Language and Identity

Attitudes towards code-switching in the immigrant language classroom

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Abstract

Although many studies have been conducted on second language acquisition and bilingual education, little is known about the role of language in the formation of identity by adolescent immigrants in the language classroom. More specifically, this study aims to investigate the use of code-switching by immigrant and refugee students learning Swedish and English in a high school preparatory program. Furthermore, this study investigates the relationship between students' and teachers' attitudes towards code-switching and language as a resource, and theories on language as a marker of identity. Quantitative collection of data and qualitative interviews reveal tensions between the ways in which teachers and students relate to code-switching and bilingualism. This study concludes that language in general, and code-switching in particular, can be used by students as a marker of identity. It further concludes that teachers to some extent discourage the use of code-switching, and thereby undermine the students' possibilities in forming multicultural identities.

Keywords: bilingualism, bilingual education, ethnic identity, second language acquisition, sociolinguistics

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1. Introduction

Immigration to Sweden since World War II has resulted in an increased number of non-native Swedish speakers in the school system. This has led to new challenges in particular with regard to integration, bilingual education and the idea of Sweden as a multicultural society. Research on bilingual education has been a field of interest in Sweden and abroad since at least the 1980s. Bratt Paulston (1982) reviewed Swedish research on bilingualism and bilingual education, and Stockholm University's Centre for Research on Bilingualism was established in 1988 and has published widely in the topic since. More recently, researchers have directed their attention towards the concept of code-switching (hereafter CS when referred to as noun) in an educational context. Two important contributions to the field were published in the past six months. Bullock and Toribio (2009) published a comprehensive handbook of linguistic CS, and "The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism" (2009) devoted a special issue to the subject.

Research on CS has undergone a shift from focusing solely on linguistic problems to also taking into account extra-linguistic aspects. Jacobson (1998) took a descriptive approach to the structural and functional characteristics of CS, while Muysken (2000) presented a typology of the use of code-switching. Wei and Martin (2009) have moved away from the structural aspects, and present a sociolinguistic perspective on the tensions and conflicts created by CS in the classroom. The sociolinguistic readings of CS are becoming more frequent. However, most research on CS and bilingual education does not account for, or investigate the relationship between CS and immigrant and refugee students' construction of identity. Hence, an interdisciplinary theoretical framework will be employed here to explore the relationship between language and identity in the immigrant classroom.

This study investigates students' reported use of, and teachers' attitudes towards CS in the language classroom. More specifically it deals with the ways in which immigrant and refugee students construct identity in a Swedish high school preparatory program. This study focuses on students' and teachers' attitudes towards CS and the possible implications of those attitudes for the students' formation of identity. First, the previous research and theoretical framework will be outlined. Thereafter, the results from a small-scale quantitative study, qualitative interviews and focus group interviews will be presented. A discussion will follow on the relationship between the theoretical framework and the findings.

2. Aim and Focus Questions

The aim of this study is to investigate the connections between second/foreign language learning, CS and identity among immigrant and refugee students at a high school in Sweden. In order to accomplish this, comparisons are made between experiences in the classroom and sociolinguistic and identity theory. This study focuses on the following questions:

1. To what extent do immigrant students learning Swedish and English report code-switching in the language classroom, and what are their attitudes towards code-switching?
2. What are the teachers' perspectives on code-switching in the language classroom?
3. To what extent do teachers report using languages and cultures other than Swedish as resources in the language classroom?

3. Methods and Material

3.1 Methods

The methods for this qualitative study have been threefold. First, a survey (see Appendices 2 and 3) was handed out to a group of 26 students between the ages of 17 and 21. The purpose of the survey was mainly to collect background data for qualitative interviews with students and teachers. This was done in order to establish to what extent CS is used in the classroom. Second, two teachers were interviewed separately; each interview lasted for 30 minutes and both were recorded. Finally, six students were interviewed in small focus groups of two students

per group. These semi-structured interviews were conducted in a classroom; each interview lasted about 20 minutes and they were documented with notes taken during the interview, and summarized directly after the interviews were finalized.

To gain insight in survey methodology, Göran Ejlertsson's *Enkäten i praktiken – En handbok i enkätmetodik* (1996) has been used. The survey consisted of three pages, the first page being a survey of the students' background and previous language knowledge, and the following two pages surveying the students' language use in the Swedish and English classroom respectively. According to Ejlertsson (1996:42), wording is one of the major issues when creating a survey. In consequence, wording has been of major priority when creating the survey, especially since some of the respondents spoke limited Swedish and English. The particular challenge of completing a survey in a non-native language is probably a source of some error in the results. This was, however, partly compensated for by the fact that I was present on all occasions and was able to clarify when students had questions.

Ejlertsson (1996:11) holds that a well performed survey should have a return rate of around 90 percent. For this study, a total of 30 students were requested to fill out the survey; four students chose not to complete the survey. There is therefore an external non-response rate of 14 percent and a return rate of 86 percent. The internal non-response rate is 15 percent because four students could not answer the part of the survey regarding the English classroom since they have not yet started English class.

For the purpose of discussing qualitative interviewing as a method I employ Warren's (2001) article "Qualitative Interviewing". The qualitative interview was chosen mainly because it is a means for focusing on and understanding the meaning of respondents' experiences (Warren 2001:83). Understanding the teachers' ways of thinking about their own teaching in the language classroom has been important because of its close relation to the students' experiences in the classroom.

When conducting qualitative research, the context in which an interview takes place should be taken into consideration when evaluating the result. Warren (2001:91) compares the standardized survey interview to the qualitative interview and notes that in the latter, the social context of the interview process is not something to be controlled. The context of the qualitative interview is instead seen as creating meaning in itself. Consequently, the qualitative interviews were conducted in places with which the respondents were familiar. The first interview took place in the home classroom of the respondent, in which he could refer to the classroom setting and decoration when explaining his thoughts. The second interview took place in the respondent's office, a space in which she herself claimed to be comfortable and could be interviewed without interruption.

The context in which the focus group interviews were conducted was not ideal. The interviews took place in the classroom in which the respondents normally take English. Due to lack of time and willingness to participate in this study among students, arranging for focus group interviews at the school proved difficult. However, an English teacher allowed me to create focus groups in her classroom while she took other students into another classroom for oral exams. In practice this meant that while some students were in another classroom, I interviewed two students at a time in their English classroom. The spontaneous and conversational interviews were thus not recorded, and other students entered the classroom after having completed their exams. The fact that the focus group interviews were not recorded lowers the precision of the transcriptions since they were finalized only upon completion of the interviews. The main positive aspect of the focus group interviews being conducted in an informal context in which interviewees are comfortable is that the students spoke and moved freely and seemed not to be nervous about being interviewed. The focus group interview was intended to enhance this relaxed and permissive atmosphere.

In his article "Focus Group Interviewing", Morgan (2001:141) defines focus group interviews as a research method that gathers data through group interaction on a theme determined by the researcher. The focus group interview method was chosen mainly because the interaction between three people is less formal. The students were encouraged to feel a sense of security in interacting with a friend as well as the moderator. Morgan (2001:146) calls attention to the important role of the moderator, who should keep the group on topic while still allowing the group members to interact freely. The focus group interviews in this study were moderated freely in the sense that when a respondent picked up a topic to discuss that was only

tangentially relevant to the study, they were allowed to finish their line of thinking without interruption. This means that, in relation to the qualitative interviews, the focus groups did not necessarily spend equal time on each theme. This difference is, however, compensated for by the positive signals sent to the respondent by allowing them to elaborate on the topics of interest to them.

All interviews, both qualitative and in focus groups, were semi-structured and based on themes for the respondents to elaborate on. The main themes discussed were language use in the classroom, language as resource, normative culture and teacher role and identity. Dalen (2007:31) suggests in her *Intervju som metod* that an interview guide be created for the semi-structured interview. The interview guide, in which four major themes for discussion were outlined, was used in order for the respondents to elaborate freely on themes without too much interference from the interviewer. One limitation to the semi-structured interview is, however, that the exact same question is not necessarily asked in each interview, and that some questions may be left out because more focus is placed on others.

Warren (2001:86-87) cites Rubin and Rubin (1995), who suggest that there are three kinds of questions in the semi-structured interview: main questions, clarifications, and follow-up questions. These three types of questions were used to a different extent in the interviews. In the male teacher interview for example, main questions were asked and the respondent developed his own thoughts thoroughly from there, whereas in the interview with the female teacher, the main questions were more often than not followed by clarification, and more narrow and precise questions. This means that even though both teacher respondents discussed the same themes, there is a significant variation in the responses.

3.2 Respondent Selection

As a background for the respondent selection analysis, Warren's (2001) "Qualitative Interviewing" and Dalen's (2007) *Intervju som metod* have been consulted. According to Warren, the selection of respondents can be performed in different ways. In qualitative interview studies respondents can be chosen based on research design, theoretical sampling, snowball design or convenience design, to name a few possible methods. In this study, the respondents were selected based on the theoretical sampling strategy, in which "the interviewer seeks out respondents who seem likely to epitomize the analytic criteria in which [the researcher] is interested" (Warren 2001:87). In other words, the school chosen represented the group of interest for this study. In this way, the theoretical sampling strategy was mainly used when narrowing down the respondent selection to one specific group and program.

According to Dalen (2007:51), theoretical sampling requires that the researcher have insight into and knowledge of the topic of study. Because of this the researcher is able to compile a selection of respondents who are likely to have experience relevant to the study and who represent different aspects of the subject. Hence I have used theoretical sampling in the sense that the initial request for participation was sent to a larger group of respondents who have relevant experience for this study. The respondent group was, however, narrowed down eventually, mainly because of lack of interest in participation.

Dalen points out that it is sometimes important to use several groups of respondents in order to understand how different groups experience the same situation; according to Dalen (2007:60) this is the best way of finding the nuances of a problem. For the purposes of this study, interviewing both students and teachers has been crucial, in the sense that the comparison between the two will serve as the basis of the analysis.

Once the school and program were chosen, 12 teachers were contacted by email with a request for participation in the study. These 12 teachers were chosen based on the fact that they teach Swedish, English, or both within the selected program. The main theme and purpose of the study were presented in the introductory email; the teachers were asked if they would have their classes participate in a survey and if they would personally participate in an individual interview. Five teachers did not reply to the email request and one teacher declined all participation in the study; these six teachers were hence excluded from the results. The remaining six teachers accepted to let their class participate in the survey. However, only two teachers agreed to participate in a qualitative interview themselves.

The response rate for teachers agreeing to their students participating in the survey was 50 percent (five teachers did not respond and one teacher declined), while the response rate for

teacher interviews was only 17 percent. This response rate is very low and is according to the respondents themselves due to a lack of time. Warren (2001:87), however, points out two other possible causes of very low response rates. She maintains that it is usually difficult to find people to talk to if the topic of the interview is stigmatizing, or if the occurrence of targeted respondents is rare in a population. In this case, the topic of discussion could be seen as somewhat stigmatizing, and the occurrence of targeted respondents is low since the program is a small part of a larger high school. Because of this, the teachers who participate in the qualitative interviews were selected based on their willingness to participate, and the same is true for the students.

In short, the respondents for this study were selected because they represent a group of people who have particular experiences relevant to the main themes of this study. The response rate for teachers was, however, very low and this has to be taken into account when analyzing the data. There are approximately 100 students at this program and only 30 students were asked to participate (based on their teachers' willingness); out of these thirty students, four students declined to participate after having seen the survey. Therefore the response rate of students asked to participate is high, about 87 percent; however, this respondent group still only represents about one third of the actual student number in the program.

4. Theoretical Framework

For the purposes of this study, an interdisciplinary theoretical framework has been employed. Major ideas concerning the relationship between language and identity will be outlined below. Theories of bilingualism, theories of CS, sociolinguistics and identity theory all come together at the intersection between the ways in which language in general, and CS in particular are used to manifest and construct identity.

4.1 Theories of Bilingualism

The definition of bilingualism ranges from native-like proficiency in two or more languages to minimal competence in at least one language other than the mother tongue. In *Bilinguality and Bilingualism,* Hamers and Blanc (2000:368) consider a person bilingual if they have access to two or more linguistic codes. This definition will be used in a slightly extended version. The data collected for this study included self-reporting of languages that the respondents are able to speak. This was reported with no proficiency criteria. For this reason, a bilingual will in this study be defined as an individual who self-identifies as speaking more than one language. Despite the fact that most bilingual theory is based on the assumption that the person in question speaks *two* languages, bilingualism will in this study refer to people who speak *two or more* languages. This is an important question of definition since most of the respondents of this study speak at least two languages before learning Swedish and English.

In the same way that there is a wide range of definitions of bilingualism, bilingual education is equally hard to define. Baker (2006:213) outlines two major types of bilingual education in his *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. The first type is "education that uses and promotes two languages" and the second type is "relatively monolingual education for language minority children". The present study has focused on the teaching of Swedish as a Second Language (henceforth SSL) and English as a Foreign Language (hereafter EFL) to immigrant and refugee students in Sweden. The SSL course clearly falls into the second category of bilingual education. The teaching of SSL is considered a monolingual education for minority students. The definition of the teaching of EFL in this case is, however, slightly more complicated. The EFL teaching is usually not monolingual, but rather comparative between Swedish and English. That means that it would fall under the category of education that uses and promotes two languages. Implied in this definition is, however, that one of the two languages promoted is the mother tongue of the students. This is not the case in this study, since neither Swedish nor English (except for in the case of one student) is the students' mother tongue. In other words, the selected program for this study does not fall under the most common categories. This is important because it means that the results of the study might differ between SSL and EFL. It is also important because theory on bilingual education does not usually address this type of instruction.

Another way of defining bilingual education is to examine the aims of such education. Baker (2006) presents Transitional Bilingual Education and Enrichment Bilingual Education. The SSL course could be considered a transitional program, in the sense that the aim of such a program is to "shift the child from the home, minority language to the dominant, majority language" (Baker 2006:213-214). In these programs, social and cultural assimilation, or integration (the term used by the respondents in this study) into the cultural majority is the aim. The teaching of EFL falls under the category of Enrichment Bilingual Education, in the sense that the mother tongue is not necessarily threatened by the new language, and the education promotes linguistic diversity. This type of bilingualism can also be referred to as additive bilingualism. In other words, the students of this survey are simultaneously subject to two different types of bilingual education.

The relationship between language, culture and identity is hard to pinpoint. Hamers and Blanc (2000:199) present a connection between the three that proves to be of interest for this study. They hold that language is on the one hand a transmitter of culture, and on the other it is the main instrument for the internalization of culture. In other words, language transmits culture and language is used to internalize culture by the individual. Hamers and Blanc (2000:200-201) employ an identity theory that is similar to that of Woodward (1997). They assert that social identity is created when the individual categorizes her surroundings, and places herself in a group with which she shares common characteristics, meanwhile distancing herself from other social groups. In multicultural societies, social groups distinguish themselves from others based on linguistic, cultural and ethnic characteristics. Hamers and Blanc (2000:203) continue to connect language to ethnic identity. They demonstrate that language is often the most important marker of ethnic identity in the context of intercultural and interethnic encounters. In this study I consider the Swedish language classroom for minority students to be a place in which these types of encounters occur. The idea of a connection between language, culture and identity is at the core of this study. To simplify for the purposes of this essay, language will be seen as a marker of identity and culture, and it will be seen as an especially important marker of ethnic identity.

4.2 Theories of Code-switching

As with most linguistic concepts, CS can be hard to define. Many researchers have attempted to do so, but I have chosen the definition used by Bullock and Toribio (2009:1) in their introductory article "Themes in the study of code-switching". According to Bullock and Toribio a broad definition of CS is "the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages" (2009:1). There are three major fields of study within CS research, according to Bullock and Toribio (2009:14). These fields are structural, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. This study will focus on the sociolinguistic aspects of CS wherefore the structural and functional aspects of CS are not discussed, but instead the main focus lies on the idea of code-switching in the classroom as an identity marker. As a result, this broad definition, which does not take into account whether the switching occurs intra-sentential, inter-sentential, or if it is in fact language-switching, is used. Consequently I will not comment further on the definitions of different types of code-switching.

Linguists and the general public seem to have different views of code-switching. Bullock and Toribio (2009:1) contend that linguists see CS as an index of language proficiency among bilinguals, whereas the general public tends to see it as indicative of language degeneration. Bullock and Toribio (2009:4) assert that there is a major body of research that shows that CS does not "represent a breakdown in communication, but reflects the skillful manipulation of two language systems for various communicative functions". This idea will recur in the section on previous research, because the assumption that code-switching is in fact a skill lies at the heart of this study. Bullock and Toribio (2009:9-10) add that despite the fact though, that researchers conclude that CS is a source of linguistic proficiency, CS remains largely stigmatized.

For the purposes of this study, it is also interesting to explore why CS might be used. Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) hold that on the one hand, CS can be used to fill linguistic gaps and achieving discursive aims, and on the other hand it can be used to express ethnic identity. Hamers and Blanc (2000:266) concur with this idea, arguing that "code-switching is used as a

communicative strategy and a marker of ethnic-group membership and identity". There are clearly a number of other reasons for which CS might be used. However, this study will focus on the idea that CS is used as a marker of identity, a notion that recurs in the other theoretical frameworks described in this section.

4.3 Sociolinguistics

In his *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*, Trudgill (2000:81) establishes that there is a close inter-relationship between language and society. The strictly linguistic aspects of CS and bilingualism have been studied in various fields. Sociolinguistics, however, will serve as the adequate theoretical framework with which to complement this study. This is so mainly because sociolinguistics combines social and linguistic aspects of CS and bilingualism, instead of only focusing on structural or functional aspects. For the purposes of this essay, some basic sociolinguistics assumptions will be reviewed, the first of them being that language is context-dependant.

The second assumption concerns the relationship between language and ethnicity. Trudgill (2000:44-45) makes a case that language can be an important or even essential part of ethnic group membership. He continues to assert that in many parts of the world, language is a defining part of ethnic identity. He maintains that individuals often identify themselves on the basis of what their mother tongue is. Furthermore, he asserts that ethnic groups construct their separateness and identity through language. From this I draw two ideas, the first one being that language can be used to construct and defines one's identity, and the second one being that language can be used to create not only identity, but to separate one's identity from that of others.

The structure, function and typography of CS are described in many purely linguistic handbooks. Trudgill (2000:102), on the other hand, describes CS in terms of its social aspects. First of all, he defines the differences between language-shifting, dialect-shifting, style-shifting and CS. Here Trudgill connects the idea of CS and language-shifting to the idea of the relationship between language and social situation or context. Trudgill explains that CS is the rapid change between several languages. He displays that CS may be used for several reasons, one of them being to make a conversation more intimate. Trudgill (2000:106) cites Le Page (1985) who indicates that there are other reasons for code-switching, namely that it enables "...a speaker to signal two identities at once". Trudgill presents an example of Chinese students in Hong Kong who code-switch between English and Cantonese. He demonstrates that the students code-switch because if they spoke only English they might be regarded as disloyal to their communities, whereas if they spoke only Cantonese, they might be regarded as uneducated (Trudgill, 2000:106). From this section I intend to make use of Trudgill's ideas about how CS can be used to signal multiple identities at once, and how students CS because they feel the need to accommodate two contesting parts of their lives.

4.4 Identity Theory

Kathryn Woodward (1997) introduces theories on identity in her book *Identity and Difference*. For the purposes of this essay, I will draw my theoretical framework from two major ideas of Woodward's book. The first idea is, as the title suggests, identity and difference, and the second is identity and representation.

Woodward makes a case that identity is constructed through the marking of difference. This difference, she holds, takes place "...both through the symbolic systems of representation, and through forms of social exclusion" (Woodward 1997:29). She further explains that in her view, social difference is established through a classificatory system, a system which divides people into opposing groups, for example us and them, or self and other. Similarly, Woodward explains that identities are formed in relation to other identities. She indicates that the most common form of marking difference is by using binary oppositions, for example 'we and them', or 'self and other'. In the present study, the binary between teachers and students is the most relevant. For the purposes of this study, the idea of identity as being constructed in relation to what it is not, and the use of binary oppositions in doing so will be used. In this context it is interesting to think of languages, and by extension cultures, as sometimes standing in opposing situations, and in this way marking identity.

Identity theory is, as mentioned earlier, concerned with representation. Woodward holds that meanings are produced through signifying practices and symbolic systems. She also maintains that representation "...as a cultural process establishes individual and collective identities" (Woodward 1997:14). Woodward indicates that social practice is symbolically marked and that every social practice has to be understood. Furthermore, she contends that identities are constantly changing in social context and through symbolic systems, one of which is language (Woodward 1997:23). This is interesting in the sense that language use can be seen both as a social practice and as a symbolic system through which identity is created. This is the basis of the symbolic analysis of language use in the classroom as representation and marking of identity.

5. Previous Research

In 1982 the National Swedish Board of Education commissioned Christina Bratt Paulston of the University of Pittsburgh to conduct an independent study of Swedish research on bilingualism, in light of Sweden's rapidly increasing immigrant population. After having reviewed all available Swedish research on bilingualism, Bratt Paulston (1982:54-55) concludes in her report, *Swedish Research and Debate about Bilingualism*, that what she calls 'mother tongue instruction' is demanded by the parents of immigrant children, and not by the immigrant children themselves. She also concludes that teachers and instructors of SSL were not trained to teach immigrant groups in a satisfactory way. This was, however, in 1982, and since then the perspectives on these questions have changed somewhat.

Since 1988 the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University has devoted their practical and theoretical research to bilingualism and bilingual education. Kenneth Hyltenstam, director of research at the center, has focused on among other topics bilingualism, second language acquisition, code-switching and bilingual education for minority children. The center has in the last six years published articles on bilingual education and academic success (Axelsson 2004), multilingualism and identity (Haglund 2004), CS as a phenomenon (Park 2004), and language didactics and culture (Jonsson 2008).

The Centre for Research on Bilingualism also co-sponsored the 8th Nordic Conference on Bilingualism. Kenneth Hyltenstam and Kari Fraurud (2001) edited the compilation of selected papers from this conference, *Multilingualism in Global and Local Perspectives*. This compilation focuses on bilingual education as a concept in place-specific context but does not address the issues revolving around CS, language and identity. Another example of the research that the center has supported is Haglund's doctoral thesis, *Social Interaction and Identification among Adolescents in Multilingual Suburban Sweden: A Study of Institutional Order and Sociocultural Change*. Haglund investigates how adolescent immigrants negotiate and contest their identities. However, she does not place her main focus on the role that language plays in the classroom, but rather on social interaction within and outside of the school context (Haglund 2005). As with other research conducted by the center, Haglund's study revolves around bilingualism and bilingual education, but has not focused specifically on CS, language and identity.

Another doctoral thesis, *Language, Identity and Social Behaviour: A Sociocultural Approach to the Study of the Concept 'will' on the effectiveness of the 'how's' and the 'why's' of bilingualism*, written by Ali Reza Sahaf (1994) studies the problems surrounding bilingualism in multicultural, multiracial communities. As of 1994, Sahaf states that there are four major instructional models that are used for the education of immigrant children in Sweden. There four models are: ordinary Swedish classes, composite classes (in which half of the students are native speakers of Swedish, and half of them are not), the monolingual mother-tongue classes (in which the teaching of SSL is postponed until after Grade 3) and the preparatory classes (in which students from a variety of language backgrounds are taught together temporarily). It is the last model that is studied in the present project. This is a model in which the students may share a common language neither with the teacher nor with one another (Sahaf, 1994:30).

In *Codeswitching Worldwide*, Rodolfo Jacobson (1998) compiled a number of articles discussing CS. All of these articles are, however, mainly concerned with the functional and/or structural aspects of CS, all of which are not of particular interest to this study.

The most recent research on the topic of CS in the classroom is the special edition of the "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism", published in March 2009, which devotes its entire issue to the conflicts and tensions of classroom code-switching. Li Wei and Peter Martin (2009) introduce the issue with a discussion of how CS has historically been considered inappropriate and unacceptable, but how more recent research provides evidence that code-switching can in fact be used in a strategic and pedagogical way.

Wei and Martin (2009:117) claim in their article, "Conflicts and tensions in classroom code-switching: an introduction", that language policies influenced by monolingual ideologies have led to "...conflicts and tensions in the way [CS] in the classroom is perceived". They mention that many research studies show that CS is perceived as inappropriate or unacceptable in the language classroom, even though CS is considered a natural part of bilingual interaction in the community context. Wei and Martin (2009:117) establish that CS is sometimes seen as a deficit or dysfunctional mode of interaction. The idea of monolingual ideologies governing the language classroom is interesting in the context of this study because of the multilingualism of the student population.

The authors also mention that most previous research has focused on the structural aspects of CS. A quantitative approach has most commonly been employed in early research in which time spent speaking a certain language was timed (Wei and Martin 2009:118). After mapping and decoding the structures of CS, researchers focused on the functional aspect of CS. On this topic, Ferguson (2009) maintains that it is important to extend the field within which CS is researched. He contends that we have to go beyond the functional aspect of CS research and focus on "...learning and classroom behaviour, on the affective climate of the classroom, and on the processes of identity formation and negotiation" (Ferguson 2009:234). Ferguson also suggests that there are in fact benefits with CS. He displays that there are ways in which CS might be used more effectively as a pedagogic and communicative resource in the classroom. The structural and functional aspects of CS will hence not be discussed in this study. Instead focus will be placed on the sociolinguistic aspects of cultural identity in relation to bilingualism and CS.

In "Conflict and accommodation in classroom codeswitching in Taiwan" Tien (2009) has conducted a study in which CS is examined in two freshman English classrooms at a university in Taiwan. Because of its respondent selection, and because of the language of instruction's standing in the Taiwanese community, Tien's study is in many ways irrelevant for this study. However, it does bring up two interesting aspects worth acknowledging. First of all, Tien (2009:174) reinforces the idea that monolingual ideologies create tensions between "...the issue of, [in this case] 'English-only' teaching on the one hand, and the role that learners' own languages might play in the classroom...". Second of all, this idea is also interesting because Tien suggests that there is a possibility that the learners' own languages could play a role in the learning process.

In their article "Conflicts and tensions in codeswitching in a Taiwanese EFL classroom", Raschka, Sercombe and Huang (2009) present the findings of their study of teachers using CS in their EFL classrooms. Their study is interesting because they study classrooms in which English is a foreign language. They show that despite language policies, there is a large amount of CS in both schools. However, they also show that CS is not a consequence of insufficient English language proficiency on the part of the teachers, but instead the teachers' use of CS is strategic and indicates a high level of general communicative competence. In their conclusion they argue for a theory of how CS actually works in the classroom, and how teachers can use it strategically (Raschka, Sercombe and Huang 2009).

Raschka, Sercombe and Huang (2009:158) cite Eldridge (1996), who claims that there seems to be 'no empirical evidence to support the notion that restricting mother tongue use would necessarily improve learning efficiency, and that the majority of CS in the classroom is highly purposeful and related to pedagogic goals'.

Raschka, Sercombe and Huang (2009:158) identify four main kinds of conflicts and tensions regarding CS in the English language classroom. These tensions are between institutions and teachers, institutions and students, teachers and students, and students and students. Most available research is concerned with the tension between institutions, teachers and students. These categories are, however, irrelevant in the present study since there are no

normative guidelines from Swedish institutions regarding CS. Instead, I will here focus on the tension between students and teachers.

Even though Raschka, Sercombe and Huang's methods are different from those of this study, their findings say something about CS in the classroom that might be relevant. Their results show that despite language policy, teachers use CS in a methodological and constructive way. They conclude that the idea of monolingual teaching in a bilingual classroom simply means that the educators do not need to consider when CS is valid and useful and when it is not. According to the authors, 'English-only' is a lazy rule in that it means that we do not have to think about when and where CS is valid and useful and where and when it is pedagogically invalid and less than useful (Raschka, Sercombe and Huang, 2009:170).

6. Results from Quantitative Study

Some general information about the High School Preparatory Program (HSPP)[1] that participated in this study might be of interest. The HSPP is governed by the Curriculum for the Non-Compulsory School System. First year and second year classes in Swedish follow a special curriculum, while third year classes use the ninth grade Swedish curriculum.

At this particular school, there are altogether approximately 100 HSPP students divided into about 10 groups. In total, these students come from over 20 different countries and according to official school records they speak 15 different languages natively. Students arrive at different ages and stay at the school for three years or until they turn 20. About 50 percent of the students came to Sweden as refugees arriving without parents or other family members.

In total, 26 students participated in this study, 65% out of whom were male. The age range of the year of birth of the students is from 1988-1992 and the average age is 18-19. The students have resided in Sweden between 8-42 months and the average length of stay is around 2 years (24.7 months). Within this group of 26 students, there are 12 languages spoken as a native language by one or more than one students. There are 18 languages spoken by these students in total excluding Swedish. The students know on average 2.2 languages other than Swedish or English, and therefore Swedish and English are on average their 3rd and 4th languages. In Table 1 below, the self-reported native and spoken languages are enumerated.

Table 1. Native languages and languages spoken by students

Languages	Native Speakers	Speakers
Arabic	2	7
Dari	4	4
English	1	19
Farsi	1	8
French	1	5
Jola	1	1
Kirundi	4	5
Kurdish	5	10
Mongolian	1	1
Polish	1	1
Russian	0	1
Somali	3	3
Spanish	0	1
Swahili	1	5
Swedish	0	22
Thai	1	1
Turkmen	1	1
Wolof	1	1
No reply	1	-

Note: The total number of students in this table does not add up to the number of students in the survey, because students have listed more than one native and spoken language.

[1] The High School Preparatory Program (fictional name) is a local program for immigrant and refugee adolescents who wish to enter a Swedish high school. The students complete courses in Swedish, Physical Education and Math in order to become eligible for Swedish high schools.

The first result will be presented in terms of languages spoken in Swedish class by teacher when addressing students and students when addressing teacher, as reported by the students. A full presentation of figures is available in Appendix 4. The majority of students (approximately 60%) stated that the teacher addresses them only in Swedish, but nearly 40 percent report that the teacher code-switches between Swedish and another language, usually English. Among students addressing the teacher, slightly more than half state speaking only Swedish and the rest claim that they code-switch between Swedish and English. In conclusion, almost half the students state that they code-switch when addressing the teacher, and over one third say that the teacher code-switches when addressing students.

The second result examines the same question but this time in English class. One third of the students report that the teacher uses only English in class. A further one third state that the teacher only uses Swedish, while the remaining third claim that the teacher code-switches between English and another language (usually Swedish). Half of the students claim using a combination of languages when addressing the teacher (usually English and Swedish), while one third speak only Swedish to the teacher, and less than 20 percent speak only English when addressing the teacher. To summarize, half the students code-switch when speaking to the teacher in English class, while the teacher is reported to speak English only, Swedish only, or a combination by one third of the students each.

The third question in the survey concerns number of languages used by students when speaking to classmates in Swedish class. About one third of the students state that they use only Swedish when they speak to their friends in Swedish class. Approximately half of the students speak Swedish and one or two other languages, and the remaining proportion (20 percent) state using at least three languages other than Swedish in Swedish class. In conclusion, one third of students speak Swedish only, and two thirds speak Swedish and one or more (up to four) other languages when speaking to classmates in Swedish class. See Figure 1 below.

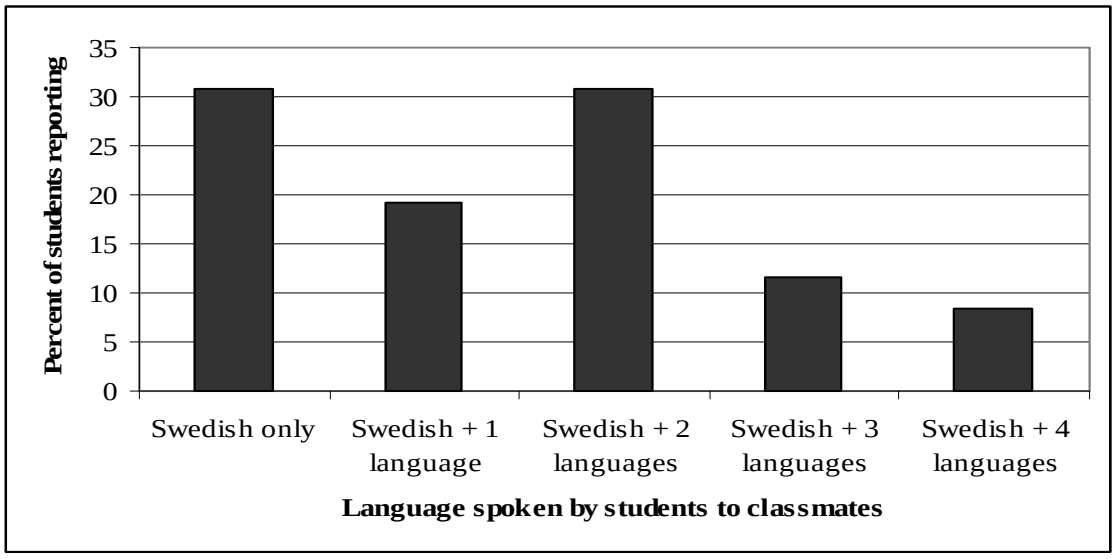

Figure 1. Number of languages used by students when speaking to classmates in Swedish class.

The students were asked which languages they use when speaking to other classmates in English class as well. When speaking with their classmates in English class, roughly 18 percent report using only Swedish and 27 percent claim to use only English. The remaining 55 percent report that they use English and at least one other language when speaking to their classmates. In other words, more than half of students claim to code-switch in English class, while the rest speak only English or only Swedish to their classmates. See Figure 2 below.

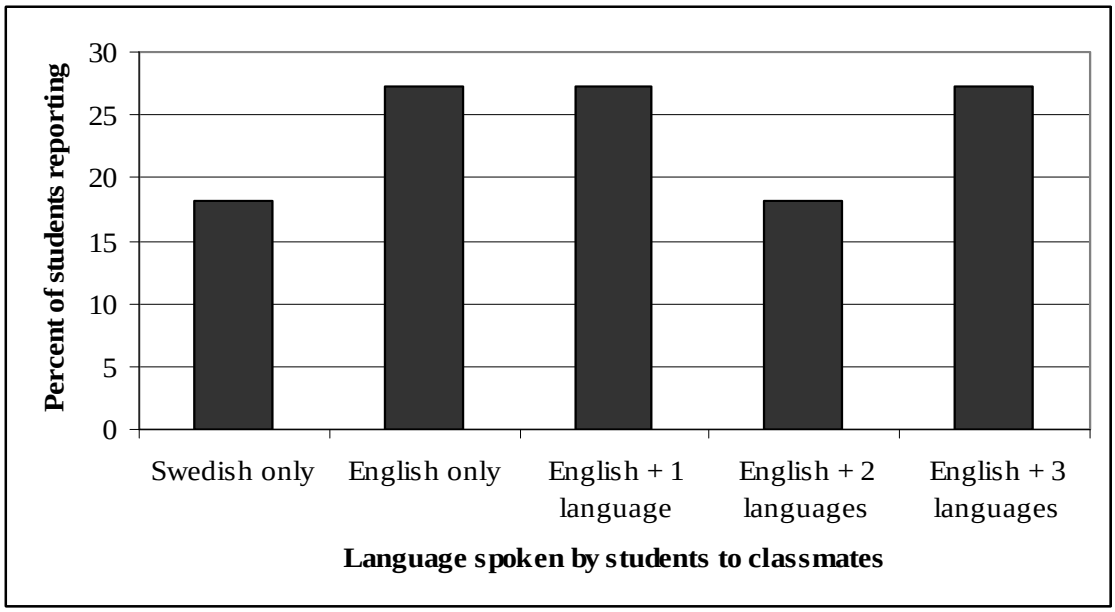

Figure 2. Number of languages used by students when speaking to classmates in English class.

Students translated to different languages when not knowing a Swedish word. The majority, approximately two thirds, do not translate to Swedish or English but to another language or languages. Only approximately one quarter use Swedish at least some of the time to find out the meaning of the word, and 20 percent use English at least some of the time. Summary: Over two thirds of students translate to a language other than Swedish or English, at least some of the time, when they encounter a Swedish word they do not know in Swedish class.

In the same way, the students translated to different languages when encountering an English word that they did not know. Nearly 60 percent translate to Swedish at least some of the time, and over half of the students translate to languages other than Swedish or English at least some of the time. About 15 percent use English to figure out the meaning of the word at least some of the time. One student (5 percent) reported not using any language to find out the meaning of a word. In English class, over half of the students use Swedish some of the time to find out what a word means, and over half another language other than Swedish or English at least some of the time.

The last section of the survey concerned the students' use of dictionaries. In Swedish class, over 40 percent state using a Swedish-English dictionary along with other dictionaries. Almost half of the students report using dictionaries between Swedish and other languages. A few students did not reply, which could mean either that they do not know, or that they do not use dictionaries in class. This would be in accordance with what the teachers in the qualitative interviews show.

In English class, over 20 percent of the students report using only English-Swedish dictionaries, while over 30 percent state using English-Swedish dictionaries along with other dictionaries. Almost 30 percent claim using dictionaries between English and other languages. The remaining proportion did not reply, as with the same question in Swedish class.

7. Results from Qualitative Study

7.1 Qualitative Interviews

The qualitative interviews with teachers of SSL were conducted separately, recorded and lasted for about 30 minutes each. The interviews were based on an interview guide which consisted of questions revolving around four major themes: language use in the classroom, language as a resource, normative culture and teacher role and identity. The results of both qualitative interviews presented here are organized into these themes, which are presented below accordingly. Both teachers have been given fictional names: Gunilla, a middle age female teacher who has been a teacher for the last 20 years and Alex, a male teacher recently graduated from Teachers College. The interviews were conducted in Swedish, but the quotes used from these interviews in the following text have been translated into English. The original quotes in Swedish can be found in Appendix 1.

7.1.1 Language Use in the Classroom

The respondents were asked to describe the language use in their classroom. I asked them to refer to what languages the students use to the, what they speak to the students, and they think the students speak to each other. Alex told me he is multilingual and does not have Swedish as his native language. In the classroom, he said that he uses only Swedish, but that he sometimes uses French to a student from Burundi. He does not want to use French in class, because that would mean one student having the advantage of sharing a language with the teacher. He also occasionally makes an exception for a student whose native language is English. He explains that sometimes it is the only way to reach this student because he has learning disabilities.

Gunilla said that she speaks Swedish, but that sometimes she will say something in English to one student, although it happens very rarely. She also said that the students speak Swedish to her basically always. On the topic of what languages the students speak in class, she said that they speak Swedish, but that sometimes they say a word in English. However, she said they never use English to discuss things in class; instead it is more like they use individual words. She also said that in a larger class, students who have a language in common communicate in that language with each other. She continued: "...and this can be a little annoying, I think, because then one does not know what they talk about". She said that she understands that there is a certain aspect of safety to it for the students, but that she finds it annoying because then she does not know what is going on.

First Alex denied that his students were bilingual. Then he said that his students mostly only speak their native language; in his classroom they only speak Thai and North Kurdish. He added that one Kurdish student speaks some Arabic as well. In other classes, he thinks that the students only speak their native language. Students who come from Burundi speak two languages, according to him, Kirundi and French. The Afghani students speak Farsi and Dari because they have lived in Iran, he said. People from Iraq speak Kurdish and Arabic, according to him. However, not all speak more than one language.

In the context of language use in the classroom, I brought up the idea of CS to Alex. He said that it was very relevant in his group because there are two students from Thailand and two from Iraq in his class. He said: "They switch all the time, as soon as they don't understand something". He said:

> We try to avoid it... I try to make them speak Swedish, because there is no point in speaking Kurdish when they are out in the community speaking, they can't speak Kurdish... But they do it very often... It is their way of learning if they don't understand a concept... Especially when it comes to concepts, they want short fast answers.

He claimed that the students do not code-switch when they discuss things, mostly when they need to translate words. He said that they do it very frequently and that it is largely due to the group constellation. He added that if one student is missing he tries to stop them from talking so that the third person does not feel left out: "But I really try to stop them as soon as they start speaking their native language in the classroom". He believes the process of understanding the new concepts takes less time if you avoid code-switching. He is afraid that there will be misunderstandings in the translation process.

The respondents were also asked to talk about what dictionaries were used in the language classroom. Gunilla said that they do not use dictionaries because her students are not good enough readers. In bigger classes, however, she continued, the students use dictionaries between Swedish and their native language. The school has access to multiple copies of dictionaries of the largest languages spoken at the school. Alex told me in his class they do not use them, but in other classes they mostly use online dictionaries, which exist to and from most languages, except from the really small. He said that, technically, they do not need dictionaries.

7.1.2 Language as Resource

The respondents were asked to talk about to what extent the students' previous language knowledge is used in the classroom. Gunilla said that she does not use the students' language knowledge in her classroom. She noted, however, that students who speak French as their school language take French at this school with the Swedish students of French. She finds this a great opportunity for integration and inclusion at the school. Alex said that he tries to ask his students for translations: "What is this called in your native language?". He does this quite a lot, but finds it hard since the teachers know very little about the students when they arrive; the teachers do not know for how long the students have been schooled, or if the students are literate in the first place.

7.1.3 Normative Culture

The respondents were asked whether they think that the course they teach convey some kind of normative culture, and if so, in what way. Alex asked me to define culture. I added to the question, is some sort of Swedish culture normative, or is it international or multicultural? He responded:

> It is quite Swedish... But I try to get them to get a somewhat larger perspective on culture, when we talk about, when we work with culture. We are working on the Sami people now, because I want them to get, to find their place, in this, because many of those students, I have noticed this since I started here, this goes especially for the Kurdish students, they are very stuck in their own culture, they have a very hard time getting away from there, even when they speak Swedish. I try to keep a Swedish middle class level, when it comes to culture, and the material we use is largely based in this middle class Svensson culture.

Alex also claimed that they use some of the students' own cultures. He showed me his classroom, which is decorated with the flags of the students' countries. He said they compare Sweden and their home countries a lot: "We talk about the Sami people and the Kurdish people because they share a similar history". All in all, he added, he thinks that the Svensson-culture is normative: "There it not much else you can do".

He also said that he tries to use much of what the students already know, what they have experienced. He told stories of two students who refused to accept certain aspects of Swedish culture, and that he had had to have conversations with them about "Swedish core values". He said that he tries to approach them from their perspective and then try to meet somewhere in between. Alex considers the normative mission of SSL to be as follows:

> It is integration, that is the goal, the language is only one part, we do lots of other things except to teach them the language. It is all about integration... the goal is for them to integrate, without losing their culture, because they have to, I fully respect their need to have their own culture, or language, but they have to approach the Swedish culture, because this is where they will be living.

He continued saying that he does not think the linguistic aspect of his SSL course need improvement, but instead the didactic aspect. He thinks it is scandalous that there are no longer any courses at Teachers College dealing with immigration. There are immigrants in every Swedish class.

On the same topic, Gunilla responded that it can get a little one-sided, that it is mostly from the perspective of Swedish culture. She thinks that their [referring to her students'] cultures are just as important, and that she asks her students what things are like in their home countries, and sometimes they get to tell. She concluded saying that she thinks there is still a lot to learn before they are at a point where they meet in the middle.

Gunilla thinks that the SSL has a normative intent as well. She said that of course one wants to present Sweden, how people think in Sweden, Swedish life and family life. She added that since they [the students] will be living in Sweden she thinks that they should get to learn codes and such things. By codes I take it she refers to social codes of conduct, etc.

7.1.4 Teacher Role and Identity

The last theme of discussion was in what way they think of their roles as teachers as having anything to do with the creation of identities for the students. Gunilla answered that there are many things that feel important. For example she wants them to learn proper Swedish pronunciation, however, she added that she find it hard after her students have turned 13. She also said that no matter whether she teaches an HSPP class or another class she tries to be a good role model. She thought that it is important to be able to express ones own opinion as a teacher so that they know where she stands. She also added that one should be helpful and nice to others and then expect the same in return.

Gunilla said that it is important that the students also respect other cultures. This she said regarding her role in relation to the social aspects of an HSPP class. She said that since racism blossoms in all parts of Swedish society, they want the school to be a haven where everybody fits and where everybody should be able to respect each other even if you disagree. She concluded that she works a lot with democracy. She added that this is a part that comes along with her job, but not something that she thinks about in particular.

Alex responded that it depends on the student. To some students he is their entire family, but generally he likes to think of himself as a guide in the process. When asked if he thinks language teaching can affect students' identities directly, he said that when you speak a new language, you come in contact with other people and other cultures, and based on that you create your new identity. He added that the problem is that some students refuse to make the switch from one culture to another. They are still afraid to take a step forward and leave what they know behind, he said.

7.2. Focus Group Interviews

7.2.1 Description of Focus Groups

All respondents will be referred to by fictional names. Focus Group 1 consisted of two male students. The first student, Filip, was born in Poland; his native language is Polish and he has been in Sweden for almost two years. Other than Polish he speaks Swedish, English and a little Spanish. The second student, Alain was born in Burundi; his native language is Kirundi and he has been in Sweden for a year and a half. Other than Kirundi he speaks French, English, Swahili and Swedish. The focus group interview was conducted in English, with a few exceptions when the students used words in Swedish to answer questions.

Focus Group 2 consisted of one female and one male student. The female student, Nadia, was born in Burundi; her native language is Kirundi and she has been in Sweden for two years. The male student, Olivier was born in Burundi; his native language is Kirundi and he has been in Sweden for about two years. Other than Kirundi, both students speak French, English, Swahili and Swedish. The interview was conducted in Swedish, as per the students' request.

The last group, Focus Group 3 consisted of one female student and one male student. The female student, Leyla, was born in Iraq; her native language is Arabic and she has been in Sweden for two and a half years. Other than Arabic she speaks English and Swedish. The male student, Amir, was born in Afghanistan; his native language is Dari and he has been in Sweden for two years. Other than Dari he speaks Farsi, Kurdish, Swedish and English. The interview was mainly conducted in English, however, by the end of the interview both students code-switched between Swedish and English.

7.2.2 Language Use in the English Classroom

The Filip and Alain told me that they speak English in English class. The teacher uses in English in English class they also first answered, and then added Swedish. They said that the teacher tries to speak English at all times, but that sometimes she switches to Swedish.

Both Nadia and Olivier said that they speak all languages in English class. Nadia said that she speaks English or Swedish to the teacher and Olivier said he tries to speak English to the teacher, but when it is too hard he uses Swedish. He also said that he finds it easier to speak Swedish than English, while Nadia said she finds English easier than Swedish.

Leyla said that she speaks English to the teacher, but Arabic to the student with whom she usually works. Amir said he tries to speak English to the teacher and English to his classmates. He added that he sometimes speaks Farsi or Kurdish to his friends. The students

said that the teacher speaks English in class, but that she sometimes explains in Swedish. They added that most students understand English relatively well and that because of this the teacher can usually speak English.

Filip said that he tries to speak English to his classmates, and sometimes Swedish. He clarified that he does not have any other languages in common with the rest of his class. Alain, who has good command of English said he speaks English when the teacher is around but that it mostly depends on who he speaks to. He alternates between Kirundi and French when he speaks to other classmates from Burundi. He also clarified that it depends on what he talks about. When for example he talks about hip-hop he speaks English, but when he doesn't know a word in English, he speaks Burundi or French.

Nadia said that she speaks French, Kirundi or Swahili, because there are several students in the class who speak those languages. Nadia and Olivier said that they almost never speak Swedish or English to each other because they find it embarrassing. Nadia was probed to explain further, and she said that since they have so many other languages in common, it is embarrassing to use languages that they do not know as well. She also added that she does not like speaking Swedish at home to her parents because she finds it embarrassing. Especially, she said, since her parents are not as good as she is at Swedish.

7.2.3 Students use of CS

Filip and Alain were asked how much they code-switch in class. Filip said that he tries to speak English as much as possible, but that since he arrived in Sweden, Swedish has taken over his English, and that he often does not find the word in English and then has to switch to Swedish. Alain said he code-switches all the time. The idea seemed to have positive connotations to him. He speaks English or Swedish to his friends in class with whom he has no other language in common, but he speaks Kirundi, French and Swahili to his friends who speak those languages.

Olivier and Nadia were asked if they ever switch between languages in class. Olivier nodded and smiled. I asked what languages he switches between and he said that he constantly switches between all languages he knows. Nadia agreed and added that since there are so many students with whom they can speak their native languages, they use that language most convenient for the moment. Olivier claimed that it also depends on where he is. Outside of the classroom he tries to speak Swedish, but in English class, he speaks French, Kirundi and Swahili to his friends.

Leyla and Amir were asked what they do if they do not know a word in English. Both students agreed that they translate to the language that is most convenient. Leyla said that sometimes there is an expression in Swedish that does not exist in Arabic or English, and when she wants to express that idea she uses Swedish. Then she added that sometimes she does not know the true meaning of a word in English, and then she can choose between translating to Swedish or Arabic. Amir said that he did knew neither Swedish nor English when he arrived in Sweden, and that it is hard learning two new languages at the same time.

As a follow up question I asked if it makes them confused using different languages at the same time. Leyla said that it is natural to speak Arabic to her classmate, but that as soon as she leaves the classroom she wants to speak Swedish. She added that she wants to learn how to speak Swedish well, but that she is afraid she will lose her English. In Iraq she said, she was exposed to more English, and in Sweden, she said, Swedish has taken over, and she does not remember words in English. She also explained that if she has spoken Swedish in school all day she sometimes forgets Arabic words when she speaks to friends outside of class. Then, she said, her friends and family do not believe that she does not remember the Arabic word, and that she is only pretending to be good at Swedish. Amir said that he is very confused when he writes, because both Swedish and English are new to him. He does not see it as a problem when he speaks in the classroom though.

I asked Alain if switching between languages ever confuses him. Alain said that he mostly gets confused when he has spoken one language for a long period of time and then has to switch. He explained that if he speaks Swedish to somebody in class and then somebody calls him and speaks Kirundi or French, he finds it hard to switch. He said he usually even answers in Swedish and said it is not until the person on the phone points out that he speaks Swedish that he is able to switch. Even then he said it takes him a minute or two to feel comfortable with

the new language. In class, however, he said he switches quite automatically, and doesn't consider it a problem.

As a follow up question I asked whether they consider code-switching a problem in the classroom. Filip said he is very devoted to learning Swedish and thinks that technically it is for the best to only use Swedish and English in class. Alain on the other hand explains that since he shares five languages with other students in the class, he finds it natural to use all languages when necessary. He explains that if he does not know a word in English, he speaks to his friends and finds the closest equivalent in Kirundi, French or Swahili.

I asked the students if they find CS confusing, and Nadia said that when she speaks the switching is natural and almost automatic, but it is harder when she writes. She said that sometimes when she is supposed to write in English, she can only remember the right word in the other languages. She also explained that sometimes she uses French or Kirundi words in her text and only realizes after she reads it through again. Olivier said that it makes him very confused to switch, but that he is glad that has other languages in common with his friends when he does not know a word in Swedish or English.

Filip was asked what the teacher thinks of them code-switching, and Filip said he does not think the teacher approves. He said that the teacher usually speaks English and that if something needs an explanation that they do not understand in English, she explains in Swedish. Alain said that both his English and Swedish teachers try to encourage them not to switch between languages. Both students said they understand why the teacher wants them to stick to one language.

Focus Group 2 was also asked what the teacher thinks about switching between languages, and Olivier said that the teacher does not want them to use other languages than English or Swedish. Olivier said that in English class, he usually uses an English-French dictionary or a Swedish-French dictionary because there are no dictionaries to Kirundi. He uses dictionaries online and added that sometimes he uses Swedish-Swedish dictionaries as well. Nadia said that she uses an English-French dictionary mostly because it is the most extensive one.

In the same way, Focus Group 3 was asked what the teacher thinks about using their native languages in the classroom, and both students said that the teacher has told them to only use English or Swedish, but that nothing bad would happen if she found them speaking their native language. Leyla said, however, that sometimes she avoids speaking Arabic in the hallway or right in front of the teacher because she is afraid that other people will think that she is saying something bad about them. She said that sometimes it makes her uneasy to speak Arabic in front of other people because she is afraid they will be prejudiced against her.

7.2.4 Culture in the Classroom

Filip said that they learn a little about Swedish culture, but not very much. Alain said that they know the basics but that there is little time to talk about either Swedish or their own culture. The students would like to discuss their own cultures in class, but said that there is no time. Filip said that the most important part of his education at the HSPP is to improve his Swedish. Both students explained that they need their Swedish degree to be accepted at the local High School and hence they are devoted to learning Swedish. Leyla and Amir both said that they do not talk about their own languages or cultures in class.

8. Analysis & Discussion

8.1 Language Use in the Classroom

The background of the student respondent group is of certain interest for this study. The results of the quantitative survey show that the students have been in Sweden for an average of about two years and that Swedish and English are on average their third and fourth languages. This respondent group makes up an interesting group of students, especially in this context. In many bilingual education programs, the students share at least one language in common. As we can see in Table 1, page 13, the students in this group speak 15 languages as their mother tongue, and all together they speak 18 languages. This means that on the one hand, these classes are

exceptionally multilingual, and that on the other hand, some students may be in a classroom in which they do not share a common language with anyone.

Most students self-report that they speak Swedish and English, but there are also a few other languages that have many speakers. There are six languages with five or more speakers in this group. These languages are Kurdish, Farsi, Arabic, French, Kirundi and Swahili (See Table 1, page 13). Some respondents who participated in the survey might belong to the group of six students who are single speakers of their languages. As a result of this, these students will not necessarily report any CS in the classroom. Out of the six students participating in the focus group interviews, only one student belonged to the category of students who do not share languages in common with their students. Consequently, the analysis of CS in the classroom will mainly be based on the focus group interviews.

However, despite the fact that some respondents are single speakers of their languages, the results of the survey show that the respondents in fact do report CS in the classroom. Both in Swedish class and in English class, almost half the students state that they code-switch when addressing the teacher, and about one third of the students claim that the teacher code-switches when addressing the students. Important to note is that these results have been gained through a survey, and not through observation. Thus, this should not be considered an objective description of what actually happens in the classroom. Instead it is the result of what the students perceive as happening in the language classroom. The fact that about half the students report code-switching both in Swedish class and in English class must be seen in the light of some of the respondents not having languages in common with other students. Had this survey focused on classrooms in which the students all shared a common language, the result might have been different.

Students state that there is code-switching in the interaction between the students and the teacher. They also report that there is code-switching among themselves. In Swedish class, one third of students claim speaking Swedish only and two thirds code-switch between Swedish and up to four other languages when they speak to their classmates. The Swedish classroom is in other words filled with languages being switched from one to another. In English class, the proportion of students reporting code-switching between languages when speaking to their classmates is slightly smaller, but there is still a majority. The results of this survey, that the students to some extent report code-switching verbally in all interactions in the classroom, but especially when speaking to their friends will serve as the backdrop for the rest of the discussion.

As mentioned before, the EFL classroom can be seen as belonging to the category of bilingual programs that promotes and uses several languages (Baker 2006:213). The fact that the students report code-switching less in the EFL classroom is for this reason slightly surprising, but can possibly be explained. Baker's (2006:213-214) definition of Enrichment Bilingual Education is that the mother tongue is not threatened by a new language, and linguistic diversity is promoted. This might mean that since the students are less threatened by English as a language, they are less likely to code-switch and more likely to want to focus on learning the language. In the SSL classroom on the other hand, the mother tongue of the students is threatened, and the students express this by asserting their ethnic identities through language use, or CS more specifically.

CS does not have to be verbal. The students were asked to what languages they translate when they do not know words in Swedish or English. The majority of students report that they translate to Swedish, English and their native languages. The students were also asked which dictionaries they use, and they listed a variety of dictionaries between Swedish, English all other languages used in the classroom. This is interesting in the sense that it adds a cognitive aspect to the CS in the classroom. On the one hand, the students code-switch verbally, but on the other, there is an intricate network of languages in the students minds, that connect in different ways, between different languages, to gain an understanding of a word or a concept in their second, third or fourth language.

The same questions were asked to the students in the focus group interviews, and similar answers to those of the survey were given, except this time with more nuance. Filip and Alain show a certain hesitation in their answers to what languages they speak in class, as if they think they are supposed to answer that they speak English in English class, and then change their minds and admit that they sometimes also speak other languages. Nadia and Olivier said that

they speak all languages, but Olivier admitted that he tries to speak as much English as possible in English class. He also implies that he knows that he is supposed to speak English in English class. Leyla and Amir said that they try to speak English to the teacher, but that sometimes they code-switch if they do not understand. It seems like the question is a little sensitive and the students seem to think that there is a right answer.

It turns out the question is less sensitive when it revolves around CS among the classmates. All students admit code-switching between the languages they know with people who know them as well. Alain and Nadia bring up interesting aspects of CS: Alain claims to code-switch depending on context, and depending on whether the teacher is around or not. This accentuates the idea that the students believe they are not supposed to code-switch, but do so anyway secretly. Nadia touched on the idea of disliking speaking Swedish or English to her friend with whom she shares many languages. She said it is embarrassing since they can speak other languages together with higher proficiency.

The respondents seem to have an ambiguous relationship to CS in the language classroom. Bullock and Toribio (2009:9-10) indicate that despite the fact that researchers conclude that CS is a source of linguistic proficiency, it remains largely stigmatized. As the respondents have shown in this study, this proves to be the case. The students do not seem to consider their own abilities to code-switch as signs of linguistic proficiency. Even though most of them speak about CS in positive terms, they hesitate in admitting that they employ it. From a researcher's perspective, this means that these students are unaware of the fact that they have linguistically advanced skills. This is unfortunate in a broader perspective. Being a student of a foreign language is always in many ways very limiting in terms of social and cultural identity. The students do not always know how to express themselves and their linguistic skills are judged by how proficient they are in their second, third or fourth language. Encouraging these students to see themselves as linguistically competent students might change the way in which they see themselves within the language classroom, and within the community.

The results from the survey and the initial questions from the focus group interviews do not differ significantly from that of previous research on the same topic (Bullock and Toribio 2009; Wei and Martin 2009; Tien 2009; Raschka, Sercombe and Huang 2009). It can be established that CS tends to occur in language classrooms, and I can establish that this is the case in this specific context as well. Having established that the students report code-switching to varying degrees in the language classroom, there remains to examine their attitudes toward it. This was done in the focus group interviews.

Alain, Olivier and Nadia all showed strong positive reactions when mentioning CS and asking how much they do it. They claim to do it all the time, and explain how they switch between all languages they know depending on the context and on what is most convenient at the moment. Interesting here is that the students with the strongest positive reactions toward CS are Alain, Olivier and Nadia, students who all come from Burundi and accordingly share a number of languages. Leyla explains how the intricate network of languages works in her mind. She can choose to translate to the language that has the most convenient equivalent, and sometimes she borrows words from Swedish if their equivalent does not exist in Arabic. In this way, Leyla does not only code-switch in the most common way, which is when adding phrases of your native language into your second or third language. Leyla also adds Swedish phrases into her Arabic.

Theories on bilingualism explore the reasons that lie behind the use of CS. Three students from the same ethnic group all report positive connotations to CS and they report using it for various reasons. Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) demonstrate that it can be used to fill linguistic gaps and achieve discursive aims. Leyla for example explains that she code-switches to fill linguistic gaps and to translate words she does not know. Hamers and Blanc (2000) assert that beyond those functions of CS lies the idea that "...code-switching is used as a communicative strategy and a marker of ethnic-group membership and identity" (Hamers and Blanc 2000:266). Sociolinguist Trudgill (2000:106) cites Le Page (1985) who concurs arguing that CS can be used to signal two identities at once. Alain, Olivier and Nadia speak Swedish, English, French, Kirundi and Swahili. They report code-switching frequently between each other and it has positive connotation for them. In the light of theories of bilingualism and identity, their code-switching can be symbolically interpreted as a marker of identity. CS as a marker of identity can be explored further in the light of sociolinguistic and identity theory.

First of all, let us begin with the idea of identity and difference, as introduced by Woodward (1997:29). Alain, Olivier and Nadia can be seen as constructing their identities in terms of difference in several ways. By code-switching in the language classroom, they mark their difference in relation to the teacher, who only speaks Swedish and English. In many ways, the students as a group share more in common with each other than with the teacher, which creates a dichotomy between the Swedish teacher and the immigrant and refugee students. Woodward (1997) sees the creation of binaries as a way in which an individual can define their social identity in relation to others. This is, however, a simplified view of the classroom situation. Alain, Olivier and Nadia also mark their difference in relation to the other students in the classroom. By using French, Kirundi or Swahili out loud in the classroom, they set themselves apart from anybody who does not speak those languages. By separating themselves from the other students, they also come together as an ethnic group.

Not only do the students mark identity through difference in the classroom. CS also functions to signal two identities at once (Le Page (1985) as cited in Trudgill, 2000:106). On the one hand, the Burundi students signal their ethnic group membership by switching between languages that other students and the teacher do not know. On the other hand, though, the students do not only signal their identities as purely belonging to one ethnic group. By speaking two or more languages, the students indicate that in some way they belong to both sides, to both cultures. By code-switching, the Burundi students signal ethnic group membership on the one hand, and a Swedish-Burundi multicultural identity on the other.

The students' construction of identity can also be seen in terms of what Woodward refers to as representation. Woodward (1997:14) makes a case that meanings are produced through signifying practices and symbolic systems. I argue that CS can be seen as a signifying practice. The students choose to represent themselves in different manners. CS in the classroom is a specific practice carrying meaning in itself, and in relation to what it excludes. The students who code-switch employ a practice that carries strong significance in terms of how these students are perceived, especially since it is not necessarily sanctioned by the teacher. It can also be argued that the students represent themselves through symbolic systems. Language in general and CS in particular, can be seen as symbolic systems. This is so in the sense that CS is a systematic and unconventional way of communicating that is largely symbolic. CS combines multiple languages, cultures and identities in one system of communication.

In conclusion, the results from the survey and the focus group interviews have produced the answer to one of the initial focus questions of this study. The immigrant students learning Swedish and English who participated in this study report code-switching to a large extent in the language classroom. They report more switching when speaking to their classmates, and less in the student-teacher interaction. The respondents' attitudes toward CS are somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, most students show a positive reaction to CS and they talk about it in a proud way. On the other hand though, the respondents show an insecurity about to what extent they can admit that they code-switch.

8.2 Teacher Perspectives on CS

Gunilla's view on language use in the language classroom is that the interaction between her and her students is in Swedish, but that she makes occasional exceptions for students who speak English. She claimed that her students occasionally say things in English to each other, but that they never have complete discussions in any other language than Swedish in her classroom. Gunilla teaches in a relatively small group, but when referring to larger groups that she has taught, she said that students communicate in their native languages with each other. This Gunilla finds annoying because then she does not know what they talk about and by extension she said she does not know what is going on.

Alex also disapproves of native language use in the classroom, but on slightly different grounds than Gunilla. According to Alex, CS is highly relevant in his classroom because he teaches two students from Thailand and two students from Iraq; he said that his students code-switch all the time. Alex's view on CS is that he tries to avoid it; he tries to make his students speak Swedish. He justifies this by claiming that since they live in Sweden there is no point in speaking Kurdish for example. He also justifies it arguing that the process of learning new concepts takes less time if you avoid CS.

Much of the previous research presented in this study show that teachers tend to have a negative view of CS in the language classroom (Wei and Martin 2009). Some of these studies explain this by the fact that there are language policies on the part of the school as an institution that encourages monolingual teaching (Wei and Martin 2009; Raschka, Sercombe and Huang 2009). In the case of this study, this can, however, not be said to be true. As mentioned earlier, the HSPP program is governed by the Curriculum for the Non-Compulsory School System (Skolverket 2004), a curriculum that governs all high school programs nation-wide. There is nowhere to be read neither in this curriculum, nor in any Swedish SSL or EFL course curriculum that teaching should be conducted in one language only. Furthermore, the respondents of these qualitative interviews have not indicated that such an ideological demand has been put forth by the school board. This means that the teachers' decisions to avoid CS in the classroom are conscious decisions solely on the part of the teachers themselves.

As mentioned earlier, the students showed certain insecurity when talking about CS. The students relate that their teacher tries to encourage them not to code-switch in the classroom, and only speak one language. Hence, the underlying reason for this insecurity seems to be that the teacher discourages them to code-switch. Consequently, the students code-switch mainly among each other, and when the teacher is not around. In terms of their attitude toward CS in general, the students seem to consider code-switching a convenience, an asset to their language acquisition, and as something they share with the other students who belong to their ethnic minority. It remains to discuss the implications of the students' and the teachers' views on CS.

Even though there is not necessarily a connection between the teacher respondents and the student respondents of this study, both groups seem to agree on a few points regarding language use in the classroom. Both teachers and students report that CS occurs in the classroom. The students seem to be under the impression that CS is undesirable in the language classroom and the teachers confirm this view in their interviews. What is not explored in the student interviews is, however, how this affects the students' construction of identity. The following discussion will be based on the assumption that the students use CS for linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons. It has now been shown that the teachers try to stop students from speaking their native languages. The implications will be discussed below.

By discouraging the use of CS in the language classroom, the teachers play an important part in the students' construction of identity. The major ideas discussed in the previous section were that there is a connection between language and ethnic identity (Hamers and Blanc 2000), that identity is marked by difference (Woodward 1997), and the use of CS can be symbolically interpreted as students' asserting multiple identities at once (Trudgill 2000). The discouragement of CS in the classroom has direct affects on all these aspects of language use and identity. When students are forced to not speak their native language in the classroom, the teacher takes away the students' possibility to construct their multilingual identities. No longer can the student mark her difference in relation to the teacher or the other students. No longer can the student show her ethnic group membership through language use. The student cannot shift between different cultures and identities when forced into being monolingual.

Students' and the teachers' view on language use in the classroom stand in stark contrast to each other. While Alex claims that the process of learning a new language takes less time if you CS, Alain and Olivier said that CS helps them find out the meaning of words they do not know in a faster and more convenient way. In this case, it seems as though the students have a reason for disagreeing with their teachers. Raschka, Sercombe and Huang (2009:158) cite Eldridge (1996), who claims that there seems to be 'no empirical evidence to support the notion that restricting mother tongue use would necessarily improve learning efficiency, and that the majority of CS in the classroom is highly purposeful and related to pedagogic goals'. Alex claims to restrict the students' possibilities to speak their mother tongues with pedagogic goals in mind. This does not, however, seem established within the research on the topic. Whether this is simply Alex's own pedagogic preference or whether he has not taken part in research on the topic is hard to say. One conclusion is, however, that the restriction of CS in the classroom can be questioned.

Gunilla discourages CS for other reasons that are closely related to the idea of identity and difference, as defined by Woodward (1997). Gunilla disapproves of CS because it excludes her; she does not know what the students talk about, and it makes her uncomfortable. First of all, Woodward (1997:29) maintains that difference is marked through social exclusion. The

students mark social difference when code-switching, because they exclude anybody who does not understand. Second of all, Woodward asserts that that social difference is established through a classificatory system, a system which divides people into opposing groups, such as us and them, or self and other. The binary between the teacher and the students becomes evident, and the teacher, who is places in the position of the 'other' becomes insecure. The students mark their identity and group membership in stark difference to that of the teacher's. The connection between CS and identity and group membership is no longer hypothetical. The teacher of SSL registers this practice and attempts to forbid it.

The teachers were asked to reflect on their role as language teachers in the students' construction of identity. Gunilla answered in terms of what she thinks is important for the students to learn. She mentioned that she wants the students to learn good pronunciation, to respect other people and other cultures and to work in democratic ways. Alex responded more specifically in terms of how he sees himself as a guide in his students' lives. He also said that it is important for the students to use their language to take the step from one culture to another. In other words, neither Alex nor Gunilla had specific thought on the relationship between them as language teachers and the students' formation of identity. Instead both teachers referred to the importance of approaching and being tolerant towards other cultures. The lack of reflection on the relationship between language and identity can depend on several reasons. The teachers might not have understood the question, or they might not have reflected on it.

In conclusion, the second focus question of this study has been answered. The teachers' perspectives on CS in the language classroom have proved to concur with those of the students in some aspects, and stand in stark contrast in others. Both teachers and students report that CS occurs in the classroom. The students seem to be under the impression that CS is undesirable in the language classroom and the teachers confirm this view in their interviews. The students and the teachers do not, however, seem to agree on whether or not CS should be allowed. The teachers discourage CS in the classroom, and this limits the students' abilities to use language as a marker of identity. The discussion has revolved around the reasons for the discouragement of CS. One interpretation is that the contrast between the teacher's identity and the students' identities becomes too great. The next section will examine the possible reasons for this.

8.3 Language and Culture as Resource

The relationship between language, culture and identity is hard to pinpoint. Hamers and Blanc (2000:199) present a connection between the three that proves to be of interest for this study. They demonstrate that language is on the one hand a transmitter of culture, and on the other it is the main instrument for the internalization of culture. In other words, language transmits culture and language is used to internalize culture by the individual.

The idea of an existence of a relationship between language, culture and identity is of interest for the third focus question of this study. Hamers and Blanc (2000:199) argue that language is on the one hand a transmitter of culture, and on the other it is the main instrument for the internalization of culture. In many of the studies mentioned in the previous research section, the writers make a case for the use of CS as a linguistic resource in the classroom ([Ferguson (2009) as cited in] Wei and Martin 2009; Tien 2009; Raschka, Sercombe and Huang 2009. The connection between language, culture and identity then probes the question of to what extent the teachers report using languages and cultures other than Swedish as resources in the language classroom.

Gunilla said that she does not use the students' knowledge of other languages as resources in the classroom. Alex said that he asks students for translations to their native languages, but that it is hard to use their previous knowledge because the teachers know so little about the students when they arrive. Alex also said that he tries to give the students a wide perspective on culture when for example talking about the Sami people. Alex also claimed to depart from what the students already know when he talks about culture. The students were also asked about in what ways they talk about culture in the classroom. Alain and Filip said they talk about the basics in Swedish culture, but that they do not talk about their own cultures. Leyla and Amir agree that they do not talk about their own languages or cultures in class.

Starting with the idea of language as transmitter of culture, as defined by Hamers and Blanc (2000:119), it can thus be contended that the monolingual classroom that Alex and Gunilla promote transmits a monoculture. Continuing with the idea of language as the main instrument for the internalization of culture, it can be argued that in the monolingual classroom promoted by the teachers, the culture intended to be internalized is then Swedish. In conclusion, the teachers do not report using the students' native languages as a resource in the classroom. It has previously been established that the teachers do not use the students' abilities to code-switch as linguistic resources either. The students' possibilities to create multiple identities, and identify with multiple cultures are then limited in the language classroom.

To clarify the lack of engagement in the students' previous linguistic and cultural knowledge, the teachers were asked to relate how they understand the mission of their language teaching and in what ways they see culture as normative. Both Gunilla and Alex said that teaching on culture is relatively one-sided, as in focusing on Swedish culture. Alex added that the main perspective in his teaching is Swedish middle-class. Gunilla added that sometimes her students get to tell the class about what it is like in their home countries. Both teachers conclude that the Swedish culture is normative, but that they attempt to bring in other cultures. These statements can be seen in relation to theories on bilingual education programs. As has been established earlier (Baker 2006), the SSL course can be defined in relation to its aim. In this case, Alex and Gunilla teach a monolingual course for minority language children and adolescents. The aim of the course, as established by the teachers, is integration into Swedish society. This is interesting in many ways. The integration aim of the SSL course is stated by the teachers, but is nowhere to be found in the National Curriculum. This means that their monolingual, monocultural teaching is defined by themselves only, and come from the teachers' own ideas about culture and language teaching.

To return to the idea of language as transmitter of culture (Hamers and Blanc 2000) it is here obvious that Alex and Gunilla are atoned with the idea that language transmits culture. In fact, that seems to be the only aspect they reflect on. Gunilla and Alex use the Swedish language to simply tell the students about Swedish culture. However, the other aspect of language and culture that Hamers and Blanc (2000:199) bring up does not seem to be present in the interviews. Language is a transmitter of culture, but it is also the tool with which culture is internalized. This means that the teachers' monolingual ways of teaching helps the students to internalize a monoculture.

The teachers' understandings of the normative aspects of SSL were quite similar. Alex argued that language is only the means to reach integration. According to Alex, integration must be reached without the students losing their own cultures, but still through approaching the Swedish culture. Gunilla also saw the normative aspect of SSL in terms of learning about how to fit into Swedish culture. In this way, the teachers had a relatively clear and outspoken understanding of the normative aspects of SSL. According to them, the mission of SSL is for the students to integrate, or assimilate into Swedish society through the learning of the Swedish language. These viewpoints explain the teachers' opinions in previous sections in this study. If the purpose of SSL is to make the students integrate into Swedish society, using students' cultures and languages might not be of interest. Allowing for students to code-switch in the classroom, and thereby strengthening their hybrid identities might also not seem important. It has been established that the teachers hold strong opinions on the purpose of their teaching, and this reflects their actions in the classroom. The issues are, however, not resolved. Instead, new issues arise.

8.4 Concluding Remarks

As with most research that has been used in this study, the quantitative and qualitative data suggest that CS is widely used in the classroom, between students and teachers and among classmates. This study has also established that the students have positive connotations to CS, but that they are ambivalent towards using it because it is not sanctioned by their teachers. It has also been shown that the students use CS for various linguistic and social reasons. In the interviews with three students belonging to the same ethnic group, it could be suggested that their use of language is a marker of ethnic identity. With regards to the teachers' perspectives on CS in the classroom, this result is also in accordance with previous research. The teachers

report that they discourage CS in the classroom for various linguistic and social reasons. As for the idea that language and culture can be used as resources in the multilingual, multicultural classroom, the teachers report not doing so to a large extent. The teachers find it difficult to work with language and culture in the classroom. This can also be explained by the fact that both teachers share the view that Swedish culture and the Swedish language in the SSL classroom is normative. Both teachers also admit that they interpret the aim of the SSL course as being a path to immigration.

Theories on bilingualism, CS, sociolinguistics and identity converge in this study. Within the realm of bilingualism research, language is seen as transmitting, and at the same time internalizing culture and identity. Recent publications on CS as a linguistic phenomenon see CS as a means of expressing group membership and ethnic identity. Sociolinguistic theories are concerned with the ways in which CS can be used to signal multiple identities at once. Identity theory, then, which is perhaps the common denominator for all theories used in this essay, deal with the ways in which we construct identity, in relation to difference and in relation to representation. Common for all these theories is the fascination with the relationship between language use and identity, and the ways in which CS can be used to mark, create, construct and negotiate an individual's identity in relation to another.

The most recent research on the topic of CS in the language classroom has focused on the tensions between teachers, students and the language policy of institutions. Wei and Martin (2009), Tien (2009), Ferguson (2009), and Raschka, Sercombe and Huang (2009) all suggest that CS can and should be employed by both students and teachers to achieve pedagogical goals. This study intends to extend this wish a little further. CS cannot only be used in the classroom for pedagogical aims. It can and should also be used consciously by teachers and students for social purposes. This study has shown that the teachers of SSL have limited understandings of the role that CS plays in students' construction of identity. Future research should invest time and effort into reshaping misconceptions of CS, and creating new spaces in which multiple languages, cultures and identities are seen as resources in the language classroom.

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Appendix 1: Translations from Teacher Interviews

Quotes from Page 16

Original Swedish quote: "...och det kan vara lite irriterande, tycker jag, för då vet man inte vad de pratar om".
My translation to English: "...and this can be a little annoying, I think, because then one does not know what they talk about".

Original Swedish quote: "De switchar hela tiden, så fort de inte förstår någonting".
My translation to English: "They switch all the time, as soon as they don't understand something"

Original Swedish quote: "Vi försöker undvika det... Jag försöker tvinga dem att, tvinga dem att prata sitt, eller ja, svenska, för det är ingen idé att de pratar kurdiska när de är ute i samhället och pratar, de kan inte prata kurdiska... Men dom gör det väldigt ofta... Det är deras sätt att lära sig om de fastnar vid ett begrepp... Särskilt när det gäller begrepp, korta snabba svar vill de ha".
My translation to English: "We try to avoid it... I try to make them speak Swedish, because there is no point in speaking Kurdish when they are out in the community speaking, they can't speak Kurdish... But they do it very often... It is their way of learning if they don't understand a concept... Especially when it comes to concepts, they want short fast answers".

Original Swedish quote: "Men jag försöker verkligen avbryta dem så fort de börjar prata sitt modersmål i klassrummet".
My translation to English: "But I really try to stop them as soon as they start speaking their native language in the classroom".

Original Swedish quote: "Vad heter det på ditt modersmål?"
My translation to English: "What is this called in your native language?"

Original Swedish quote: "Det är ganska mycket svensk... Men jag försöker få dem att få ett lite större perspektiv på kultur, när vi pratar om, när vi jobbar med kultur. Vi håller på med samerna nu, för att jag vill att de ska få ja, hitta sin plats, i det där, för många av de där eleverna, det har jag märkt sedan jag började här, det gäller särskilt kurderna, de är väldigt fast i sin egen kultur, de har väldigt svårt att ta sig därifrån, även när de pratar svenska. Jag försöker hålla en sån, medelklass svensk nivå, på kultursidan, och materialet vi använder är mycket baserat på den här medelklass svensson kulturen".
My translation to English: "It is quite Swedish... But I try to get them to get a somewhat larger perspective on culture, when we talk about, when we work with culture. We are working on the Sami people now, because I want them to get, to find their place, in this, because many of those students, I have noticed this since I started here, this goes especially for the Kurdish students, they are very stuck in their own culture, they have a very hard time getting away from there, even when they speak Swedish. I try to keep a Swedish middle class level, when it comes to culture, and the material we use is largely based in this middle class Svensson culture".

Quotes from Page 17

Original Swedish quote: "Vi pratar om samerna och kurderna för att det är lite samma historia bakom"
My translation to English: "We talk about the Sami people and the Kurdish people because they share a similar history".

Original Swedish quote: "Man kan inte göra så mycket annat".
My translation to English: "There it not much else you can do".

Original Swedish quote: "den svenska värdegrunden"
My translation to English: "the Swedish core values"

Original Swedish quote: "Det är integration, det är det som är målet, språket är bara en del, vi gör massa annat än att lära dem språket... Allt handlar om integration, egentligen, det är inte språk, det är bara en del, det är ett medel för att nå integration... målet är att de ska integrera sig, utan att förlora sin kultur, för de måste, jag respekterar absolut det där behovet de har att ha sin egen kultur, om jag säger, eller språk eller så, men de måste närma sig den svenska kulturen, för att det är här de kommer att leva".

My translation to English: "It is integration, that is the goal, the language is only one part, we do lots of other things except to teach them the language... It is all about integration... the goal is for them to integrate, without losing their culture, because they have to, I fully respect their need to have their own culture, or language, but they have to approach the Swedish culture, because this is where they will be living".

Appendix 2: Survey in English

Survey on Language and Identity

My name is Linda Blomquist and I am a student at Umeå University. I study to become a language teacher and I am writing my thesis about language and identity. I am very interested in your language knowledge and I would be very grateful if you would fill out this survey. Everything you write will be anonymous and you can in no way be identified in the final report.

- Read the questions carefully and answer as honestly as possible.
- Write you answer on the line below the question, or
- Check the box next to your answer, or
- Rank your answer in order where 1 is the most and 10 is the least.
- Every question can have multiple answers.

Thank you for your participation!

1 What year were you born?

_____

2 Are you a woman or a man?

☐ Woman
☐ Man

3 For how long have you lived in Sweden?

_____

4 Which languages do you speak? List all!

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5 What is your native language / first language?

_____

When you are in your Swedish class…

1 Which languages does your teacher use most in the classroom?

- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] English
- [ ] Other: which?_____

2 Which languages do you use most when you speak to your teacher?

- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] English
- [ ] Other: which?_____

3 Which languages do you speak most with your friends in the classroom?

- [ ] Arabic
- [ ] English
- [ ] Kurdish
- [ ] Farsi
- [ ] Somali
- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

4 To what languages to you translate when you don't know a word in Swedish?

- [ ] Arabic
- [ ] English
- [ ] Kurdish
- [ ] Farsi
- [ ] Somali
- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

5 Which dictionaries do you use most when you are in Swedish class?

- [ ] Swedish-Arabic
- [ ] Swedish-English
- [ ] Swedish-Kurdish
- [ ] Swedish-Farsi
- [ ] Swedish-Somali
- [ ] Other: which?_____

When you are in your English class…

1 Which languages does your teacher use most in the classroom?

- [ ] English
- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

2 Which languages do you use most when you speak to your teacher?

- [ ] English
- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

3 Which languages do you speak most with your friends in the classroom?

- [ ] Arabic
- [ ] English
- [ ] Kurdish
- [ ] Farsi
- [ ] Somali
- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

4 To what languages to you translate when you don't know a word in English?

- [ ] Arabic
- [ ] English
- [ ] Kurdish
- [ ] Farsi
- [ ] Somali
- [ ] Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

5 Which dictionaries do you use most when you are in English class?

- [ ] English-Arabic
- [ ] English-Kurdish
- [ ] English-Farsi
- [ ] English-Somali
- [ ] English-Swedish
- [ ] Other: which?_____

Appendix 3: Survey in Swedish

Undersökning om språk och identitet

Jag heter Linda Blomquist och är student på Umeå universitet. Jag studerar för att bli språklärare och jag skriver mitt examensarbete om språk och identitet. Jag är mycket intresserad av era språkkunskaper och jag skulle vara mycket tacksam om ni ville fylla i denna enkät. Allt ni skriver kommer att vara anonymt, och man kan inte spåra er på något sätt i den färdiga undersökningen.

- Läs igenom frågorna noggrant och svara så ärligt ni kan.
- Skriv ert svar på raden under frågan, eller
- Sätt ett kryss i rutan bredvid ert svar, eller
- Rangordna ert svar där 1 är mest och 10 är minst.
- Varje fråga kan ha flera svar.

Tack för er medverkan!

1 Vilket år föddes du?

_____

2 Är du kvinna eller man?

☐ Kvinna
☐ Man

3 Hur länge har du bott i Sverige?

_____

4 Vilka språk talar du? Skriv alla!

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5 Vilket är ditt modersmål/första språk?

_____

När du är på svensklektion…

1 Vilka språk använder läraren mest på lektionen?

- ☐ svenska
- ☐ engelska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

2 Vilka språk använder du mest när du pratar med din lärare?

- ☐ svenska
- ☐ engelska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

3 Vilka språk pratar du mest med dina kompisar i klassrummet?

- ☐ arabiska
- ☐ engelska
- ☐ kurdiska
- ☐ persiska
- ☐ somaliska
- ☐ svenska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

4 Till vilket språk översätter du om du inte kan ett ord på svenska?

- ☐ arabiska
- ☐ engelska
- ☐ kurdiska
- ☐ persiska
- ☐ somaliska
- ☐ svenska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

5 Vilka ordböcker/lexikon använder du mest när du har svenska?

- ☐ svensk-arabiskt
- ☐ svensk-engelskt
- ☐ svensk-kurdiskt
- ☐ svensk-persiskt
- ☐ svensk-somaliskt
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

När du är på engelsklektion…

1 Vilka språk använder läraren mest på lektionen?

- ☐ engelska
- ☐ svenska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

2 Vilka språk använder du mest när du pratar med din lärare?

- ☐ engelska
- ☐ svenska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

3 Vilka språk pratar du mest med dina kompisar i klassrummet?

- ☐ arabiska
- ☐ engelska
- ☐ kurdiska
- ☐ persiska
- ☐ somaliska
- ☐ svenska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

4 Till vilket språk översätter du om du inte kan ett ord på engelska?

- ☐ arabiska
- ☐ engelska
- ☐ kurdiska
- ☐ persiska
- ☐ somaliska
- ☐ svenska
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

5 Vilka ordböcker/lexikon använder du mest när du har engelska?

- ☐ engelsk-svenskt
- ☐ engelsk-arabiskt
- ☐ engelsk-kurdiskt
- ☐ engelsk-persiskt
- ☐ engelsk-somaliskt
- ☐ annat: vilket? _____

Appendix 4: Figures I-VI

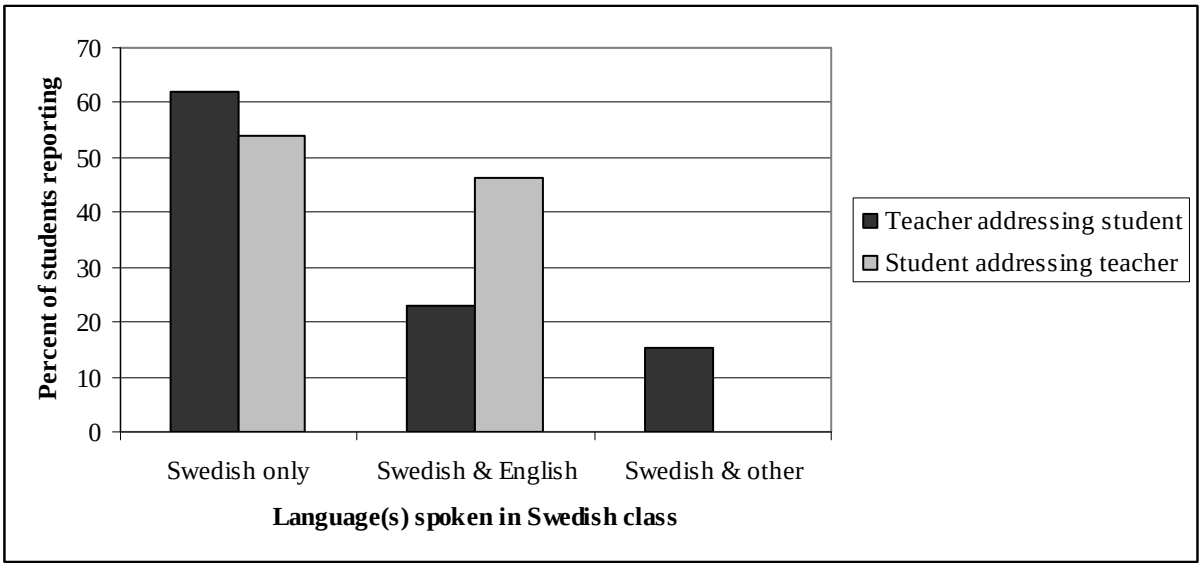

Figure I. Languages spoken in Swedish class by teacher when addressing students and students when addressing teacher, as reported by the students.

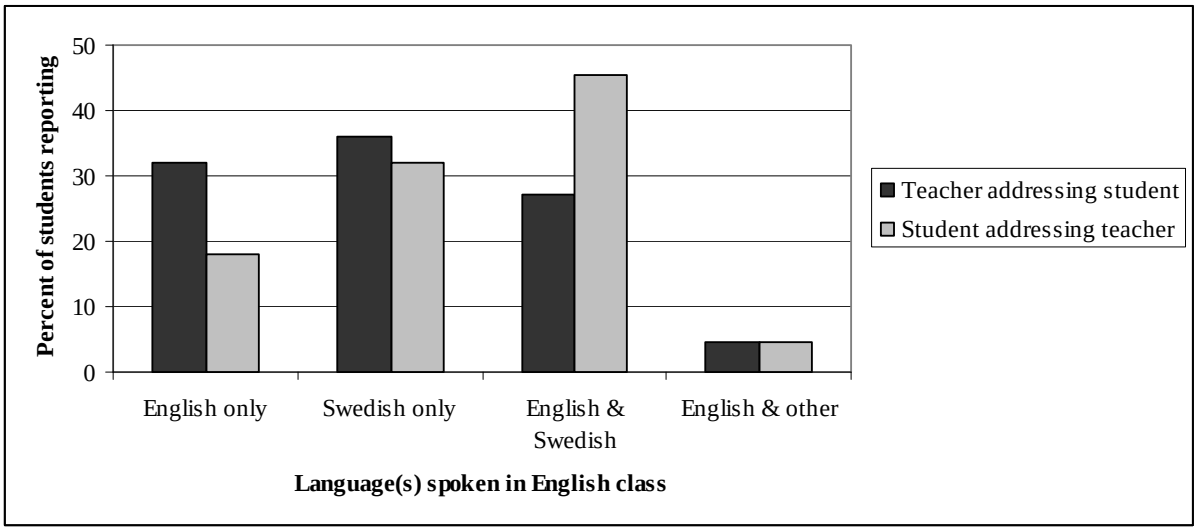

Figure II. Languages spoken in English class by teacher when addressing students and students when addressing teacher, as reported by the students.

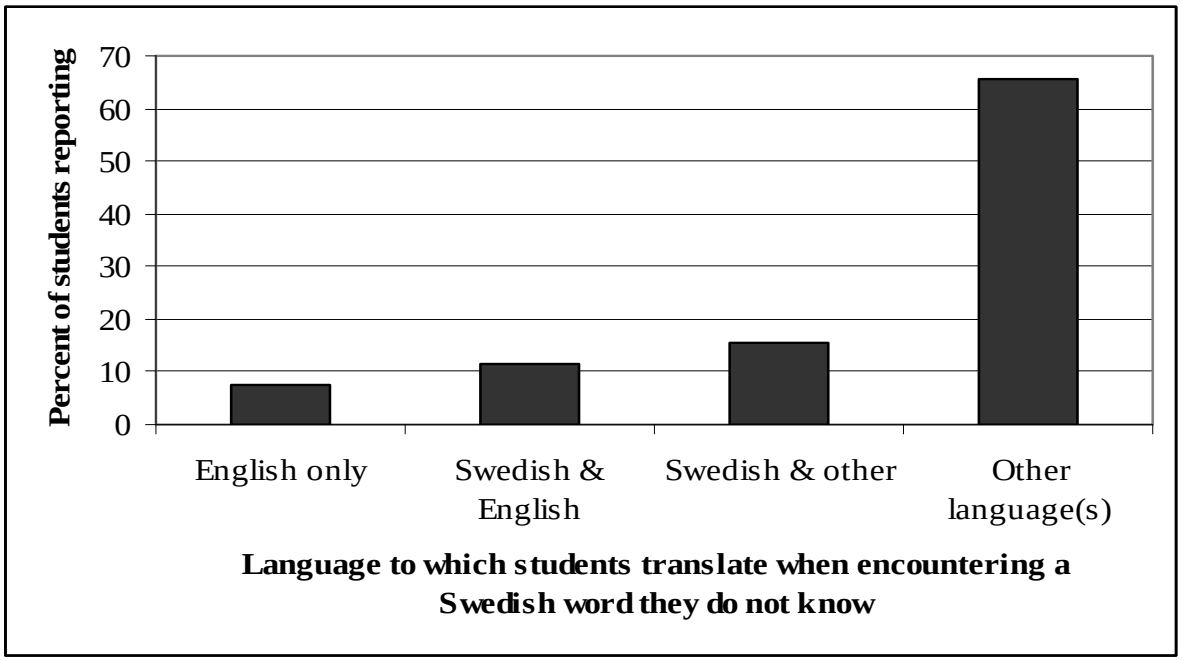

Figure III. Language(s) to which students translate when encountering a Swedish word they do not know in Swedish class.

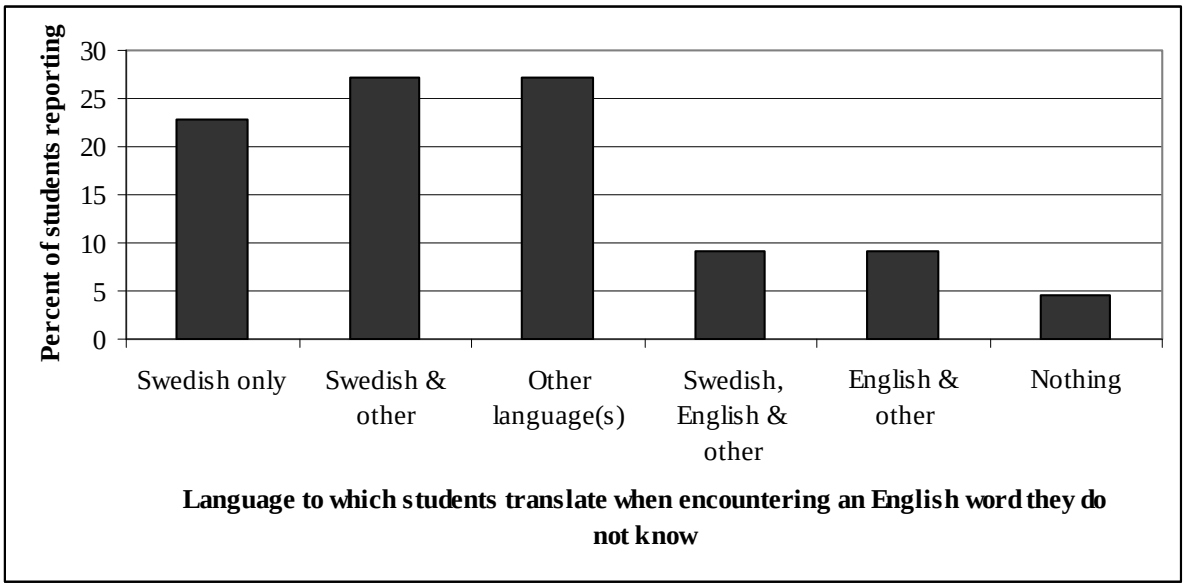

Figure IV. Language(s) to which students translate when encountering an English word they do not know in English class.

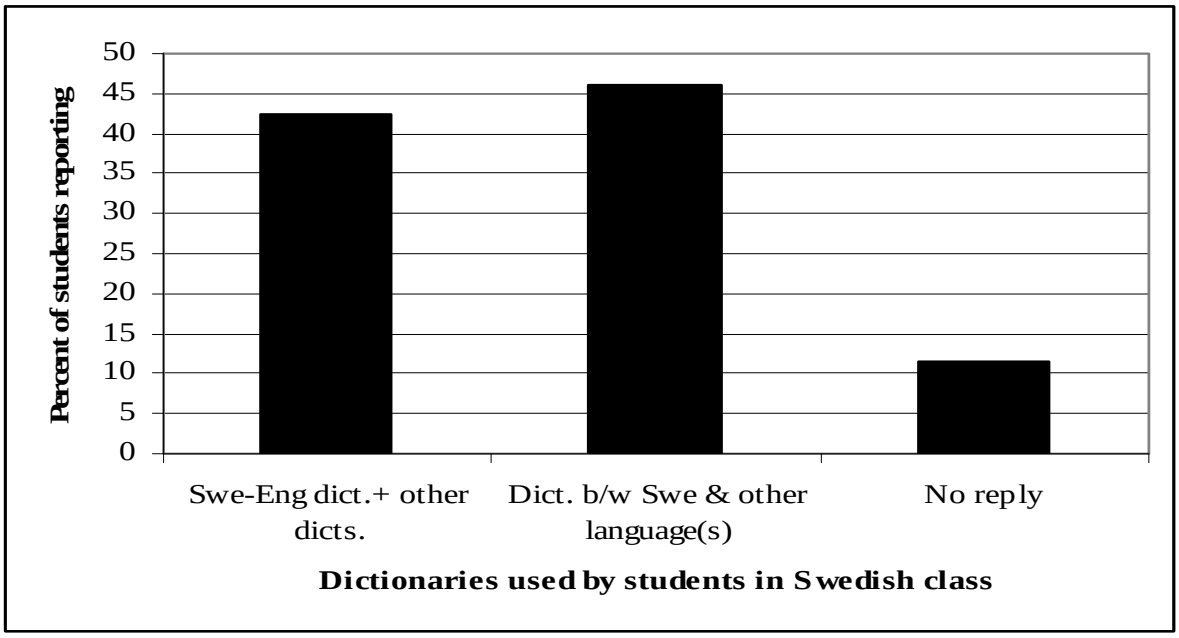

Figure V. Types of dictionaries used in Swedish class.

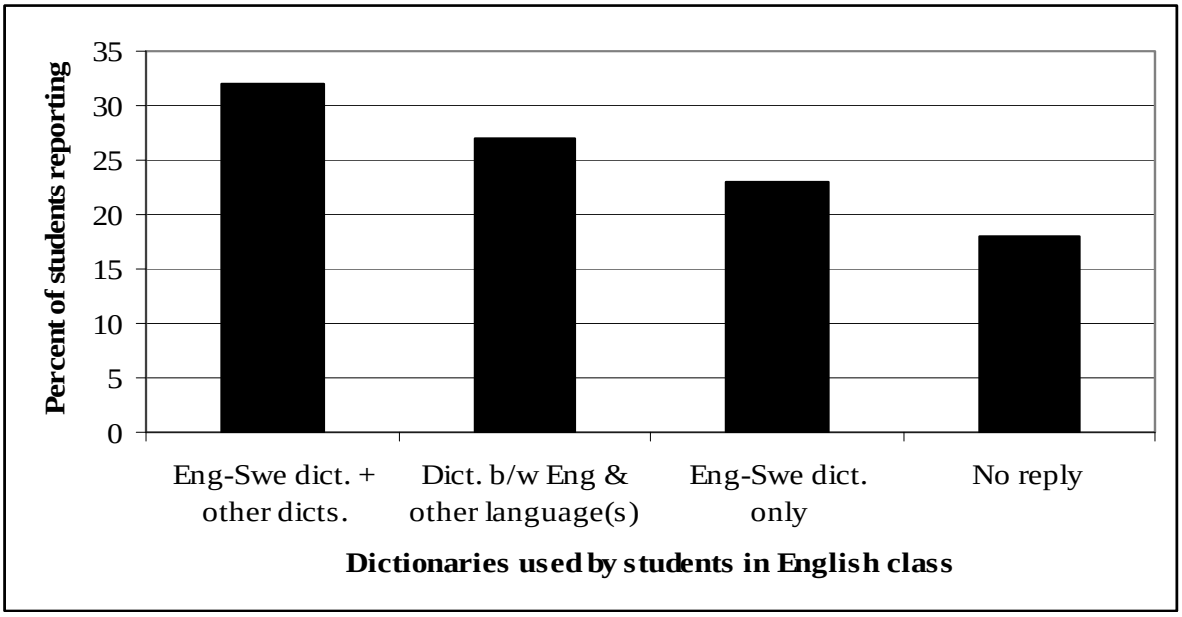

Figure VI. Types of dictionaries used in English class.