transfer of academic concepts and skills from the L1 to the L2 (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981b). However, as García (2009) points out, "transfer of academic skills across languages does not happen automatically. Instead, it is most important that students be given extensive practice using..."
both languages in academic ways” (p. 70, my emphasis), particularly if the goal is academic literacy in both languages.

In order for students to develop these academic skills in various school subjects, they also need to be made aware of the specific characteristics of the language of the subjects (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008; Gibbons, 2003; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). Therefore, content-based instruction that is tailored to second language learners needs to take into account the language requirements of a subject, so that learners can develop their language proficiency as well as more easily access the content (Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012). In the case of bilingual programs that aim for learners to develop language proficiency and content knowledge in both instructional languages, explicit attention to subject-specific language (Gibbons, 2002) in both languages is thus needed.

4.3.2 Language for content learning

As part of their development of academic language proficiency, students encounter and are expected to produce subject-specific language, the discourses that are specific to the various disciplines they are studying. This subject-specific language contains features that are typically associated with the different subjects, such as vocabulary and grammatical forms (Schleppegrell, 2004, p. 115). For example, in Science, much of the language is "technical, abstract, dense, and tightly knit" (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008, p. 20), and texts often make use of the passive voice. However, although scientific terminology is often in focus in Science lessons (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008, p. 19), the characteristics of a scientific text may not be explicitly addressed. Lemke (1990) points out that teachers tend to leave much of the semantics and grammar of scientific language completely implicit. Students are expected to figure all this out for themselves. That is too much to expect of students who have to deal with topics and thematic content that are so distant from common experience (p. 170).

Science texts can thus be particularly challenging for students to understand (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008), necessitating explicit instructional attention to the language demands of the content in question. Therefore, "knowledge about language" (Lin, 2016, p. 77) is needed in subject content teaching as well as in language teaching.

To meet this need in CLIL and EAL contexts, Lin (2016) proposes collaboration between content teachers and language teachers to "identify the language demands of different academic subjects and conduct both horizontal and vertical curriculum mappings of the language needs of students both within an academic subject and across different subjects" (p. 77). Lin (2016) suggests a model of bridging pedagogy that brings together multiple re-
sources, including the L1, "that can be drawn upon to scaffold students' learning of academic content and academic written registers" (p. 99).

4.3.3 Scaffolding

Scaffolding can be defined as temporary support that enables learners to accomplish that which they could not manage without assistance (Bruner, 1978; Cummins, 2008; Gibbons, 2002; Lindberg, 2013; van Lier, 2004; Vygotskij, 1978; Walqui, 2006). This can include both pedagogical scaffolding, defined as a "range of teaching strategies that promotes activity in proximal contexts" (van Lier, 2008, p. 61), as well as collective scaffolding, which can "occur among equal peers" (van Lier, 2008, p. 62). Also known as collaborative dialogue (Swain, 2000) or collaborative scaffolding (Lindberg, 2013, my translation), this form of support can mediate learning in joint activities through the use of various resources which learners use to negotiate meaning. While the use of multimodal resources such as gestures and images are frequently used in classrooms to support meaning-making (see Axelsson & Danielsson, 2012) in addition to verbal language, the focus in this study is on the linguistic resources available to and used by participants.

In addition to its potential for supporting understanding of concepts in subject content, linguistic scaffolding can contribute to facilitating interaction when communicative difficulties arise. Such scaffolding strategies may include the use of translanguage, which will be addressed in the following section.

4.4 Translanguage

The concept of translanguage can trace its origins to trawsieithu, a term coined by Williams (1994) to denote the alternation of input and output in different languages in bilingual classrooms in the Welsh context (see Baker, 2011; Jones, 2017; Lewis, 2008; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a, 2012b). However, it has since then been applied to a number of practices in a range of contexts, including but not limited to code alternation (see Fennema-Bloom, 2009/2010), code-switching, and translation (Li, 2011; Moore & Nikula, 2016). Translanguage may thus be seen as "the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities" (García & Li, 2014, p. 23).

A broad definition of translanguage treats it as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, understandings and knowledge through the use of two languages" (Baker, 2011, p. 288). In situations involving individuals with knowledge of more than two languages, this definition may be extended to encompass two or more languages.
4.4.1 Translanguaging as individual processes

Canagarajah (2011) has described translanguaging as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (p. 401). Such speakers can thus "translanguage to include and facilitate communication with others, but also to construct deeper understandings and make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p. 45). In school contexts, the discursive practices of emergent bilingual (or multilingual) speakers, also known as spontaneous translanguaging (Cenoz, 2017) or student-centred translanguaging (Toth & Paulsrud, 2017), can potentially allow them to make use of their various linguistic resources in order to understand unfamiliar content which is being delivered in an additional language (García, 2009), thus enhancing their meaning-making (Lin & He, 2017).

4.4.2 Translanguaging in classroom practice

Translanguaging practices in the classroom can include both pupil-directed translanguaging and teacher-directed translanguaging (Jones, 2017; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b). For example, bilingual students who have a good grasp of both instructional languages may choose to read about a topic in one language and then produce a written text in the other language after having discussed it in both languages (see Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b). Meanwhile, teachers can plan scaffolded activities that make use of both languages of instruction, in order to promote students' content learning as well as bilingual development. Such teaching strategies may also be referred to as pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz, 2017; Ganuza & Hedman, 2017) or teacher-led translanguaging (Toth & Paulsrud, 2017).

While some researchers have expressed concerns that the use of crosslinguistic pedagogy (with increased use of the majority language, i.e., English, at the expense of the minority language, i.e., French) in contexts such as Canadian French immersion will undermine the development of the target language (e.g., Ballinger, Lyster, Sterzuk, & Genesee, 2017), others have maintained that benefits of this approach outweigh its disadvantages (e.g., Swain & Lapkin, 2013). Teachers can thus use translanguaging as a "pedagogical tool that can leverage the entire language repertoire and improve school performance" (Cenoz, 2017, p. 197), scaffold learning in multilingual classrooms, and support multilingual development (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a, 2012b). As such, translanguaging practices "offer possibilities for teachers and learners to access academic content through the linguistic resources and communicative repertoires they bring to the classroom while simultaneously acquiring new ones" (Hornberger & Link, 2012, p. 245). In this way, "bilingual teaching practices" (Lin, 2006, p. 287) may be used to resist notions of linguistic purism and traditional practices of language sepa-
ration. The use of students' L1 in the classroom would therefore be a re-
source (Cook, 2001; Lin, 2012). Lin (2015) thus proposes an instructional
framework for CLIL in which teachers can help bridge students' everyday
language in their L1 with academic language in the L2, via academic lan-
guage in students' L1. This flow can then result in students' use of everyday
language in the L2 as well. Through the use of such strategies as contrastive
analysis of content terms in both languages, teachers can make explicit con-
nections that facilitate students' grasp of unfamiliar concepts.

4.4.3 Translanguaging in this study

Although translanguaging as an ideological paradigm shift moves away from
the notion of named languages as separate, bounded entities (see García,
2009; Jonsson, 2017; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), participants in the
present study did not make mention of translanguaging. As they referred to
the various named languages of relevance to the participants in this context,
the use of these languages was explored in terms of potential for meaning-
making, as well as in terms of what students were expected to produce for
assessment. The use of labels for named languages in this thesis thus reflects
the reality of schools, where languages are categorized as separate entities,
and students are expected to demonstrate their knowledge in written and oral
production that follows the monolingual norms of these named languages.
Therefore, in this thesis, named languages are acknowledged as social con-
structs, but are also treated as part of participants' linguistic repertoires. From
this perspective, while translanguaging theory may treat a person's linguistic
repertoire as an integrated system of resources, it can be extended further to
incorporate the use of multiple named languages (see Turner & Lin, 2017).
As such, individuals may draw on all of their linguistic resources (including
everyday and academic language in various named languages) when pro-
cessing content, but also demonstrate their choices regarding language use
according to the demands of the particular situation. In this study,
translanguaging is therefore also used as an analytical tool when considering
classroom discourse, as it highlights how the use (or lack of use) of partici-
pants' various linguistic resources is situated in the classroom context.
5 Methods and materials

This chapter presents the methods and materials used in the study, beginning with a brief discussion of qualitative case studies and the use of methodological tools from linguistic ethnography. Thereafter a description of the data collection process, transcription and translation issues, and a discussion of ethical considerations are provided. An overview of the various sources of data is given, followed by an explanation of the analytic approaches taken in the study. To conclude the chapter, researcher positioning and reflexivity are addressed.

5.1 A longitudinal case study

Case studies allow for an in-depth exploration of a specific context, where "the researcher aims to uncover the manifest interaction of significant factors characteristic of this phenomenon, individual, community, or institution" (Berg, 2007, p. 284). By investigating these factors and the processes at play, it may be possible to gain a thorough understanding of the complexities of the particular context under study. In this study, a primary school class at a bilingual English-Swedish school was recruited to take part in the study and subsequently visited for several weeks at a time over four data collection cycles in Grades 4, 5, and 6 (see Figure 1). During this time, the researcher stayed with the class for most lessons, as well as joined them occasionally for lunch, recess, special activities during the school day (such as a Talent Show), and for a weekend Science Fair to which students' families were also invited.

Over the course of the study, familiarity with the context and participants was established as a result of the repeated visits to the school over the three school years. Although some teachers and students left the school during this time, those who remained formed a link that eased the way for returning to the class at the start of each new data collection cycle, during which the researcher was at the school each day over the entire school day.
In addition to these data collection cycles, visits were made to the school for interviews that could not take place within the time frame of the regular data collection periods, as well for extra lesson observations and collection of student texts.

### 5.2 Methods from linguistic ethnography

This has been an exploratory case study with an aim to gain an in-depth understanding of the context involved; therefore, it was deemed that an ethnographic approach to data collection would be most appropriate, with classroom observations as a starting point (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In a linguistic ethnographic approach, language practices in a particular context can be explored from a variety of perspectives, using multiple sources of data (see Canagarajah, 2006; Copland & Creese, 2015; Shaw, Copland, & Snell, 2015). For example, language ideologies can be examined not only through analysis of "explicitly articulated statements" (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015, p. 31) as expressed in policy and interview data, but also through examination of observed practices as well.

As is typical in case studies using ethnographic approaches, multiple sources of naturally occurring data were collected in order to triangulate, known as "methodological triangulation" (Stake, 1995, p. 114). This approach to data collection is considered to have contributed to the study's credibility as well as its ecological validity (Bryman, 2016, p. 44).
In Study I, practiced language policies were investigated using national and local policy documents together with staff interviews and data from classroom observations. Study II explored participants' perspectives on the teaching and learning of content and language, using data from staff and student interviews as well as classroom observations over the course of the study. In Study III, the focus was on participants' language choices in EMI in the subjects of Mathematics and Science. For this study, classroom observations and interviews with a teacher and students in Grade 5 provided the data for analysis.

5.2.1 Data collection

The school was chosen on the basis of a pragmatic selection, geographic location and access to the school being the key determining factors. In this study, an issue arose with unexpected difficulty of access to the proposed research sites. Classroom research by necessity involves gaining access to schools, as Hammersley and Atkinson point out: "Negotiating access also involves ethical considerations, for example to do with whose permission ought to be asked, as well as whose needs to be obtained if initial access is to be granted" (2007, p. 42). As the study involved several aspects of English-medium instruction, including organization of the program, it was determined that the schools' administration would be involved to some extent. E-mails were thus sent to school heads at several schools located in cities in an area in southern Sweden, with a brief description of the background to the study and its focus on primary schools offering English-medium instruction.

One school responded in the affirmative, with an invitation to a meeting at the school to discuss the scope of the study. This meeting with the school head resulted in permission to present the study proposal to staff at a meeting in order to recruit teachers for participation in the study. At this meeting of Grade 4 teachers, one teacher indicated an interest in participating. Participants at the school were then recruited through what might best be described as a snowball sampling (Bryman, 2016, p. 415), as this teacher opened up for recruiting student participants by extending an invitation to visit the class and inform the students of the study.

After discussing the matter with the teacher, it was determined that providing information in the two languages of instruction would be sufficient. Upon visiting the class, students were given oral and written information about the study in Swedish and English, and the written information was sent home with the students together with consent forms in both languages, to be signed by both students and guardians. After it was established that the class would participate in the longitudinal study, other teachers who were involved with the class were approached in order to gain permission to observe lessons with the class. Although most teachers agreed, some chose to abstain for various reasons, and were therefore not interviewed. During
classes with these teachers, at times the researcher stayed with the class for the lessons, but did not record them. At other times, the researcher remained behind in the classroom, taking photographs of classroom displays and materials as well as of students' work.

When other school heads did not respond to the initial inquiry, a follow-up e-mail was sent in an attempt to recruit additional schools for participation. Although some schools once again did not respond, one school head responded in the negative, stating that the school would not participate. Two school heads, however, later agreed to meet and discuss the proposed study. At these meetings, the school heads indicated an interest in participating. However, after one of them consulted with members of staff, it was determined that participation in the study was not appropriate at that point. Meanwhile, time constraints limited possibilities for data collection at the other school, resulting in the selection of the original school for the case study presented here.

During the data collection, the researcher alternated between sitting in a back corner of the classroom, taking notes and photographs of the whiteboard, and walking around the classroom, taking pictures of students' work and listening to conversations during group work. When recording lessons, a digital audio recorder (a Sony IC Recorder ICD-AX412 in Grades 4 and 5, an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder VN-731PC in Grade 6) was placed on a desk at the front of the classroom near the whiteboard. During group work such as in a Science Fair unit in Grade 5, a total of four digital audio recorders (one Sony IC Recorder ICD-AX412 and three Olympus Digital Voice Recorders VN-732PC) were placed at different locations in the classroom, on desks near groups of students who had agreed to participate in the study. Students were seated in rows facing the whiteboard, with the teacher's desk placed in front of it.
5.3 Data types

Several sources of data were used in the various studies included in this thesis, including documents, audiorecorded interviews, audio recordings and fieldnotes from lesson observations, and photos.

*Table 1: Data types used in the study*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data types</th>
<th>Specification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td>policy texts, brochures, school web page, schedules, statistics, instructional materials, student texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audiorecorded staff interviews</td>
<td>9 hrs 16 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audiorecorded student interviews</td>
<td>5 hrs 30 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audiorecorded lesson observations</td>
<td>63 hrs 40 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photos</td>
<td>school and classroom landscape, instructional materials, student texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldnotes</td>
<td>268 A4 pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Classroom observations</td>
<td>97 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants were continually asked for their permission prior to audio recording and photos being taken, as a way of reminding them that their participation was voluntary. Although some students who chose to not participate in the study were present during the audio recorded lessons, these students were not identified, nor were their texts photographed.

5.3.1 Documents

In addition to national policy documents such as the Swedish Language Act, part of the Swedish Education Act, and the Ordinance for Compulsory School, local policy documents such as the staff handbook, student guidelines, and class schedules were obtained from participants at the school. In addition to this, promotional brochures, the school's website, and photographs of texts such as the school's code of conduct that were displayed in various locations around the school provided information about the school's stated aims as well as the school's linguistic landscape.

5.3.2 Lesson observations

Fieldnotes of each observed lesson were kept in spiralbound A4 notebooks. In these notebooks, notes included sketches of the classroom layout, lesson topics and activities, materials, and events or participant comments of par-
ticular interest. Participants and their language choices were noted, as well as phenomena that generated questions to later follow up with participants.

Audio recordings of lessons in which teachers and students gave permission were made, after a length of time had been spent with the class in order to establish familiarity with the researcher. Due to the noise level in subjects such as Physical Education and Wood and Metal Crafts, the decision was made to not record these lessons. Music lessons, meanwhile, were not recorded at the request of the teacher. Further, as substitute teachers had not been given prior information about the study, and were not involved with the class for extended periods during the data collection cycles, lessons with these staff members were not included in the study and were not recorded. In addition to audio recordings and fieldnotes taken during lesson observations, further data was gathered in the form of paper copies of instructional materials as well as photos of the classroom and student texts.

5.3.3 Interviews

Over the course of the three school years that data collection took place, a total of 22 students, 12 teachers and one school leader were interviewed using a semi-structured interview format and audiorecorded on a digital audio recorder (a Sony IC Recorder ICD-AX412). After consulting previous ethnographically inspired studies of CLIL and EMI in Swedish schools (e.g., Lim Falk, 2008; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014), interview guides were developed that addressed relevant background information as well as perspectives about languages and the EMI program. Due to schedule constraints, it was often a challenge finding times during which staff and students could be interviewed, as was finding appropriate spaces for the interviews. As students often had after-school commitments, many of these interviews took place during recess or lunch breaks, and were therefore of necessity relatively short in duration, usually between 15-30 minutes each. Staff interviews were at times scheduled during their planning time in the middle of the school day or after school, lasting between approximately 15-90 minutes each. Most of the interviews were done individually; however, one staff interview was done with two teachers together, as the teacher of interest had invited a colleague to join in. Although this colleague did not teach the class in question, this additional teacher's statements contributed to the body of data concerning the school and the EMI program.

Likewise, two students in the class chose to sit in on each other's interviews, preferring to share their thoughts with each other as well as the interviewer. In these interviews, questions were directed to the individual participants, while also allowing time for any ensuing discussions between the participants. During the interviews, interview guides were consulted in order to ensure that all participants were asked similar questions about such things as participants' knowledge of languages, educational backgrounds and
thoughts about the EMI program (see Appendix). Through the use of data gathered from these interviews, participants' views about the teaching and learning of content and language contributed to an understanding of their perspectives, as were also seen in their comments and practices during lesson observations (for a further discussion of interviews as a research instrument, see for example Borg, 2006; Bryman, 2016; Kvale, 1997; Talmy, 2011).

5.4 Participants

Although other members of staff and students at the school knew of the study and were present during many observations as well as interacted with the researcher in informal conversations, they were not actually participants in the study, as they did not sign consent forms nor take part in interviews. The following sections therefore present those staff members and students who did take part in the study.

5.4.1 Staff

A total of 13 members of staff agreed to participate in the study, including one school leader and 12 teachers. Of these, four teachers (Ellen, Mike, Peter, and Sarah) were native speakers of English, teaching their subjects more or less exclusively through English (hereafter referred to as EMI teachers). Mike, however, knew Swedish as well, having lived in Sweden and having taught at the school for several years. Six of the teachers who taught through Swedish (hereafter referred to as SwMI teachers) were native speakers of Swedish (Barbro, Bert, Erika, Frank, Karin, and Paula), while two teachers (Diana and Rana) who taught through Swedish were native speakers of other languages, having learned Swedish after having moved to Sweden.
Table 2: Staff participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Years of teaching experience</th>
<th>Subjects taught to the study's class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nina</td>
<td>school leader</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbro</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bert</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SSL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erika</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Swedish, English, Mathematics, Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Swedish, Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Swedish, Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paula</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana</td>
<td>SwMI teacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SSL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td>EMI teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mathematics, Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>EMI teacher</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>EMI teacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>English, Mathematics, Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>EMI teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Art</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While several of the teachers already had a teacher's qualification from Sweden or an English-majority country, two were currently pursuing such a qualification alongside their teaching responsibilities. For some teachers, such as Erika, Rana, Ellen, and Peter, this was their first full-time teaching position after receiving their teacher's qualification. Meanwhile, other teachers such as Barbro, Diana, Frank, Paula, and Sarah had experience teaching at other schools before choosing to work at this school.

5.4.2 Students

Of the 32 students participating in the study, none had English as a mother tongue. Nineteen students in the class reported speaking mainly Swedish at home, while thirteen students were multilingual, regularly speaking other languages in addition to Swedish with family members. While some of these students were born in Sweden, a few had moved there somewhat recently, including Hyun-Sook, a student who joined the class shortly after arriving in Sweden and whose knowledge of Swedish was therefore limited. Some students left while others joined the class at various points of the study; therefore, not all students participated in the study during all three school years.
Table 3: Students' knowledge of languages and participation in the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Knowledge of other language(s) in addition to Swedish and English</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Grade 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadar</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nea</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulos</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyun-Sook</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namo</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasmin</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taariq</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachan</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahiire</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annika</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bella</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kristoffer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wille</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emil</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some students (Boulos, Hanna, Harry, and Taariq) changed to a different class at the school, while some other students (Emil, Hyun-Sook, and Jenny) chose to re-enroll at their previous school for various reasons. As these students left, places opened up for students from other classes or from the school's waiting list.

Although most of the students in the class were eager to participate in the study, some students (and/or their parents) preferred to not be included. Other students forgot to turn in the consent form, and were consequently not specifically included in the data collection, although they were present during lesson observations. During audio recordings of group work, care was taken to place the audio recorders with groups in which all group members had consented to participate in the study.

5.5 Transcription and translation

Rough transcriptions (see Transcription conventions) were made of audio recordings of interviews and selected lessons. As the researcher had knowledge of both Swedish and English, and there were very few instances in which other languages were used in oral classroom interaction, no outside translation help was obtained. In occasions when extracts from transcriptions were included in publications and this thesis, the use of Swedish was indicated in the transcription through the use of italics. In these cases, translations to English were made by the researcher as necessary, with the English glosses indicated by pointy brackets. Different languages were thus distinguished from each other in this way, in order to make participants' language choices explicit (see for example Table 4 in section 5.7.2).

5.6 Ethical considerations

In keeping with the Swedish Research Council’s guidelines for research ethics (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011), participants were given written and oral information about the research plan as well as its aims and methods. Participation in the study would be voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time up until publication, and pseudonyms would be used to ensure the anonymity of participants. Further, the school name and specific geographical location would not be mentioned, and the raw data would be stored in a secure manner. As the research involved children under the age of 15, guardians were also informed of the study and given consent forms (see Appendix) to sign together with the students. Those students who chose not to participate or did not return the consent form were not in focus, although care was taken not to single them out for exclusion from the study.
5.7 Analysis

In each of the studies, a variety of data sources were analyzed separately and then together for purposes of triangulation. Three approaches to analysis were used in the different studies, as will be briefly described in the following sections.

5.7.1 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

It was determined that a critical approach was appropriate for the purpose of examining how different languages were positioned in the context under study. As Blackledge (2008) points out, "CDA enables researchers to make links between the structural and the interactional in studying bilingualism, connecting language ideologies and linguistic practices." (p. 296) Institutional discourses about languages and language use as articulated in national and local policy texts, school and classroom artifacts as well as in statements by staff were examined, interpreted in terms of how they were positioned by the various actors, and explained in relation to the positions of languages in the wider social context (see Blommaert, 2005).

In the Ordinance for Compulsory School (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185), for example, the section concerning tvåspråkig undervisning (bilingual instruction) was examined. The text regarding the two types of bilingual instruction, undervisning på elevens umgängesspråk (instruction through the student's social language, my translation) and engelskspråkig undervisning (English-medium instruction, my translation) were analyzed with a focus on who (stakeholders mentioned), which (languages mentioned), and how (organization of the program). While the first type of bilingual instruction was not in focus for this study, it was noted that the regulations outlining how it should be organized differed from those for EMI, which has less restrictions. Although the Ordinance specifies that instruction must ensure that students receive sufficient knowledge of Swedish to reach the knowledge requirements in all subjects (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185, 18§, my translation), no further specification is made as to how this should be achieved, while programs involving instruction through the student's social language may only be arranged through Grade 6 (except for Finnish, which may be arranged through Grade 9) and should transition toward more use of Swedish. This was interpreted as indicative of the special status of English relative to other languages of instruction in legislation regulating bilingual programs in compulsory school.

Likewise, with regard to local policy documents and institutional discourses, the positions of the various languages mentioned were interpreted in terms of their roles at the school (as primary language of instruction, as support, as forbidden), their expressed value, and how speakers of the languages
featured in the discourses. This was triangulated with the observations of language use as displayed at the school and in classrooms, in instructional materials, and as observed among participants.

5.7.2 Qualitative content analysis

For the purpose of exploring participants' perspectives regarding the EMI program, qualitative content analysis was used, primarily with the interview data and fieldnotes from lesson observations. Open coding was initially used with each transcribed interview to allow themes that seemed particularly relevant to each participant to emerge from the data. During this stage, mentions of sensitive issues and topics that were deemed to be peripheral to the study's focus, such as discussions of social disputes with classmates, were set aside. Rather, focus was on participants' beliefs and experiences in terms of languages and the learning of languages and content, particularly in relation to the EMI program. The analysis was, as Berg (2007) puts it, "related to the literature and broader concerns and to the original research questions" (p. 308).

Several themes emerged, including language learning, language development, content learning, keywords, language proficiency/native speakers, English as a world language, Swedish as a resource, other languages, language use policies, language choice, language mixing, language separation, difficulties, strategies, and resources. These themes were then considered across all of the interviews, whereby several themes were collapsed into fewer overarching themes. Meanwhile, fieldnotes were also consulted in order to consider how these themes were seen in the lesson observations. Table 4 shows some examples of how interview and fieldnote data were categorized:

Table 4: Examples of analytic categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extract from data</th>
<th>Initial theme</th>
<th>Overarching theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;engelskan är ju ett världsspråk&quot; &lt;English is a world language&gt; (school leader Nina)</td>
<td>English as a world language</td>
<td>Linguistic resources as an affordance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I find that's the best way WITH a language, you have to use it&quot; (EMI teacher Mike)</td>
<td>Language learning</td>
<td>Affordances in EMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Om jag har en engelsk lärare, då så pratar jag mer engelska, å om jag har en svensk lärare, då så pratar jag mera svenska&quot; &lt;If I have an English teacher, then I speak more English, and if I have a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote</td>
<td>Language Proficiency/Native Speakers</td>
<td>Keywords/Linguistic Resources as an Affordance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Swedish teacher, then I speak more Swedish.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Swedish as a resource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(student Nea)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's kind of a little English world inside of their Swedish world&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(EMI teacher Sarah)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[During a math class] when the teacher says &quot;Six times three, Wanda</td>
<td>Swedish as a resource</td>
<td>keywords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Tanja&quot; there is a pause, [a student] says it in Swedish, then</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanda answers &quot;eighteen.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fieldnotes, Grade 5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Keywords, ibland på proven, ja då kan man kolla. Det hjälper lite&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>keywords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Keywords, sometimes on the tests, yeah then you can look. It helps a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(student Boulos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before school begins, I notice that keywords have been posted on the</td>
<td></td>
<td>keywords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classroom bulletin board. I take pictures of them and notice that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are a number of translation mistakes in subjects taught by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English-speaking teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fieldnotes, Grade 5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Totalt sett /.../ så har vi femtio procent engelsktalande, eller</td>
<td>language proficiency/native speakers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>native speakers /.../ det ska vara så mycket native speakers som</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>det bara går&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Altogether /.../ we have fifty percent English-speaking, or native</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speakers /.../ there should be as many native speakers as possible&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(school leader Nina)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;då är det ju ENGELSKTALANDE lärare /.../ Nu är det så här, BARA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engelska, â det är lite svårt för mig&quot;</td>
<td>language proficiency/native speakers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;then it's ENGLISH-SPEAKING teachers /.../ Now it's like, ONLY Eng-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lish, and it's a little difficult for me&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(student Benjamin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;står du i korridorerna /.../ så får du inte prata ditt hemspråk med</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dina kompisar&quot;</td>
<td>other languages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;if you're standing in the hallways /.../ then you can't speak your</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home language with your friends&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SwMI teacher Barbro)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"modersmål använder vi som verktyg"  
<mother tongues we use as tools>  
(SwMI teacher Rana)

Så det blir lite svengelska ibland  
<So you get a little Swenglish sometimes>  
(SwMI teacher Paula)

"Sometimes it's hard to tell how much they understand, versus how much they're able to communicate in English"  
(EMI teacher Ellen)

Some parts of the data proved initially difficult to categorize. For example, in the following extract, more than one theme seemed to fit:

När det gäller dom nationella proven, i sexan och nian, då kan eleverna välja om dom vill ha provet på svenska eller engelska, för Skolverket ger ut proven på både svenska och engelska, så eleven får välja om dom ehm vill göra ... vilket dom vill använda /.../ Men dom ska lämna in sina svar på ett ... Men om dom väljer den engelska varianten så kan dom titta i den svenska så kan dom se vad det heter på svenska också. Så dom kan välja  
<With regard to the national tests, in Grades 6 and 9, then the students can choose if they want the test in Swedish or in English, because the National Agency for Education provides the tests in both Swedish and English, so the student can choose if they umm want to do ... which they want to use /.../ But they have to turn in their answers on one ... But if they choose they English version they can look at the Swedish one so they can see what it is called in Swedish too. So they can choose>

Extract 1: Example of categorization difficulty from school leader interview

Although Nina's above description of the school's routines for providing national tests in both languages of instruction could potentially be categorized as Swedish as a resource, strategies, or language choice, it was determined that this could instead be placed within an overarching category of affordances in translanguaging, in accordance with this study's theoretical lens. Likewise, mentions of the school's policy of recruiting native speakers of English from outside of Sweden were initially categorized as language proficiency/native speakers. However, in the various interviews with staff, mentions of "native speakers" were in some cases described as potential affordances while described as potential constraints in others. In order to more clearly illustrate the complex nature of the situation, this initial category was changed to suit the theoretical lens as well as to better reflect the participants' own perspectives. The category language proficiency/native speak-
er was thus divided into the categories linguistic resources as an affordance and linguistic resources as a constraint.

Themes related to subject-specific language, such as mentions of keywords, were likewise difficult to categorize, as in most cases they seemed to fit into both of the categories language development and content learning. It was therefore difficult to determine which category such mentions belonged to; there is no content without language and no language without content. However, when considered from the perspective of affordances and constraints, mentions of keywords being provided were categorized as linguistic resources as an affordance, while incorrectly translated keywords as noted in fieldnotes were categorized as linguistic resources as a constraint; meanwhile, mentions of concerns about development of subject-specific Swedish were placed in a larger overarching category called constraints in EMI (see Table 4 above). From the perspective of affordances and constraints, additional themes from the data also emerged as relevant to the participants, including the value of the school's approach to behavior management. Although this was not considered to be directly related to the study's focus on language, it was nonetheless a key factor in participants' perceptions of the school, and was categorized as an affordance, as participants perceived it to provide an advantageous learning environment.

5.7.3 Classroom discourse/translanguaging analysis

In classroom discourse, student-teacher interaction is generally guided by the teacher, whereas group work is often characterized by student-led interaction (Dalton-Puffer, 2007). Therefore, it might be expected that a teacher's language choices would dictate the language of students' responses. However, in multilingual classrooms where teachers and students do not necessarily share access to the same linguistic resources, language choices may depend on a number of factors specific to the different types of activities and circumstances of the interaction. As this study has investigated the affordances and constraints of participants' language choices, focus was on the available linguistic resources in the different activities as well as how participants made use of them.

Written and spoken interaction and artifacts from selected EMI lessons were coded according to the languages used, the type of activity (teacher monologue, student monologue, individual seat work, pair work/group work, or whole class interaction), the interlocutors involved in the interaction, the functions of the use of Swedish (note: based on categories of language alternation in Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 159), and whether it was teacher-directed or student-directed translanguaging (see Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). As the interlocutors' linguistic repertoires varied in terms of their knowledge of the lan-
guages of instruction, this was also noted in the analysis, as it was relevant in
terms of their language choices.

1 Teacher: OK class, we'll be starting our Science Fair today, that's the ques-
tion Kim asked. Science Fair is all about building a machine. The ma-
chines that you're gonna be building. You don't need your notebooks for
this unit. You guys are gonna be getting a little Science Fair diary
2 Ss: Yay!
3 Teacher: that you're going to be working in
4 S: Tell us the groups
5 Kim: Alla bara "yay!" <Everyone's just like "yay!" >
6 Teacher: I'm gonna tell you uh what we're gonna focus on today. All right.
   So I'm gonna introduce what these types of machines are

Extract 2: Example of translanguaging in whole class interaction

In the above example, the teacher Peter introduced the unit of study. As part
of the analysis of the classroom discourse in the Science lesson, Peter's
knowledge of English and limited knowledge of Swedish was noted, as well
as his use of English in the oral interaction, the use of written English on the
whiteboard, in the website displayed on the screen, and in the instructional
materials provided to the students (a Science Fair booklet with a description
of the tasks involved). Likewise, the use of English in responses by students
(who had knowledge of both Swedish and English) in lines 2 and 4 was not-
ed, as well as their intended audience (Peter). Meanwhile, the use of Swedish
by the student Kim (who was proficient in both Swedish and English) in line
5 was directed toward her Swedish-speaking classmates, and was catego-
rized as filling a social function (note: this function was not included in the
model of alternation used by Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014).

Group work was generally characterized by more frequent use of Swedish
among Swedish-speaking interlocutors, with English primarily featuring as
single subject-specific terms or in questions and comments directed toward
the teacher, Peter, as well as in interaction with a classmate whose
knowledge of Swedish was limited (see section 6.5.2). Individual seat work
was primarily written in English, although some of the students' notes in-
cluded Swedish:
In the above image of a student's Science Fair diary notes, the use of English in notes copied from the whiteboard was noted, as well as the use of Swedish in the student's brainstorming ideas for the purpose of the machine that was to be built as part of the Science Fair project ("1. Vattna en växt" <Water a plant> "2. Skära ett äpple" <Cut an apple> "3. Smälta en isbit" <Melt an ice cube> "4. Sätta tandkräm på tandborste" <Put toothpaste on a toothbrush>). Use of self-directed Swedish in the student's notes was categorized as filling the function of facilitation of task completion (see Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 159), which could also be seen in students' group work.

Figure 2: Translanguaging in individual seat work
5.8 Researcher reflexivity

It should be noted that the findings presented here are the result of my interpretations of the data as seen through the theoretical lenses described previously. In addition to the questions that have been raised about the relative positions of various languages in Swedish EMI as a result of adopting a critical perspective, my positioning as a researcher can be considered in relation to my own subjective perspectives (see Parker-Jenkins, 2016). These have likely been shaped by my own bilingual and bicultural experiences growing up in the USA and Sweden, by my experiences as a parent raising bilingual children who have attended bilingual English-Swedish schools, by my background as a Science and language teacher, and as a graduate student interested in multilingualism and bilingual education.

I position myself as a native speaker of both Swedish and English, and as such I could be considered to be either an insider by native speakers of each language, or an outsider, depending on how the participants identify themselves and me in terms of belonging to a specific speech community (for a discussion of native speaker positionality, see Hult, 2014). Further, my role as a researcher coming from a department involved with teacher education may have positioned me as an authority in the context under study; however, I emphasized that my interest in this educational model stemmed from my personal background as well as my experiences as a teacher, which may have allowed me to be accepted to some extent as an insider within the school community. Although I made it clear that I did not want to disturb the class's routines, taking care to stay in the background and remain as unobtrusive as possible, both teachers and students were aware of my status as a native speaker of English and Swedish. Some of the SwMI teachers therefore consulted me a few times regarding the translation of certain words to English, as did a few students. On these occasions, I provided brief answers, and the discussions would generally resume without me as I returned to my position of silent observation. Interestingly, the EMI teachers generally did not request translation help from me, and although I observed instances in which some keywords were incorrectly translated to Swedish (see section 6.4), I did not call attention to this, as I did not want to influence or interfere with the classroom instruction.
6 Findings

This chapter begins with summaries of the three studies that comprise the thesis followed by a description of the school setting and participants. The findings are thereafter presented as related to the main study's research questions, and connected to each other as well as to the theoretical framework.

6.1 Summary of Study I - English first: Policy and practice in a Swedish EMI primary class

Study I explored how languages of instruction are addressed in national and local education policies that regulate English-medium instruction in a Swedish compulsory school, as well as how policies are interpreted and implemented by the actors at hand. The study took a critical approach in its interpretation of the relative positions that languages are assigned in the wider context in question, taking into account the notions of English as a language of power, linguistic hegemony, and monolingual norms, as well as mother tongues as minoritized languages. Institutional discourses as expressed in policy documents such as Sweden's Language Act, sections of the Education Act concerning compulsory school and the Ordinance for Compulsory School, staff handbook, and student guidelines were analyzed together with data from staff interviews and classroom observations, revealing a language hierarchy in which English (particularly native speakers of English) was privileged. As the other language of instruction and Sweden's principal language, Swedish was valued as well; meanwhile, other languages, such as multilingual students' other mother tongues, were afforded little space in the mainstream classroom.

Although English does not have an official status in Swedish policy documents, it nonetheless occupies an elevated position as compared to many other languages. In the Swedish education system, English is a core subject throughout compulsory school, and is generally the first foreign language to be learned. While other languages, such as mother tongues and modern languages, may be studied in compulsory school, they are not obligatory and are allotted far less time in the curriculum. Further, with regard to languages of instruction for content subjects, national policies allow for greater flexibility in English-medium instruction as compared to other forms of bilingual
education in terms of guidelines for implementation, such as teacher qualifications. Local teacher recruitment policies may therefore focus on teachers who are native speakers of the target language, without particular consideration for training that includes second language perspectives.

6.2 Summary of Study II - Stakeholder beliefs in English-medium instruction for young learners in Sweden

Study II investigated how staff and students in a Swedish compulsory school viewed the teaching and learning of content and languages in the English-medium program in terms of affordances and constraints, taking language ideologies and a content-based language enrichment framework as its theoretical point of departure. Qualitative content analysis of the data, which included semi-structured interviews with a school leader, 12 teachers, and 22 students as well as fieldnotes and photographs from classroom observations, revealed the perception that proficiency in English is acquired "for free" in the program, where native speakers of English teach content subjects through the target language. Because content comprehension and communication with non-Swedish-speaking teachers was especially challenging for many of the young learners when they first encountered the EMI subjects, teachers and students highlighted the use of Swedish in peer interaction as a potential means for aiding meaning-making. Swedish was thus positioned in terms of its supportive role in English-medium subjects. However, other languages, such as the mother tongues of multilingual students, were not considered to be resources for learning in the mainstream classroom. Also, with respect to disciplinary literacy in Swedish in English-medium subjects, few opportunities for development were provided. This was a matter of concern among the participants, as this could impact students’ future Swedish-medium studies in these subjects.

6.3 Summary of Study III - Agency and affordance in translanguaging for learning: Case studies from English-medium instruction in Swedish schools

Study III is a book chapter co-authored with BethAnne Yoxsimer Paulsrud. It focuses on practices and perspectives of translanguaging in two case studies of English-medium instruction, looking at a Grade 5 Swedish primary school classroom and a year 1 Swedish upper secondary school classroom where the subjects of Mathematics and Science were taught through English.
Drawing on theoretical perspectives from translanguaging and the notions of agency and affordance, Study III makes use of linguistic ethnographic data from two larger studies (Toth's study of EMI in a Swedish primary school and Yoxsimer Paulsrud's (2014) study of EMI in Swedish upper secondary schools) to examine the patterns of language choices in the classroom, considering how agency and affordance connect to the translanguaging processes observed. Fieldnotes, artifacts and audio recordings of lesson observations as well as interviews with teachers and students in both school contexts were analyzed, revealing how participants made use of both English and Swedish as resources for teaching and learning in the EMI classrooms.

In the upper secondary school EMI classroom, the bilingual teacher Sam used English for whole-class instruction, but also employed Swedish in one-on-one and small group interaction to check students' comprehension of the content. Meanwhile, Peter, the native English-speaking Mathematics and Science teacher in Grade 5, taught only through English, as he had limited knowledge of Swedish. However, in order to bridge the communication gap that sometimes arose between Peter and students who had limited proficiency in English, Peter encouraged the use of Swedish among students for translation and clarification purposes as a collaborative scaffolding strategy.

6.4 The school setting

The school, which at the time of the study had offered the EMI profile for Grades 4–9 for several years, was a large urban independent school with a linguistically and socioeconomically diverse student body. Students were enrolled based on a first-come, first-served basis, with no particular language proficiency or international background requirements (as opposed to international schools, which are geared toward students residing in Sweden for a limited time; see Toth, 2017). Local students as well as students from other municipalities attended the school, having been offered places there either according to their place on the waiting list, or as a result of a sibling already being enrolled at the school. For the class in this study, the majority of the students began at the school in Grade 4, the first year they could enroll at the school. Students at the school were guaranteed places there throughout the duration of compulsory school through Grade 9. However, as some students transferred to other schools, places opened up for students on the waiting list. In part due to the school's reputation for academic success, places at the school were highly coveted. Many students had been placed on the waiting list by their parents at an early age, as the school was considered to provide an advantageous learning environment. Signs with motivational messages and information about upcoming school events were posted in English in common areas and hallways, and examples of student work were displayed on bulletin boards and walls around the school.
In Grades 4 and 5, the class in question had home classrooms where they had most of their lessons. Homework assignments for various subjects were written up on the whiteboard at the front of the classroom, with Swedish-medium subjects written in Swedish and English-medium subjects written in English. The daily lesson schedule was also written in English on the whiteboard. Several bilingual English-Swedish dictionaries were available in a bookshelf in the classroom, together with various fiction and non-fiction books in English and Swedish from which students could choose to read during independent reading time in English and Swedish lessons. A large bulletin board on the wall to the right of the whiteboard/projector wall displayed keywords in English and Swedish for different subjects:

![Keywords for various subjects in Grade 5](image)

As seen in Figure 3 above, teachers thus posted lists of keywords in English and Swedish for units currently under study in their subjects; however, translations to Swedish were not always accurate in keywords for EMI subjects. For example, in the list of keywords for a geometry unit in Mathematics ("Keywords MA"), the Swedish translation provided for the word "Edge" is given as *Edge*, which is incorrect; it could rather be translated as *Kant*. However, although this was not remarked upon or changed, another incorrect
translation was. The Swedish translation for "Degree" was initially given as *examen* (which refers to an academic degree), but was later crossed out by a bilingual Swedish-English teacher and replaced with the Swedish word *grader* ("degrees" as used in geometry). In Grade 6, keywords were at times written up on the whiteboard for students to copy into their notebooks, but were not provided in every lesson.

All members of staff were expected to be proficient in English, as it was the school's working language. According to the school's promotional materials, the school was characterized by an international atmosphere, with native speakers of English from around the world teaching through English. This was promoted as both a means for students to develop proficiency in English as well as fostering bilingualism, one of the school's aims.

*Table 5: Proportion of EMI/SwMI during Grades 4–6*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructional time by language</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Grade 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total EMI (average in minutes/week)</td>
<td>240 min/week</td>
<td>660 min/week</td>
<td>720 min/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total SwMI (average in minutes/week)</td>
<td>930 min/week</td>
<td>600 min/week</td>
<td>510 min/week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Amount of time for each subject in each grade is given in minutes per week based on class schedules (table adapted from Toth, 2017, p. 225)*

For the class in the study, Grade 4 was an introductory year, with only two classes taught entirely in English by native English speakers: Art and Physical Education. As it was their first year at the school, students were expected to thereby become gradually accustomed to the English-medium instruction in practical-aesthetic subjects before the proportion of EMI increased in Grade 5, as seen above in Table 4. Although the Ordinance for Compulsory School dictated a restriction of no more than 50% EMI overall, staff members indicated that more subjects taught in English was seen as desirable at the school, and an increase in the proportion of EMI was seen over the three years of the study.

### 6.5 Language ideologies in Swedish EMI

By combining the three studies, the overarching research question concerning language ideologies was explored as discourses articulated in policy documents and expressed by participants in interviews as well as observed practices in the context under study. English, for example, was positioned as
a communicative resource in the global community and thus a means to success. A school leader, Nina, explained that as a world language, English was a door opener beyond Sweden's borders, and was a key to communication. Students likewise valued English highly, as the student Benjamin stated below:

Engelska är ju ett världsspråk så det kan ju nästan alla. Så då kan man kommunicera med alla, nästan alla personer i hela världen /.../ det är engelska som kan eh rädda ens ekonomi å framtid

<English is a world language so almost everyone knows it. So then you can communicate with everyone, almost every person in the whole world /.../ it's English that can uh save your finances and future>

Extract 3: Benjamin, student in Grade 5

Benjamin's statement thus highlights the perspective that English is associated with not only linguistic capital, but economic capital as well (see Björkman, 2014). Several participants also made mention of the association with strict discipline and behavioral standards, as this was considered to be typical of school cultures in English-speaking countries, and an advantage in terms of providing a good learning environment.

In its promotional materials, the school was described as having an international atmosphere, with native English-speaking teachers from around the world. The school was thus portrayed as helping students to achieve fluency in English through an environment modeled after language immersion. In such a model, stakeholders may believe that language learning occurs incidentally (see Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 2003; Malmström et al., 2016; Pecorari et al., 2011; Toth, submitted) through a process that mimics "natural language acquisition" (Dutro & Moran, 2003, p. 228) by way of exposure to and interaction with native speakers of the language.

6.5.1 Native speakers of English

According to the school's recruitment policy, teachers who were native speakers of English were hired to teach the subjects of Physical Education, English, Mathematics, and Science from Grade 5. In addition to these subjects, aesthetic subjects such as Art were to be taught in English by native English speakers when possible, as the head of the school wanted to maximize the number of native English-speaking teachers (see Toth, 2017). English-medium teaching positions at the school were advertised on message boards and at employment fairs at institutions providing teacher education in English-majority countries such as Canada. At times, representatives from the school also travelled to such institutions to recruit new teachers to fill positions left by other native English-speaking teachers. For new teachers in
Canada, such as the EMI teachers Peter and Ellen, this was an opportunity to gain teaching experience that could improve chances for employment in Canada later:

it's really hard to get a job in Canada right now /.../ a full-time teaching job /.../ there's too many teachers, not enough jobs /.../ which is the opposite problem that Sweden has

Extract 4: Ellen, EMI Mathematics and Science teacher

As Ellen points out above, this arrangement benefits both the recent graduates of teacher training programs in Canada, as well as the schools in Sweden, where shortages of qualified teachers are a problem for education providers. According to the school leader Nina, recruiting outside of Sweden had historically been easier for the school. While Swedish teachers are required to have a Swedish teacher's license in order to set grades, teachers who teach through English are exempt from this requirement (see Toth, 2017). However, turnover among these teachers was relatively high at the school, as they were given one-year contracts with the option to renew if they chose to stay. Although some teachers made use of this option, others left after a brief stay at the school. The Swedish-medium instruction (SwMI) teacher Barbro saw this as problematic:

när det blir en stor ruljans, varje år eller vartannat år, så blir det ju att- så lär man inte känna eleverna, då blir det problematiskt
<when there is a big turnover, every year or every other year, it's like- you don't get to know the students, and then it becomes a problem>

Extract 5: Barbro, SwMI Music teacher

Such short-term periods of employment were considered to have a negative impact on these teachers' knowledge of the students. Further, as these teachers had been in Sweden for a relatively short time, their knowledge of the Swedish school system and the Swedish language was limited as well. Most of the EMI teachers therefore communicated with other staff members and the students exclusively in English, whereas their SwMI colleagues, who were bilingual in Swedish and English, make use of both languages.

The SwMI teacher Erica explained that the students tended to speak Swedish with her, rather than English, as they knew that she understood Swedish:

eftersom dom vet att jag förstår allt /.../ då vet ju dom, ”nej men Erika förstår när jag pratar, ehm, även om jag pratar på svenska”
However, when they were taught by native English-speaking teachers, students were generally expected to use English in oral and written communication with the teachers. By "forcing" the students to use English with the native English speakers who did not know Swedish, it was believed that students developed their proficiency through a more natural approach as compared to English lessons in traditional schools, where it was much more common for teachers and students to use Swedish during English lessons.

6.5.2 Language hierarchies

English had a particularly high status at the school. As the program aimed to develop students' fluency in English, English was the designated language of the corridors, in addition to the EMI lessons. Further, English was present even in Swedish-medium subjects, featuring in translations of keywords as well as in classroom management. Local policies as expressed in the staff handbook and promotional materials stated that the English language and culture were to permeate the school. While information to parents/guardians was to be provided in both Swedish and English, it was in some cases only provided in English, such as when it originated from non-Swedish-speaking staff. In Grade 5, for example, although digital information about the Science Fair unit was available in both Swedish and English, the printed information packet that was sent home with the students was only in English. Further, in some cases, Swedish-speaking staff such as the SwMI teacher Barbro chose to communicate students' results in English, such as the level of grading criteria achieved each term:

/all of the grading criteria that we have on [the learning platform], where we fill them in, are in both Swedish and in English /.../ I only fill in the ones in English. Because I don't know which teacher they'll have the following year. So I think it's good so that the teachers who come after, maybe English-speaking, are able to see what the students have accomplished/
Karin, another SwMI teacher, expressed a desire to incorporate even more English in her teaching, in order to take advantage of the students' enthusiasm for learning the language:

"ibland känner jag att jag vill ha in mer engelska /.../ man kan inte undervisa svenska på engelska, det förstår jag, men ibland så känner jag att jag skulle vilja ha in ännu mer engelska /.../ För nu när dom ändå är så hungriga att öppna å vågar, så tror jag att det är bra att slänga in lite mer "

sometimes I feel like I want to bring in more English /.../ you can't teach Swedish in English, I understand that, but sometimes I feel like I would like to bring in even more English /.../ Because now while they're so hungry [to learn] and open and dare [to speak English], I think it's good to throw in some more

Extract 8: Karin, SwMI Swedish and Social Science teacher

Meanwhile, although Swedish was the other language of instruction at the school, it occupied a secondary position in relation to English. Over the course of the three years of the study, the proportion of English-medium instruction increased, while the proportion of Swedish-medium instruction decreased (see Toth, 2017). As the Ordinance for Compulsory School (Utbildningsdepartementet 2011:185) only specifies that the overall proportion of English-medium instruction is to be up to 50%, this was not considered to be an issue at the school; in fact, according to a member of staff, the principal wanted there to be as many native speakers (and thus English-medium instruction) as possible (see Toth, 2017). According to the school's policy, English was also to be the language used among the staff as well as among students when EMI teachers were present, out of consideration for the non-Swedish-speaking teachers. However, some SwMI teachers admitted that this was not always followed among the Swedish-speaking staff, as some of them felt that the English-speaking teachers should learn Swedish. As the EMI teacher Mike (who was also proficient in Swedish) pointed out:

"we're meant to be a bilingual school /.../ and in fact a lot of the rules that they have, a lot of the teachers don't follow, mainly because they can't. That you're meant to have all the keywords for your lessons written up in English and then in Swedish /.../ So you're meant to use both languages /.../ A lot of the times, it's not, because a lot of the English-speaking teachers can't /.../ Cause they don't know any Swedish"

Extract 9: Mike, EMI English teacher

Regardless, despite their own limited proficiency in Swedish, EMI teachers often provided Swedish translations of keywords, albeit occasionally incorrect ones (see Figure 3 in section 6.4). This could nominally be considered to
satisfy the school’s commitment to supporting students with content learning through the use of Swedish and promoting bilingualism, as stated in the staff handbook (see Toth, 2017). However, even when students were observed discussing lesson topics in Swedish amongst themselves, they used the subject-specific terms in English, rather than the Swedish keywords. As the EMI teacher Ellen pointed out, without reinforcement through repetition and use, the Swedish keywords were given little attention, and were not learned by the students (see Toth, submitted).

Other languages, such as the mother tongues spoken by the multilingual students in the class, were barely acknowledged and were more or less invisible in the mainstream classroom. Although the SwMI teacher Erika initially provided a newly arrived student with keyword lists translated into Swedish and the student’s mother tongue, and the student had access to a bilingual dictionary as well as Google Translate during lessons, there was no use of the mother tongue observed beyond the student’s individual work. Other multilingual students’ mother tongues were not brought into play, as these students were considered to have sufficient command of Swedish to be able to benefit from peer discussions in Swedish; in fact, the EMI teacher Ellen stated that she was not aware of what other languages were spoken by her students. As English and Swedish were the languages of instruction and other languages were not permitted in the mainstream classroom (see Toth, 2017), multilingual students’ mother tongues were marginalized and not treated as resources for learning (for a discussion of invisibilized language practices and linguistic repertoires, see Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Solano-Campos, 2017). At this school, where bilingualism was mentioned in school documents as an aim, the emphasis was on bilingualism in English and Swedish, rather than multilingualism that included students’ other languages (see Skinnari & Nikula, 2017).

6.5.3 Separation rather than integration

Although an explicit aim of the program was bilingualism, the organization of the program suggested a system of parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999), as subjects were taught more or less monolingually in either Swedish or English. As the SwMI teacher Barbro pointed out:

*våra lärare som undervisar i engelska kan bara engelska. Så dom kan ju inte så att säga göra det tvåspråkigt på något sätt /.../ Så det är ju också ett perspektiv att tänka ur egentligen, när vi ska ha en tvåspråkig skola, så är det en tvåspråkig skola, men det är ju inte tvåspråkigt i alla ämnen*

*our teachers who teach in English only know English. So they can’t exactly make it bilingual in some way /.../ So that’s also a perspective to consider really, when we’re supposed to have a bilingual school, that it is a bilingual school, but it’s not bilingual in all subjects*
As a result of the school's policy of recruiting native English speakers from English-majority countries to teach certain subjects, these subjects could be considered to be an English domain at the school. Although Swedish-speaking teachers were proficient in English as well, they taught their subjects in Swedish. The SwMI teacher Barbro explained that although aesthetic subjects were generally taught in English, it would have been pointless for her to teach her subject in "scanty" English, as Swedish was her mother tongue.

Similarly, content and language were treated as separate domains as well, with little integration observed in EMI lessons such as Art, Mathematics and Science. Aside from the use of keywords, the EMI content teachers made limited mention of the language of their subjects, as the EMI teacher Ellen stated:

in terms of the English to Swedish stuff... yeah, it's mostly like keywords /.../
in terms of like doing Powerpoints and things I'll /.../ translate words... that if I think that it's a word that they're gonna have trouble with, and things like that /.../ try and do videos and things ... to give them some visual cues if they're having trouble with the language as well. ummm... yeah that's most of it. There isn't really that much language

As they did not have specific language training, these teachers focused on the subject content rather than language issues, resulting in little or no attention to linguistic aspects of the subject being taught (see Dalton-Puffer, 2011).

6.6 Affordances and constraints in Swedish EMI

While participants were generally positive in their assessment of the English-medium program, describing benefits to students such as improved speaking skills in English, a number of challenges were seen as well.

6.6.1 Affordances

Both staff and a number of students emphasized how the program contributed to the students' increased confidence in speaking English, as a result of the practice gained from interacting with the English-speaking teachers. As the EMI Art teacher Sarah pointed out, students had "no choice" but to communicate in English with her (see Toth, submitted). She explained that
in the Art room, students learned to communicate in a natural way, without considering that they were learning a new language. In designating such spaces as English zones, the program was thought to provide the young learners with an immersive environment that encouraged use of the target language. Although many students indicated that they initially struggled with the English-medium instruction, relying heavily on proficient classmates for help with translation, most felt that they became accustomed to using English after a time, and believed that this approach greatly improved their English. Further, through the use of strategies such as collaborative scaffolding and translanguaging in EMI subjects such as Mathematics and Science, students were able to access various linguistic resources that were available in the classroom in order to make sense of the content and support their own learning, as well as that of their classmates (see Toth & Paulsrud, 2017).

In some cases, English could be used as a bridge to Swedish for students who were newly arrived in Sweden, as the student Hadar suggested:

**Extract 12: Hadar, a student in Grade 6**

The use of English as a common language could thus be an advantage, as such students would have an easier time taking part in the English-medium content instruction than if it had been in Swedish, as was the case in Social Sciences. For the newly arrived student in the class who was not planning to stay in Sweden, the EMI program offered the opportunity to develop proficiency in English, which was considered to be useful for when she returned to her home country. As developing proficiency in Swedish was not a priority, for this student the emphasis on English in the program was an advantage.

In addition to the appeal of its English language profile, the school's approach to discipline was considered to be especially attractive to parents, as it was seen as providing a structured environment that was more conducive to learning than in traditional schools. The students themselves also mentioned the school's relatively strict rules for behavior, explaining that although they initially had some reservations about the disciplinary system, they felt that it in fact brought many benefits. For example, several students mentioned that they appreciated the positive social climate at the school, which they felt had a good approach to handling conflicts, thanks to its established routines for following up on behavioral issues. However, as one
teacher pointed out, classroom management could nonetheless often be chal-
kening due to the large class sizes at the school, as the student population
was both linguistically diverse and had variety of other needs. Despite the
various support structures in place at the school, such as after-school help
sessions and access to support from a special education teacher, many teach-
ers were not always equipped to deal with these needs, particularly teachers
who were at the school for a limited time.

6.6.2 Constraints
As many EMI teachers had been in Sweden a relatively short time, they were
unable to draw on Swedish to any great extent in instruction. With regard to
the English-medium lessons, the SwMI teacher Karin could see that students
struggled quite a bit when faced with teachers who only spoke English:

dom första reaktionerna är ju "Jag förstår ingenting" /.../ av dom allra flesta
/.../ å det tror jag är lite läskigt för många. Det hade kanske varit skönt att ha
nån som kunde switcha över och dra lite grann på svenska för att förstå det.
Men det finns ju ingen sån
<the first reactions are "I don't understand anything" /.../ from most of them
[the students] /.../ and I think that's a little scary for a lot of them. It might
have been nice to have someone who could switch over and take a little in
Swedish to understand it. But there isn't someone like that>

Extract 13: Karin, SwMI Swedish and Social Science teacher

As Karin pointed out, content comprehension was a challenge for many stu-
dents when they first started having classes with the EMI teachers. Commu-
ication between these teachers and students with little knowledge of Eng-
lish was at times dependent upon support from students more proficient in
English. For example, the student Kim, who came to the school with more
knowledge of English than most of her classmates, was frequently called
upon to translate or explain things to the class in Swedish. Students such as
Kim were at an advantage, as they were able to communicate with English-
speaking teachers with more ease than their less proficient classmates. Al-
though the proficient students also functioned as mediators between their
classmates and the non-Swedish-speaking teachers, this created situations in
which there was an uneven distribution of active participation in classroom
discussions. Likewise, although some students quickly gained confidence in
speaking English, and thus participated more actively in EMI subjects, their
less confident peers sometimes hesitated before volunteering. For students
who did not feel comfortable enough to attempt to participate actively in
class discussions that were in English, a disproportionate amount of time and
attention was allotted to the more confident (and thus more orally active)
students. This could therefore mean that language became a barrier, where some students were not able to fully demonstrate their knowledge of the content. For newly arrived students who had limited knowledge of both languages of instruction and needed to learn both new languages while also studying the content subjects in additional languages, this program could be particularly challenging (see Toth, submitted).

For most students, there could also be concerns about future difficulties at Swedish-medium upper secondary school with subjects that had been taught in English at the school in the study. As the student Hanna said:

"Isn't it a little strange that /.../ if we learn for example in Science and uh, Science and Math, we learn things in English, and then, then we don't know what it is in Swedish... You ask Peter "What does this mean in Swedish?" He's just like, "I don't know." How could he know that? /.../ and then for example you come to a Swedish upper secondary school, and you don't know anything, then it'll be a little difficult /.../ But I guess you'll have to get help from your parents, maybe they know a little better Swedish, maybe translate better>

Extract 14: Hanna, a student in Grade 5

Hanna's statement echoed concerns expressed by several of her classmates as well as by some of the SwMI teachers, who described having heard of former students struggling at Swedish-medium upper secondary schools after having had subjects entirely in English at this school (see Toth, submitted).

6.6.3 Possibilities in translanguaging

As a few of the teachers point out, ideally, subjects would be taught bilingually, rather than the various subjects being assigned to different languages:

"We do have a teacher at the school, for example, who is good /.../ who is a Math teacher. He uh teaches in English AND Swedish /.../ So he uses both of his languages, then, to explain to the students. And they really appreciate that, so, if you get him as a teacher /.../ That's like really lucky>
For the majority of the EMI teachers, however, who hadn’t been in Sweden long enough to have learned that much Swedish, strategies such as those that Ellen employed could offer possibilities for students to use Swedish in learning EMI content subjects nonetheless:

what I try to do, for like Math and Science, I write- all of our tests are written in both English and Swedish /.../ cause I don't want understanding English to be a barrier to like communicating what you know about either Math or Science. And I let the students write their answers in Swedish if they need to. I tell them like, (laughs) "Only do it if you need to!" cause it's a hassle for me to sort of translate /.../ their answers and try and figure out what they're saying /.../ I'll often like use Google Translate to try and translate what they've written, but that is a very broken telephone (laughing) process, cause I'm reading like ugly Grade six writing /.../ in a language I don't understand, typing it into Google Translate, which is then giving me back kind of like garbled Google Translate /.../ version of what it says /.../ So if I have something that's very difficult to understand I'll ask another teacher that speaks- that's bilingual to kind of help me translate

Such collaboration between EMI teachers and their bilingual SwMI colleagues thus had the potential to provide spaces for bilingual teaching and learning across subject and language boundaries in the program.

6.7 Content and languages

Järvinen (2005) points out that "[i]n the majority of content-based models, language learning is a by-product to content learning" (p. 439). For content subject teachers, there is often a lack of awareness of the language demands of their subjects and the role of language in schooling (see Evnitskaya & Morton, 2011; Schleppegrell, 2004). Such a lack of awareness may have implications for students’ learning, as they may struggle with understanding the content as well as expressing their knowledge in the language of instruction. At the school in question, varying degrees of language awareness (see Skinnari & Nikula, 2017) were articulated in interviews with staff and observed in practices in terms of second language perspectives. In their interviews and in statements during Science lessons, students indicated that the subject was particularly difficult, as it was taught in English and featured many new concepts.
6.7.1 Content in an additional language

Students who had difficulty with English were generally less active in class discussions during EMI subjects such as Mathematics and Science as compared to their more proficient classmates. One student, Benjamin, explained his struggles as follows:

i början av femman på NO:n, alltså jag, jag kände ju mig helt förstörd. Alltså jag, jag ville bara försvinna. För jag förstod inte ett skvatt, jag visste inte vad vi skulle göra, jag förstod inte vad han [läsaren Peter] menade

<in the beginning of Grade 5 in Science, I just, I felt completely devastated. That is, I just wanted to disappear. Because I didn't understand a thing, I didn't know what we were supposed to do, I didn't understand what he [the EMI teacher Peter] meant>

Extract 17: Benjamin, a student in Grade 5

Faced with these difficulties, Benjamin employed the strategy of asking his classmates for help with explaining things to him in Swedish. He gradually grew accustomed to having all of the Science instruction in English, and felt that he was able to manage it reasonably well. However, even after three years in the program, some students still had trouble with Science due to language difficulties. For example, the student Bachan felt that she was not doing as well as she could in Science as a result of the language barrier, and was also concerned about her future Swedish-medium studies in this and other EMI subjects (see Toth, submitted). Although Ellen tried to support students' learning with the help of visual cues and explanations of subject-specific terms, she was not always able to explain in such a way that students could understand, as Ellen pointed out below:

Science /.../ is especially difficult for the students that don't have good English, because it is a lot of vocabulary, and then... And they don't have sort of, the related words, like... You know, if I'm- when I was trying to explain "reactant," and I'm like, "ingredients," or, like, "you're combining things" and /.../ if they don't know some of the words that I'm using to explain the word, then I think, they kind of give up

Extract 18: Ellen, EMI Mathematics and Science teacher

Some students did in fact give up, and chose to leave the English-medium program. One student, Jenny, transferred back to her previous school at the end of Grade 5, as she felt the English was too difficult, and the homework load was too much. She explained that it was manageable in Grade 4, when the teacher was bilingual in Swedish and English, but it became more difficult in Grade 5, when more subjects were taught entirely in English without
instructional support in Swedish in these subjects. Meanwhile, the student Bachan explained that she was planning on transferring to a regular Swedish-medium school by Grade 8, as she and her mother wanted to ensure that she was prepared for Swedish-medium studies at upper secondary school (see Toth, submitted).

6.7.2 Language perspectives

Although the EMI Mathematics and Science teacher Ellen was able to draw on her previous experience from teaching multilingual students during her student teaching placement in Canada, and was thus aware of some of the challenges involved with teaching and learning in an additional language, neither she nor most of the other teachers had specific training that included second language perspectives. Only the Swedish as a Second Language teachers Rana and Diana, as well as the class teacher Erika, had such a focus as part of their teacher training. The school had not offered professional development with a second language perspective either, as this was considered to be the domain of SSL, not English or other subjects taught through English. Rana explained that as the school had not previously enrolled that many newly arrived students, second language perspectives were not something that the school had considered for subjects other than SSL, saying, "This school hasn't developed a second language perspective because they haven't needed to" (Interview with Rana, my translation). Rana's statement echoed a sentiment expressed in the interview with the school leader Nina, which indicated that the school's recruitment policy did not prioritize second language training among the teachers, nor was it a priority within in-service training provided by the school. Likewise, although Ellen offered the students opportunities to use Swedish beyond peer interaction by providing test questions in both Swedish and English and allowing the students to answer in either language, she did not address language issues (aside from keywords) in her instruction, nor were they in particular focus in her assessment of students' written and oral production; the development of language proficiency was considered to be the domain of the language subject teachers.

The SwMI class teacher Erika taught English as well as Mathematics, Science, and Social Sciences, and incorporated both languages of instruction. She frequently drew students' attention to linguistic phenomena, for example by pointing out words that were similar in the two languages. The EMI teacher Peter, meanwhile, did not know Swedish, and was thus unable to address such issues. In fact, Peter's lack of knowledge of Swedish at times resulted in incorrect keyword translations, where the same English word was given as the Swedish translation (see section 6.4). Although Peter taught both the English language subject as well as the EMI content subjects Mathematics and Science, there were few instances of language focus in the con-
tent instruction. During these lessons, English was the vehicle rather than the aim.

As students were "forced" to communicate in English with their EMI teachers (and classmate) who did not have knowledge of Swedish, many of them exhibited increased confidence in their productive English skills after several months in the program, a desirable outcome with regard to one of the school's stated aims. At the same time, however, this was also a hurdle for those students who did not feel comfortable enough to attempt to participate actively in class discussions that were in English, resulting in a disproportionate amount of time and attention allotted to the more confident (and thus more orally active) students during whole-class instruction. However, during a Science Fair unit, Peter organized the student groups so that they would have mixed proficiency levels, as a way of providing opportunities for the students to support each other. In these smaller groups, where interaction was mostly in Swedish (except for the group involving the newly arrived student with limited knowledge of Swedish), all of the students were observed participating actively in the discussions and activities. In EMI lessons, peer interaction was thus the main source of Swedish.

Students' development of Swedish was primarily considered to be the domain of Swedish and Social Sciences as a Second Language lessons, although students were expected to also develop their disciplinary knowledge of Social Sciences in Swedish. While several of the students in the class qualified for SSL, only two students attended it; most chose to attend "regular" Swedish instead. The SSL teacher Diana explained that this was mostly a "question of prestige" (Interview with Diana, my translation), as parents often had negative attitudes toward the subject (for a discussion of the low status of the SSL subject, see Magnusson, 2013). Those teachers who taught Swedish and Social Sciences pointed out that many students in their classes would benefit from studying SSL instead of Swedish, as they saw a number of second language-related issues in students' written production in Swedish that needed attention, such as word order. One teacher also raised the question as to the effect that English was having on the students' Swedish in general:

> dom [eleverna] tappar ju en del svenska ord. Det är många helt vanliga svenska ord som dom inte förstår, heller
> <they [the students] lose a lot of Swedish words. There are a lot of regular Swedish words that they don't understand, either>

Extract 19: Frank, SwMI Swedish and Social Sciences teacher

Frank's SwMI colleague Paula agreed, saying that she sometimes saw a bit of "Swenglish" (Interview with Paula, my translation) in the students' writing.
Other languages, such as students' mother tongues, were only used as resources in SSL, as they were not afforded a place in the mainstream classroom. As Mother Tongues was not integrated into the regular school day, there was little opportunity for collaboration between subject teachers and these language teachers, and therefore limited opportunities for multilingual students to develop their knowledge of their mother tongues in instruction outside of the subject Mother Tongues. Aside from the SSL teachers, teachers were mostly unaware of multilingual students' language backgrounds and did not have training in how to use them as resources in the classroom.
7 Discussion and conclusions

In this chapter, the study's findings are discussed in terms of implications for EMI policy and practice in the Swedish context. Considerations for stakeholders in CLIL and EMI are addressed, followed by a discussion of limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with a summary of the study's contributions and possible future directions for research in the field of EMI.

7.1 EMI for young learners in Sweden

The school's policy of recruiting native speakers of English from English-majority countries to teach select content subjects in addition to the subject of English reflects ideological assumptions such as "the assumed universal relevance of the native speaker as a teacher of English" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 151). In the Swedish education system, where students are allowed to choose where they go to school (as long as there are positions available), schools compete with each other to attract students (and thus their vouchers). Teachers who are native speakers of English could thus represent an attractive commodity, one that adds perceived value to the education being offered, as Phillipson (2006) points out: "In the linguistic market-place, the appropriate branding of languages is a significant asset, a productive resource that is convertible into power, material and immaterial resources" (p. 151). The positioning in local discourses of English as a key to success thus reproduces its hegemonic status as a global language of power. Meanwhile, although students and SwMI teachers highlighted the importance of students learning EMI subjects such as Science in Swedish as well as for future studies at upper secondary school, this was not a consideration addressed by the EMI staff, nor a school leader; rather, Swedish was positioned as a language of support that could help facilitate learning in the English-medium content instruction, being assigned a secondary position in those subjects. However, other languages, such as multilingual students' mother tongues, were more or less rendered invisible by local policies endorsing bilingualism (rather than multilingualism or plurilingualism) and forbidding the use of languages other than the languages of instruction in school (with the exception of SSL lessons), illustrating a contradiction between this school's local policies and Swedish national policies providing official support for mother tongues as well as supranational policies such as the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001)
promoting plurilingualism. This is similar to the situation seen in "the emphasis on English-medium instruction in the current syllabus [for English at Swedish upper secondary school] ... students’ linguistic resources other than English are marginalised with respect to the development of English competence itself and to the development of plurilingualism" (Hult 2017, p. 276).

Language separation could also be seen in its organization of certain subjects being taught in English, with other subjects taught in Swedish. Although one of the program’s aims was bilingualism, the practice of arranging for EMI subjects to be taught by native English-speaking staff with limited knowledge of Swedish meant that instruction in these subjects did not provide conditions that promoted development of subject competence in Swedish. While this program may have been inspired by the success of Canadian French immersion programs, there were significant differences between the contexts, such as the status of the languages in question as well as the bilingual competence of the EMI teachers. Further, as the content subject teachers did not have language training that could have developed their language awareness strategies (see Ballinger, Lyster, Sterzuk, & Genesee, 2017), there was little focus on the specific language of the subjects, aside from key-words. Content instruction informed by second language perspectives, which would be of relevance for these students in the various subjects, was largely missing, and there was little collaboration between content and language subjects.

Staff and students expressed a conviction that this model, in which students were forced to use more English than they would in a traditional school where the use of English is limited, contributed to an improvement of their oral proficiency. Many staff members stated that students quickly grew accustomed to the English-medium content instruction, saying that they thus acquired much of the language "for free." While some students agreed with this assessment, others struggled with the English-medium content, and indicated that there was not sufficient support for them to be able to access the subject in English, despite the support that students were able to provide each other with the use of Swedish. Although this support to some extent enabled students to overcome communicative difficulties with the EMI teachers and more readily access the content, opportunities for students to demonstrate their content knowledge were nonetheless constrained by their proficiency in English and the EMI teachers’ limited knowledge of Swedish. Practices that promote the use of translanguage strategies have the potential to resist monolingual norms, including those seen in local policies that regulate language use. However, these strategies should include encouraging students to make use of all of their available linguistic resources, and not be limited to only the languages of instruction.
7.2 Implications for Swedish language-in-education policy

In European comparisons of students' language competences, Swedish students are considered to be very proficient in English, with high scores in listening, reading, and writing skills (EF English proficiency index, 2017; European Commission, 2013). However, their attitudes towards and competence in other foreign languages, such as Spanish, place them at or near the bottom of the scale (European Commission, 2013). While English is a core subject in the Swedish national curriculum with studies beginning as early as Grade 1, studies of Modern Languages in compulsory school may commence as late as Grade 7, with fewer hours in the curriculum compared to English and Swedish/Swedish as a second language (Skolverket, 2017b). As the subject Modern Languages falls under the label of språkval (language choice), students may opt out of studying them, instead choosing to have more English and/or Swedish. Likewise, many students may opt out of the subject Mother Tongues, as it is not a mandatory subject and is often timetabled after the end of the school day, when it may conflict with other activities. As a result, languages other than Swedish and English have a less prominent place in the curriculum (see Toth, 2017).

Swedish maintains its position as Sweden's principal language, one that is used in society at large; however, its previously unchallenged position as the primary language of instruction in Swedish compulsory schools has changed as a result of the Swedish national policy that opened up for a "trial implementation" (Skolverket, 2010) of English-medium instruction. As this model has established itself as a growing phenomenon in Swedish education, it is necessary to consider its implications. Although some language enrichment programs in Sweden use national minority languages, heritage languages or foreign languages (e.g., Spanish) as the instructional language, English is by far the most widely used medium of instruction, aside from Swedish. The strong position of English as compared to other languages may therefore constitute a threat to the linguistic diversity and aim of plurilingualism expressed by the very directives endorsing initiatives such as CLIL as well as other educational policy directives. As Hult (2017) has pointed out with regard to the situation for English in Swedish upper secondary schools, "[by] explicitly including plurilingualism in the syllabus, Skolverket suggests its importance even if the syllabus is largely monolingual in its approach" (p. 278). Therefore, language and education policies that deal with language learning must take into consideration not only how to implement content-based language learning programs in practice, but also the perspectives of all those who are impacted by such programs, including speakers of minoritized languages. With regard to various forms of bilingual education, the hegemonic dominance of English is further supported by Swedish national education policies that privilege English-medium instruction compared to other
languages of instruction, and local teacher recruitment policies that privilege native speakers of English to teach English-medium subjects (for a discussion of privileging NS teachers, see Ellis, 2016).

At the national level, Swedish policymakers can take steps to formulate national language and policy documents such that linguistic diversity is promoted, with languages other than English more commonly on offer as languages of instruction in content-based language enrichment programs. In addition to this, guidelines for program implementation can be provided, with clear requirements as to teachers' qualifications, dual lesson objectives for content and language, and methods for assessment.

At the local level, education authorities and school heads can familiarize themselves with content-based approaches and evaluate whether or not it is appropriate in their particular context, based on considerations such as the availability of bilingual teachers who are dually certified in the target language and the content subject. Findings from this study indicate that schools that then choose to identify their programs as ones of content-based language enrichment should ensure that the programs follow the guidelines set forth by national policies as stated above, as well as make use of a methodological framework that integrates content and language, with all that it entails. For example, bilingual curricula that specify content and language objectives for both languages of instruction could foster development of bilingualism across the curriculum. Likewise, schools that offer EMI need to actively work toward raising awareness of language-related issues in content instruction among their teachers and providing support for staff in developing teaching strategies that promote multilingual development as well as content learning. Additionally, schools must ensure access to appropriate instructional materials and resources for learners, including Study Guidance in the Mother Tongue for newly arrived students. As there are many demands involved in both teaching and learning through an additional language, it is necessary to keep in mind factors such as the specific needs of the student population when planning for and implementing content-based language learning initiatives.

While many CLIL programs may employ bilingual teachers who have knowledge of the host country's language to teach non-language subjects, some schools may instead have teacher recruitment policies that prioritize teachers who are native speakers of the target language, such as the school in this study. Students' increased confidence in their spoken English proficiency was credited to the fact that students were more or less "forced" to speak English with these non-Swedish-speaking teachers during English-medium lessons. This stance echoed the message put forth in the school's promotional materials, in which native English-speaking teachers were highlighted as a particular asset to the school. However, not all students exhibited this confidence, and many students struggled with understanding the English-medium
...content as well as demonstrating their content knowledge in English. Further, as Baetens Beardsmore (2009) has pointed out,

native-speaker-like competence is not necessarily the best qualification for CLIL programs, often because if the native speakers came from another country they are not familiar with the educational traditions or syllabus content of the country where the language is being used for part of the program. (pp. 213–214)

Teachers who are recruited from English-majority countries to teach at these programs in Sweden thus need time to familiarize themselves with the Swedish education system. However, many such teachers may only stay in Sweden for a short time before taking a position elsewhere (as was the case in this study), and there is limited time devoted to in-service training for teaching staff. Therefore, in cases where teachers are recruited from outside of Sweden, professional development for international staff is needed that addresses context-specific conditions, such as the Swedish national curriculum, subject syllabus, assessment practices, and language support. In addition to this, in-service training with a focus on second language perspectives can help raise awareness of how teachers can support students’ learning with strategies that include the use of students’ L1, such as pedagogical translanguaging. School leaders can thus take steps toward creating an environment in which all of the students' linguistic resources are acknowledged and valued. A step toward such an environment would be to provide opportunities for collaboration across subjects and languages, including SSL and Mother Tongues. These considerations need to be addressed by policymakers and educators alike.

7.3 Implications for practices in Swedish EMI

Educators can act as agents of change, interpreting and shaping policies at the classroom level (Cassels Johnson & Freeman, 2010; García & Menken, 2010; Hult, 2018; Throop, 2007) as well as within their professional communities. Although subject teachers may consider second language perspectives to be the domain of second language teachers, it is particularly important for teachers who do not share the first language of their students to develop language awareness in order to support students’ learning (see Lin, 2016; Svensson, 2016), as even subject teachers are in effect language teachers when it comes to the language of their subjects (see Airey, 2012; Skinnari & Nikula, 2017). Collaboration across subject boundaries could encourage an exchange of ideas that could potentially inform their teaching approaches. By taking part in professional development that examines their own classroom practices, for example through "construction of communities of CLIL
practitioners … [where] participants engage in 'co-exploring' theories of practice” (Coyle, 2007, p. 556), educators may thereby gain access to a network of support from which a set of best practices may be derived, a resource that may be especially useful to teachers who lack training in and experience with content-based approaches.

Further, although the use of students’ L1 has traditionally been discouraged in CLIL programs, recent studies have demonstrated its potential in meaning-making, knowledge construction, and identity purposes (Lasagabaster, 2013; Lin, 2015; Lo, 2015; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). Cenoz (2015) points out that as student populations in CLIL programs are more commonly a linguistically diverse group, rather than the homogeneous group of majority language speakers that once characterized programs such as CLIL, it becomes increasingly important to take into account students' linguistic repertoires in order to "develop metalinguistic and language awareness" (p. 22). Focus on developing such awareness can thus help to maintain the balance between content and language that CLIL strives to achieve in its approach. Rather than keeping the languages of instruction strictly separated and banning the use of languages other than the target language in CLIL lessons, a "principled use of L1" (Lasagabaster, 2013, p. 17; Lo, 2015, p. 270) could provide learners with the support they need to access difficult content as well as pave the way to academic literacy in more than one language for multilingual students. By allowing and encouraging the use of learners' full range of linguistic resources, teachers can create situations in which multiple languages function as bridges to content learning, rather than constituting a barrier.

Although English-medium programs such as the one in this study may be organized according to principles of language separation by subject, individual teachers can exercise their agency in choosing instructional approaches that make use of translanguaging strategies in the classroom. Teachers who do not share their students' first languages can nonetheless bring them into the classroom, by setting individual and collaborative tasks that encourage the use of languages other than the language(s) of instruction (see for example Cummins, 2008).

7.4 Considerations for stakeholders in EMI and CLIL

Advocates of content-based approaches argue that they provide increased opportunities for learners' exposure to and interaction in the target language at no cost to learners' first languages nor to their academic proficiency. As Baetens Beardsmore (2009) puts it,

The propagation of CLIL responds to the growing need for efficient linguistic skills, bearing in mind that the major concern is about education, not about
becoming bilingual or multilingual, and that multiple language proficiency is the "added value" which can be obtained at no cost to other skills and knowledge, if properly designed. (p. 211)

This perception that CLIL offers "two subjects for the price of one" (Hüttner et al., 2013, p. 280; see also Paran, 2013, p. 318) may be especially attractive to stakeholders as time and economic resources in education are often an issue. However, due to factors such as the content-driven nature of CLIL and EMI and lack of dually qualified teachers in some contexts, many of these lessons tend to be taught by content teachers. Dalton-Puffer (2011) points out that in such situations, "[D]espite CLIL being cast in the role of an important language enrichment measure, precise learning goals and objectives are largely missing” (p. 185). Researchers have highlighted the need for a balanced approach (see Lyster, 2007), one in which explicit attention is given to not only content and meaning, but linguistic form as well. It is precisely this balance that in many cases has been shown to be missing in CLIL contexts, a possible explanation for the sometimes less than optimal results in learners' language outcomes with regard to form. As Dutro and Moran (2003) have explained, "language instruction requires teaching English, not just teaching in English" (p. 228, original emphasis). Although programs such as the one in this study also include teaching English as a subject, there was little integration of content and language observed in the non-language EMI subjects. Focus on the language of these subjects was limited to lexical items, as the teachers' focus was content.

At the European level, "the European Commission and the Council of Europe have funded many initiatives in support of CLIL because it responded to a need in Europe for enhancing second-language (L2) education and bilingualism that was well received" (Cenoz et al., 2013, p. 243). As a result of the perceived demand for improved English skills due to globalization, content-based language enrichment programs that aim to improve learners' proficiency in English are a growing educational option offered in numerous contexts all around the world. However, the European Commission (2013) has nonetheless found that "[w]hether schools offer Content and Language Integrated Learning shows no clear effect on average school scores on the language tests for any of the skills" (p. 78). The positive outcomes often associated with many CLIL programs in Europe may in some cases be attributed to factors such as already motivated and high-achieving students being drawn to these programs (Paran, 2013; Sylvén, 2004, 2013). Such processes of self-selection may result in CLIL student populations that are not representative of the larger population, nor may they necessarily be comparable to students from traditional L1-medium mainstream education. Further, CLIL programs may in some cases utilize screening processes in which students are admitted based on their level of proficiency in the target language and/or academic standing. As Roiha (2014) points out,
Traditionally, most CLIL pupils have been pre-tested and chosen to CLIL education based on their linguistic abilities and general school performance. Hence, the number of pupils with special needs in CLIL classes has been relatively small and the previous CLIL research has thus neglected them. (p. 1)

Such screening for admittance to English-medium programs in compulsory school on the basis of linguistic ability is not used in Sweden, where education is to be based on egalitarian principles (see Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010). However, students in such programs who struggle with English may give up and move to a school with Swedish-medium instruction if sufficient support is not provided.

It is of importance to take into account a number of variables when assessing the success of an existing CLIL program, as well as when considering the feasibility of whether or not to offer the CLIL option in schools (see Sylvén, 2013; Turner, 2013). Factors such as teachers' qualifications, access to teacher training and professional development that address CLIL methodology, availability of appropriate teaching materials and resources for students are key characteristics of successful CLIL programs (Turner, 2013). As these factors vary between contexts, as do national curricula and the composition of student populations, implementation of a CLIL program cannot simply be a matter of adopting an additional language as the medium of instruction. While established CLIL frameworks exist in the autonomous communities of Spain (Sylvén, 2013) and CLIL is mentioned in the national compulsory school curriculum in Finland (Skinnari & Nikula, 2017), no mention of such frameworks exists in Swedish national education policy documents. Such a lack of guidelines leaves ample room for a range of implementations, which can also mean that the quality of CLIL or EMI programs may vary substantially. It is therefore necessary that policymakers provide clear guidelines for implementation of such programs, and that school providers offer appropriate training for their teachers to ensure that classroom practices reflect an awareness of the particular requirements of this model.

7.5 Limitations of the study

A single case study cannot be said to be representative of these programs as a whole. Studies have shown that there is a great deal of variation in terms of how CLIL and EMI programs are implemented in Sweden (Skolverket, 2010; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). This variation also exists among different teachers' classroom practices, as seen in this study. As only lessons with the class in question were observed, many of the classroom practices described here may not necessarily reflect those of other teachers at the school. Likewise, this study does not address all of the observed practices that can have
relevance for students' meaning-making, such as the use of multimodal resources, as it was determined that this was beyond the scope of the study. Although multimodal analysis of video data could have provided additional insights into the range of semiotic resources available in the classroom, it was decided that this could potentially limit participants' willingness to take part in the study, especially considering the students' young ages.

Another context-specific consideration in a case study such as this one is of course participants' backgrounds. For example, students in such programs may come from diverse linguistic and educational backgrounds, which also play a role in their languaging practices. More time spent with the students outside of school as well as interviews with parents/guardians could potentially have provided additional insights into these languaging practices and students' perspectives on languages; however, due to time and access constraints, this was not feasible. However, the extended time spent at the school provided numerous insights into the dynamic nature of the program, which was due to, among other things, the high rate of teacher turnover among EMI staff. This may to some extent also be the case for other schools where teachers are recruited from outside of Sweden and given short-term contracts, and makes for an interesting situation that could be explored further.

7.6 Contributions to the field

Although case studies are not considered to be generalizable or reproducible, a case study such as this one can provide an in-depth view of the particular context of interest, and thus a thorough understanding of the observed language use in relation to the wider context. As Creese and Blackledge (2010) have stated, "The study of language ecology is the study of diversity within specific sociopolitical settings in which the processes of language use create, reflect, and challenge particular hierarchies and hegemonies, however transient these might be" (p. 104). At schools with linguistically diverse student populations, dominant discourses about powerful languages such as English as well as policies of language separation may contribute to invisibilizing minoritized languages (Solano-Campos, 2017). Such processes were revealed at the school in this study, which emphasized English and bilingualism rather than multilingualism, with little space for other languages. As Axelsson (2013) has pointed out, language choices in the classroom have both pedagogical as well as sociopolitical implications (p. 571, my translation). Although local school policies may be shaped by monolingual norms, teachers and students can use their agency to resist these norms in the classroom through the use of translanguaging strategies, as seen in this study.

Likewise, ideological assumptions concerning native speakers of English as ideal teachers in EMI may be questioned, as this study has highlighted a
number of problems with such assumptions (see also Graddol, 2012, p. 311). Rather than expecting learners to acquire English incidentally through increased exposure to and interaction in English with native speakers, stakeholders must be aware of the challenges associated with the teaching and learning of content in an additional languages, and be prepared to meet these challenges. Considering the current shortage of qualified teachers in Sweden, this school’s practice of recruiting teachers from abroad may be a way of meeting the demand as well as providing the international atmosphere described in its promotional materials. However, as one teacher in the study pointed out, simply teaching some subjects in English and some subjects in Swedish does not really make a school bilingual; rather, it might be better described as promoting parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999). Therefore, training that includes second language perspectives as well as strategies for integrating content and language is needed in the form of professional development that addresses the particular conditions of these programs. School providers can collaborate with institutes of higher education to develop programs for in-service training that meet this need.

7.7 Future directions

Much in the same way that language minority students study school subjects in mainstream schooling in a second language (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013, Gibbons, 2003), students in content-based language enrichment programs are learning an additional language while at the same time using that language for learning. Issues in second language research are therefore of interest to consider in these programs as well, yet few connections have been made between the fields. As Cenoz (2015) points out, it could be fruitful to “share the challenges of CBI/CLIL with those of programmes aimed at language minority children” (p. 22). Additionally, as content-based approaches exist in many different national contexts, internationally coordinated comparative studies in which programs from several contexts are empirically investigated would be of interest for the purpose of gaining a broader view of how these approaches are implemented. Although specific characteristics of a program in one context may not necessarily be applicable in another context, such comparative studies might provide further insights regarding conditions for success as well as reasons for less than satisfactory outcomes in some content-based language learning programs. Further, more studies of EMI programs at the primary school level in Sweden are needed, such as research that looks at students’ outcomes with regard to both content and languages. Also, as newly arrived students with knowledge of English may in some cases be placed in English-medium programs by their parents, it is important to examine how these students are provided with opportunities to develop their knowledge of Swedish, as well as English and other languages.
If content-based models are to provide students with an education of good quality in terms of content learning and development of proficiency in various languages, more research on such programs is thus needed in order to inform both policy and practice in EMI.
8 Summary in Swedish

Engelskspråkig undervisning för unga inlärare i Sverige: En longitudinal fallstudie av en mellanstadieklass i en tvåspråkig engelsk-svensk grundskola

8.1 Bakgrund

Engelskspråkig undervisning har blivit ett alltmer utbrett fenomen inom det svenska utbildningsväsendet. Utifrån att tidigare främst ha förekommit på gymnasienivå och i högre utbildning, har det blivit vanligare att svenska grundskolor numera erbjuder engelskspråkig ämnesundervisning i ett eller flera ämnen.

ställning. Eftersom dessa undervisningsmodeller även skiljer sig från de kanadensiska ifråga om andra faktorer, exempelvis lärarnas språk- och utbildningsbakgrunder, är det viktigt att belysa de förhållanden som gäller i engelskspråkig undervisning i svenska skolor.


Samtidigt som dessa studier har synliggjort en del av de förutsättningar för språk- och ämneslärande som gäller i engelskspråkig undervisning på svenska gymnasieskolor, saknas det liknande studier med fokus på sådan undervisning i svenska grundskolor. Därför är det av intresse att undersöka följande frågeställningar:

1. Vilka språkideologier kan utrönas i policy och praktik hos en svensk grundskola som erbjuder engelskspråkig undervisning?
2. Hur betraktar personal och elever undervisning och lärande vad gäller språk och innehåll i den engelskspråkiga undervisningen på mellanstadiet i en svensk grundskola?
3. Vilka möjligheter och begränsningar i det engelskspråkiga ämnesklassrummet synliggörs genom deltagarnas språkval?

8.2 Teori

Studiens teoretiska ramverk utgår från ett språkekologiskt ramverk (van Lier, 2004) där språk ses som situerat i en kontext, där flera olika faktorer inverkar på språkanvändning. Deltagares språkval i en klassrumskontext kan därför förstås utifrån språkideologier som verkar på olika nivåer genom
bland annat policy och undervisningspraktiker, samt uppfattningar om undervisning och lärande på ett andraspråk. Transspråkande utgör därtill den teoretiska linsen genom vilken deltagarnas språkval kan sättas i förhållande till de möjligheter som erbjuds utifrån de språkliga resurser som används i klassrummet.

8.2.1 Språkekologi

I språkekologiska studier är fokus på hur språk och miljö interagerar (Haugen 1972; van Lier 2004). Språk och språkanvändning undersöks i förhållande till närmiljön, men även till det omgivande samhället. När det gäller språkanvändning i en klassrumsmiljö är det därför viktigt att kunna sätta språkliga praktiker i relation till de deltagare som är en del av sammanhanget samt till olika faktorer som inverkar på miljön, som till exempel deltagarnas uppfattningar om språk och lärande, skolans regler, rutiner och styrdokument.

Klassrumskontexter är institutionella miljöer som till viss del präglas av de nationella styrdokumenten, till exempel Skollagen, Skolförordningen, läroplanen och kursplaner. Samtidigt finns det stor frihet för enskilda skolor och lärare att tolka och tillämpa riktlinjer utifrån individuella uppfattningar. Likaså finns det utrymme för elever att förhandla hur de väljer att agera utifrån de förutsättningar som tillhandahålls. De olika aktörerna som verkar i ett klassrum har därför ett visst handlingsutrymme där de kan utöva självbestämmande (agency) i till exempel de språkval som görs. Dessa språkval kan antingen utgöra möjligheter (affordances) för deltagarna, eller uppfattas som hinder (constraints).

8.2.2 Språkideologier

Språkideologi kan definieras som delade uppfattningar om språk som förgivettagna. Till exempel kan det finnas antaganden om olika språks relativä värden, språkliga hierarkier, infödda talare och språklig kompetens samt om enspråkighet, tvåspråkighet och flerspråkighet. Dessa antaganden kan ligga till grund för både policy och praktik när det gäller språk och utbildning.

Lingvistiska hierarkier kan speglas i institutionella diskurser som producera och reproducerar en maktobalans bland språk och dess talare (för en diskussion om språk och makt, se Bourdieu, 1991; Cummins, 2000; Fairclough, 2015; Mayr, 2008). Som världsspråk är engelska ett högstatusspråk; det används i flera olika domän och associeras med socioekonomiskt välstnad (Phillipson, 2006). Engelskan kan därför komma att domineras i kontexten där det är inte majoritetsspråk genom en slags lingvistisk imperialism, även kallad linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992). Valet av undervisningsspråk i sådana fall tar inte nödvändigtvis hänsyn till
hur det kan påverka elevers språk- och ämneslärande (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004).

Antaganden om språklig kompetens och infödda talare (*native speakers*) kan också påverka hur språkutbildning utformas. Själva termen har kritiserats för att den kan förstärka uppfattningar om infödda talare som norm (Phillipson, 2000), och att dessa tillskrivs auktoritet (Davies, 2003) inom såväl lingvistisk som utbildning (Graddol, 2012). Bland språklärare kan därför sådana uppfattningar om infödda talare av målspråket bidra till en diskurs om lingvistisk överlägenshet, eller *linguistic superiority* (Gundermann, 2014, s. 170). Samtidigt har termen infödda talare även kritiserats för att ha använts för att skilja mellan majoritetselver och andraspråklever (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997), eftersom den inte tar hänsyn till den variation i språklig kompetens som finns bland elever med likartad språklig bakgrund.

På samma sätt har termerna enspråkig (*monolingual*), tvåspråkig (*bililingual*) och flerspråkig (*multilingual*) problematiserats, eftersom de inte visar de olika gradskillnader i språklig kompetens som finns bland talare som beskrivits med dessa termer. Dessutom förstärker termerna en bild av språk som avgränsade och räknarbara (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006), där språk förväntas hållas särskiljda.


### 8.2.3 Undervisning och lärande på ett andraspråk


exponeras för det, kan det ta upp till 5-7 år för andraspråkselever att uppnå samma nivå i skolspråket som klassamrater som är infödda talare (Cummins, 1981a). Medan unga inlärare kan förefalla utveckla sina andra-
språkskunskaper snabbare än äldre inlärare, kan de äldre dra nytta av sina kunskaper på förstaspråket, som kan överföras till andraspråket (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981b). Detta kan vara till stöd för ämneslärandet, där olika ämnen har särskilda språkliga drag och ämnesspecifikt språk.

Ämnesspråket i till exempel naturorienterande ämnen (NO) är ofta tekniskt och abstrakt (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008). Medan naturvetenskapliga termer oftast behandlas i undervisningen, kan det vara mindre vanligt att den språkliga strukturen i naturvetenskapliga texter uppmärksammas (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008). Eftersom dessa kan vara svåra för elever att förstå, är det viktigt att undervisningen har ett explicit fokus på ämnets språkliga krav. Lin (2016) påpekar att det därför behövs kunskap om språk i såväl ämnesun-
dervisning som språkundervisning, och föreslår att ämneslärande och språklä-
rare samarbetar för att identifiera språkliga krav i olika ämnen för att kart-

Stöttning kan i undervisningssammanhang definieras som ett tillfälligt stöd som möjliggör för inlärare att åstadkomma sådant som de annars inte kunnat utan hjälp (se Bruner, 1978; Cummins, 2008; Gibbons, 2002; Lind-
berg, 2013; van Lier, 2004; Vygotskij, 1978; Walqui, 2006). Detta kan ta form av pedagogiskt stöttning, eller pedagogical translanguaging (van Lier, 2008), som lärare kan planera, eller kollaborativ stöttning (Lindberg, 2013), där inlärare tillsammans förhandlar betydelse i gemensamma aktiviteter med hjälp av olika medierande resurser. Sådan stöttning kan även innefatta trans-
präkande.

8.2.4 Transspråkande

Transspråkande, eller translanguaging, kan beskrivas som en process där olika språkliga resurser hos en individ ses som en helhet (García & Li, 2014), och kan användas för att beteckna användning av två (eller flera) språk för meningsskapande (Baker, 2011). Den engelska termen translangu-
aging har sitt ursprung i tvåspråkiga skolor i Wales, där Williams (1994) beskrev växlingen mellan språk i inflöde och utflode som trwsieithu. Efter att ha översatts till translanguaging har termen breddats, och har även kom-
mit att innefatta bland annat kodväxling, eller code-switching, och översät-
tning, eller translation (Li, 2011; Moore & Nikula 2016).

För den enskilda talaren kan transspråkande underlätta kommunikation med andra samt möjliggöra en djupare förståelse av olika fenomen (García, 2009). I utbildningssammanhang kallas ibland transspråkande på elevers villkor för spontan transspråkande, eller spontaneous translanguaging.
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(Cenoz, 2017), även känt som elevcentrerat transspråkande, eller student-centred translanguaging (Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). Detta transspråkande kan innebära att elever använder sig av sina olika språkliga resurser för att förstå ämnesinnehållet (García, 2009).


En del forskare menar att transspråkande som ideologiskt begrepp innebär att namngivna språk inte bör behandlas som separata enheter (Jonsson, 2017; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Dock benämns de olika språken som diskuterar av deltagarna i denna studie i enlighet med hur namngivna språk förekommer i policydokument och i deltagarnas diskurser. Som Turner och Lin (2017) påpekar kan transspråkande som teori därmed även innefatta användning av flera namngivna språk.

8.3 Metod och data

I denna longitudinella fallstudie (Berg, 2007; Stake, 1995) har en mellanstadieklass följs under flera veckor vid fyra olika tillfällen i årskurs 4, 5 och 6. Detta har möjliggjort en djupare förståelse av den aktuella kontexten, där jag som forskare har fått insyn i de olika processer som har varit en del av de observerade praktikerna. Tack vare de återkommande besöken vid skolan och i klassen (totalt trettiotvå elever) etablerades en god kontakt med de olika deltagarna, vilket bidrog till att jag kunde få en närmare inblick i deras upplevelser av den engelskspråkiga utbildningen.


Materialet analyserades med hjälp av kritisk diskursanalyser, kvalitativ innehållsanalys och klassrumsdiskursanalys/transspråkandeanalys. Omännande av undervisningsspråk i skolförordningen, skolans policydokument
och i intervjuområdet från skolledarintervjun analyserades utifrån vem som åsyftades (till exempel lärare och elever), vilka språk det handlade om och hur undervisningen skulle organiseras. Detta tolkades utifrån ett kritiskt perspektiv, där de olika språkens och dess talares ställning i den aktuella kontexten ställdes mot språkideologiska frågor om makt och hierarkier. I den kvalitativa innehållsanalysen framträdde ett flertal teman i deltagarnas uppfattningar om språk och lärande. Dessa teman kategoriserades utifrån begreppen affordances (möjligheter) och constraints (hinder), i enlighet med studiens språkekologiska ramverk. Analysen av språkanvändningen utgick från begreppet transspråkande, där deltagarnas språkval visade bland annat hur de kunde använda sig av svenska för att stötta meningsskapande i den engelskspråkiga ämnesundervisningen.

8.4 Resultat

Resultaten från de tre delstudierna visade sammantaget hur olika faktorer i kontexten inverkade på deltagarnas språkanvändning samt hur deltagarna uppfattade elevernas möjligheter och hinder till lärande i den engelskspråkiga undervisningen.

8.4.1 Studie I


8.4.2 Studie II

Studie II belyste deltagarnas uppfattningar om språk och innehåll i den engelskspråkiga undervisningen. Även här framgick det att de flerspråkiga elevernas modersmål inte positionerades som resurser för lärande. Dock fick svenska en stöttande roll i förhållande till engelskan, i och med att både
lärare och elever uppfattade användningen av svenska bland elever som ett sätt att underlätta kommunikation med de engelskspråkiga lärarna, vilka oftast hade begränsade kunskaper i svenska. Samtidigt som de engelskspråkiga lärarna ansågs bidra till utvecklingen av elevernas kunskaper i engelska, eftersom eleverna "tvingades" prata engelska med de lärarna, framträdde även uppfattningen att det var en utmaning för eleverna att ta till sig ämnesinnehållet på engelska. Dessutom uttrycktes en oro för vilka följer den engelskspråkiga undervisningen skulle få för elevernas utveckling av ämnesspråk på svenska, eftersom de skulle kunna ha svårt med sina framtida gymnasiestudier på svenska i dessa ämnena.

8.4.3 Studie III
Studie III är ett bokkapitel om engelskspråkig undervisning i en mellanstadieklass och en gymnasieklass i Sverige. Kapitlet är samskrivet med BethAnne Yoxsimer Paulsrud och behandlar transspråkande i olika klassrumspraktiker. Utifrån de språkvalsmönster som framträdde kunde det konstateras att i gymnasieklassen, där läraren var tvåspråkig i svenska och engelska, användes svenska som resurs i undervisningen för att säkerställa elevernas förståelse. I mellanstadieklassen hade dock läraren begränsade kunskaper i svenska, men uppmuntrade eleverna att stötta varandras förståelse genom att översätta till svenska för varandra i en slags kollaborativ stöttning.

8.5 Slutsatser och diskussion
Med tanke på att engelskspråkig undervisning för unga inlärare i Sverige har blivit allt vanligare, är det viktigt att denna undervisningsmodell bygger på forskning om undervisning och lärande på ett andraspråk. Det krävs medvetenhet hos myndigheter, huvudmän och lärare kring språkets roll i lärande samt de språkliga krav som finns i olika ämnena. Kompetensutveckling skulle kunna bidra till en sådan medvetenhet.

I och med att engelskan redan har en mycket hög status i Sverige kan dess roll som undervisningsspråk ses som ytterligare tecken på dess dominerande roll, och som eventuellt hot mot svenskans status. Svenska elever anses vara mycket duktiga på engelska (EF English proficiency index, 2017), kanske delvis för att de lär sig språket även utanför klassrummet, så kallad extra-mural English (Sundqvist, 2009). Medan en del forskare har ifrågasatt behovet av engelskspråkig undervisning (se till exempel Hyltenstam, 2004), är det tydligt att denna undervisningsform anses vara motivationshöjande bland elever (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014), och är ett populärt val på både gymnasie- och grundskolan. Däremot har tidigare studier av engelskspråkig undervisning på gymnasiet visat att elevers engelskkunskaper inte nödvändigtvis kunde härledas till denna undervisningsform, eftersom de redan hade
goda kunskaper i engelska när de började. Eftersom färre studier finns om sådan undervisning i svenska grundskolor, kan inte någon direct koppling göras mellan grundskoleelevers resultat och engelskspråkig undervisning; elevresultat omfattades inte av denna studie. Därför behövs fler studier av denna utbildningsform på grundskolenivå samt uppföljningar av sådana elever efter att de har gått vidare till gymnasiestudier.

8.5.1 Implikationer för svensk språk- och utbildningspolicy
Avsaknaden av riktlinjer för engelskspråkig undervisning i svenska skolsystemet innebär att enskilda huvudmän, skolor och lärare har stor frihet att utforma hur en sådan utbildning ska se ut. Det kan i praktiken organiseras som i den skola den aktuella studien fokuserar, där undervisningsspråken delades upp efter ämnen, och elever fick mycket begränsad kontakt med ämnesspråk på svenska i engelskspråkiga ämnen. Skolförordningen kräver att "undervisningens innehåll och utformning säkerställer att eleverna får tillräckliga kunskaper i svenska för att nå kunskapskraven i samtliga ämnen." (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2011:185, 18§) I sådana fall där lärare rekryteras från engelskspråkiga länder är det därför särskilt viktigt att sådana riktlinjer tas fram, eftersom dessa lärare oftast saknar kunskap om det svenska skolsystemet och kunskaper i svenska.

8.5.2 Implikationer för klassrumspraktik
Lärare i engelskspråkig ämnesundervisning som saknar kunskaper i svenska behöver stödning i hur de kan främja elevers språk- och kunskapsutveckling på båda undervisningsspråken. De behöver även få fortbildning i hur samtliga språkliga resurser hos flerspråkiga elever kan tillvaratas i undervisningen för att vara ett stöd för lärande. Samarbete mellan språklärare och ämneslärare (se Lin, 2016) kan bidra till att synliggöra språkliga krav i ämnen. Likaså kan samarbete mellan engelskspråkiga lärare (som saknar kunskaper i svenska) och tvåspråkiga lärare, samt mellan modersmålslärande och andra lärare, vara ett sätt att hitta möjligheter till pedagogiska tillvägagångssätt som brygger broar och leder till lärande i och på flera språk.


Ellis, E.M. (2016). "I may be a native speaker but I'm not monolingual": Reimagining all teachers' linguistic identities in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 50(3), 597–630.


10 Appendices

Information letter and informed consent forms

Information to staff: Participation in research study
The following information is about the research study which is taking place at your school between spring [201X] and spring [201Z]:

The research project
My name is Jeanette Toth and I am a PhD student at Stockholm University in the Department of Language Education. My dissertation project deals with schools that offer English-medium instruction in Sweden, which is why I will be visiting your school periodically to observe classes. Besides looking at the use of language in the classroom and students’ language development, I am also interested in interviewing students and teachers about their experiences with English-medium instruction.

I will be collecting data through several methods: questionnaires, field notes during classroom observations, audio recordings, interviews and students’ written production.

Voluntariness
It is important that as many teachers as possible who are involved with the class in question participate in the study, but participation is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw your consent at any time up until the time of publication and will in that event be excluded from the study.

Confidentiality
Data that is collected will be kept in a safe manner. All those who participate in the study (students, guardians, staff and schools) will be anonymized in any resulting publications and/or presentations, in accordance with guidelines set forth by the Swedish Research Council. Recorded material will be anonymized and digitalized before analysis. This data will be used solely for research purposes. Any other uses would require further consent from participants.
Advantages in participation
Your participation in the study will primarily consist of your regular activities at the school and will therefore not affect instruction negatively. If you choose to be interviewed, care will be taken to ensure that the interview does not interfere with classes. One advantage of participating in this study is that you will be making a contribution to the body of knowledge about this type of instruction, which I hope to learn more about. Furthermore, you will have the opportunity to read about the study’s findings, which may be of interest to you as a professional within this type of program.

Disadvantages
Participation in the study should not have any negative effects.

Presentation of results
I will be presenting the results of my research in the form of articles, presentations at research conferences as well as in my dissertation.

Information
If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at:
Jeanette Toth
[removed email address]
[removed phone number]

CONSENT
I have been informed about Jeanette Toth’s research study about English-medium instruction and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

Mark ”Yes” and sign below if you are willing to participate in the study.
Mark ”No” and sign below if you are not willing to participate in the study.

☐ YES, I am willing to participate in the study
☐ NO, I am not willing to participate in the study

_______________________________________
Signature

_______________________________________
Printed name

_______________________________________
City and date

_______________________________________
Contact information (e-mail or cell phone)
Information till lärare: Deltagande i forskningsstudie

Följande information handlar om studien som kommer att äga rum på din skola under våren [201X] – våren [201Z]:

**Forskningsprojektet**
Jag kommer att samlar in material på flera olika sätt: enkäter, anteckningar som jag gör i klassrummet, ljudinspelningar, intervjuer och elevtexter.

**Frivillighet**
Det är viktigt att så många som möjligt vill delta i studien men deltagande i projektet är helt frivilligt. Du har rätt att när som helst fram till publicering dra tillbaka ditt medgivande och du utgår då ur studien.

**Sekretess**
Insamlade data kommer att förvaras säkert. Alla som är med i studien (elever, vårdnadshavare, lärare och skolor) kommer att vara anonyma i efterföljande publikationer/presentationer, allt i enlighet med Vetenskapsrådets riktlinjer för vetenskaplig forskning. Inspelat material anonymiseras och digitaliseras innan det analyseras. Materialet kommer enbart att användas i forskningssyfte. Vid all annan eventuell användning krävs ytterligare medgivande från samtliga berörda.

**Fördelar med att delta**
Ditt deltagande i studien kommer främst att ske inom ramen för den vanliga skolverksamheten och kommer därför inte att påverka din undervisning. Om du väljer att intervjuas kommer det att ordnas så att intervjun inte stör undervisningen. En fördel med att delta i denna studie är att du kommer att bidra till kunskapen om denna typ av undervisning, vilken jag hoppas lära mig mer om. Dessutom får du ta del av studiens resultat, vilket kan vara av intresse för dig som arbetar med denna typ av undervisning.
Nackdelar med att delta
Deltagande i studien borde inte ha några negativa effekter.

Redovisning av resultat
Resultaten från min forskning kommer att redovisas i form av artiklar och presentationer vid forskningskonferenser samt i min avhandling.

Information
Vid eventuella frågor, kontakta mig gärna:

Jeanette Toth
[e-postadress borttagen]
[telefonnummer borttagen]

MEDGIVANDE

Jag har fått information om Jeanette Toths forskningsstudie kring engelskspråkig undervisning och har haft möjlighet att ställa frågor kring den.

Kryssa ”Ja” och skriva under om du vill delta i studien.
Kryssa ”Nej” och skriva under om du inte vill delta i studien.

☐ JA, jag vill medverka i denna studie
☐ NEJ, jag vill inte medverka i denna studie

Underskrift

Namnförtydligande

Ort och datum

Kontaktinformation (mejl eller mobil)
Information to students and guardians: Participation in research study

The following information is about the research study which is taking place at your school between spring [201X] and spring [201Z]:

The research project
My name is Jeanette Toth and I am a PhD student at Stockholm University in the Department of Language Education. My dissertation project deals with schools that offer English-medium instruction in Sweden, which is why I will be visiting your school periodically to observe classes. Besides looking at the use of language in the classroom and students’ language development, I am also interested in interviewing students and teachers about their experiences with English-medium instruction. I will be collecting data through several methods: questionnaires, field notes during classroom observations, audio recordings, interviews and students’ written production.

Voluntariness
It is important that as many students as possible participate in the study, but participation is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw your consent at any time up until the time of publication and will in that event be excluded from the study.

Confidentiality
Data that is collected will be kept in a safe manner. All those who participate in the study (students, guardians, teachers and schools) will be anonymized in any resulting publications and/or presentations, in accordance with guidelines set forth by the Swedish Research Council. Recorded material will be anonymized and digitalized before analysis. This data will be used solely for research purposes. Any other uses would require further consent from participants.

Advantages in participation
Your participation in the study will primarily consist of your regular school activities and will therefore not affect your studies negatively. If you choose to be interviewed, care will be taken to ensure that the interview does not interfere with your classes. One advantage of participating in this study is that you will be making a contribution to the body of knowledge about this
type of instruction, which I hope to learn more about. Furthermore, you will have the opportunity to see how a scientific study can be carried out.

**Disadvantages**
Participation in the study should not have any negative effects.

**Presentation of results**
I will be presenting the results of my research in the form of articles, presentations at research conferences as well as in my dissertation.

**Information**
If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at:

Jeanette Toth
[removed]
[removed]

**CONSENT**

I have been informed about Jeanette Toth’s research study about English-medium instruction and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

Mark "Yes" and sign below if you are willing to participate in the study. Mark "No" and sign below if you are not willing to participate in the study.

☐ **YES**, I am willing to participate in the study
☐ **NO**, I am not willing to participate in the study

_______________________    _______________________________
Student’s signature        Guardian’s signature

_______________________   _______________________________
Student’s class            Guardian’s printed name

_______________________   _______________________________
City and date              Contact information (e-mail or cell phone)
Information till elever och vårdnadshavare: Deltagande i forskningsstudie

Följande information handlar om studien som kommer att äga rum på din skola under våren [201X] – våren [201Z]:

**Forskningsprojektet**
Jag heter Jeanette Toth och är doktorand vid Stockholms universitet på Institutionen för språkdidaktik. Min avhandlingsstudie handlar om grundskolor som erbjuder undervisning på engelska och jag kommer därför periodvis att besöka din skola för att vara med på lektioner. Jag är intresserad av språkavänledningen i klassrummet samt elevers språkutveckling men också av att intervjuar lärare och elever om deras upplevelser kring engelskspråkig undervisning.
Jag kommer att samla in material på flera olika sätt: enkäter, anteckningar som jag gör i klassrummet, ljudinspelningar, intervjuer och elevtexter.

**Frivillighet**
Det är viktigt att så många som möjligt vill delta i studien men deltagande i projektet är helt frivilligt. Du har rätt att när som helst fram till publicering dra tillbaka ditt medgivande och du utgår då ur studien.

**Sekretess**
Insamlade data kommer att förvaras säkert. Alla som är med i studien (elever, vårdnadshavare, lärare och skolor) kommer att vara anonyma i efterföljande publikationer/presentationer, allt i enlighet med Vetenskapsrådets riktlinjer för vetenskaplig forskning. Inspelat material anonymiseras och digitaliseras innan det analyseras. Materialet kommer enbart att användas i forskningssyfte. Vid all annan eventuell användning krävs ytterligare medgivande från samtliga berörda.

**Fördelar med att delta**
Ditt deltagande i studien kommer främst att ske inom ramen för den vanliga skolverksamheten och kommer därför inte att påverka dina studier. Om du väljer att intervjuas kommer det att ordnas så att intervjun inte stör undervisningen. En fördel med att delta i denna studie är att du kommer att bidra till kunskapen om denna typ av undervisning, vilken jag hoppas lära mig mer om. Dessutom får du se hur genomförandet av en vetenskaplig studie kan gå till.
Nackdelar med att delta
Deltagande i studien borde inte ha några negativa effekter.

Redovisning av resultat
Resultaten från min forskning kommer att redovisas i form av artiklar och presentationer vid forskningskonferenser samt i min avhandling.

Information
Vid eventuella frågor, kontakta mig gärna:

Jeanette Toth
[e-postadress borttagen]
[telefonnummer borttagen]

MEDGIVANDE

Jag har fått information om Jeanette Toths forskningsstudie kring engelskspråkig undervisning och har haft möjlighet att ställa frågor kring den.

Kryssa ”Ja” och skriva under om du vill delta i studien.
Kryssa ”Nej” och skriva under om du inte vill delta i studien.

☐ Ja, jag vill medverka i denna studie
☐ Nej, jag vill inte medverka i denna studie

__________________________________________  _________________________________________
Elevunderskrift          Vårdnadshavares underskrift

__________________________________________  _________________________________________
Elevens klass            Vårdnadshavares namnförtydligande

__________________________________________  _________________________________________
Ort och datum             Kontaktinformation (mejl eller mobil)
Interview guides

Interview guide – school leader

(*Before interview starts, ask what language he/she would prefer for interview.)

Background

Bakgrund

Can you tell me a little about your background, such as the languages you speak, your education and previous work experience?

*Kan du berätta lite om din bakgrund, som vilka språk du talar, din utbildning och tidigare arbetserfarenheter?*

What brought you to this school?

*Hur kom du att jobba vid denna skola?*

School - purpose, policy, organization

Skolan - syfte, policy, organisation

Can you tell me about the school - what sets it apart from other schools?

*Kan du berätta lite om skolan - vad skiljer den åt från andra skolor?*

Can you say something about why the school offers subject instruction in English?

*Kan du säga något om varför skolan erbjuder ämnesundervisning på engelska?*

Why do you think parents and children choose this school?

*Varför tror du att föräldrar och elever väljer denna skola?*

As a student, what is needed to succeed here, ie a particular background?

*Vad behöver man som elev för att lyckas bra här, dvs någon särskild bakgrund?*

Can you tell me about teacher recruitment? For example, any language proficiency level requirements?

*Kan du berätta om lärarrekrytering? T.ex. krav på språkfärdigheter?*

How is subject instruction organized, in terms of languages used? Medium of instruction /time allotted, textbooks, lesson plans, assessment, national exams, etc.

*Hur organiseras ämnesundervisningen utifrån språk som används? Undervisningsspråk, läromedel, lektionsplaneringar, bedömning, nationella prov, mm.*

What kind of professional development is provided for teachers through the school?

*Vilken fortbildning erbjuds lärarna?*

What kinds of resources are available to support student learning?

*Vilka slags resurser finns tillgängliga för att stöta elevernas lärande?*
What might be required for parents to support the students with their subject learning in English? I.e. help with homework?
Vad kan behövas för föräldrarna att stötta eleverna med ämnesinlärningen på engelska? T.ex. hjälp med läxorna?
Do you feel that parents do provide this support?
Tycker du att föräldrarna gör det?
What advantages do you see with English-medium subject instruction? With this age group (10-12 years) in particular?
Vilka fördelar ser du med engelskspråkig ämnesundervisning? För denna åldersgrupp (10-12 år) i synnerhet?
What challenges do you see with English-medium subject instruction? With this age group (10-12 years) in particular?
Vilka utmaningar ser du med engelskspråkig ämnesundervisning? För denna åldersgrupp (10-12 år) i synnerhet?

Statistics
Number of students in each grade?
Antal elever i varje årskurs?
Swedish as a second language policy?
Svenska som andraspråkspolicy?
Number of students who qualify for mother tongue instruction?
Antal elever som är berättigade till modersmålsundervisning?
Which languages?
Vilka modersmål gäller det?
Number of students enrolled in mother tongue instruction?
Antal elever som läser modersmålsundervisning?
Which languages?
Vilka språk gäller det?
Number of students who qualify for Swedish as a second language?
Antal elever som har rätt till svenska som andraspråk?
Number of students who take Swedish as a second language?
Antal elever som läser svenska som andraspråk?
Interview guide – teacher

(*Before interview starts, ask teachers what language they would prefer for interview.)

**Language background**

**Språkbakgrund**

What language or languages do you consider to be your mother tongue(s)?

_Vilket eller vilka språk ser du som ditt/dina modersmål?_

What other languages do you know?

_Vilka andra språk kan du?_

When and where do you use those languages?

_När och var använder du dessa språk?_

How well do you feel you know those languages?

_Hur väl anser du att du kan dessa språk?_

Can you tell me about your own experiences with learning languages?

_Kan du berätta lite om dina egna erfarenheter med språkinlärning?_

**Educational background**

**Utbildningsbakgrund**

Can you tell me about your educational background, i.e. where and what you studied, what your degree is in?

_Kan du berätta om din utbildning, alltså var och vad du har studerat, vad din examen är i?_

Have you taken courses in or do you have any training in second language acquisition?

_Har du läst kurser i eller gått utbildning i andraspråksfrågor?_

**Teaching experience**

**Undervisningserfarenhet**

How long have you worked as a teacher? Can you tell me about your previous teaching experiences?

_Hur länge har du arbetat som lärare? Kan du berätta lite om dina tidigare erfarenheter inom läraryrket?_

How long have you worked at this school? Why did you choose to work here?

_Hur länge har du arbetat vid denna skola? Varför valde du att arbeta här?_

What expectations did you have of teaching here in terms of bilingual instruction?

_Vilka förväntningar hade du om att undervisa här när det gäller tvåspråkig undervisning?_

Can you describe the educational environment here in terms of aims, school culture, language of instruction, materials and other resources, collaboration with other teachers…?

_Kan du beskriva verksamheten här utifrån syftet med undervisningen, skolkulturen, undervisningspråk, undervisningsmaterial- och resurser, samarbete med andra lärare…?_
Can you tell me a little about the in-service training you receive here? Are there any guidelines regarding in-service training that you are aware of?

*Kan du berätta lite om den kompetensutveckling ni får här? Finns det några riktlinjer när det gäller kompetensutveckling som du känner till?*

How do you work with languages in the various subjects?

*Hur arbetar du med språk i olika ämnen?*

What support is available for students, i.e. mother tongue instruction, study guidance in their mother tongue, special needs services?

*Vilket stöd finns för elever, t.ex. modersmålsundervisning, studiehandledning, specialundervisning?*

How are the needs of multilingual students (students for whom both Swedish and English is an additional language) addressed? What about newcomers to Sweden (who do not speak either language of instruction)? Are any particular diagnostic tools employed to determine language proficiency?

*Hur tillgodoses behoven hos flerspråkiga elever (elever för vilka både svenska och engelska är andraspråk)? Hur är det med nyanlända elever (som inte kan prata något av undervisningsspråken)? Används några särskilda diagnostiska instrument för att bedöma språkbehärskning?*

Do you have any further thoughts about your experiences with this type of educational model?

*Har du några vidare tankar om dina upplevelser med denna undervisningsform?*
Interview guide – student

(*Before interview begins, ask which language student would prefer for interview.)

**Language background**

*Språkbakgrund*

Can you tell me which language or languages you speak at home? With your parents? Siblings?
*Kan du berätta för mig vilket eller vilka språk du pratar hemma? Med dina föräldrar? Syskon?*

Do you attend mother tongue instruction? If so, in which language?
*Har du modersmålsundervisning? I så fall, i vilket språk?*

Have you ever lived outside of Sweden? If so, where?
*Har du bott utanför Sverige någon gång? I så fall, var?*

Do you know any other languages? If so, which ones? How well do you feel that you know them?

When do you use your languages – in school, in your free time, when you are travelling?
*När använder du dina språk – i skolan, på fritiden, när du är ute och reser?*

When did you start learning English? Swedish? How did it happen?
*När började du lära dig engelska? Svenska? Hur gick det till?*

**Education**

*Utbildning*

Where did you go to school before you came here? How did you work with languages at your old school? Have you had instruction in another language before this?
*Var gick du i skolan innan du kom till denna skola? Hur jobbade ni med språk i din gamla skola? Har du haft undervisning på något annat språk tidigare?*

How did you hear about this school? Why did you choose this school?
*Hur hörde du talas om denna skola? Varför valde de denna skola?*

What expectations did you have/was did you know about this school?
*Vilka förväntningar hade du/vad visste du om denna skola?*

When do you hear English spoken? How do you feel you understand it?
*När hör du engelska? Hur tycker du att det går att förstå det?*

When do you read English? How do you feel you understand it?
*När läser du engelska? Hur tycker du det går att förstå det?*

When do you speak English? How do you feel about that?
*När pratar du engelska? Hur tycker du det går med det?*

When do you write in English? How do you feel about that?
*När skriver du engelska? Hur tycker du att det går med det?*

Is there anything you feel is difficult in school? If so, what do you do about it? What help do you get with it?

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Är det något du tycker är svårt i skolan? I så fall, hur gör du då? Vilken hjälp får du med det?
What do you think is best about this school? Why?
Vad tycker du är bäst med skolan? Varför?
What do you like the least about this school? Why?
Vad tycker du är minst bra i skolan? Varför?