Everyday Language Practices and the Interplay of Ideologies, Investment and Identities

– Language Use and Dispositions among Young Adolescents in Multilingual Urban Settings in Sweden

Jasmine Bylund

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GOTHENBURG

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Abstract

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This thesis explores the out-of-school language use of young adolescents in contemporary multilingual urban neighborhoods, located in the three largest cities in Sweden. More specifically, the thesis explores the potential interplay of out-of-school language use, language ideologies, investment in languages and identities. Dimensions of multilingualism have attracted wide scholarly interest, yet the knowledge about the out-of-school language use and encounters among this group of adolescents in connection to language ideologies and identities, is limited.

Employing an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, three different instruments have been used (questionnaire, language diaries and interviews). The study was conducted between 2019–2021 with young adolescents (*N*=92) aged 11–14 at schools located in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Adopting a Bourdieusian approach, the notion of habitus, and the related pillars of capital and field, have guided the integrated analysis of the findings of the young adolescents' practices and perceptions.

Findings reveal patterns of young adolescents' everyday use and encounters with Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages in a wide range of different activities and interactions. The patterns demonstrate a high prevalence of Swedish and English in most everyday activities. The use of Swedish also dominates in interactions with siblings and friends whereas Heritage Languages tend to be more prevalent in interactional practices at home with parents and relatives. The findings also indicate how participants' out-of-school language use is intertwined in various multifaceted ways with their language ideologies, investment in languages, identity constructions and linguistic sense of

placement. While the language use patterns showed the distribution of languages in different activities and situations, integrated findings revealed underlying foundations of language practices and how the use of languages could be tied to several intersecting dimensions. The overall findings demonstrate how everyday language use and ideologies of languages play a vital role in shaping the young adolescents' investment in languages, sense of placement and construction of identities.

The findings in this thesis signifies the importance of bridging the gap between home and school and for education to take a critical view on the role of language in educational equity. The young adolescents' accounts and level of awareness signal the urgent need for education to take seriously how hierarchical relations of languages and language use impact young individuals' perceptions of themselves, their imagined futures and sense of place in the social world.

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Jasmine Bylund

1. Introduction

The increasing number of children and adolescents who grow up using one or more languages in addition to Swedish has spurred an interest in multilingual practices and the educational needs of minority language children and youths in Sweden. However, the systematic knowledge about the out-of-school language use and encounters among this group of students in connection to their perceptions of language use and identities, is limited. This study explores the reported practices and ideologies of language use in relation to investment and identities among young adolescents attending schools located in linguistically diverse and socially segregated urban neighborhoods in the three largest cities in Sweden. This chapter introduces the thesis by presenting a background, followed by the stated aims and research questions and the organizational outline of the thesis.

1.1 Background

Language use is an integral part of human life. Our use of and encounters with languages are central to our everyday lives, our representations of ourselves and the world we live in. Language use contributes to shaping how we perceive the world and how we picture ourselves (and others), as individuals and collectives in various local settings, and as human beings in the world at large. Language use carries meaning and value, and linguistic practices as situated encounters can be fundamental in shaping perceptions and dispositions. Hierarchical relations of various forms of power embedded in linguistic practices (and our tacit recognition of these), invisibly exercise symbolic power through which some linguistic practices and speakers, implicitly, become perceived and recognized as more legitimate than others (Bourdieu, 1989, 1991, p. 23). As we move between situations and contexts the values placed on linguistic practices may vary and what is valued in one context may be undervalued in others. The way languages are used thus depends on the dominant practices and ideologies permeating different activities, situations, and contexts. This can lead to mixed and ambivalent positions towards languages or language practices which can impact our use of languages as we navigate between contexts of conflicting values and powers. How languages and language practices

are used, perceived, and valorized may have powerful implications on the early shaping and negotiation of identities and belonging. The roles and values ascribed to languages and the perceptions of speakers of languages – explicitly or implicitly– might impact on where we invest our energies, what we consider to be our imagined future possibilities, our understanding of the world and our place in society. Language use matters.

As integral to human life, most people would agree that languages and linguistic practices are fundamental for education in ensuring equal access to learning opportunities and attainment and development of knowledge, information, and skills. The world is multilingual and across the globe people use several languages, in various ways and for various purposes, every day. Yet, students' multilingual realities are often ignored by education systems (Benson, 2016). In most contexts, education is provided in the language(s) considered dominant in the society at large. Even though students may speak other languages at home, their linguistic practices or linguistic experiences are seldom fully considered as resources for learning, creating a discrepancy between home and school as well as unequal opportunities for learning (Benson, 2016). Of the world's population, 40 percent lack access to education in the languages they speak or understand well (Walter & Benson, 2012). Exclusive use of dominant languages as means of instruction has been criticized for having a negative impact on students' access to knowledge, the quality of education and students' future opportunities and for more than half a century, early teaching in students' "mother tongue" languages[1] has been strongly recommended (UNESCO, 1953, 2003; see also Benson, 2005). The linguistic rights of children in education are also expressed in the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* Article 29 (United Nations,1989). If educational equity is to be attained and sustained, the dynamics and diversities of languages, ideologies and linguistic practices children and young people bring to school need to be acknowledged and taken into real consideration in educational policy and practice.

The last decades of increased mobility and patterns of migration have generated a heightened awareness of multilingual realities in socially, culturally, and linguistically diverse communities (Blommaert, 2010; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). This has led to a growing interest in multilingual practices and the dynamics of multilingual interaction within the fields of language education and sociolinguistics as well as other disciplines, stressing the linguistic and educational needs of minority language children and youth. With increased scholarly attention

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[1] For a further discussion of the term "mother tongues" see Chapter 4.

and compelling research evidence (e.g., Collier & Thomas, 2017; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002), the importance of promoting Heritage Languages[2] to enhance language development and long-term school success is widely recognized by researchers, educators, and policymakers (Bigelow and Collins, 2018). However, despite growing acknowledgment and scholarly attention, the multilingual and cultural resources of children and adolescents are not necessarily appreciated and valued as assets for learning in educational settings in Sweden and other European countries (Agirdag, 2014; Haglund, 2005; Lindberg, 2011; Otterup, 2005; Van Avermaet, 2009). Contemporary dimensions of societal tension between transcultural diversity and nationalistic uniformity impact practices and ideologies of languages and linguistic diversity. The often-divergent natures and ideologies represented in the school setting vis-à-vis young people's multilingual out-of-school realities in everyday practices, further emphasize the need for drawing attention to linguistic practices and perceptions of children and adolescents.

In Sweden, a country of nearly 10.4 million people, around 2 million residents are born in countries outside Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2021). In 2018, of the around two million children in Sweden under the age of 18, more than half a million are either born in countries outside Sweden or born in Sweden by parents born in other countries (Statistics Sweden, 2020). Statistics show that compared to children of Swedish-born parents, children with 'foreign background'[3] to a greater extent live in and attend schools located in segregated urban areas with low socio-economic status (Statistics Sweden, 2020). Children with foreign backgrounds to a lesser extent, than their peers with Swedish-born parents, qualify for upper secondary school (Statistics Sweden, 2020; Skolverket, 2022b). The statistics report also points to the probability of language as playing a key role. The increasing school segregation and rising educational inequality (Yang-Hansen & Gustafsson, 2016, 2019), thus call attention to the educational needs of children and youth of migrant background. In Swedish compulsory school, 28.6 percent of students are entitled to 'mother tongue' instruction (Skolverket, 2021). However, as pointed

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[2] The term *Heritage Languages* will henceforth be used when referring to the named migrant languages that the participants may use at home or come in contact with through their families and/or communities. These languages may or may not correspond to the languages the participants consider to be their 'mother tongues'. The term 'mother tongue(s)' is used when referring to instances where the participants explicitly refer to languages as (what they recognize to be) their "mother tongues". In other cases, the named language(s) referred to by the participants will be used.

[3] Term used by the Swedish Ministry of Education and in national statistics referring to pupils born abroad, or pupils born in Sweden of two parents with a foreign background.

out by several researchers, the Swedish school tends to be characterized by traditional monolingual and monocultural norms (e.g., Gruber, 2007; Haglund, 2005; Lindberg & Hyltenstam, 2012; Runfors, 2009). Yet, the concept of multilingualism has continued to influence educational research and is increasingly recognized by policymakers. For example, in 2018, the Swedish National Agency for Education published the report 'Greppa flerspråkigheten – en resurs i lärande och undervisning' [Take hold of multilingualism – a resource in learning and teaching (my translation)] (Svensson, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2018), in which the authors emphasize the importance of making use of learners' linguistic resources in teaching and call attention to the role of language and identity in teaching and learning. In alignment with the Government assignment to implement efforts to strengthen the quality of education for newly arrived students and students with a mother tongue other than Swedish, the Swedish National Agency for Education now offers multiple articles on the topic of multilingualism and provides a wide range of instructional guidance and teaching resources.

The dominance of English and its spread as a "lingua franca" adds yet another dimension to language use and multilingualism, raising questions of the role of English in relation to other languages. The presence of English in the Swedish daily context is beyond noticeable, and most people come into contact with English on a daily basis in one way or another. Communicative competence in English is highly valued in many areas such as business, culture and higher education, and holds a particular status and position in Swedish society (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Hult, 2012). Proficiency in English, in contrast to other languages besides Swedish, has become the expected norm, with English present in education as an indisputable "natural" essential ingredient already in preschool, establishing a 'bilingual habitus' (Lainio, 2013). The status of English is also explicitly reflected in education where English is a mandatory school subject throughout the school system and introduced in the core content stated in the syllabus for years 1–3 (Skolverket, 2011). Many children also come into contact with English in their spare time from a very young age and as an example 10–12-year-old children spend a considerable amount of time on activities where English is used (Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). Furthermore, the diverse ways of interacting in multiple languages, locally and globally through the use of online media and communication technologies, have made studies of how young language users navigate in these spaces of particular interest. Much of the work conducted in the field of research related to out-of-school language (e.g., Reinders & Benson, 2017) or extramural activities (Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016) typically involve a primary in-

terest in out-of-school language use in relation to language learning. Thus, such studies often focus on improvement of linguistic skills and increased proficiency and investigate the level of engagement in out-of-school language learning activities in relation to language learning outcomes (e.g., Sylvén, 2004; Sundqvist 2009; Olsson, 2011; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014; Jensen, 2017). With a few exceptions (Sundqvist, 2009; Sylvén & Sundqvist, 2012; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014; Muñoz & Lindgren, 2011), studies of out-of-school language exposure activities in the Swedish context have primarily focused on adolescents in secondary school. Less attention has been paid to explorations specifically targeting the multilingual out-of-school language use of young adolescents. Likewise, to the best of my knowledge, no previous studies have investigated the linguistic repertoires as manifested in multilingual language use and exposure outside school among young adolescents in multilingual urban Swedish environments. While the present study shares the interest in the role of out-of-school language use and exposure in different domains and activities, it takes a critical sociolinguistically informed approach by placing the multilingual patterns of out-of-school language use in dialogic relation to language ideologies, investment, and emergent identities.

Adopting a Bourdieusian approach and drawing on the poststructuralist concept of investment (Norton, 2000), this study explores the out-of-school language use among 6th–7th grade pupils (aged 11–14) in multilingual urban school settings, examining the role of out-of-school language use in the interplay of language ideologies, investment, and identities. As the scholarly interest in issues of language and identity continues to grow (see e.g., Norton, 2013; Edwards, 2009), exploring the role of language in early identity formation may provide valuable insights regarding how patterns of language use and views of languages can be identified in young adolescents from a very young age. Consequently, knowing more about the language use of young adolescents might be essential in deepening our understanding of the multifaceted nature of language practices, and its potential role in investment in languages and perceptions of identities. A deeper understanding of children's daily multilingual practices, ideologies and perceived identities may further contribute to informing educational policies and practices that not only acknowledge but also value diversity, ensuring that the linguistic repertoire of each pupil is appreciated as a vital asset for learning and social participation.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of the thesis is to explore the potential interplay of reported out-of-school language use, language ideologies, investment, and identities of young adolescents in linguistically heterogenous urban areas in Sweden. Drawing on self-reported data, it should be made clear that this thesis refers to the reported language use of the participating young adolescents. Henceforth, if not specified as reported, the terms *language use* or *language practices*, when used in relation to the participants in this study, refer to reported practices. By investigating the reported daily language use of young adolescents and their accounts of how they perceive and navigate through increasingly diverse and linguistically complex urban spaces, this study seeks to add to the existing research on the role of language and identities. A deeper understanding of young adolescents' linguistic practices and ideologies may have pedagogical implications as regards how pupils' communicative repertoires and linguistic and cultural realities outside the school setting can be recognized and used in learning and teaching as a contributing force in striving towards increased academic success, educational equity, and social justice.

The more specific goal of the thesis is twofold. First, to identify young adolescents' patterns of everyday language use by investigating what languages young adolescents use and encounter when engaging in different activities in their spare time. Second, to explore in what ways, if any, language use patterns interplay with young adolescents' perceptions of languages, investment in languages, and identities and vice versa. Consequently, the following research questions are addressed:

1. With whom, when and in what, activities, situations and contexts do young adolescents aged 11–14 use the languages in their repertoire?
    a.) What distributional patterns can be discerned in young adolescents' described use of Heritage Language(s), Swedish, English, and additional languages in different out-of-school domains and linguistic practices?

2. How do young adolescents describe their use of languages in different domains, situations, and activities?
    a.) What dispositions do young adolescents show towards Heritage Language(s), Swedish and English?
    b.) In what ways are language ideologies reflected in young adolescents' out-of-school language practices and language investments?

3. What role, if any, does out-of-school language use and exposure play in shaping young adolescents' investment in languages, language ideologies and identities, and vice versa?

a.) What is the role of everyday language practices in young adolescents' investment in Heritage Language(s), Swedish, English, and other languages?

b.) How do young adolescents describe their present and imagined future language use and the role of language in shaping identities?

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of 12 chapters. First, chapter 1 introduces the thesis, provides a background, and presents its aim and stated research questions. It also outlines the organization of the text. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical perspectives and key concepts framing this study. It situates the study in a poststructuralist socio-linguistic tradition and describes developments in the study of multilingualism within the field of sociolinguistics. The chapter also provides an overview of conceptualizations of multilingualism, multilingual practices, and other relevant key concepts. It further introduces the Bourdieusian thinking tools and poststructuralist perspective of language, identity and investment employed in this thesis. The chapter continues with a description of what the concept of 'out-of-school' may encompass, followed by a discussion of potential ways of locating linguistic practices in time and space. The final section of chapter 2 presents the concept of language ideologies. Following this, chapter 3 provides accounts of previous research on everyday multilingual language use among school-aged children and adolescents in multilingual urban settings, focusing primarily on language use in out-of-school situations and domains. Chapter 4 describes the mixed-methods design adopted in this study. This chapter also contains a description and discussion of each of the three different research methods used in generating data, and the considerations made in the preparation and design of the research materials. Chapter 5 covers a presentation of the research settings, the participants, and the process of generating data. This is followed by a description of the procedures involved in conducting and administrating the questionnaire, the language diaries and the interviews. The chapter then finishes with a discussion of ethical and methodological considerations. Chapter 6 presents the analytical approach and procedures undertaken. This is followed by four results chapters which report integrated findings of participants' reported language use, ideologies,

investments, and identities. The first chapter, chapter 7, reports findings regarding the participants' language use practices in various out-of-school domains, focusing mainly on patterns of language use in interaction with different interlocutors and in different settings and situations. In chapter 8, attention is turned to the activities the participants engage in and presents findings regarding participants' use and engagement with languages through out-of-school activities involving popular culture, various media sources, hobbies and interests or other leisure activities. The third results chapter, (chapter 9) presents findings focusing on participants' language ideologies and described investment in languages and the relationship between out-of-school language use and ideologies. The last results chapter, chapter 10 describes participants' accounts of language use and ideologies in close relation to cultural belonging, identities, and linguistic sense of placement. Chapter 11 provides a discussion of the findings. This chapter also includes a discussion of the potential implications for policy and practice and ends with suggestions for future research. The thesis closes with chapter 12, providing a summary in Swedish.

2. Theoretical Perspectives and Key Concepts

In this chapter, theoretical points of departure and key concepts framing this study are presented. The chapter begins by providing a brief description of early and more recent developments of the study of multilingualism within the field of sociolinguistics. This is followed by an overview of dimensions of multilingualism(s), multilingual practices, and other key concepts of relevance. The chapter then continues with presenting the Bourdieusian approach to language and the poststructuralist perspective of identities and investment from which this study departs. Thereafter, a section is devoted to a presentation of the terminological use and conceptualization of out-of-school language use. The final part of this chapter provides a description of language ideologies, particularly addressing issues of immediate relevance.

2.1 A poststructuralist sociolinguistic perspective of language use

This study is concerned with the daily language use of young adolescents, their perceptions, and navigations through linguistically diverse urban spaces. Most of the young adolescents participating in the study use multiple languages on a daily basis although the patterns of use in different domains and activities may vary greatly. The thesis thus involves an exploration of multilingual practices as manifested in the out-of-school language use of young adolescents and as such a presentation of multilingualism(s) and its related concepts is needed. This thesis takes a poststructuralist sociolinguistic approach to language by positing a view of language and language use as multifaceted, dynamic and mobile, yet closely and reciprocally interconnected to societies, histories and cultures and thus, inextricably linked to values and power and structures of domination. While there are several definitions of what sociolinguistics entails, this study is closely tied to the *sociolinguistics of resources* as put forward by Blommaert (2010, p. 28) who describes sociolinguistics as 'the study of concrete language resources in which

people make different investments and to which they attribute different values and degrees of usefulness'. In a contemporary society characterized by globalization patterns, transnational mobility and digital technological advancements, language forms or linguistic resources may travel across real and virtual localities in sometimes unpredictable ways, making 'patterns of value and language use less predictable' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 28). Hence, from this perspective, when studying daily language use and ideologies among young adolescents of migrant backgrounds in multilingual urban spaces, the works of theorists drawing attention to language and inequality become useful. The sociolinguistic view adopted in this study is thus influenced by a poststructuralist understanding of language through Bourdieu's theoretical contribution and his notions of habitus (and its related pillar concepts) and symbolic capital (1977a, 1991), which will be returned to in subsequent paragraphs in this chapter.

2.1.1 Sociolinguistic foundations and developments in studies of language use in multilingual settings

Sociolinguistics emerged as an independent field in the 1950s–1960s most notably through the works by scholars such as Ferguson (1959), Fishman (1965), Labov (1966), Gumperz and Hymes (1972), among others. While much of the work conducted at the time primarily focused on variation of language use within languages, Fishman (1964, 1965) drew attention to variance in language choice in multilingual settings. The title of his early landmark work (Fishman, 1965) 'Who speaks what language to whom and when' effectively highlights what has remained a central concern within sociolinguistics, a theme which is also echoed in this particular study of young adolescents' language use. In his influential piece, Fishman (1965) proposed *domains of language choice* or *domain theory*, as an analytical concept, which when interwoven with other sources of variance, aimed to provide a systematic understanding of socio-cultural dimensions of language choice in multilingual settings. As argued by Fishman (1965, p. 93), using domains to appropriately reflect language behavior, requires 'considerable insight into the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual settings at particular periods in their history.' Although some of Fishman's initial work denoted multilingualism as stable, Fishman's sociology of language has had a profound influence on the study of multilingualism and language as social practice (see e.g., Blommaert & Spotti, 2017). Gumperz's (1964) notion of *repertoire* and Gumperz and Hymes' (1972) introduction of ethnography of communication also played a central role in the

developments in studies of language use, putting emphasis on meaning-making, interpretation and understanding in interaction (Blommaert & Spotti, 2017). Martin-Jones and Martin (2017, p. 3), accentuate the fact that Gumperz and Hymes had 'argued that attention needed to be paid to the situated ways in which language practices contribute to the ongoing construction of social identities and relationships and to the ways in which social and cultural meanings are contextualized in and through interaction'. The work of Gumperz and Hymes thus contributed to a sociolinguistic tradition informed by linguistics and anthropology, paving the way towards the development of studies of multilingualism influenced by poststructuralism and critical theory as exemplified in the influential works of scholars such as Heller (1995, 1999) and Woolard (1985). In addition, this development also led to increased attention to the role of *language ideologies* (Kroskrity, 2004, 2000; Schiffelin, Kroskrity & Woolard, 1992; Silverstein, 1979) and to how ideas about language may interplay with and manifest themselves in language use. Language ideology as a concept is presented and described in more detail at the end of this chapter.

In describing the transformation within the field of sociolinguistics, Martin-Jones and Martin (2017) explain how the field, during the last two decades, has undergone fundamental changes. First through the epistemological move toward ethnographic and critical approaches as a result of the influence of poststructuralist perspectives of language and social life. Second, globalization processes, transnational flows and digital communication technologies have led to an increased interest in the social, cultural and linguistic effects of this globalized world order (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017). In combination, these major changes have had a transformative impact on the understanding of language in society and multilingual realities, giving rise to:

> a new sociolinguistics of multilingualism (…) one that takes account of the new communicative order and the particular cultural conditions of our times, while retaining a central concern with the social and institutional processes involved in the construction of social difference and social inequality. (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017, p. 1)

Communication patterns in our contemporary reality are being seen as more complex and less predictable, posing challenges in descriptions of complex data where individuals are less easily associated with or can be characterized as belonging to particular groups, identities and cultures (Blommaert & Spotti, 2017). However, it could be questioned as to whether this "difficulty" or complexity of

categorization really has increased or rather whether this methodological and ethical challenge of linguistic inquiries can be assumed to have gained a heightened awareness due to the societal processes and developments of recent decades. Nevertheless, due to these increased complexities which have followed transnational flows and emergent technologies, the sociolinguistic field has moved closer to 'a sociolinguistics of mobility, characterized by resources, functions, and repertoires' (Blommaert & Spotti, 2017, p. 9). In this view, language use and identity construction are seen as 'polycentric semiotic performances' (Blommaert & Spotti, 2017, p. 10) and, as argued by Blommaert and Rampton (2011, p. 5), by breaking away from predetermined classifications research should 'address the ways in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages'.

2.2 Dimensions of multilingualism and multilingual practices

Considering the recent increased interest in multilingualism, it may almost appear as if the human practice of using different languages in everyday life is a new and uncommon phenomenon. However, in many parts of the world multilingualism is commonplace and part of everyday life and throughout history multilingualism has been a present element, influencing regions and populations. Before the establishment of nation-states in Europe, life in many European societies (as well as other parts of the world) was characterized by great linguistic diversity with variation both across and within regions but as nations were formed, the languages used by the powerful elite began to dominate (see e.g., Cenoz, 2013; De Swaan, 2001; Enever, 2018; Gogolin, 2002). Regional variations or minority languages were restricted to the domains of the home or other informal practices as the idea of "one nation, one language" took form, adding to the ability for nations to determine who to consider as an accepted member of the population and who to view as an outsider. Due to the imposed use of the national language in education, the notion of a standardized dominant language was established and maintained (Enever, 2018; May, 2011). However, with around 7000 languages and close to 200 independent states (Lewis, 2009) the world as a whole is evidently multilingual and thus, the notion of 'one language one nation' appears markedly inapplicable as categorization or perception of an unmistakably multilingual world (see e.g., Gogolin, 1997). As Blommaert and Spotti (2017, p. 3) point out, 'the world is not neatly divided into monolingual states.' However, 'the nationalist equation of one

language = one nation = one state' maintains its presence and continues to resurface, enforcing the understanding of the nation state as a unified and bounded entity (Auer, 2005, p. 4) with linguistic homogenization as a central element in nation building (e.g., Bourdieu, 1991; Busch, 2009; Gal, 2006). Even if there are substantially more languages than nation states, the monolingual bias has influenced research, policy and praxis more or less implicitly as manifested in the beliefs about language, monolingualism and bilingualism (Ortega, 2013). Multilingualism in our contemporary society thus, still poses challenges and tensions largely because as Heller (2007a, p. 546) explains, 'the ideologies and practices we have inherited assume homogeneity: at best, multilingualism is understood as multiple monolingualism, as a string of distinct systems to be mastered and used separately.'

However, as a result of the many years of critique of the monolingual bias and deficit perspectives of bilingualism (e.g., Cummins, 1981, 2000; Grosjean, 1985; Hornberger, 2003), the monolingual norm has been challenged leading to a multilingual turn within the field of second language acquisition research (May, 2013; see also Conteh & Meier, 2014; Ortega, 2013). The global use of English varieties and dialects following the spread of English as a "lingua franca", has challenged the notion of "standard language" and the "native/non-native" labels (Canagarajah, 2007; Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2013). This has had implications pertaining to assumptions about language ownership and that a language can be "owned" by all its users (Ortega, 2013). Thus, there has been a move from a deficit view to an asset-focused understanding, giving multilingualism added value. Recent globalization processes, migration, and emergence of digital technologies with increased communicative opportunities have contributed to the current visibility of and increased attention to multilingualism in Europe, placing linguistic diversity in a new light. This has spurred an increased interest in multilingualism and a heightened awareness of multilingual realities in socially, culturally and linguistically diverse communities (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016; Blommaert, 2010). In light of this, scholars have raised increased attention to issues of multilingual inequality, questioning whether multilingualism is being seen as an asset for some and a burden for others (e.g., Blommaert & Van Avermaet, 2008 in Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014, 2015; De Costa, 2019; Lo Bianco, 2017; Ortega, 2017).

2.2.1 What is multilingualism(s) and who is multilingual?

The term *multilingualism*, in its broadest sense refers to the use of more than one language (Clyne, 2017). Such a wide description naturally calls for further elabora-

tion and refinement. Yet, since ways of understanding the term multilingualism inevitably depend on the underlying conceptualization of language, specific definitions tend to vary across scientific disciplines, traditions, and sub-fields. Thus, the literature presents a wide range of definitions of what the term multilingualism encompasses. While *bilingualism* traditionally has been referred to as the use of two languages, multilingualism has come to refer to the use of more than two languages (García & Wei, 2014). However, this traditional understanding of bilingualism has been criticized for positing a dualistic view of bilingualism as concerning two autonomous and separate linguistic systems (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García & Wei, 2014; Grosjean, 1985; Heller, 1999), opening the way toward more dynamic perceptions. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Heller (2007a, p. 15) offers a more dynamic view of bilingualism which takes societal dimensions into account when she defines bilingualism as 'sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones.' This definition of bilingualism thus situates the use of bilingual resources as a social practice governed by the sociohistorical contexts and circumstances which shape and direct the possibilities and limitations of social reproduction and the making of new social structures, customary norms and relations. Resting on the former traditional and static bilingual assumptions, the term multilingualism thus evokes understandings where multilingualism becomes equal to 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller, 1999), 'multiple monolingualisms' (Heugh, 2003) or 'plural monolingualism' (Makoni, 2003).

Further definitions of multilingualism can be found in policy documents. As an example, the European Commission (2007), responsible for the promotion of language learning and language diversity across Europe, defines multilingualism as 'the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives' (2007 p. 6). Wei (2008, p. 4) describes a multilingual individual as; 'anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)'. As illustrated in these definitions, multilingualism can be seen as both an individual and a social phenomenon. While it may be difficult to make any fundamental differentiation between bilingualism and multilingualism at the individual level, in reference to social situations or locations where languages are used, making a distinction may make more sense (Blommaert & Spotti, 2017). Distinguishing between individual and social dimensions of multilingualism, the Council of Europe (2007) suggests the use of *plurilingualism* as referring to an

individual's competence or ability to use more than one language, whereas multilingualism should be understood as the presence of languages in a given geographical area (2007 p. 10), suggesting the use of multilingualism for the diversity of languages in societal contexts and groups and not when discussing the repertoires of individuals. According to the Council of Europe (2007, p. 17), plurilingualism refers to:

> The intrinsic capacity of all speakers to use and learn, alone or through teaching, more than one language. The ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes is defined in the *Common European Framework of Reference* for Languages (1996, p. 168) as the ability 'to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures.' This ability is concretized in a repertoire of languages a speaker can use. The goal of teaching is to develop this competence (hence the expression: *plurilingualism as a competence*).

> An educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance: Speakers' awareness of their plurilingualism may lead them to give equal value to each of the varieties they themselves and other speakers use, even if they do not have the same functions (private, professional or official communication, language of affiliation, etc.). But this awareness should be assisted and structured by schools since it is in no sense automatic (hence the expression: *plurilingualism as a value*). (pp.17–18)

Thus, the Council of Europe (2007, pp. 17–18) defines plurilingualism as a dual concept, comprising the ability of an individual to use multiple languages but also the 'value of linguistic tolerance' emphasizing plurilingual awareness among speakers as essential in promoting equal value of linguistic varieties, which should be 'assisted and structured by schools' and thus be made a central part of intercultural education. As discussed by García and Otheguy (2019) the definition by the European Council with the use of 'a repertoire of languages' and the expressed value of plurilingualism as foundation for linguistic tolerance has had a fundamental impact on language education. While recognizing the role of plurilingualism as a significant construct, García (see; García, 2009; García & Otheguy, 2019; García & Wei 2014) questions its epistemological foundations where previous conceptualizations of terms like bilingualism and multilingualism imply an additive and monoglossic understanding where complete autonomous languages are "added" to the repertoire of an individual speaker. Thus, in terms of language use as activity, García and Otheguy (2019) argue for the notion of *translanguaging* (García, 2009),

(a theme returned to later in this text) or translanguaging practices as having a transformative purpose in affirming dynamic multilingual realities (García & Otheguy, 2019).

By positing a view which understands language in the form of mobile resources, Blommaert (2010, p. 102) argues that multilingualism 'should not be seen as a collection of 'languages' that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of *specific* semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined 'language', while others belong to another 'language'.' In theorizing the concept of language, Blommaert (2010) emphasizes the need for a theoretical understanding that acknowledges and encompasses a view of linguistic repertoires as consisting of chunks and pieces of language and the actual use of these repertoires in real life communication. By claiming that sociolinguistic life is built around mobile speech, 'lives can consequently be better investigated on the basis of repertoires set against a real historical and spatial background' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 173). Given the linguistic heterogeneity manifested in the language use of the participants in this study and the contemporary communication patterns enabled through digital media, this thesis emphasizes a dynamic view of language use, in which, practices, resources and repertoires are put at the forefront. While this study recognizes concepts as social constructs and argues for the need of a conceptual re-thinking of language, it accords with an understanding of multilingualism(s) (Heugh et al., 2016; Heugh, 2017, 2021) which emphasizes the heterogeneity of multilingual practices. In contrast to understandings of multilingualism, which (unwittingly or not) might communicate multilingualism as a singular phenomenon, this thesis aligns with a view which directs attention to the plurality of linguistic practices, acknowledging the innate 'variability and multidimensionality of multilingualisms' (Heugh, 2021, p. 39). The term *multilingualisms*, first discussed by Heugh and Stroud in 2012[4], conceptualizes how people may vary in their perceptions of what multilingualism is and how linguistic resources may be used in many different ways and for many different purposes (Heugh, 2017). Multilingualisms vary between contexts, groups and individuals and the term multilingualisms thus draws attention to the diversity of experiences of multilingualisms (Heugh & Stroud,

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[4]   Personal communication with Kathleen Heugh, July 1st, 2021. According to Heugh, the term was first discussed by Kathleen Heugh and Christopher Stroud in 2012 and later in a colloquium at AILA, 2014 in Brisbane, where they proposed the establishment of a 'Multilingualisms and Diversities Consortium'. Since 2017 the term has been used in various writings by Heugh (as referenced above) and it also features in the Bloomsbury Book series 'Multilingualisms and Diversities in Education' edited by Christopher Stroud, Kathleen Heugh and Piet Van Avermaet.

2019). Multilingual practices vary across and within communities and should be recognized as fluid and multidimensional. For many people across the world, 'multilingualism is multidimensional, multi-scaled and multilayered' (Heugh et al., 2016, p. 197; see also Heugh, 2015, 2003). At contextual levels, past histories, linguistic conditions, and socio-political economies cause multilingualisms to vary between geographical context spaces and take different paths as they evolve (Heugh, 2017, 2018, 2021). Within contexts, multilingual practices may also vary greatly between and within groups and individuals. Patterns of everyday language use may play out differently in different spaces, domains and practices and different multilingual practices may be used for a range of diverse purposes. In conceptualizing language and multiple language use, there is much to learn from insights and understandings of multilingual realities as put forward by researchers of the global south. Incorporating southern experiences, insights and perspectives might also help to contest the northern hegemony (see e.g., Heugh, 2017) and taken-for-granted assumptions.

2.2.2 Re-conceptualisations of language and multilingual practices

In recent years, following the multilingual turn (May, 2013; Conteh & Meier, 2014) emphasizing an asset-focused understanding of multilingualism, several scholars have called attention to the need to keep pace with the changing society and thus, embrace the complexity of multilingual realities and the full linguistic repertoires of speakers. Cenoz (2013), describes how the shift towards a holistic view of languages spoken by multilinguals has given rise to a number of terms for multilingual speech. Scholars rejecting the idea of languages as separate entities have suggested other terms focusing on linguistic features and resources in attempts to more accurately capture the multifaceted and hybrid nature of multilingual communication. Argumentations for and attempts made regarding theoretical reconstruction or expansion have been raised by Blommaert (2010, p. 2), arguing for a sociolinguistic theoretical move beyond language in society towards 'a theory of changing language in a changing society'. Blommaert (2010) further addresses the need to rethink what it means to "know" a language. Similarly, Makoni and Pennycook (2006) have challenged the conventional notion of language, arguing for a disinvention and reconstitution of languages. From a perspective that views languages as social constructions, Makoni and Pennycook (2006) have argued for a reconstruction of conventional territorialized assumptions about language, pro-

claiming the need for alternative and diverse ways of understanding language use in the contemporary world. Theoretical reconstituting or broadening conceptual developments of language, have also been made through the use of terms seeking to capture its fluidity and dynamic nature, including concepts such as Williams' (1994) concept of 'translanguaging' (cf. Heugh, 1995 'functional multilingualism') as re-purposed by García (2009). In García's (2009) view, *translanguaging* encompasses both practice and ideology and goes beyond code-switching (shifting between named languages) by centering on practices rather than languages. Instead of focusing on separate traditionally defined languages, translanguaging refers to the complex, interrelated language practices made up by the individuals' complete linguistic repertoire without regard to language boundaries (García & Wei, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Thereby, translanguaging as concept is seen as holding transformative potential by extending practices and destabilizing hierarchical relations between named languages in society (see García & Wei, 2014, p. 68; Wei & García, 2022).

Other notions include, 'polylanguaging' (Jørgensen, 2008), 'translingual practice' (Canagarajah, 2013) and the re-established use of Bakhtin's (1981) 'heteroglossia' (Bailey, 2007). As pointed out by Busch, (2016) referring to Bakhtin's original description, the notion of a heteroglossic repertoire allows for a speaker-oriented perspective on language phenomena. As argued by Bakhtin (1981, p. 294), rather than focusing on a single language, the starting point is a 'dialogue of languages' which refers to a 'highly specific unity of several languages that have established contact and mutual recognition with each other' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294). The conceptual developments through the above-mentioned terms, have been essential in raising awareness of language as mobile, fluid and dynamic and such terms can prove useful as analytical tools in inquiries of language use. However, employing specific terms such as 'languaging' (e.g., translanguaging, polylanguaging) to describe linguistic practices may also pose challenges. Despite their usefulness and significant theoretical contribution to a withdrawal from the traditional conventions of language, specific terms may implicitly and unintentionally be interpreted as suggesting the described linguistic practices as deviating, thus reinforcing, and maintaining biased perceptions. While still problematizing the representation of language, both the 'dialogized heteroglossia' of Bakhtin (1981, p. 273) and a Bourdieusian perspective perceive diversity as an integral characteristic of language and all linguistic production. As Bourdieu (1991) writes:

> To avoid the effect of the dualist mode of thought which leads to the opposition of a 'standard' language, as measure of any language, and a 'popular' language, one must return to the model of all linguistic production and rediscover in it the source of the extreme diversity of speech forms which result from the diversity of possible combinations between the different classes of linguistic habitus and markets. (p. 95)

2.2.3 The notion of linguistic repertoire

The term *linguistic repertoire* originates from Gumperz's (1964, p. 137) work on 'speech communities' in India and Norway and, rooted in the notion of speech community as a perspective of social interaction, he introduces the term *verbal repertoire* to refer to 'all the accepted ways of formulating messages.' Gumperz's, view thus takes a holistic understanding where languages and dialects 'form a behavioral whole, regardless of grammatical distinctness, and must be considered constituent varieties of the same verbal repertoire' (Gumperz, 1964 p. 138). The term bears resemblance to some of the terms already mentioned which aim at broadening the concept of language. However, following the theoretical developments within the field and the move away from the notion of speech communities, a number of modifications of the term have since emerged. One example includes *polyglot repertoire* (Blommaert, 2010) which suggests that linguistic resources are mobile and densely mixed and reflective of an individual's life trajectory which may not necessarily indicate origin. Arguing for a rethinking of what it means to know a language, Blommaert (2010) has also introduced the term *truncated repertoires* as referring to how individuals' resources may be complex and varied with major differences in levels of development of particular skills and competencies. However, the term 'truncated' has been criticized for implicitly reproducing normative assumptions about language by unwittingly comparing language practices to national standardized norms and carrying deficit-oriented connotations (see e.g., Flores & Lewis, 2016; Pennycook, 2011, p. 886).

The term *communicative repertoires* coined by Rymes (2010), captures an individual's repertoire as comprehensive of all the elements an individual commands and makes use of in language and communication, including gestures, dress, and multimodal use of semiotic resources. Rymes (2012) further expands the concept of the repertoire to include not only multiple languages but also 'mass-mediated cultural elements' such as brand names or catch phrases. As described by Rymes (2012, p. 216) 'students today draw on multiple communicative repertoire elements – both multiple languages and myriad mass-mediated semiotic forms – as they go

through their daily routine performing relevant and functional identities.' In proposing *heteroglossic repertoire*, Busch (2017) argues for an understanding of linguistic repertoire as referring to Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossia and ideas of 'multivoicedness' as inherent in language, thus creating a 'dialogue of languages' either within or between 'languages'. Other alternatives include Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) and Canagarajah (2018) who have used *spatial repertoires* to highlight the role of space in communicative and social life and biographical trajectories. Based on the topic of inquiry in this study, several of these alternatives may prove helpful. However, given the theoretical underpinnings and the multilingual realities represented in this thesis, recent understandings of repertoire, as the ones put forward by Busch (2017) and Canagarajah (2018), may serve useful in the conceptualization of language use of the participating young adolescents in different activities and situations. While the use of repertoire may function well in depicting the theorized view of language employed in the thesis, it may still require careful consideration of whether it is reflective of how the participants themselves view their language use. Thus, such concerns raise issues regarding the importance of reflexivity in choosing a terminology that best gives justice to the multilingual realities of the participants and their daily use of languages.

2.2.4 Terminology of linguistic practices employed in this thesis

To facilitate understanding of the research project presented in this text, the term multilingualism(s) is primarily used in a wider sense with reference to multilingual practices, multilingual settings and as a generic term of multilingualism(s) as a phenomenon. As for the linguistic practices of individuals, the terms linguistic repertoires and linguistic/language practices or language use are used interchangeably. Given the theoretical standpoint framing this thesis, it could be discussed whether 'languaging practices' or similar terms would be more appropriate to indicate a more holistic view of multilingualism(s) and language use. As mentioned, 'languaging' in its various forms, has undoubtedly been significant in drawing attention to the fluid and dynamic nature of language use and as such it may lend itself well as an analytical term in inquiries of language use and interactional practices. However, in this particular study where named languages are distinguished as a means to explore their roles and presence in daily activities, ideologies and investments, 'languaging practices' or similar notions were sometimes less or only partially applicable. While this study might be theoretically

influenced by dynamic perspectives of language, it adheres to a broadened reconceptualization of the construct of language which allows for and recognizes the dynamic fluidity, diversity, and unpredictability of language in the way it is used and traverses across situations in time and place. This view recognizes the innate diversity of linguistic varieties in language by which language as concept can be seen as 'synonymous with multilingualism' (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014, p. 18). Thus, given the main aim and focus of interest of this study, 'language use' and 'language practices' are the preferred phrases. However, while this may entail that languages as such are presented as named entities, languages are *not* seen as necessarily bound, separate and stable units. Rather, languages are seen as dynamic, complex, and fluid, forming part of a linguistic repertoire. Distinguishing between named languages in this study in fact serves to explore the heterogenous, complex, and dynamic nature of multilingual practices by gaining insights into how young adolescents perceive and use languages in everyday out-of-school practices. Examining frequency and distribution of language use in Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages can provide valuable information about sociolinguistic realities and forming ideologies of young adolescents in contemporary multilingual urban areas in Sweden. However, as mentioned, the use of named languages might feed into the notion of language as separate geographically or regionally localized entities. The mere use of the construction of a named language might therefore contribute to asserting its legitimacy. To some extent, incorporating named languages in this thesis is in opposition with the critical tradition and dynamic view of language use from which it departs. As put forward by Bourdieu, (1991) incorporating the notion of "*the* language" without considering the conditions and unification processes leading to the establishment of dominant languages, is to accept the dominance and legitimacy of the official language, thus reinforcing its authority. He argues: 'To speak of the language, without further specification, as linguists' do, is tacitly to accept the official definition of the official language of a political unit.' (Bourdieu, 1991 p. 45). That is, to speak of "the language" as referring to an unspecified language would thus reaffirm its position and taken for granted recognition as the dominant or official language in a context or contexts. However, to specify the individual languages, albeit recognizing them as social constructs, serves to illustrate a more nuanced image of languages present in the lives of the adolescents. To give justice to participants' accounts and positions, the use of named languages has been necessary as it most accurately reflects the data. While joint constructs like Heritage Languages or "mother tongues" also become necessary, for example when

presenting the quantitative data, specifying the languages mentioned by the participants (when possible) also serves to provide a nuanced account of participants' language use and encounters. In this thesis the named languages represent what participants themselves refer to. While the use of these named languages also in some ways tacitly may designate their legitimacy (or hierarchical position), incorporating the young participants' own viewpoints and use of constructs is considered to be of a higher order concern in this thesis. In bringing forward how the participants perceive and speak about their language use, incorporating named languages, also gives some recognition to the languages present in the lives of the participants, some of which might rarely be referred to or recognized. It should however be made clear that, named languages as constructs represent or are associated with complex sociohistorical, cultural, and political dynamics. Named languages unwittingly represent the building of nation states, localized territories, cultures, ethnic and/or religious group belongings and may be subjected to debate due to deeply rooted opposing ideologies, tensions, and conflict. Such associations, underpinnings or symbolic meanings must be acknowledged and taken into serious consideration.

2.3 A poststructuralist view of language, identities, and investment

As mentioned, this thesis departs from a sociolinguistic approach influenced by a poststructuralist perspective and much of the theoretical inspiration derives from a poststructuralist view of language following Bourdieu's practice theory which highlights the relationship between individuals and structure, language, and power (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1991). Poststructuralist theories of language, as associated with for example the work of Bakhtin (1981), Bourdieu (1977a, 1991), Hall (1996) and Weedon (1987), understand language not as a neutral linguistic system for communication but a social practice in which experiences are organized and identities negotiated. A poststructuralist view of language emphasizes the struggle over social meanings of signs and linguistic communities are seen as heterogenous arenas with conflicting claims to truth and power.

2.3.1 Bourdieu's notion of habitus and its pillar concepts

Bourdieu's (1977a, 1991) notion of *habitus* serves as a theoretical concept in the way it perceives linguistic practices as complex, dynamic, and structured by

previous practices and experiences. *Habitus* refers to the 'systems of durable, transportable dispositions' acquired through life by which individuals make sense of the world (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 72). It also signifies the dynamic interplay involved in human practices, joining structures at different levels. That is: habitus, shaped by upbringing and social positions, affects perceptions and dispositions, and is thus structured by history, past experiences and circumstances, but in its shaping of present actions and practices, habitus also functions as structuring practices and reproducing structures (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1991). Thus, practices and perceptions are produced by 'the *relation between* the habitus, on the one hand, and the specific social contexts or 'fields' within which individuals act, on the other.' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14). Although this study primarily concerns the everyday language use of the participants at individual and group level it still takes a position in which the linguistic practices are seen as constituted by and constitutive of their sociohistorical and spatial contexts. Bourdieu's conceptualizations of habitus, field and symbolic capital and his theory of practice as a whole, with its incorporation of structures, holds a particular theoretical utility as it claims societal structures to be inevitably and closely intertwined in language and linguistic practices. As a '*multi-scalar* concept', habitus can be used at different levels of social practice and across types of assemblages, at individual as well as civilizational and in settings, collectives, and institutions (Wacquant, 2014, p. 120).

Bourdieu's practice theory emphasizes the inextricable link between language and social structures and how these consequently must be taken into consideration or perhaps rather form an inevitable part in the study of linguistic practices. In addition, Bourdieu's conceptual framework and understanding of the dynamic interplay between habitus and field have also served to inform an understanding of the concept of identity as an ever continuing and changing process, both constituted by and constitutive of the context in which it is situated. As Bourdieu explains; 'habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense or with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy.' (Bourdieu in Wacquant, 1989, p. 44). Habitus thus signifies a sense of one's place (as well as that of others) in the world and the space one inhabits.

For Bourdieu (2002), habitus should not be seen in isolation but must be seen in interconnection with the concepts of *field* and *capital*. As described by Reay (2004, p. 435), 'habitus can be viewed as a complex internalized core from which everyday experiences emanate' and the logic of practice is produced by the relationship between habitus, cultural capital and field. Yet, as pointed out by Wacquant (2014), besides capital and field, Bourdieu's notion of habitus rests also

on the conceptual pillars *doxa*, *symbolic power* and *reflexivity*. In Bourdieu's capital theory, habitus is closely linked to the market, and the language deemed acceptable in particular social situations is determined by the relationship between the habitus and the market. In addition, capital, or the resources agents bring to the field, are interrelated to the field since 'capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101). Thus, as we engage in social situations and navigate across different markets, we develop a sense of the social value ascribed to language use in a given field, and of the fact that a particular use of language may be valued as socially acceptable in one situation or market but not in another (Bourdieu, 1991). The value attributed to particular languages or what is seen as acceptable language usage by the dominant market may not only affect linguistic production but also contribute to the shaping of how people may value their own production, perceive themselves and their place in society (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, sanctions applied to linguistic products provide agents with a sense of the value of one's own linguistic resources, a linguistic 'sense of place'. In Bourdieu's words, the *linguistic sense of place*[5] governs the degree of constraint which a given field will bring to bear on the production of discourse, imposing silence or a hypercontrolled language on some people while allowing other the liberties of a language that is securely established' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 82). For Bourdieu, every 'agent has a practical bodily knowledge of her present and potential position in the social space', what Goffman called a *sense of one's place* (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 184). Yet Bourdieu referred to a *sense of placement* (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 184, Bourdieu, 1984, p. 54) to denote a practical sense of position which governs one's relational experiences of the place occupied and ways of being in order to be in or out of place. Bourdieu's use of the term also signifies how symbolic struggles over legitimate visions of the social world, govern or manipulate 'the image of one's position in social space' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 20). It signifies one's sensibility to the value of one's linguistic products in relation to different markets which is fundamental to one's sense of place or position in the social world (Bourdieu, 1984; Salö, 2015).

In exploring young adolescents' language use, Bourdieu's theoretical explication of the interplay of habitus and markets holds significant value in

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5   The English translation of *Language and Symbolic Power* (Bourdieu, 1991) (as well as other translated works by Bourdieu) features the term linguistic 'sense of place'. However, as pointed out by Salö (2015) in French Bourdieu in fact used 'sens du placement linguistique' which has been translated to 'sense of placement' in English in for example Bourdieu (2000) and to språkligt "placeringssinne" in Swedish (Bourdieu, 1984) or "den språkliga placeringskänslan" (Salö, 2015).

understanding the layers of structures governing individual practices and rationales. It also becomes a valuable thinking tool in investigating the participating young adolescents' dispositions, imagined future language use and emergent identities. As a product of history, habitus 'is an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Also central to Bourdieu's work is symbolic power, as 'linguistic exchanges– are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized.' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 37). Symbolic power is an invisible legitimating power which constructs the vision of the social world and therefore requires the recognition or misrecognition of agents and 'the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them.' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170).

Taken together, the notion of habitus can thus make visible 'the taken-for-granted inequalities in everyday practices' (Reay, 2004, p. 353). The analytical utility of habitus is further described in chapter six yet put briefly, habitus allows the analysis to center simultaneously on 'the experience of social agents and (…) the objective structures which make this experience possible' (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 782).

2.3.2 Languages, identities, and investment

Language and identity in relation to education is a growing field of research and the concept of identity has received increasing attention in various scientific disciplines over the past two decades. In second language acquisition research and applied linguistics, the notion of identity began to gain some real significance with the foundational publication of Norton's 1995 article: 'Social identity, investment and language learning' (Norton Peirce, 1995). Drawing on the data from her study of migrant women in Canada and inspired by social theory, Norton argued for the development of a comprehensive social identity theory in second language research. Thus, the theory challenged the, at the time, dominating cognitivist and psychological understandings of language learning and the dichotomy of whether affective factors in language learning were attributed to the individual or the social context (Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Norton, 2016). The concept of *identity* has a long history and is defined in a wide variety of ways depending on from what perspective or scientific discipline the concept is used. A poststructuralist perspective views identity as multiple and continuous, a process rather than product, emphasizing the ways people position themselves and are

positioned within social, historical, and cultural contexts (Block, 2013). Taking a social view of identity, Norton (2000) defines identity as 'how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (Norton, 2000, p. 5). Norton's definition of identity encompasses an understanding of the construct which, through its balance in being broad but specific enough, communicates a clear distinction while allowing for variability, multiplicity and ambiguity. It is reasonable to assume that aspects involved in shaping identities may be attributed more or less significance by individuals depending on other co-contributing personal or social factors, experiences or circumstances. As argued by Block (2007, p. 27) identity is a multidimensional concept, an ongoing process of negotiation taking place 'at the crossroads of the past, present and future'. Furthermore, other definitions such as the one by Block (2007) could be argued to more explicitly address how identities also are ascribed to individuals by others. However, it could still be possible to argue that Norton's definition to some extent incorporates a view of identities as also attributed by referring to an individual's 'relationship to the world' and 'how that relationship is constructed in time and space' (Norton, 2000, p. 5). In Norton's view the role of language is 'constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity' (Norton, 2000, p. 5).

2.3.3 The concept of investment

Inspired by Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural capital (1977a, 1991), Norton introduced the concept of *investment* as an alternative to the term motivation, moving beyond the dichotomous conceptions of the learner as being e.g., motivated or unmotivated, anxious or confident, introvert or extrovert (Darvin & Norton, 2015). In her foundational article Norton (1995) also argued that insufficient attention had been devoted to the examination of how unequal power relationships might limit second-language speakers' ability to practice and engage in the target language outside the classroom. According to Norton (2000), the concept of investment better captures the complex relationship between the 'second language speaker' and the target language as it 'signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it' (Norton, 2010, p. 4). Thus, investment views the learner as 'having a complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction.' (2010, p. 4). According to Darvin

& Norton (2015) Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital is particularly applicable in exploring investment in today's world. With current increased interaction opportunities in which individuals move in and out of online and offline spaces, the construct of symbolic capital provides a lens through which individuals' engagement in these spaces can be understood. As young language users enter these different kinds of spaces, they bring with them different forms of capital be they linguistic skills, material resources and/or social networks. Engaging in these spaces, individuals will use the capital they already possess to attain new resources or to transform existing capital into something of value in new contexts. Darvin and Norton (2015) argue further that this emphasizes exchange as a site of struggle as the value of resources will differ between contexts. Resources regarded as valuable in some contexts may be devalued in others. The construct of investment has attracted considerable research interest and Norton's work has been acknowledged by scholars such as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Block, (2007) and Kramsch (2009) providing support for the notion of language learners' identities as being multiple, dynamic, changing and sites of struggle (Darvin & Norton, 2018). The increased opportunities and spaces for interaction with people across the globe, also expose individuals to different world views and beliefs. To respond to the fluid interactions and forms of sociality offered through digital technology and online media, Darvin and Norton (2015) developed a model of investment that recognizes how individuals' skills and resources are valued differently as they interact and move in and out of online and offline sites, see Figure 1.

Figure 1 Darvin and Norton's (2015) Model of Investment
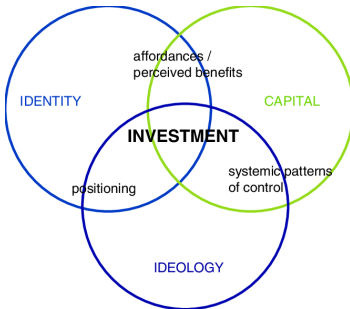
Reprinted from "Identity and a Model of Investment in Applied Linguistics" by R. Darvin, R & B. Norton, (2015). Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35, pp.36–56.

The model by Darvin and Norton (2015) locates investment at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology. In so doing, the model allows for analyses emphasizing the interrelation between language practices and ideologies and how systemic patterns of control operate at micro and macro levels (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 43). In this model, ideology is employed as 'a normative set of ideas' and by drawing on Bourdieu, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 43) argue how these 'ideas' through mechanisms of symbolic power impose legitimized visions of the social world and its divisions (see Bourdieu, e.g., 1987, 1989). These legitimized visions of the world have the power 'to inculcate principles of construction of reality' such as 'principles of union and separation, of association and disassociation' through words of classifications like ethnicity, gender and nation et cetera (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 14). Thereby, the model signifies how learners are positioned in numerous ways and how their 'embodied identities are inscribed by race, ethnicity, gender and social class' as they move in and out of social spaces (Darvin & Norton, p. 43). The model aims to show identity as a 'struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities' (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 46), who have learners in focus, argue that as learners operate in different fields, they take on multiple identities. As they put it '…habitus, shaped by prevailing ideologies, predispose them [learners] to think and act in certain ways'. According to Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 46), the model is meant to illustrate how 'learners invest in particular practices not only because they desire specific material or symbolic *benefits*, but also because they recognize that the *capital* they possess can serve as *affordances* to their learning.' Valuing of capital thus affirms *identities* and legitimizes learners' place in different learning contexts. Yet, due to

the forces and implications of ideologies, learners' capital is not necessarily valued by structures of power or the capital they may wish to possess might also be difficult to attain as a result of *systemic patterns of control* (Darvin & Norton, 2015). The model thus illustrates how *ideologies* help form institutional patterns and practices and structure habitus, which is made visible through acts of *positioning* in the ways learners are positioned in different contexts and how they position themselves and others (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 47). Using this model as analytical framework, in which the interplay of identity ideology and capital is taken into account, has been helpful in understanding the underlying structures and conditions forming young adolescents' willingness to invest in language practices in different spaces and domains.

2.3.4 Domains, practices, and out-of-school language use

The research interest of this thesis focuses on multilingualism, investment and identity as manifested in young adolescents' out of school language use in different domains and practices. In the following paragraphs, attempts are made to frame the use of domains and practices and to provide a description of what out-of-school language use might encompass. *Domains* here signify the broad physical spaces or out-of-school spheres or settings in which different linguistic practices might take place, for example at home, in non-organized activities outside the home (e.g., spending time with friends), in organized leisure activities (e.g., sports, music), or religious spaces. The categorized domains exemplified here may alter in accordance with participants' responses and accounts, yet the above-mentioned examples serve to illustrate possible ways of using the term. Practices then refer to the linguistic activities taking place within these domains, with different interlocutors.

Research in individuals' language use in out-of-school contexts has gained increased attention in recent years (e.g., Reinders & Benson, 2017; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016; Muñoz & Lindgren, 2011; Jensen, 2017; Olsson, 2011). As the development of communication technologies and online media have expanded and continue to transform the opportunities for interaction, Reinders and Benson (2017) have proposed the overarching term, *Language learning and teaching beyond the classroom (LBC)* and argue its potential in becoming a coherent field of research. In so doing, they suggest a descriptive model in which they distinguish different dimensions of LBC for analyzing learners' participation in different activities. Research into language learning outside the classroom has used a variety of terms

such as: out-of-class, out-of-school, extracurricular and informal learning (Reinders & Benson, 2017). In the Swedish context, Sylvén (2006) explored the extramural exposure to English among young adolescents (aged 13–14), using *extramural exposure* as referring to the amount of English the participants came in contact with or were exposed to in activities in their spare time. The term *Extramural English* was later suggested by Sundqvist (2009) in her PhD study to capture the English language that learners come in contact with or engage in outside the classroom walls. Extramural English is broadly defined as involving both productive and receptive activities and interaction (Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016). In contrast with other terms that include the words school and learning (e.g., out-of-class learning, incidental language learning, implicit language learning) Sundqvist and Sylvén (2016) argue the preference of Extramural English as an umbrella term as it directs attention to what happens out of the school context and better implies voluntary involvement in Extramural English activities. The definition and activities of Extramural English is in accordance with the focus in this study. However, since this thesis explores young adolescents' contact and use of 'Heritage languages', Swedish and English and additional languages, the term Extramural English is not applicable. A broader term such as 'Extramural Language Use' (or 'Extramural Languaging') would perhaps better reflect the out-of-school linguistic practices investigated in this thesis. However, while much of the work conducted within this area of research tends to concern out-of-school language use (whether incidental or not) as a resource for learning, or in connection to some specific learning outcomes, this thesis does not direct interest to particular aspects of learning per se. Rather, it focuses on the dynamic interplay of language use, investment and emergent identities as mutually constitutive of learning and imagined future possibilities. Therefore, this thesis employs the use of out-of-school as a term to indicate the focus of interest of this thesis and broadly locate the adolescents' various linguistic practices as taking place outside of school. Thus, in this thesis, the term out-of-school is used to indicate contact and use of languages in non-educational contexts.

2.3.5 Locating language use in time and space

Since this study explores the language use situated in a number of everyday activities outside the school setting, it is important to consider how these linguistic practices should be located in time and space. In sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, the concept of the *speech community* has been used as an analytic concept

to examine varieties. First introduced by Bloomfield (1933), the notion of *speech community* was later developed and revived by Gumperz (1968) who problematized the concept seeking a definition of speech community that would better meet the heterogenous reality. Gumperz thus transformed the previously homogenous conceptualization of the speech community into a social concept encompassing different speech varieties defining a speech community as 'any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage' (Gumperz, 1968, p. 381). With this definition, the previously static conceptualization of the speech community came to acknowledge that speakers of the same language or variety may not necessarily belong to the same community. The concept of speech community was later replaced by other terms including 'communities of practice' to better capture what Blommaert and Rampton (2011, p. 4) express as 'the often mobile and flexible sites and links in which representations of group emerge, move and circulate'. Thus, the 'sociolinguistics of mobility' as put forward by Blommaert (2010) focuses not only on 'language-in-place but on language-in-motion, with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5). Mobility and position in time and space is also very much present in the works of Bakhtin's (1981) 'chronotope' as well as in Bourdieu's capital theory which considers field as a multidimensional space; 'The position of a given agent in the social space can thus be defined by the position he occupies in the different fields, that is, in the distribution of the powers that are active in each of them.' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 230). The mobility of today's world further adds a complex dimension to language in time and space, influencing language ideologies and language policies and planning (Blommaert, 2010).

2.4 Language ideologies

Exploring young adolescents' dispositions toward languages and language practices, calls for analysis of the articulated notions of languages, language use and linguistic practices. Sociolinguistic studies aiming at exploring notions of how and why individuals choose to use a certain language or certain languages in multilingual situations or activities tend to incorporate the concept of language ideologies. The concept of 'language ideologies' also called 'linguistic ideologies' or 'ideologies of language' is not easily defined, but various definitions circulate depending on the focus of interest. Silverstein (1979, p. 193) identified what he

called *linguistic ideologies* as 'any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.' In 1989, Irvine described *linguistic ideology* as 'the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine, 1989, p. 255).

Kroskrity (2000, 2004, pp. 497–498), later introduced a more plural understanding of the concept which referred to *language ideologies* as 'beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds', arguing that such beliefs may concern language contact, multilingualism or language status. Kroskrity has also (2010, p. 192) described language ideologies as 'beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states.' In Kroskrity's view, language ideologies should be seen as a 'cluster concept' which comprises several interrelated dimensions (Kroskrity, 2004; 2010). Kroskrity (2004) argues that, rather than seeing language ideologies as shared values within a cultural group, the concept must capture diversity and, as such, can serve as an analytical tool in exploring individual variations in ideas, views and communicative practices. In a similar vein, Blackledge (2008) describes language ideologies as 'the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse that constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels' (Blackledge, 2008, p. 29). Since language ideologies are politically and socially situated, debates about language are not only about languages but are closely linked to issues of identity and power. Multilingual societies may seem to accept or even promote linguistic diversity, yet as a result of covert homogenous ambitions, maintaining monolingual language norms, this diversity might be insufficiently valued or even disregarded (Blackledge, 2008). Darvin and Norton (2015) claim in similar terms that 'ideology is constructed and maintained through the imposition of power, through hegemonic consent, and the repetition of practices' (2015, p. 4).

As sketched out by Kroskrity (2004) speakers' thoughts about languages or language ideologies were for a long time neglected and dismissed in the research of structuralist linguistics dominating the mid twentieth century, in which speakers' language ideologies or norms were seen as having insignificant effects on actual speech. Yet, with the pioneering works of Jakobson (1957) there was a theoretical shift in orientation towards an ethnography of communication, examining language use in relation to settings, topics and other issues relating to the sociocultural worlds of the speakers. This spurred a developing interest in language

ideologies with authors such as Hymes (1974) arguing for the inclusion of the local theories of speech within speech communities (Kroskrity, 2004). In identifying and analyzing language ideologies, Kroskrity (2004) suggests five, though to some extent overlapping, layers, namely, group or individual interests, multiplicity of ideologies, awareness of speakers, mediating functions of ideologies and the role of language ideology in identity construction (2004, p. 501). In this thesis, the concept of language ideologies is essential for understanding participants' awareness or rationalizations of their language practices and how their positioned place in the social world helps shape beliefs and assumptions about languages. Such rationalizations, or taken for granted assumptions, tend to be multiple and bound to contexts (Kroskrity, 2010). Language ideologies, as expressed by Woolard (2020, p. 2), 'occur not only as mental constructs and in verbalizations but also in embodied practices and dispositions and in material phenomena such as visual representations'. From this perspective, language ideologies as concept ties closely to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, in which durable and transposable dispositions are inscribed into the body and produced by social conditions and experiences (Woolard, 2020). Further, language ideologies through processes of misrecognition, endow legitimacy to certain linguistic practices, where the language practices by some speakers in certain situations, are deemed as more legitimate than others (Woolard, 2020).

In this thesis, the concept of language ideologies is used in combination with Bourdieu's notion of habitus. As language ideologies tie closely to habitus, language ideologies and dispositions can be seen as almost synonymous. However, habitus 'as a system of dispositions to be and to do' (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 150) or 'a set of *acquired* characteristics' (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 29) encompasses multiple dimensions of mannerisms or ways of acting or being (see also Bourdieu, 1984). Still, perceptions or beliefs constitute a type of disposition among many which thus signifies a 'dimension of habitus' (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 29). Therefore, when specifically referring to participants' positions towards languages, language ideologies, ideological positions and dispositions are used interchangeably.

3. Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides accounts of some of the previous research that shares elements of the points of interest and concepts stated in this thesis. However, considering the immense and wide range of research conducted on the topics of multilingual practices, investment and identity, limitations are needed, and the following section will focus on a selection of studies of primary relevance to the aims and research questions in this thesis. Therefore, this chapter primarily centers around previous research on everyday plurilingual language use among school-aged children and adolescents from a sociolinguistic perspective. The review focuses on studies that tap into the interplay of everyday language use among young people in multilingual settings, primarily in out-of-school settings. Themes include language ideologies, investment in language practices and the role of language use in emerging identities. Even though the areas of interest often intersect, the chapter is thematically organized using headings to indicate different foci of interests. Before outlining the previous research, the chapter begins with a description of the literature search.

3.2 Previous research

The previous research presented here is a selection resulting from the use of two strategies in the literature search. As part of the continuous process of in-depth reading of literature on the research topic, the first strategy has mainly involved a "snowball approach" where references of key articles or other scholarly works have steered the reading forward towards other relevant titles and sources of input. However, to ensure a thorough, unbiased, and sufficiently wide-ranging search of previous research undertaken, literature searches using specific search words have been conducted. Using the research questions as foundation, as well as key words found in key articles, relevant words and terms were distinguished to identify research that specifically has addressed young adolescents' linguistic practices from a multilingual perspective outside school and the relationship between language, investment and identity among children and adolescents. To refine and narrow the

search Boolean and positional operators were used to combine terms to yield more specific references. Further searches have been made to include dissertations and theses. Given the particular linguistic settings and conditions present in this study, limitations were made to primarily include research undertaken in comparable 'global north settings' such as Sweden and other Nordic countries, Europe and North America. To further limit the search, specifications were made regarding educational level, where appropriate, choosing grade 6 or grade 7 as prerequisites. For these reasons, the search only to a limited extent included previous studies relating to heritage language use and maintenance. Searches were made using the databases ERIC, Education Research Complete and Google Scholar.

3.2.1 Everyday language use and ideologies among young people in urban multilingual settings

Following the past decades of mobility and migration to global north settings, there has been a growing interest in multilingual interaction and multilingual realities in socially, culturally and linguistically diverse spaces. The interaction opportunities provided via digital media and communication technologies have also generated scholarly attention to the ways in which young people engage in and use languages outside school. With convincing research evidence from large-scale longitudinal studies (e.g., Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; Collier & Thomas, 2017), the importance of promoting and maintaining heritage languages for long-term educational success is also more widely recognized by researchers (Bigelow & Collins, 2018). Thus, research interested in the multilingual and cultural resources, experiences and realities of children and adolescents continues to grow. However, despite the linguistic diversity evident in today's world and the increased scholarly recognition of the importance of supporting heritage languages, monolingual ideologies of language and identity still abound. The current dimensions of tension in society and the divergence between underlying monolingual ideologies in education and the multilingual realities of young adolescents in multilingual settings, further emphasize the need for investigating multilingual realities, practices, and ideologies in greater detail.

In Sweden, the everyday lives and perceptions of young people in multilingual urban settings have continued to attract interest. Some publications emerging around the turn of the century particularly shed light on language and everyday experiences, identifications, and understandings of young people in multilingual urban settings in Sweden (e.g., Evaldsson, 2001, 2002; Parszyk, 1999, 2002) and

address issues of marginalization, segregation, and education (Bunar, 2001; Runfors, 2003). Although predominantly situated in the school setting and with a varying focus on educational organization and on the young adolescents' views of themselves in relation to the school as symbol for mainstream society, the accounts of the young people participating in these studies still provide valuable insights essential to studies of young Swedish adolescents' contemporary multilingual life worlds, ideologies, and perceived identities. Most importantly, some of these works, by highlighting young children and adolescents' own points of view, also point to the vital concern of highlighting the social agents and the everyday social practices of those who experience them (Bourdieu, 1999a).

3.2.1.1 Language use, ideologies and identities among children and adolescents in multilingual contemporary urban settings in Sweden

The language use of speakers in linguistically and culturally diverse settings has been a focus of interest in various fields of research. In the Swedish context, considerable attention has been paid to the linguistic practices of adolescents in multilingual urban neighborhoods. The comprehensive research project *Language and Language Use Among Adolescents in Multilingual Urban Settings (the SUF project)* between 2002–2006 examined the speech practices of adolescents in multilingual urban areas in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Although the research project primarily focused on the linguistic form and function of speech in social interaction, sub-studies of the project provided valuable insights on the role of language use, registers and speech styles in positioning and identity formation among young adolescents in multilingual contemporary urban areas (Ganuza, 2008; Haglund, 2005; Otterup, 2005). In a subsidiary study for PhD submission, Haglund (2005), investigated everyday social interaction and identification among adolescents in multilingual suburban areas in Stockholm. Through ethnographic fieldwork using participant observation of junior high school adolescents in both in and out-of-school settings, Haglund (2005) illustrates how the adolescents, based on their diverse experiences and beliefs of the benefits of being multilinguals, manifest allegiances and identifications and challenge stereotypical assumptions of language and culture. The individual accounts of the participants also display experiences of marginalization and attitudes of ambivalence and compliance to mainstream society as reflected in participants' acts of positioning in social interaction. Thus, the study demonstrates how dominating and discriminating macro-level structures are contested yet re-established in speech at micro-level. Similar results of multilingual experiences and identities are also

reported in the dissertation by Otterup (2005). In a survey study of students (aged 10–13) in grades 4–6, followed by an interview study with eight of the informants more than five years later, Otterup (2005) investigated multilingualism and identity among young people in a multiethnic area in Gothenburg, Sweden. Drawing on Norton's (2000) concept of investment and Cummins notion of empowerment (Cummins, 1996), multilingualism was found to be significant in the formation of the participants' identities, demonstrating the school and the family as major influencing factors (Otterup, 2005). The findings in Otterup's study (2005) also point to the young individuals' high awareness of how languages are valued by society, recognizing the low chances that investment in "minority languages" would lead to increased cultural capital in Swedish society. In another sub-study within the SUF project, Ganuza (2008) examined the language use among adolescents in multilingual urban settings by investigating word order patterns, more specifically the use of subject-verb inversion and non-inversion. Even though Ganuza's (2008) study deals with syntactic variation, the findings reveal how the adolescents' use of non-inversions functions as a meaning-making linguistic resource to show identification and solidarity with the multilingual setting, peers, and family and to challenge dominant language norms. Thus, similar to the findings of Otterup (2005) and Haglund (2005), the findings of Ganuza (2008) also point to the adolescents' awareness of language use norms. Furthermore, addressing future research, Ganuza (2008) expresses concern over the limited knowledge of the nature and amount of Swedish input the participants meet and take part in during their everyday lives.

To the best of my knowledge, research on children's and adolescents' input or use of Swedish beyond the classroom setting in multilingual urban areas remains scarce, not to mention studies investigating the distributed out-of-school input and use of young adolescents' full linguistic repertoires, thus including Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages. However, studying linguistic repertoires and multilingual practices among linguistically diverse groups and their use of languages in different activities may pose complex challenges. In the context of the SUF project (cited above), Fraurud and Boyd (2011) conducted a study of 222 adolescents in multilingual urban settings in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Data of linguistic backgrounds and practices were collected using a questionnaire in which the answers were reported by the researchers during audio-recorded interviews with the participants. The heterogeneity and great diversity of language use and the diversity of linguistic profiles found in the results indicate the difficulty involved in the study of linguistic

variation in multilingual settings. Fraurud and Boyd (2011) therefore suggested the need for methods that enable more systematic explorations of in-group and individual variation, stressing the importance of considering a range of variables and sub-variables in the analysis of data. The insights obtained by Fraurud and Boyd (2011) as well as other previously mentioned projects using the linguistic background data from the SUF project (e.g., Ganuza, 2008) thus provide a useful reference in processing and interpreting data on language use among heterogenous samples as in the case of this thesis.

Other studies of urban vernaculars in multilingual settings in Sweden have also directed attention towards investigating language ideologies as manifested in adolescents' linguistic practices. In the study of a group of adolescents, Milani and Jonsson (2012) report how a group of adolescents, residing in a multilingual suburban area in Stockholm, demonstrated a high awareness of dominant language ideologies and perceptions of urban vernaculars, and how the group of young participants through stylized performances, both reproduce and show resistance towards dominant language ideologies.

Through the lens of translanguaging and multilingual literacies, Jonsson (2013) used language diaries and diary-based interviews to investigate the language use of six adolescents (aged 18–19). The findings of the ethnographic study displayed how translanguaging practices were described by the participants as a natural part of their daily lives, in particular when interacting with friends and family, contributing, in part, to the construction of their identities. The results also indicated that the daily translingual practices of the participants differed from the linguistic practices employed in the bilingual international boarding school the participants attended. Similar to the findings from previously mentioned studies, (e.g., Ganuza, 2008; Haglund, 2005; Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Otterup, 2005), the adolescents in Jonsson's study (2013) also demonstrated a high awareness of language norms in society, which was reflected in their adaptations of language use depending on the situation and/or the interlocutor as they avoided the use of translanguaging in the school context. From a methodological perspective, the study also demonstrates how language diaries can prove useful in obtaining rich data of students' language practices, multilingual literacies and construction of identities as such diaries effectively enable students to reflect on their language practices.

3.2.1.2 Language use, ideologies and identities among children and adolescents in multilingual urban settings in other Scandinavian and European countries

The language use among youth populations in multilingual urban settings has also been examined in other Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, sociolinguistic studies of multilingual practices over the past two decades have often focused on investigations of speech styles of young people in linguistically and culturally diverse urban spaces (Quist & Svendsen, 2010). However, following Jørgensen's (2008) introduction and development of the notion 'polylanguaging' (Jørgensen 2008, 2010) proclaiming a broadened understanding of language use, a number of studies have taken a more critical stance in the study of multilingual youth practices, paying attention to the ideological aspects embedded in language use, for example within the realm of *the Amager project* (e.g., Ag & Jørgensen, 2013; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Madsen, Karrebæk & Møller, 2013; Møller, 2009). As argued by Quist and Svendsen (2010), while multilingual practices have received rather wide scholarly interest in Danish sociolinguistics, less attention has been paid to multilingual practices in computer mediated communication (CMC) or other digital spaces among children and adolescents. However, the technological advancements, increased mobility and integration of these spaces in our everyday lives have spurred an increased research interest into the language use in these spaces during the last decade. A Danish example is the PhD study by Stæhr (2014) in which he investigated the role of social media in everyday language use among Copenhagen adolescents during leisure time activities. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork of online and offline settings, Stæhr (2014) investigated how language use norms are manifested in the adolescents' social media interactions. As social media has come to play such an inseparable part of the everyday language use in the lives of many young people across the globe, Stæhr (2014) stressed the importance of including social media in sociolinguistic research of language use. In a similar vein, in her PhD study Ag (2018) investigated the language ideologies in on- and offline settings but aimed at taking a holistic approach to youth language use by including the language practices in the family domain. Similar to the central concerns of my thesis, research conducted by Ag (2018) focused primarily on situations occurring outside the classroom setting with the results from the linguistic practices at home providing another relevant source.

Norwegian research on youth multilingual practices in urban settings has primarily directed interest towards lexical features (Quist & Svendsen, 2010). Yet, as described by Quist and Svendsen (2010), *the UPUS project (Utviklingsprocesser i*

urbane språkmiljø, Developmental processes in urban linguistic contexts) broadened the research to include a wider range of linguistic levels. However, in contrast to some of the research conducted in Denmark, less attention in Norway has been paid to adolescents' entire linguistic repertoires and the use of other languages than Norwegian. Yet, in 2014, the Norwegian research campaign *Ta tempen på språket! [Taking the temperature of language!]* (2015) led by Svendsen and other researchers at Oslo university, investigated the language use of children and adolescents in Norway. In this large-scale research project, children and adolescents all over Norway were asked to report on the number of languages they used and how they used them. In the project, conducted through self-reported data and interviews, the participants were also asked about what languages they would like to learn and their views of using English. In the nationwide project, 87 schools and a total of 4509 children and adolescents in all school years participated. The results of the project demonstrate the multiple language use among Norwegian children and adolescents with 95 different languages reported in use. This nationwide project and mapping of language use among children and adolescents shares a number of relevant elements with my thesis. The project investigates the entire linguistic repertoires of the participants and also investigates views of and incentives for language learning. Furthermore, similar to my thesis, the project maps language use in different situations (including digital communication) and with different interlocutors. Finally, the project also includes young adolescents' use of English. While the national Norwegian project with its considerably wider and heterogenous sample, included children and adolescents from very many different contexts, my thesis focuses predominantly on young adolescents in multilingual contemporary urban settings in Sweden. In addition, the current thesis relates the everyday language use and exposure to investment and the formation of emergent identities.

Across Europe and other international contexts, the parallel use of multiple languages among adolescents has notably been demonstrated by Rampton (1995) in his ethnographic study of young urban Panjabi and Creole speakers, which introduced the term *crossing* as referring to how the adolescent speakers cross ethnic and social boundaries by using languages which they, in a traditional sense, would not be seen as belonging to. The experiences and multilingual practices in everyday interactions have also been highlighted by Wei (2011) albeit with older youths or in fact young adults. However, the findings illustrate how multilingualism or "being multilingual" forms part of the participants' identities (Wei, 2011, p. 1228)

and how attitudes, identities and relationships can be accepted or rejected all in the process of interaction.

In the largescale multisite ethnographic research project *Negotiating Discourses of Inheritance and Identities in Four Multilingual European Settings*, Blackledge and Creese (2015) explored the language use and literacy practices of young people in Birmingham, Copenhagen, Eindhoven and Stockholm and the cultural and social significance of these practices. The project also aimed at investigating how linguistic practices are used as defining and shaping culture, identities, and inheritance. Through the analytical lens of heteroglossia, the project findings concluded that the language practices of multilingual young people encompass more than mixing languages. The findings indicate that inheritance and identities in the form of linguistic symbolic signs play an important role even in the smallest instances of language use as ways of becoming and belonging.

3.2.2 Language use, identities, and investment

The interplay of language, identity and education have been explored in a study by King and Ganuza (2005). Drawing on data from a larger longitudinal project of the language use patterns, language ideologies and educational experiences of Chilean adolescents in Sweden and Chile, King and Ganuza (2005) examined Chilean-Swedish transmigrant adolescents' (aged 10–19) language use, views of ethnic and national identification and attitudes towards Spanish, Swedish and Spanish-Swedish code-switching. The findings illustrate how the participating adolescents were forming transnational identities, both Chilean and Swedish, and found differences in the process relating to age of arrival, gender, and contextual factors like legal status. For example, the (at the time) ambiguity of citizenship and uncertainty concerning future country of residence among this group were found to impact identity constructions and the degree to which the adolescents were "invested" in Sweden. The findings also found that the age of arrival, i.e., corresponding to the number of years spent in Sweden, did not positively correspond to the sense of "Swedishness" which was particularly evident for the boys (King & Ganuza, 2005, p. 192) and similar gender differences have been reported by Ogbu and Simons (1998).

From an ecological perspective of language use and language learning, yet also incorporating the concept of investment, Davila (2017) examined the identities and attitudes of eight young heritage learners of Somali and Arabic aged 12–13. Using interviews and observations, Davila (2017) examined the participants'

attitudes to heritage language learning and how these attitudes were enacted in language use. While Davila's (2017) study primarily involved language use within the school setting, it did examine the language attitudes of young people in the identical age group to those investigated in this thesis. It also aimed at contributing to the knowledge of how language use, ideologies and identities intersect. However, it should be noted that whereas Davila (2017) solely investigated attitudes towards heritage language learning, this thesis includes accounts of young adolescents' attitudes towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English.

In a more recent study, Palm, Ganuza and Hedman (2019) investigated the language use and investment of Somali-speaking children and adolescents in Sweden by drawing on data from group interviews with thirteen 9th grade students, as well as background survey data from a questionnaire on language use and literacy biographies of 120 six- to twelve-year-olds. Palm, Ganuza and Hedman (2019) explored Somali-speaking children's language use and investment in Somali language learning. Most of the participants were born in Sweden and share similar socio-economic backgrounds. The reported language use patterns point to the ideological complexity involved in developing and maintaining a minoritized language in a majority language context. While showing positive attitudes to multilingualism, the adolescents' experiences reflected conflicting attitudes to the linguistic hegemony of school and society at large.

Studies of investment in language use or language development have mostly targeted adults or young adults (e.g., Babino & Stewart, 2019; Hajar, 2017; Mc Kay & Wong, 1996; Vasilopoulos, 2015) and with few exceptions (e.g., Vasilopoulos, 2015) these studies have been situated in contexts with English as official language. Examples in other contexts have also targeted learners of English (see Norton, 2015). Although there are a few examples of research of language investment among children and adolescents, these studies have often centered around dual language or immersion school contexts in North American contexts (e.g., Babino & Stewart, 2015, 2017; Ballinger, 2017; Potowski, 2007). While the exemplified studies are set within the school context and particularly deal with dual immersion programs, they still offer important insights into the dynamics of identity, investment, languages use and language status. These studies also include students within an age span very close to the particular age group of this thesis. Potowski's (2007) longitudinal ethnographic study of fifth grade students' investment in Spanish at a dual immersion school in Chicago and the results from the mixed methods studies by Babino and Stewart (2015, 2017) of Mexican–American fifth grade students' (n=63) investment in English, Spanish and bilingualism, have both

demonstrated students' preferences of using the dominant language, despite the fact that the participating students attend dual immersion schools. The findings by Babino and Stewart (2015) also indicated that students' identities and investments were strongly connected to their language use as well as the language of instruction and that both formal and informal language use affected the students' attitudes towards languages. Thus, these studies point to the role of the societal status ascribed to different languages and how the status of the dominant language may prevent an equitable support in two (or more) languages. In a study set in a French immersion school in Quebec, Ballinger (2017) then explored the classroom language use of students in grade three (aged 8–9) in order to study the effects of language status on students' investment. Ballinger (2017) concluded that the findings demonstrated the interconnectedness of societal language status, equal use of the languages of instruction and students' perceptions of the social capital ascribed to these languages. Furthermore, Ballinger (2017) questions whether the potential role of extracurricular activities in minority languages has been underestimated and argues that students' authentic use of minority languages outside school may have a significant impact on their language use and language choice in the classroom. Drawing on and extending the concept of investment McKay and Wong (1996) investigated the language learning process of four Chinese immigrant seventh and eighth grade adolescents attending a junior high school in California. With few exceptions (e.g., McKay & Wong, 1996; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019), studies of language, investment and identity among children and young adolescents in out-of-school situations still remain scarce. However, Bauer et al. (2015) raise the question of how concepts like identity, investment and imagined communities can prove helpful in gaining a developed understanding of the lived realities of children and adolescents in elementary school. Taking a poststructuralist perspective on language and identity and using Norton's concepts, Bauer et al. (2015) examine the experiences of German-born fourth grade students (age 10) with migrant backgrounds (Kurdish and Moroccan). In line with what has been demonstrated in previous studies (see above in this chapter), the findings indicate the young participants' awareness of language norms and perceptions of minorities. Although showing appreciation of their multilingual repertoires, the participants are very well aware of the ideological implications and mainstream perceptions of speaking a first language other than German. Aiming at exploring the relationship between learning and identity, immigrant status and academic success, data was collected using a range of methods such as, classroom video observations, field notes, instructional materials, students' classroom work,

teacher interviews and group interviews of students. The researchers concluded that the awareness of local linguistic practices is seldom acknowledged in the classroom setting. Bauer et al. (2015) further claimed that the divergence between young people's own identities, investment, and imagined future and those recognized in teaching and by the school as a whole, may have negative implications for academic achievement, leading to nonparticipation and drop out (Bauer et al., 2015).

As argued by Ogbu (1999), many previous sociolinguistic studies of minority children have failed to acknowledge the role of historical, societal and cultural outside school factors. Thus, arguing further that in order to identify the factors controlling social meanings and use of linguistic varieties, research needs to go beyond the classroom discourse. In Ogbu's (1999) ethnographic case study he investigated the language attitudes of both elementary and high school students and adults in an African-American speech community. The findings illustrated how the people of the speech community displayed strong emotions of ambivalence and resistance in their attitudes towards the use of what they referred to as "proper English".

Research investigating the relationship between language and identity has also been conducted with even younger children often inspired by biographical approaches such as the so-called *Language Portrait Silhouette, LPS* (Krumm & Jenkins, 2001). LPS is a task consisting of a sketched silhouette of a body and the children are asked to use the silhouette to color their languages. This task is often combined with or followed by children's explanations of their use of colors, shapes and symbols. However, most of these studies have included learners in bilingual education programs, common in various countries around the world. In a study of fourth grade pupils, Martin (2012) used both the LPS and a questionnaire and the result indicated how the fourth graders' responses differed depending on to which degree their languages were supported in the classroom. Dressler (2014) used the LPS with even younger children targeting pupils in grades 1 and 2. Instead of combining the LPS with a written task, each pupil was asked to speak about their drawing immediately after completing it. The children's explanations were video-recorded to facilitate a multimodal analysis. However, as illustrated in these research examples, studies exploring identity and multilingualism among children often involve an educational focus, directing attention to experiences and beliefs in relation to instructional practices. Also, as mentioned, these examples include learners in bilingual education programs and thus the diversity in terms of linguistic repertoires and cultural background is likely to be noticeably different from the

heterogeneity often represented in multilingual urban settings, which is the focus of this thesis.

3.2.3 Multilingual practices, activities, and media use

Concerning the topic of multilingual practices in the everyday lives of young adolescents, two other relatively recent studies are worth mentioning. Using domain theory, complexity theory and dynamic multilingualism, Rydenvald (2017) investigated the multilingualism and language use of Swedish teenagers (aged 15–19 years) living abroad, together with their families, in seven European countries. The informants in Rydenvald's material consisted of teenagers (n=143) referred to as so-called *Third Culture Kids (TCK)* whose parents tend to be well-educated expatriates and transmigrants working abroad and commonly perceived of as belonging to a privileged social class. In examining patterns of language use and how the informants navigated in their multilingual life contexts, data was collected using a questionnaire, self-recordings, and interviews. The results point to the language use of these adolescents as being complex and dynamic with several interplaying factors. According to Rydenvald (2017), the participants did not describe using certain languages in certain situations but rather used their total linguistic repertoire as a pool of resources, using the language(s) most suitable depending on the situation. The choice of language was found to also depend on aspects of inclusion and what Rydenvald (2017, p. 125) refers to as 'the least common denominator' namely: the language of the interlocutors, the languages they have in common, the level of comfort in speaking the language and the estimated preferred language of the interlocutor. Other interesting results indicating the complexity of language use included self-recordings which demonstrated a more heterogenous language use in the home domain than that reported in the questionnaires. Even though Swedish appeared to be the main language for interaction at home, other languages frequently entered the home domain through interaction with friends or other family members (Rydenvald, 2017). This discrepancy is interesting from a methodological point of view since the displayed variety in the answers of the participants indicates the difficulty in mapping multilingual language use in different domains. Thus, Rydenvald demonstrates domain theory as less suitable for mapping multilingualism in today's globalized reality. Even though the informants in Rydenvald's study differ from the group of interest in my thesis in terms of age, socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, it highlights the multifaceted nature of multilingual practices

from a different perspective and thus, provides methodological insights of high relevance concerning mapping of multilingual language use and the role of triangulation in capturing dimensions of one phenomenon.

The linguistic practices and interactions among adolescents have also been studied in the use of different media. In her ethnographic PhD study, Bellander (2010) investigated young people's language use (aged 16-18) and how they interact in different situations and activities and through the use of different media. Taking a process-oriented view of language use, Bellander (2010) draws on sociolinguistics and activity type theory and examines the adolescents' language use from three perspectives: an activity perspective, a technology perspective and an individual perspective. More specifically, Bellander investigated how language use is influenced and affected by the activities and the social contexts in which participants engage, also by the technical characteristics and constraints and by individual factors. Using observations, field notes and texts, Bellander (2010) followed a total of six young people aged 16–18 (three boys, three girls) for one week both at home, at school and during leisure activities. Whereas Bellander's (2010) study did not focus on multilingual urban settings, the six participants represented different linguistic and social backgrounds and the participants either attended urban, suburban, or rural schools and also differed in terms of personal interests. While Bellander's (2010) study included the linguistic repertoires and interactions of two participants of Iranian descent, the study did not depict the multilingual practices of a wider group of linguistically and culturally diverse participants in urban multilingual settings. However, the study provided a valuable account of the everyday language use and interaction patterns among adolescents through the use of different media. The findings demonstrated the linguistic repertoires and stylistic variation of the adolescents and illustrate how the participants made use of linguistic resources to achieve goals and construct roles in interaction. In addition, the study confirmed the heterogeneity and complexity of everyday interaction.

Rydenvald (2017) and Bellander (2010) both specifically included the home domain as a central setting and as noted earlier the home domain is also visible in other studies of multilingual practices in urban settings (e.g., Ganuza, 2008). However, linguistic practices in the home have also been of interest in studies of language policy and language maintenance in migrant families. Some previous studies of language use among children and adolescents in multilingual migrant settings in Sweden, have focused on the language maintenance, language shift and language policy in the family and home setting. Even though this thesis does not

specifically focus on family language policies per se, the language use with family members and the linguistic practices of the home domain at large, is still of interest to this study. The home and the family are presumably also central to the lives of the young participants. One example of a study of language use among migrant families in Sweden is the PhD study by György–Ullholm (2010), examining the language use of Hungarian migrant families in Stockholm and Gothenburg. The ethnographic study employing in-depth interviews and participant observation of children and parents displays a substantial variety of language use norms. Apart from looking at the language use among migrant children, the work of György–Ullholm (2010) can also be regarded as being of relevance to my thesis as it particularly involved explorations of language use patterns and habits during leisure time. Other examples of research relating to language use in the family sphere in which children and young adolescents are part of the sample, include a survey study by Namei (2012) which examined the language maintenance and shift among second generation Iranian migrant children and adults (sample aged 6–53). The language use of Iranian families in Sweden has also been studied by Kheirkhah (2016) whose PhD study investigated daily social interactions and language policies among Iranian migrant (and in one case, Kurdish) families in Sweden. Employing video recordings, interviews, and observations, Kheirkhah (2016) explored the language practices of parents and children, paying particular attention to the role of children in shaping the family language practices, heritage language maintenance, language shifts and policies.

3.2.3.1 Multilingual practices in different digital media activities

This thesis explores the language use in a range of different media activities. However, this study is not primarily interested in the particularities and characteristics of the linguistic practices manifested within any particular media or activity type per se. Rather, it aims to illustrate young adolescents' out-of-school multilingual practices and as such, the thesis will tap into issues of language use in different digital media activities and thus, language preference and employment of linguistic and semiotic resources. Consequently, to understand more about the multilingual everyday practices of young adolescents, accounts of previous studies of how young adolescents navigate and make use of their linguistic resources as they move in and between these spaces are relevant to address. This section does not intend to provide a comprehensive account of the wide range of studies relating to language use in digital and social media activities, it includes just a few

examples of studies of particular relevance to my thesis sharing the commonalities of focusing on multilingual practices among adolescent participants.

Over the past decades a number of studies have examined young people's everyday language use or multilingual practices in social media. Online spaces, digital communication and social media offer numerous, varied and in some way new opportunities for language use and linguistic encounters and thus, create new openings for scholarly inquiries of how fluidity of multilingual practices and identity performances traverse within and between these spaces. As argued by Androutsopoulos and Juffermans (2014, p. 3) 'diaspora communities are neither consistent nor uniform in their discourse and linguistic choices; rather, their virtual spaces of discourse lay bare their diverse and fluid linguistic repertoires and understandings of identity and community.' Thus, digital spaces have gained scholarly attention as an abundant source in understanding how linguistic repertoires are employed in different discourses and how identities are transferred in these practices. Over the years and following the digital developments, sociolinguistic research and theorizing have directed interest towards the fluid, complex and hybrid nature of language use in these digital spaces and how the linguistic practices shape the construction of social realities and identities (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2004, 2011; Blommaert, 2005a, 2010; Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Leppänen et al., 2009; Leppänen, Peuronen & Westinen, 2018; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

In the Swedish context, Jonsson and Muhonen (2014) studied adolescents' multilingual repertoires and performances of glocal and social identities on Facebook and more specifically through the use of manga cartoons. While being predominantly situated inside the school setting, Gynne (2016) examined young Finnish-Swedish 11–13-year olds' languaging practices in and out of school in relation to meaning making and social positionings. In her fourth sub-study Gynne (2016) went beyond formal learning practices to involve the participants' informal literacy practices on Facebook and investigated young people's identity work through their engagement in informal literacy practices. Firstly, she explored how young people engage in different writing spaces, secondly how identities are negotiated, performed, and portrayed in these practices and finally in what ways identity work helps to create a sense of (dis)engagement and belonging. Multilingual practices in social media discourses have also gained attention in Danish sociolinguistic studies, some of which already have been mentioned (see e.g., Stæhr, 2014) and methodological considerations have recently been put forward by Androutsopoulos and Stæhr, (2018). In Finland, Leppänen et al. (2009)

have examined the linguistic practices and attitudes of young adolescents in digital spaces. The findings indicate how engagement in these media plays a central part in shaping the everyday lives of the participants. Leppänen et al. (2009), also found game players' language choice and use to be temporally determined by the linguistic resources provided by the game and the structures for player interactions. The results further point to how the young participants' language use displays social and cultural alignments and negotiates identities. In addition, Leppänen et al. (2009) shed light on mixing languages, styles, and registers as a natural feature of interaction and the role of English in the different discourses.

English plays an indisputable role in many of the out-of-school activities and practices which are examined in this current thesis. Due to the great prevalence of English in Swedish society, young people in Sweden tend to come in contact with English from a very young age. In a study of 4th graders' (aged 10–11) engagement in activities outside school, with a particular focus of computer use and digital gaming, Sundqvist and Sylvén (2014) found that the young participants spend a considerable amount of time on activities where English is used. Based on questionnaire and language diary data, Sundqvist and Sylvén (2014) compared the language-related computer use in English, Swedish and other languages. However, since the majority of the participants in the study (88%) had Swedish as their "mother tongue", the reported diary entries mentioning other languages were considered too few to be given further significance. By taking a specific interest in the out-of-school language use of young multilingual adolescents, mapping the everyday use of Heritage Languages, Swedish and English, the complementary focus of this thesis may portray patterns of out-of-school language use which can add to these findings.

The use and encounters with English among young people have also been investigated in the comprehensive transnational comparative research project *Early Language Learning in Europe, ELLiE* (Enever, 2011) which in total followed children from the age of 8 to 12 years old. This research project included a study of out-of-school factors among 10–11-year-olds from seven European countries, including Sweden. In the examination of out-of-school factors, the Swedish participants reported higher levels of exposure to English and alongside the Netherlands, the prevalence of English in everyday life and Swedish society is particularly evident (Muñoz & Lindgren, 2011). Of the out-of-school factors examined in the ELLiE project, exposure to subtitled television programs and films was found to have a particularly significant impact on language achievement, as did parents' knowledge and professional use of English (Muñoz & Lindgren,

2011). However, as acknowledged by the authors the out-of-school contexts and thus, exposure to English, varied considerably among participants; some were exposed to English on a daily basis whereas others rarely encountered it outside the school setting. Language use and patterns of exposure may thus vary greatly which shows the importance of extending the mapping of language use patterns to include heterogenous groups of young people of various linguistic backgrounds. Such an approach may yield insights which could add to the existing knowledge of the dynamic dimensions of language use and language exposure in out-of-school settings.

In a recent study, DeWilde, Brysbert and Eyckmans (2020) examined the level of out-of-school exposure among Dutch-speaking children (*n*=780, aged 10–12) and its role as opportunity for supporting informal language learning. Of the total sample, 207 participants spoke at least one other language at home. The findings indicated that out-of-school activities can offer large language gains. However, the results also displayed considerable individual variance between learners which as argued by the authors, requires further attention. Of the out-of-school activities, gaming, social media and speaking proved to be the most beneficial for informal language acquisition. In another previous study, De Wilde and Eyckmans (2017) investigated the incidental language learning of English among 11-year-old children (*N*=30). Of the thirty participants, 12 reported using multiple languages at home. The result of the study pointed to gaming and computer use as particularly significant sources of language learning input. The findings also showed that the young participants held positive attitudes to English and also seemed to prefer the use of English in certain situations and contexts.

Much of the work conducted in the field of research related to out-of-school language, (e.g., Reinders & Benson, 2017) or extramural activities (Sylvén, 2006; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016) typically involves a primary interest in out-of-school language use in relation to language learning. Studies tend to focus on improvement of linguistic skills and increased proficiency and thus investigate the level of engagement in out-of-school language learning activities in relation to specific language learning outcomes (e.g., Sylvén, 2004; Sundqvist 2009; Olsson, 2011; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014; Jensen, 2017; Warnby, 2022). As mentioned, a few studies have examined the out-of-school language use of children (Sundqvist, 2009; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2012; 2014; Muñoz & Lindgren, 2011), yet most studies of out-of-school language exposure activities in the Swedish context have primarily focused on adolescents in secondary school. While considerable interest has been given to the use of and exposure to English, less attention has been paid to

explorations of multilingual out-of-school language use of young adolescents. Likewise, from my current understanding, no previous studies have investigated the linguistic repertoires evident in multilingual language use and exposure outside school among young adolescents in multilingual urban Swedish environments. This dissertation shares the interest in the role of out-of-school language use and exposure in different domains and activities. However, it takes a critical sociolinguistically informed approach by placing the multilingual patterns of out-of-school language use, in dialogic relation to language ideologies, investment and emergent identity positionings.

4. Research Design, Research Methods and Materials

4.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter provides an account of the mixed-methods design adopted in this study and a rationale for the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. This is followed by a discussion of validity and quality issues in the use of mixed methods approaches. The chapter then continues with a description and discussion of each of the three different research methods used in generating data, and the considerations made in the preparation and design of the research materials.

4.2 A mixed-methods approach

Depending on the ontological and epistemological assumptions on which the topic could be approached, exploring the interplay of young adolescents' out-of-school language use in relation to ideologies of languages, investment and identities can be investigated from various methodological standpoints and paths of inquiry. However, the combination of research questions together with the theoretical points of departure framing this thesis called for the use of a combination of methods. Research rooted in poststructuralist or critical research paradigms is commonly known for engaging in qualitative techniques. However, the current PhD study aligns with Bourdieu's rejection of dichotomies such as the one between quantitative and qualitative techniques. As outlined by Broady (1991), oppositions between quantitative and qualitative were of no relevance to Bourdieu's own research practice. For Bourdieu, such oppositions were considered arbitrary and not motivated by the scientific research practice (Broady, 1991, p. 437). Instead, Bourdieu argued the importance of generating as much information as possible about the object of study (Broady, 1991, p. 486) using all relevant techniques that fit the definition of object (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This methodological pluralism should not however be misinterpreted to equal a view of "anything goes", the methods used must still fit the research problem and

be constantly critically reflected upon during the research process (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 30). Bourdieu's research practice continuously transgressed dichotomies and entailed both quantitative and qualitative material. Rather than rejecting the influence of "positivist" traditions, Bourdieu proposed a modernization of the influences of natural sciences and mathematics (Broady, p. 318). In stating tasks for critical analysis in education, Apple, Ball and Gandin (2010) argue, in a similar vein, for the need of mobilizing statistical techniques rather than marginalizing them and rejecting them as "positivist". Rather than rejecting quantitative techniques, why not instead discuss and reflect on the epistemological assumptions by which the researcher makes use of them. Such discussions could include questions like: For what purposes are they used? What do we expect that our techniques may generate, and do we remain critical of their abilities? Following Bourdieu, this study employs mixed methods precisely because it supports the view that quantitative techniques require the accompaniment of qualitative methods (see Broady, p. 267). The questionnaire served to map the participants' reported out-of-school language use and ideologies to explore patterns and provide an overview from which language diaries and interviews could proceed. Hence, the three methods were deemed equally essential in forming a holistic unity from which the theoretical notions employed in this thesis could be operationalized and explored. Therefore, the study adopted a mixed-methods research design including both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Mixed methods can allow for 'multiple ways of seeing and hearing' (Greene, 2007, p. 20) and thus provide 'multiple ways to address a research problem' (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017, p. 2). There are multiple definitions of mixed methods (see Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) but in broad terms, *mixed methods* as a research approach refers to the practice of collecting, analyzing, and integrating both quantitative and qualitative data, within a single study, for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the research problem than what would have been achieved by either approach alone (Creswell, 2005; Creswell, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). As discussed by Tashakkori and Newman (2010), the main motive for using a mixed-methods design is to yield answers to research questions not effectively answered by either qualitative or quantitative methods alone and a combination of methods can allow for a deeper understanding of the topic. The complex, multi-layered and dynamic nature of the research topic centering on language, identity, and investment, undoubtedly calls for research that allows for in-depth understandings through the use of qualitative methods. Yet, quantitative measures can provide valuable insights and be a well-suited methodological tool

and path of inquiry into these research matters, for example by mapping patterns of language use, exposure, frequency, ideologies et cetera on a wider scale. As in the case of this study the quantitative data formed a starting point for the qualitative methods, which examined the studied phenomena in greater detail. It could also be argued that complex multidimensional issues both require and deserve careful exploration from different perspectives, using whatever methods appropriate in order to gain new insights. In recent years, transdisciplinary approaches have been put forward, most noticeably by The Douglas Fir Group (2016). The group of researchers have advocated a transdisciplinary approach to the study of language learning and language teaching in a multilingual world, using whatever theoretical or analytical tools that may be required. In proposing an integrative approach, bridging epistemic boundaries, the group also acknowledges the advantages of using mixed methods in addressing problems in socially or participant-relevant ways where: 'Mixed methods research that carefully considers the contexts of language teaching and learning seems to be particularly well suited to this task' (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 24).

Mertens (2015) argues that if the purpose of the research is complex, multiple questions are often needed, thus requiring the use of mixed methods. As argued by Tashakkori and Creswell (2007, p. 207), a mixed methods study benefits from starting with a 'hybrid' research question incorporating questions such as 'what and how' or 'what and why', which in turn can be broken down into sub-questions. Each of these sub-questions might require either quantitative or qualitative data or both but are merged and combined to provide an integrated answer (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007).

4.2.1 An explanatory sequential mixed methods design

The use of mixed methods approaches, or designs can serve a range of purposes. Mixed-methods approaches are commonly used for the purposes of complementarity, completeness, development, expansion, confirmation, compensation and diversity (Greene, 2007; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). As mentioned, the reason for combining qualitative and quantitative methods in this study, was to allow for a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon by using qualitative methods to help explain the results from the initial quantitative method. The questionnaire thus served to map the participants' reported out-of-school language use and ideologies which provided an overview of relationships which then could be studied more closely using language diaries and interviews. In

this study, the use of mixed methods followed an explanatory sequential design here with a development intent, as one type of data (questionnaire) helped to inform the use of another type of data (language diaries and interviews) and the qualitative data helped to explain and explore the initial results from the quantitative data in more depth (Bryman, 2016; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). The *explanatory sequential design* begins with a quantitative phase, which is followed by a subsequent qualitative phase to help explain the quantitative results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). This may allow for a data driven and reflexive approach to research. An illustration of the sequential data collection process is found in Figure 2. In this study, the first step in exploring young adolescents' multilingualism and out-of-school language use and ideologies was conducted using a questionnaire. The information gathered from the questionnaire, provided a foundation which informed the second phase of the study. For example, by informing the content, design and analysis of the language diaries and interviews.

Figure 2 Process of Data Collection Using an Explanatory Sequential Mixed Methods Design
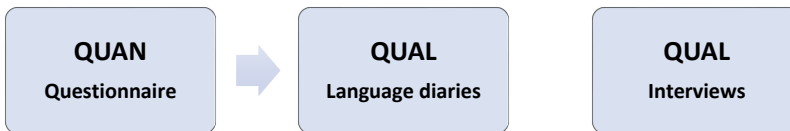
In the mixed methods literature, capital letters are often used to indicate the weight given to different methods in a study. The capital letters serve to inform readers of how the methods relate and if all methods are given equal weight or if one or two of the methods are seen as main methods. Thus, figures can be used to display both the order and significance of the methods used (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Riazi & Candlin, 2014). In this case, the arrows indicate the sequence of the research methods stages and how one stage informs the next. As indicated by the capital letters in Figure 2 (QUAN, QUAL, QUAL) the three different methods used in the study have been given equal importance. The patterns observed in the first quantitative phase were used to develop the second qualitative phase and in sequential studies with a development purpose, equal weight is preferred (Riazi & Candlin, 2014). However, it could be argued that since the two qualitative methods are developed based on the initial questionnaire, the quantitative phase is of greater importance or rather given more weight in the study as a whole. Yet, since the

questionnaire has been intentionally developed to be followed up by qualitative methods, the information gathered in the questionnaire required to be accompanied by the qualitative methods in order to provide a fuller picture and yield sufficient answers to the research questions. Consequently, all three methods are considered of equal value and therefore, all three have been capitalized in Figure 2.

As described by Tashakkori and Newman, (2010, p. 516), the second strand of the study serves to explain, expand and/or confirm the results of the first strand. Thus, drawing on the analysis of the questionnaire dataset, language diaries and interviews were used to explore patterns of language use, perceptions, and ideologies in more depth. Final inferences were made based on all strands of the study (Mertens, 2015). However, according to Creswell and Plano Clark (2017), to minimize some of the validity threats involved in the use of explanatory sequential mixed methods designs, all possibilities (significant as well as non-significant predictors) must be taken into account in the explanation of quantitative results. The interpretations must also discuss and specify to what extent and in what ways the qualitative results help expand or explain the findings of the quantitative data (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Furthermore, the qualitative data phase should investigate surprising and contradictory results from the quantitative data and the qualitative sample should be carefully selected based on the questionnaire sample in order to clearly link the quantitative data with the qualitative follow-up. Since the explanatory sequential design entails that the research methods are conducted sequentially in time and help to inform the next steps in the research process, it is important to describe how the different research phases are connected. The use of visual models or graphical representations of procedures are commonly used to facilitate comprehension of multi-stage mixed methods research (Ivankova et al., 2006). Figure 3 therefore serves to illustrate the explanatory sequential design employed in this study by providing an outline of the research phases, materials and procedures used and the outcomes.

Figure 3 Outline of Research Phases, Materials, Procedures and Outcomes

Phases	Materials and procedures	Outcomes
Quantitative data collection	Questionnaire *N*=92	Numerical, categorical and textual data Participant demographics
Quantitative data analysis	SPSS data analysis: (Descriptive, univariate and multivariate analysis)	Descriptive statistics: (frequencies, percentages, crosstabulations) Inferential statistics: (relationships between variables)
Quantitative phase linked to qualitative phase	Development of language diaries and interview guide, sample selection for diaries and interviews	
Qualitative data collection	Language diaries *n*=50 Interviews *n*=18	Narrative accounts
Qualitative data analysis	Data analysis: (Thematic analysis)	Emergent themes and categories similarities/differences
Merging of quantitative and qualitative data results	Integration and interpretation of quantitative and qualitative data results	Discussion, Implications and future research

The details provided in Figure 3, are included to provide an overview of the different materials and procedures involved in each strand or phase and their outcomes. The model illustrates the sequence of research activities and the steps involved in each phase, portraying how the quantitative and qualitative methods were linked in a sequential manner. Furthermore, the model also serves to describe the type of data generated from each method as well as the intended process of analysis and thus, provides an idea of what the merged interpretations encompassed. In the second part of this section, detailed accounts of each of the three research methods and materials are provided. As indicated in Figure 3, inferences were drawn and integrated from all three strands in the study to provide a comprehensive understanding of the studied phenomenon. The integration of inferences where quantitative and qualitative methods are combined, raises issues of validity or evaluative criteria in mixed methods research designs which requires a discussion of specific concerns relating to the presented sequential explanatory design.

4.3 Issues of validity in mixed methods approaches

Since mixed methods research involves an integrated combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods, it must also conform to different traditions of discussing quality of research. While the quantitative tradition

discusses issues of quality in terms of validity and reliability, qualitative research approaches tend to use other terms or descriptors such as 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity' (see e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Combining quantitative and qualitative methods, and the challenge of appropriately integrating them, can make assessment of validity particularly complex (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). Finding one's way amongst the many varying terms of quality and their numerous meanings can be challenging, especially for novice researchers (Dellinger and Leech, 2007, p. 309). Scholars have engaged in ongoing discussions of how to properly assess and address the quality of mixed methods research by suggesting specific evaluation criteria (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003), frameworks (e.g., Dellinger & Leech, 2007), or models for assessing different types of legitimation (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). The evaluation criteria of inferential quality by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) and the typology of legitimation by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) both offer meaningful direction regarding the assessment of quality in mixed methods research. However, as argued by Dellinger and Leech (2007, p. 316) both appear to submit to established 'norms and criteria of validity traditionally used in quantitative and qualitative research for the separate parts of mixed methods studies.' In contrast, the validation framework of elements of construct validation by Dellinger and Leech (2007) attempts to unify the discussions and understandings of validity in mixed methods research by drawing on Messick's (1995) construct validity framework. Informed by Messick's view of validity as a unitary concept (Messick, 1987) the present PhD-study uses validity as an overarching term to describe and discuss aspects of quality of the study as a whole, its parts and the inferences made and the degree to which it accurately represents participants' perceptions and linguistic "realities". Messick (1989) defines validity as 'an integrated evaluative judgement of the degree to which empirical evidence and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of inferences and actions based on test scores or other modes of assessment' (1989, p. 13). However, as argued by Messick (1980), validity is inferred and not measured, that is; validity is in itself something judged as adequate, marginal or unsatisfactory. Even though the concept of validity derives from the psychometric tradition of psychological and educational measurement, I am inclined to agree with Dellinger and Leech (2007) that a development of Messick's construct validation holds potential as an all-encompassing framework of assessing quality. However, as in all use of concepts, it is important to recognize its underlying assumptions and 'validity theory, like all knowledge, is grounded in a specific set a social practices' (Markus, 1998, p. 12). However, in his examination

of ontological perspectives, Messick (1987, p. 37) contends how 'the philosophical foundations of validity and validation combine elements not only from multiple philosophical but also multiple methodological perspectives.' Acknowledging the role of ontological perspectives, Messick (1987, p. 41) further states, 'since observations and meanings are differently theory laden and theories are differentially value laden, appeals to multiple perspectives on meaning and values are needed to illuminate latent assumptions and action implications in the measurement of constructs'. Thus, using the validation framework as a foundation for discussions and considerations about validity in mixed methods research may potentially function as a bridging attempt in aligning divergent perspectives and traditions. However, in mixed methods research the ways to deal with evaluating the quality may need to alter depending on the structure of the research design. For example, sequential designs, as in the example of the current PhD-project, may necessitate the use of quantitative and qualitative criteria separately (Dellinger & Leech, 2007). Although an overall assessment of the mixed methods study as a whole could be guided by a validation framework.

The following paragraph focuses on aspects of validity regarding the explanatory sequential design employed in this study. Issues of validity and reliability regarding the three research methods are discussed at the end of Chapter 5 in accordance with the legitimation type 'multiple validities' suggested by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006), thus ensuring that relevant 'validities' of each of the quantitative and qualitative canons are addressed.

4.3.1 Validity concerns in explanatory sequential designs

Mixed methods studies, using quantitative and qualitative methods, may require ways of establishing the validity of the quantitative measure and a discussion of validity concerns for the qualitative findings. Yet, explanatory sequential designs pose specific challenges and validity concerns (Creswell, 2014). Additional issues of validity may entail the risk of compromising the accuracy of overall findings if important explanations or options of follow-up are overlooked. To increase validity in explanatory sequential designs, all possibilities must be taken into account in the explanation of quantitative results (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Another challenging aspect of the explanatory sequential design concerns the sampling procedures or sample size. As one phase builds on another in a sequential manner, drawing on different samples may invalidate the results and likewise, inadequate sample sizes in either the quantitative or qualitative

side can pose a threat to validity (Creswell, 2014). Accordingly, in this study, the sampling can be considered to represent what Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) refer to as a *nested relationship*, as the sub-sample for the language diaries and the interviews represent a subset of the participants who completed the questionnaire.

4.4 Research methods and materials

4.4.1 The Questionnaire

The first phase of generating data involved a questionnaire on language use and ideologies. The questionnaire aimed to map out young adolescents' out-of-school language use, engagement in multilingual practices as well as their ideologies towards languages and language learning. The questionnaire (see appendix A) consisted of 25 tasks comprising 121 variables and containing a variety of questions directed towards mapping out the participants' use of languages in different types of activities, amount of time spent and distribution of languages in different activities and languages spoken in the home domain and with different interlocutors. The questionnaire also served in obtaining relevant background information, such as country of birth, age, gender, language background, early childhood languages, participation in mother tongue instruction et cetera. To complement the mapping of language background and engagement in out-of-school activities the questionnaire also contained a section of self-evaluation with *can do* - statements of oral and receptive abilities in the participants' stated 'mother tongue' language(s). The final part of the questionnaire was devoted to language ideologies and contained rating scale items of statements of ideologies towards languages, language learning in school and the importance of different languages for future work and academic studies. This final section ended with an open-ended question asking participants to picture their own language use in the future.

The questionnaire as a whole was organized using a combination of multiple-choice items, check-box items (allowing multiple responses), open-ended questions, rank ordering and rating scales. As for the questions of engagement in various out-of-school activities (see questions 2 and 3 in the questionnaire), a rating scale format was used. To include a wide range of activities while facilitating participants' responses, all items on questions 2 and 3 followed the same structure. As for other items in the questionnaire, the organization and layout depended on the purpose of the question. Some items allowed only one response while other questions allowed multiple responses. For some items, instead of pre-defined

categories of choices, an open-ended format with instructions allowed for plurality of languages in responses which aimed to reflect the dynamic and heterogenous use of languages among the participants.

The paper-based questionnaire was administered to the participating young adolescents and completed in the classroom at their respective schools. In most cases, the participants' teacher or main teachers were present. The questionnaires were at all times completed in the presence of the researcher. The procedures of administering the questionnaires are described in more detail in chapter 5; Research Settings, Participants, and the Process of Generating Data.

4.4.1.1 Designing the questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed and designed with due consideration for the guidelines suggested by Trost (2001) and the variables used in the LSBQ (Language and Social Background Questionnaire) by Anderson et al. (2018). In designing items and statements, considerations were also made based on the works by Baker (1992), Baker and Wright (2017) and Oppenheim, (1992). For example, these sources provided information about significant variables concerning different interlocutors and language ideological statements. The content and design of the questionnaire is also inspired by similar questionnaires used in previous studies (Lindgren et al., 2016; Rydenvald, 2017; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014; Sundqvist, 2009; Otterup, 2005). It should be mentioned that the LSBQ version of Anderson et al. (2018) is developed with bilingual adults as the intended population and does not attempt to measure language use beyond the use of two languages and the degree of multilingualism. Yet, the LSBQ instrument served well in providing valuable generic aspects concerning language use assessments, such as the importance of including many different contexts of use, language activities and interlocutors. Throughout the process of constructing and piloting the questionnaire and, in particular, regarding questions targeting language ideologies, the selection of addressed content and significant items has been based on the work by Baker (1992) and Oppenheim (1992).

The questionnaire does distinguish between languages but was also designed to reflect language use as flexible, dynamic and multifaceted in nature. Therefore, when possible, questions were developed to allow multiple responses or were organized in open-ended format to obtain richer accounts and avoid predetermined categories. Hence, some questions deliberately distinguished between Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages, yet the use of open-ended questions or items allowing multiple responses complemented

the information gathered in the structured multiple choice (one response) items. It could be argued that the questionnaire in this sense is theoretically incongruent by reflecting opposing theoretical views of language and language use. However, as argued in chapters 2 and 11, separating languages may be necessary in order to yield important insights regarding language ideologies and how young adolescents use languages in their spare time. Likewise, questions of ideologies addressing specific languages were used to highlight important aspects of language status and participants' values of different languages.

With regard to questionnaire design, open-ended and closed questions both have their advantages and disadvantages, yet in questionnaires it is traditionally recommended to avoid open-ended questions (Trost, 2001). Data treatment of open-ended questions tends to be time-consuming, and responses may be difficult to process, and open-ended questions may also appear daunting to participants and lead to a higher frequency of missing responses (Trost, 2001). In this study the advantages of open-ended questions still outweighed the disadvantages and a combination of closed and open formats were finally selected. The closed questions served well in mapping patterns whereas the open-ended or more flexible items became a balancing complement, by aiming for details and descriptions to accompany the structured responses. The decisions of formats such as open-ended, multiple choice, order ranking, check box items and scales have been based on the suggestions by Trost (2001), Baker (1992), Bryman (2016) and Oppenheim (1992).

When designing the questionnaire, the age of the respondents was carefully considered, and questions were modified to suit 11–13-year-olds and thus written using child-friendly language. Likewise, considerations of age appropriateness were also made with regard to the organization, layout and the sequencing of tasks and items in an attempt to create variety and avoid exhaustion. The questionnaire was also carefully constructed with consideration to the potential varying language backgrounds of the participants by paying attention to the wording of sentences, questions, instructions, and vocabulary. Considering the age of the target population, general efforts were also made to minimize any unnecessary linguistic complexity. Given the heterogeneity of language backgrounds of the target population, the questionnaire was in Swedish. This fact naturally poses challenges, since participants may vary in their process of acquiring the Swedish language. However, during the time of completion participants were able to consult both myself as a researcher and the teacher(s), most often this occurred in Swedish but in some cases the participants could receive teacher support in Heritage

Languages. Details regarding the practical matters of administering the questionnaire are described in chapter 5 Research Settings, Participants, and the Process of Generating Data. Furthermore, when constructing the questionnaire, measures were taken to avoid preventable pitfalls by, for example, avoiding double negatives in statements, ambiguities or loaded words. The work of finalizing the questionnaire was based on pilot work and comments from pilot-phase participants as well as comments, guidance and scrutiny from supervisors and helpful external expertise from senior researchers with specific experience of quantitative research methods.

4.4.1.2 Piloting the questionnaire

The questionnaire was piloted twice in order to increase its validity, reliability and practicability (Oppenheim, 1992) and identify avoidable pitfalls and flaws. Results from the piloting of the questionnaire (conducted February, 2019 and June, 2019), revealed apparent and potential weaknesses and limitations regarding both content and structure. First, the results of the piloting pointed to the difficulty involved in considering the range of possible activities represented for the questionnaire to adequately reflect the language use of young adolescents in the ever-changing multimodal digital activities present in the contemporary digital media landscape. The questionnaire needed to include a range of what could be expected as "common" frequent practices and activities among the young participants but also cover the perhaps less frequent potential activities young adolescents may engage in. Thus, to improve construct validity, adaptations were made to decide on appropriate ways of examining these activities and what concepts to use in describing various practices.

The pilot work also resulted in adaptations in format and layout. For example, during the pilot phase of the questionnaire a decision was made to distinguish between high frequency and low frequency activities. To avoid "ceiling effects" (Salkind, 2010), where the upper limit of a scale is too low and thus fails to capture the 'true' estimated value, high frequency activities were separated from less frequent and measured using a more precise scale of hours/day. Since a large number of participants may spend several hours a day on some activities, the alternative 'every day' as the "highest" response category would be insufficient. Thus, to enable more accurate estimates, activities regarded as high frequency activities were measured using more detailed distinctions using an hours/day scale whereas other activities assumed as less frequent, were measured using a scale of every day/several times a week/ several times a month/ never or almost never.

The pilot work also revealed the difficulties, or perhaps inaptness, of appropriately differentiating languages through the use of terms like "first languages (L1s)" or "Heritage Languages". Initially the first version of the questionnaire included a question of the language(s) first learned which seemed to cause some confusion among the participants. Since the question addressed what language(s) they learned first, some participants seemed to interpret it - and accurately so - as if they were to state the languages learned in the order of which they encountered them in life, resulting in a few ambiguous accounts. A decision was taken to re-phrase the question to include the term 'mother tongues', despite its controversial implications (Milani, 2007; see also Lainio, 2013). Mother tongue(s) as a term carries an ideologic legacy which is equally problematic and controversial as a nationalist, motherese and ethnocentric construction emerging in several languages at the same time as the rise of the nation-states in Europe (Bonfiglio, 2010, 2013). However, "mother tongues" was still the term most instantly recognized by the participants in practice probably since it reflects the terminology still currently used in Swedish education policy and practice (e.g., 'mother tongue instruction'). Even so, despite being generally recognized by the majority of participants, at least at a superficial level, the term "mother tongue" also caused occasional confusion as a few participants asked whether mother tongue was the equivalent to "home language". Many of these terms carry meanings of language incongruent with the theoretical perspective adopted in this thesis. The terms also raise concerns regarding the complexities or inconsistencies of trying to distinguish very heterogenous practices and perceptions of languages, which was to become even more evident as the study proceeded. The examples raised here point to the difficulties and inaptness of framing languages through the use of terms such as *Heritage Languages, mother tongues, first languages,* and so forth. These challenges are addressed more closely in chapter 5 which critically discusses whether attempts at defining individuals' "L1s" or "mother tongues" or "Heritage Languages" is a useful practice at all. However, since the questionnaire targets the distributed language use and exposure in different activities, some kind of differentiation between languages was necessary and thus the questionnaire targeted the participants' distributed use and exposure of *mother tongues/Swedish/English* and *additional languages*. In so doing, some way of distinguishing what language(s) an individual ascribed as their mother tongue(s) became a central element. Due to the difficulties of the mother tongue term and the challenge involved in distinguishing linguistic practices and trajectories, the questionnaire was developed to include more detailed questions about language

use in the home domain. The questionnaire also contained complementary questions which aimed to map prevalence of languages and the linguistic repertoires of participants. For example, to accompany the initial question of "mother tongue", additional questions of early language exposure were added as well as an open-ended format of language use with a relatively wide range of interlocutors (mother, father, siblings, younger relatives, grandparents, other older relatives, friends, classmates during recess, teachers, and neighbors). However, questions of early language exposure or other variables of age onset may deviate from participants' preferred language or the language they feel most confident in (Fraurud & Boyd, 2011). Therefore, these questions helped to illustrate the sometimes juxtaposing and unpredictable nature of linguistic practices and trajectories. They also proved very useful during the holistic analyses of the participants' language use profiles when cross-referencing the questionnaire dataset with language diaries and interview data (as described in chapter 6). Languages stated as responses to questions of so called 'first languages', 'mother tongue languages', 'Heritage Languages' or other equivalent terms do not necessarily correspond with the language policy applied in the home. During the piloting stage, a few participants addressed different rationales involved in determining language use at home, indicating the multifaceted and indistinguishable nature of multilingual linguistic practices. For example, one participant mentioned that even though Persian was stated as "mother tongue" by the participant, the parents applied a "Swedish-only-policy" in the home. Thus, again this points to the importance of acknowledging that language use in the home may vary greatly and to investigate the heterogeneity involved in language use practice and ideologies requires a holistic approach. In this study, a combination of methods using both questionnaire, language diaries and interviews was therefore implemented to highlight the dynamic nature of linguistic practices and explore individual differences in more depth.

4.4.2 Language diaries

After the questionnaire data analysis of out-of-school language use patterns, a smaller sub-sample of 50 participants (girls=26, boys= 24) at three schools (*The Birch school*, *the Pine school* and *the Hazel school*) located in Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm completed language diaries. The language diaries were planned to be administered during Spring 2020 but due to the pandemic, the language diaries as well as the interviews had to be postponed. Therefore, the language diaries were

administered on different occasions during Fall 2020 and Spring 2021. The language diaries sought to yield a deeper understanding of the data result gained from the questionnaire by allowing for more comprehensive accounts of the participants' language use and exposure. Thus, the language diaries served to complement the responses from the questionnaire regarding daily language use in various activities and domains as diary entries can allow for more precise estimates of behaviours (Oppenheim, 1992).

The language diary was inspired by the design and procedures used in similar studies on multilingual literacies (e.g., Jones et al., 2000; Jonsson, 2013) and extramural English (EE) (see Jensen, 2017; Sylvén & Sundqvist, 2012). Yet, as the language diaries were developed based on the findings from the first phase of this study, final details concerning the design of the language diary were developed throughout the research process in relation to the analyzed results from the questionnaire. The diary consisted of a two-grid structure dividing the day in two separate time periods: morning and afternoon/evening (see appendix C). In these two grids, participants were instructed to write what activities they engaged in, with whom and what languages they used. The intention of this organization was to facilitate as open responses as possible, while also including a time factor by structuring the responses across the day. To enable high participation and the richest possible responses, participants were given the option of using the grid as a guide with instructions and writing more freely. However, all participants followed the grid structure.

Using language diaries can have several advantages and offer research potential in highlighting the hybridity of language practices (Starks and Lee, 2010). Involving young adolescents in documenting their own out-of-school language use and 'languaging' practices, might contribute to increased linguistic awareness as they get to reflect upon how they use languages in their everyday practices. In addition, language diary inputs have a research potential in that they enable unique insights into how young adolescents perceive their language use, what they pay attention to and what they document. Since the sample for interviews were drawn from the sample used in the language diaries, the information obtained in diary entries was essential in preparing for the interviews and in making the final additions to or alterations of the interview guide. Thus, the analysis of the language diaries laid the foundation for how to proceed with interviews for further inquiry aiming at filling in gaps and obtaining more in-depth insights. Using the diaries as a foundation for the interviews also helped to address different forms of situated language use in the everyday lives of participants. Self-reported data in the form of language

diaries, tend to enable investigations of often hidden or inaccessible affective factors such as individuals' own perceptions, experiences and strategies (Bailey & Nunan, 2004). As argued by Bryman (2016) diaries can also be advantageous in obtaining valid and reliable estimates of frequency and time spent on different activities or behaviors.

Following the 'biographical turn' (see also 'the narrative turn' cf. Baynham & De Fina, 2016; Bruner, 1991) there has been an increased interest in using language biographies or narratives as source, especially in the works of researchers interested in symbolic relations of power 'hidden' in everyday practices (Busch, 2016). According to Busch (2016), employing biographical approaches in the study of multilingualism can be particularly successful with regards to addressing issues such as subject positions, identity constructions, language ideologies and language discourses. Using biographical approaches offers recognition of the heterogeneity and uniqueness of individual accounts of language use, exploring what these described individual experiences might reveal about language ideologies and dimensions of language practices (Busch, 2016). Diaries can also contribute to a more dialogic and collaborative research process and shift the positions of the researcher and the researched (Jones et al., 2000). As described in chapter five, the language diary served as a foundation for the individual interviews which contributed to a more coproducing event.

Considering the age of the participants in this study, practical aspects and procedures involved in the language-diary process had to be carefully outlined. For example, what instructions to provide and how to support participants in remembering to fill them in. Based on experiences of previous studies (e.g., Sundqvist, 2009), the participants were encouraged to keep daily records of their language use. It was decided that the diaries would span one week from Monday to Monday or Tuesday to Tuesday, to enable reports of weekend accounts. Initially the diaries were planned to span two weeks but to facilitate completion and high response rates, one week was chosen instead. Further, to ensure a high response rate, carefully thought-out procedures were necessary. Such preparations involved providing explicit instructions, checklists, and examples of a completed diary section (Bryman, 2016). Participants were given both oral and written instructions. The instructions served to facilitate the participants' understanding of the diaries and increase their engagement in completing them.

4.4.3 Interviews

As mentioned earlier, based on the findings from the questionnaire and the language diaries, the last phase of the study involved interviews with a limited number of participants. A sub sample of 16 participants from Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö completed the interviews. Sociolinguistic information about the interviewed participants is presented in chapter 5. The interviews served two main purposes. First, to illuminate the analyzed results from the questionnaire and language diaries and to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' out-of-school language use. Second, to gain a better understanding of young adolescents' thoughts about language use, investment in language learning, experiences of language use and identity positionings.

Since the interviews were designed to build on the analyzed results from the survey questionnaire and the diaries, using semi-structured interviews seemed advantageous as this form allows flexibility with a focus on the respondents' points of view while still maintaining focus on specific questions or themes. By emphasizing the interviewees' accounts of opinions and beliefs, the flexible nature of semi structured interviews leaves room for respondents to address issues of particular interest to them (Bryman, 2016). Using the diaries as foundation for the conversation served to alleviate the interview situation, making it less formal in nature (Martin-Jones et al., 2009, p. 50). Since the interviews also aimed at highlighting specific issues and questions, an interview guide served to guide the conversation (see appendix D). From the research questions and the previously collected data from the questionnaire and the language diaries, specific questions or themes were added to the interview guide which, together with the language diaries, formed a foundation for the interview. The interview guide functioned as a supporting structure for the interviews, yet during the interview situations an in situ reflexive approach was adopted wherever possible, and thus follow-up questions were used freely. Therefore, prior to the interviews I made sure to acquire a thorough understanding of the participants' out-of-school language use (as far as possible) through the questionnaire results and the analyzed language diary entries. To accompany the interview guide and the language diary, I also prepared separate notes of each participant which included background information, questions, or topics to explore further and information that needed clarification. This was brought to the interview and significantly informed the interview situation and helped in trying to maintain a reflexive approach. As mentioned, the interview guide contained both themes and specific questions.

When designing the interview guide as well as when conducting the interviews, careful attention was paid to the wording and structure of specific questions, the intonation and use of gestures and body language. Furthermore, by using the diaries as foundation, emphasis was put on having questions rooted in everyday situations, examples, or scenarios the participants easily could relate to. However, the interviews aimed to let young adolescents at the age of 13–14 put their daily language use, language ideologies, experiences, and perceptions of identities into words. Such an ambition also posed a number of challenges which are discussed at the end of Chapter 5.

Recognizing the difficulty in research interviewing, the interviews aspired to adhere to the list of advice stated by Kvale (1997) as well as significant aspects to consider when conducting reflexive interviews (see Thomsson, 2011). According to Bryman (2016) ethical awareness constitutes an additional qualitative aspect of the good interviewer, thus making sure that the respondent is fully aware of why the interview is taking place and that the responses will be treated with confidentiality. The interviewer must also remember to clarify the purpose for conducting the interviews and declare the roles of the researcher and the participant (Thomsson, 2011). All interviews were audio-recorded, and the audio files were imported into NVivo 12 and later transcribed to text-files.

4.5 The combination of methods

As described, the three research methods employed in this study collectively served to explore the interplay of out-of-school language use, ideologies, investment, and identities. Figure 4 below provides an outline of the information targeted in each of the three methods.

Figure 4 Outline of Information Targeted in the Three Methods

- Language background
- Language use/exposure in informal social activities (frequency/distribution)
- Language use with different interlocutors
- Early language experiences
- MTI and Study Guidance
- *Can do* statements MT
- Language Ideologies
- Future language use

- Details of daily language use in different domains and activities
- Time spent on various activities
- Language use in social interaction with family and friends
- Possibility to address other activities than the ones in the questionnaire (e.g., meeting friends, going shopping, other leisure activities)

- Language background
- Daily language use in different activities, domains and with different interlocutors
- Experiences and feelings about languages and language use in different situations
- Investment in languages and language learning
- Language and identities
- Language ideologies
- Future language use

As previously described and illustrated in Figure 4, the different research methods provide multiple sources of evidence and jointly create convergent lines of inquiry by addressing both mutual and particular aspects of the research questions. Language use was addressed in all three methods but in different ways. While the questionnaire served to map initial language use patterns in terms of frequency and distribution, the language diaries aimed at providing more detailed descriptions and rich self-reported accounts and the interviews allowed for further questions addressing participants' rationales for language use in different activities, domains and with different interlocutors.

5. Research Settings, Participants, and the Process of Generating Data

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of the choice of research settings and participants and the sampling procedures involved. The chapter also includes an account of the process of gaining access to schools and participants. Thereafter, the participating schools, settings and participants are presented, together with a description of the procedures involved in conducting and administrating the questionnaire. This is followed by a discussion of ethical and methodological considerations.

5.2 The research settings

Since this study explores the language use, ideologies, and identities among young adolescents in multilingual urban settings in Sweden, the research contexts are represented by schools located in linguistically and culturally diverse neighborhoods in the three largest cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Including schools in these three cities served to provide a somewhat broader picture of the out-of-school language use among young adolescents in contemporary multilingual and segregated suburb areas in Sweden by generating data from a variety of participants who all attend schools in areas of similar sociodemographic structure. The three cities vary considerably in size, population number and urban composition as well as in other demographic features. However, despite their demographic and geographical differences, as main urban spaces in contemporary Sweden, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö also share many similarities in terms of population distribution and residential and spatial segregation. All three cities display similar patterns of socio-economic housing segregation with a majority of people with migrant background living in low-income neighborhoods, often located in the outer parts of the city (Nordström

Skans & Åslund, 2010; Ministry of Culture, 2018; Salonen et al., 2019; Statistics Sweden, 2007, 2018; Swedish Research Council, 2018). The conditions of life and the dynamics involved in the process of shaping young people's senses of social inclusion and future expectations have been addressed by for example Dahlstedt, (2018) who points to the role of material and symbolic dimensions manifested in perceptions of individuals and groups but also how the neighborhood areas as such – as segregated areas and public assumptions about them interplay (see also Léon Rosales, 2010).

The sociodemographic characteristics of these urban areas render them important as research settings when examining multilingual practices, and emergent identities of young adolescents. Again, each of the cities has its own particular characteristics and the different neighborhoods in which the schools are situated may vary greatly in a number of demographic aspects. Still, the urban areas situated in these three cities share a number of factors which make them interesting as linguistic spaces. Due to housing segregation and current societal structures, low-income urban areas tend to have a higher concentration of migrants and the linguistic diversity of these neighborhoods 'generates complex multilingual repertoires in which often several (fragments of) 'migrant' languages and lingua francas are combined' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 7). The dimensions of mobility and dislocations of language also contribute to the development of unpredictable and complex patterns of repertoires and language use (Blommaert, 2010), making these urban neighborhoods particularly valuable in inquiries of language use and sociolinguistic diversity. The linguistic diversity of these neighborhoods tends to stand in stark contrast to the monolinguistic language use patterns dominating the educational contexts and practices in which the young adolescents take part. This discontinuity between home and school 'is likely to carry long-term negative consequences for their well-being, especially if their families and communities are expected to negotiate it on their own and in the absence of sufficient material and symbolic resources.' (Ortega, 2018, p. 3). Thus, researching how young adolescents experience and navigate across different spaces and norms might increase the knowledge and transdisciplinary understanding of how young people's daily language use may play a role in their investment in languages, ideologies, self-perceptions, and emergent identities. Foregrounding the reported practices and insights of young adolescents in these three main cities thus provides valuable and important glimpses into the lives and dispositions of young individuals in contemporary urban areas in Sweden.

5.3 The participants

As seen in the previous research presented in chapter 3, the targeted age-groups in studies exploring out-of-school language use, multilingual practices and language ideologies range from young children to adults. However, studies exploring the interplay of language use, language ideologies and identities through the experiences of young adolescents remain scarce. On the issues of multilingualism(s) and identities, researchers are becoming increasingly interested in exploring children's experiences and narratives of these matters for example through the use of biographical approaches (see e.g., Busch, 2016). However, despite the increased scholarly attention to studies targeting the experiences and ideologies of children, studies involving young adolescents (11–14) are relatively few. Hence, since the role of language in identity formation is becoming increasingly recognized, investigating the relationship between language and identity in young language users may shed light on how patterns of language use and views of languages are manifested from a very young age.

This study used a purposive sampling strategy, particularly focusing on young adolescents in school years six and seven. In Sweden, pupils attending sixth and seventh grade typically range in age from 11 to 14. Targeting young adolescents aged 11–14 served a number of purposes. Young adolescents are likely to have acquired the ability to reflect on themselves and consider multiple dimensions of rather complicated concepts (see e.g., Spears Brown & Bigler, 2005). Furthermore, young adolescents tend to be in the process of becoming increasingly aware of themselves and the social world around and try to make sense of who they are, how they perceive themselves and their possibilities for the future. Their previous experiences of school-life also tend to make this age group able to critically reflect upon experiences relating to education and learning. As demonstrated in earlier studies of youth populations in socioeconomically challenging areas, (Axelsson, 2014; León Rosales, 2010; Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2008) adolescents in these areas are often well aware of the stigmatized perceptions of these neighborhoods and their residents. The dimensions of social segregation as affecting young adolescents' perceived realities and self-images are an integral aspect of this study of language use patterns. Exploring the language use, ideologies, investments, and identities of young adolescents may provide valuable insights into the role of language and ideologies in the dynamics involved in the early shaping of identities, sense of placement and imagined possibilities.

Since this study explores the language use outside school, finding an appropriate way of framing the age group of the participants sometimes posed challenges. In this study, the participants are neither pupils nor learners, neither children nor adolescents. Therefore, the term young adolescents eventually seemed the most suitable, and is therefore used throughout the text when referring to the participants in this study. In the descriptions of sampling procedures and the process of administering the questionnaires, the term pupils will occasionally also occur since the data was gathered in the school environment. However, in preceding chapters when referring to previous research and works of others or when discussing theoretical concepts, terms are used correspondingly and thus, children, adolescents, learners, and pupils can occur.

5.4 Sampling procedures

To select settings and participants, a purposeful criterion sampling was initially undertaken as a strategy to identify and select potential participants, (cf. 'judgement sampling' Milroy, 1987). Purposeful sampling served to identify individuals or groups assumed to be especially informed in the researched phenomena (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). However, due to difficulties in gaining access to schools, the sampling was also a result of 'opportunity sampling' or 'snowball sampling' since access to two of the schools was made possible through my own personal contacts. Still, all but one of the participating schools fall within the stated criteria. Compared to the other schools one of the two schools contacted through personal contacts, has a slightly lower percentage of students with migrant background as well as a slightly higher percentage of parents with high education background. The statistics provided by the Swedish National Agency for Education and Statistics Sweden served as a foundation for choice making and selection of settings and schools contacted for potential participation. Based on the definitions and descriptions currently used by the National Agency for Education, schools with, what is considered a high percentage, 80% or more, (see Skolverket, 2005; Skolverket, 2021) of students with a 'foreign background'[6] were included. Consequently, in the selection of schools, the following two sampling criteria were used:

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[6] Term used by the Swedish Ministry of Education and in national statistics provided by the National Agency for Education referring to pupils born abroad, or pupils born in Sweden of two parents with a foreign background.

1. The school provided teaching in school year 6
2. Number of students with a 'foreign background' was around 80 % or more

Due to organizational differences between schools, some schools do not offer teaching in year six and were therefore not included in the sample. These included schools organized from preschool class (F) to grade 3 or grade 5 (F–3; F–5) and therefore these schools did not meet the first criterion for selection. Similarly, schools offering grades 7–9 were excluded. Schools with a high percentage of pupils of migrant background correspondingly also reported a low percentage of parents with high educational level. Thus, schools with a high percentage of pupils with migrant background combined with a low percentage of parents or caretakers with high educational background were almost exclusively located in low-income neighborhoods. However, it should be noted that educational level is only one of many measures of socio-economic status and may not necessarily indicate household income or other demographic factors. It should also be pointed out that since information regarding an individual's higher education at times may be missing, the actual number of individuals with higher education can be expected to be much higher (Statistics Sweden, 2016). In this study, the percentage of parents with a high education background provided an indication of the socio-economic distribution among the pupils in the school and to some extent the neighborhood as a whole, in which the school is situated. However, there may still be great individual differences among the residents in the neighborhood and thus parents' or caretakers' socio-economic status (either current or previous) and educational level may vary greatly. It should also be mentioned that apart from the proxy variables of socio-economic data in the questionnaire and questions in the interviews, no other individual indices of socio-economic status are acquired. Socio-economic status is thus primarily treated at school level and at local neighborhood level based on national statistics for demographic data of socio-economic status including income level, employment, and educational level.

Given the sequential explanatory design of this study, the sampling procedures also entailed making a selection of sub-samples for the qualitative methods (language diaries and interviews). The questionnaire data results informed the selection of the second sample for the language diaries. The results of the questionnaire and the language diaries then informed the third sub-sample for participation in interviews. Thus, the sampling procedure could be regarded as an example of 'nested sampling' (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007) in which the qualitative sample consists of subsamples of the quantitative sample. The selection

of sub-samples was determined based on stated criteria emerging from the questionnaire data results also relied on accessibility. Due to the unforeseen global circumstances of the pandemic which caused the delay of the qualitative methods, the participants had to be contacted in school year 7 which required establishing new contacts with the teachers in year 7. This also had an impact on the sampling strategy. While the initial intention was to state criteria for sub-sampling of diaries and interviews, owing to the circumstances the sub-samples had, primarily, to be based on the schools and participants' willingness to participate.

5.4.1 Gaining access to the field

After receiving the ethical approval in November 2019, all schools matching the sample criteria in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö were contacted through email and/or telephone. The process of gaining access proved even more difficult than anticipated. Very few schools replied to my e-mails and thus, e-mailing requests for participation turned out to be a less successful approach. However, the strategy of contacting schools via telephone also proved challenging, since it often required repeated calls and conversations with school principals and teachers before anything could be settled, even in cases when the school eventually decided not to participate. When speaking to principals, a number of them (both participating and non-participating) explained their school's reluctance to participate by the large number of requests they frequently receive from external sources, researchers or university students, particularly teacher students, wishing to conduct empirical studies or engage in other projects at their schools. These schools are frequently subjected to academic interest and thus, the amount of received requests may potentially be one among many other possible reasons explaining the lack of responses. Apart from the general lack of responses, the active choice of not participating from those who declined seemed to be due to a number of reasons. Some principals or teachers referred to a general lack of time, others specifically addressed the national tests given in year 6 as a main reason for deciding not to participate. Others mentioned organizational or staff related issues such as temporary facilities, staff shortage or staff mobility as major reasons for choosing to decline participation. A few principals also reported taking an active approach in rejecting anything that could risk taking the focus from pupils' school work and thus claimed to reject all types of external collaborations and participations in research studies or other projects. It is important to acknowledge that many of the schools listed for contact struggle with meeting the educational

standards and criteria and work hard towards increasing the academic achievement of their pupils. It should also be pointed out that the national exams in Swedish, English and Mathematics are given in year 6 which may pose some particular challenges. The exams do occupy a few weeks and assigned dates, especially during Spring and thus, teachers' experiences of time constraints on "regular" teaching may likely influence their degree of willingness to participate. Some of these schools may also be facing other socially related difficulties or a high degree of teacher mobility. Thus, a complex combination of reasons may cause principals and teachers to hesitate or decline participation in research studies or any other external projects. Principals or teachers who did choose to participate, while acknowledging the sometimes-strained conditions, showed interest in the project and found the questionnaire, language diaries and interviews an acceptable interference that could fit into their planned teaching schedule. These teachers and principals also articulated the value they placed on allowing their pupils the opportunity to participate in research. Some principals or teachers also referred to how the questionnaire could offer interesting insights into their pupils' out-of-school language use which could be of benefit to both pupils and teachers. To conclude, the process of gaining access and establishing contacts with schools proved challenging and points to the difficulties involved in gaining access to the field and especially gaining access to schools heavily strained by meeting educational standards and criteria. Timing may also play an important part since the work-load experienced may fluctuate during the school year and thus, the response rate might have been higher if schools had been contacted early in August and September. The difficulty experienced may also say something about the importance of establishing and maintaining long-term contacts and relationships with individual schools to enable future research projects.

The questionnaire was administered in Dec. 2019, February and March 2020 and the unforeseen global circumstances of spring 2020 unfortunately had an impact on the sample size. The questionnaires conducted in March were most notably impacted and the number of participants in the questionnaire was limited due to increased difficulty in obtaining written consents. Sweden did not experience a complete school lock down and all compulsory schools kept open during Spring. However, teachers witnessed the absence of pupils as many parents chose to keep their children at home during the first months of the pandemic. Also, several of the teachers became unwell themselves or were at home in quarantine. Likewise, school visits for generating data were neither permitted by the university, nor appropriate by the time of Spring 2020. Thus, due to a number

of different circumstances, the anticipated total sample of approximately 150 participants was finally reduced to 92 in total.

5.5 The settings and participating schools

The study was carried out with participants at schools located in the three metropolitan areas in Sweden (Eurostat, 2018), which refer to the urban commuting zones of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. In the following paragraphs, the metropolitan areas are briefly presented and described with reference to demographic characteristics, focusing particularly on population distribution, residential segregation, and urban outline. This is followed by a short description of the neighborhoods in which the schools are located. Thereafter, the schools are presented. To protect anonymity and confidentiality of the participants and prevent identification, all communities, schools, and participants have been given pseudonyms.

5.5.1 The metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö

The capital metropolitan region also known as the greater Stockholm area refers to Stockholm County which has a population of approximately 2.4 million (Statistics Sweden, 2020) and is divided into 26 municipalities. Stockholm is one of the fastest growing cities in Europe with close to a million inhabitants (pop. 974 073) and comprises 14 boroughs with sub-districts (Statistics Sweden, 2020). Of the participating schools in this study, three are situated in the metropolitan region of Stockholm, two of them within the municipality of Stockholm and one placed in one of the other 25 municipalities. As a second-tier metropolitan region, the city of Gothenburg is defined as a large sized urban centre with a population of 579 281 (Statistics Sweden, 2020). It consists of ten city districts and the two schools are situated in two separate city districts both of which are located in the outer parts of the city of Gothenburg. Malmö is also defined as a second-tier metropolitan region and is the third largest city in Sweden. With a population of 344 166, Malmö is defined as a medium sized urban centre. The school in Malmö is located in a highly multilingual suburban area.

5.5.2 The multilingual urban areas

As mentioned, the three cities vary considerably in size, population, urban composition and other demographic features but also share similarities in terms of residential segregation. Therefore, even if the residential urban areas in this study may be different in a number of aspects, they still share similarities in terms of demographic characteristics. The urban areas where the schools in this study are located are all considered low-income areas often characterized by public rental apartments. The majority of residents have a migrant background, and the areas report low education levels and high unemployment rates. The different residential areas all fall subject to 'territorial stigmatization' (Wacquant, 2007, 2008).

The three urban areas in the metropolitan region of Stockholm range in population from approximately 10 000 – 16 000. In these areas, around 20 percent of the population are children and adolescents between the ages of 0–15. Among the group of children and adolescents in these urban areas, around 75 percent are either born abroad or Swedish-born with parents with a foreign background. The number of foreign-born residents is considerably higher compared to other suburban areas within the same municipality. In terms of employment, the suburban areas report lower employment rates compared to other areas within the municipality and the number of people officially unemployed is also twice as high compared to the municipality of Stockholm. The average income among the population aged 20–64 is considerably lower than the average income in the inner-city boroughs and the municipality of Stockholm as a whole. In Gothenburg, the two schools are situated in two different suburban areas characterized by socioeconomic and demographic statistics similar to the urban areas in Stockholm. Both areas are characterized by large populations of migrants, low-income levels and high unemployment rates. The neighborhood in which the school in Malmö is situated, reports similar characteristics except being smaller in size.

5.5.3 The schools

The participants attend a total of six schools: three in Stockholm, two in Gothenburg, one in Malmö. The number of schools is the result of access and willingness to participate. The distribution of schools (Stockholm 3, Gothenburg, 2, Malmö, 1) is thus unintentional. Even if the distribution of schools ended up superficially reflective of the sizes of the three cities, this is simply coincidental. The six schools are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 The Schools

Stockholm	Gothenburg	Malmö
The Birch School	The Pine School	The Hazel School
The Oak School	The Maple School	
The Willow School		

5.5.3.1 The Birch School (Stockholm)

The Birch School is centrally placed in a suburban area of Stockholm located approximately 20 minutes by public transport from the city centre of Stockholm. The suburban area has a population of around 16 000 and approximately 60 percent have a migrant background. Of the total population, 19 percent are children and adolescents between 0 and 15 years old. The number of foreign-born residents is considerably higher compared to other suburban areas within the same municipality. The suburban area reports a lower employment rate compared to other areas within the municipality and the number of people officially unemployed is also twice as high compared to the municipality of Stockholm as a whole. The Birch School has approximately 500 pupils ranging from age 6–15, from preschool class to ninth grade. According to national statistics provided by the National Agency for Education, during the school year 2019/2020, 86 percent of pupils at the Birch School had a migrant background. The same school year, parents with higher educational level is reported to be slightly above thirty percent.

5.5.3.2 The Oak School (Stockholm)

The Oak School is situated in an area in one of the 14 boroughs in the municipality of Stockholm approximately 30 minutes in commuting distance from the city centre. With a population of around 12 000, 21 percent of the population are between 0 and 15 years old and among the group of children and adolescents, 74 percent are either born abroad or Swedish-born with parents with a foreign background (cf. Stockholm municipality 29%). The urban mean income is considerably lower than in the inner-city boroughs and the municipality of Stockholm as a whole. Unemployment figures are approximately double those for Stockholm municipality (6% and 3% respectively). The Oak School has approximately 300 pupils in the ages of 6–13, from preschool class to sixth grade. During the school year 2019/2020, 81 percent of pupils had a migrant background and 36 percent of the parents had a higher educational level background.

5.5.3.3 The Willow School (Stockholm)

The Willow School is located in a suburban area within the municipality of Stockholm. The suburban area has a population of around 10 000 and 22 percent are in the age group 0–15. Of children and adolescents between the age of 0–15, 73 percent are either born abroad or Swedish-born with parents with a foreign background. The Willow School has approximately 350 pupils between ages of 6–13, from preschool class to sixth grade. During the school year 2019/2020, 70 percent of the pupils had a migrant background and 46 percent of the parents had a high education background. The school is situated in a neighborhood which, in contrast to the other visited neighborhoods in this study, comprises of a combination of public housing apartments and small houses.

5.5.3.4 The Pine School (Gothenburg)

The Pine School is situated in a city district of Gothenburg with a total population of over 50 000 but the sub-district area in which the school is situated has a population of around 5000 residents of which 24 percent are between the age of 0–15. In the sub-district area, over 70 percent of the population has a migrant background. The unemployment level is considerably higher compared to Gothenburg as a whole and the mean income is below average. The Pine School has around 350 pupils between the ages of 10–15 and at the time of the questionnaire study, 88 percent of the pupils at the school had a migrant background and 35 percent of the parents had a higher education background.

5.5.3.5 The Maple School (Gothenburg)

The Maple School is located in another city district of Gothenburg with a total population of more than 50 000 residents. The number of residents in the sub-district area in which the school is situated has around 8 000 residents. Of these, 23 percent are children and adolescents between the ages of 0–15. More than 70 percent of the population has a migrant background. The Maple School has around 300 pupils between the ages of 6–15 from preschool class to ninth grade. At the time of conducting the questionnaire study, 87 percent of the total number of pupils attending the school had a migrant background and the parents with higher education background were reported as 46 percent.

5.5.3.6 The Hazel School (Malmö)

Located in one of the five city district areas in Malmö, the Hazel School is situated in an urban neighborhood with a population of around 3500 residents. In the neighborhood, approximately 70 percent of the residents have a migrant background. At the time of administering the questionnaire, the Hazel School had around 500 pupils between the ages of 0–15, from preschool class to ninth grade. Of the total number of pupils, 87 percent had a migrant background and parents with higher education background was estimated to 29 percent.

Table 2 Demographic Statistics of Schools

	Number of pupils (approx.)	Pupils of migrant background	Parents with higher educational background
The Birch School	500	86%	32%
The Oak School	300	81%	36%
The Willow School	350	70%	46%
The Pine School	350	88%	35%
The Maple School	300	87%	46%
The Hazel School	500	87%	29%

5.6 The participants in the study

The participants in this study consist of a total number of 92 pupils in the 6th –7th grade from each of the six presented schools in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The participating young adolescents make up a linguistically and culturally heterogenous group. A majority of the participants (63%) were born in Sweden. Of the participants, 34 were born abroad and the participants' responses to country of birth include a total of 22 different countries. Of the 34 participants born outside Sweden, their stated age at arrival varies considerably. Most of these participants have arrived in Sweden between the ages of 6–11. The length of residence of some of the participants is less than four years and, therefore, they are considered *newly arrived students*. Others arrived in Sweden at a young or very young age. It is important to acknowledge that the background information is self-reported and questions, in particular questions of age at arrival and past events of the kind may be difficult for the participants to remember accurately. Consequently, the information about this, is rather uncertain. Although the majority of the participants reported being born in 2007, two of them stated 2006 as year of birth and another two participants reported the year 2008. At the time

of conducting the questionnaire, the participants' stated ages ranged from 11–14. The sample consisted of 43 girls and 48 boys, two of the participants did not state their gender. The linguistic backgrounds of the sample displayed a high diversity and 39 named languages appeared in the total data set. In the stated responses to the question of "mother tongue", 47 different combinations of languages were stated. Of these, Arabic was the most common (28%), followed by Kurdish Languages (8%). The total (39) named languages stated in the participants' responses are presented in the Table 3.

Table 3 Named Languages Represented in Participants' Written Responses

Albanian	English	Pashto	Swedish
Amharic	Farsi	Persian	Thai
Arabic	French	Polish	Tigrinya
Assyrian Neo-Aramaic	Greek	Punjabi	Twi
Bosnian	Kurdish Languages	Romani	Ukrainian
Cantonese	Lingala	Romanian	Urdu
Chinese	Mandarin	Russian	Vietnamese
Croatian	Mandinka	Serbian	Wolof
Danish	Mongolian	Somali	Urhobo
Dari	Moroccan	Spanish	

Twenty-five participants reported having received previous schooling in one or two other countries. In the responses, a total of 21 different countries were stated. Two of the 25 participants reported having a previous school background in two different countries. The participants' responses to previous school background included a wide range of geographical contexts.

The countries stated by the participants as the previous contexts of schooling are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Countries of Previous School Background

Bosnia	Iraq	Pakistan
Canada	Ireland	Palestine
Denmark	Jordan	Poland
Egypt	Kurdistan	Serbia
Eritrea	Lebanon	Syria
India	Mongolia	United Arab Emirates
Iran	Nicaragua	Vietnam

As mentioned, the majority of the participants are born in Sweden and thus, share joint contextual experiences of schooling in Sweden. However, more than one third of the participants have migrated to Sweden and arrived at different ages. Thus, the young adolescents in this sample form a heterogenous group of migrant and non-migrant trajectories and past experiences of schooling.

5.6.1 Background information

The questionnaire contains a number of questions aimed at gaining background information of each participant to explore the linguistic backgrounds, language use in different domains and estimated years of exposure to Swedish and English. Questions include gender, country of birth, school background in other country, age of arrival and what language(s) the participants consider as their mother tongue(s). As mentioned in chapter four, despite its controversy, the term 'mother tongue' is used in the questionnaire. This was decided based on the results from the pilot studies in which alternatives like 'first language' or equivalents seemed to cause confusion among the pupils. Thus, to increase face validity and make sure the participants would recognize the terminology, 'mother tongues' was chosen. This is also the term currently used in the curriculum and other policy documents provided by the National Agency for Education. However, as for all other questions in the questionnaire, the questions targeting background information rely on self-reported information. Thus, the information obtained from the background questions may be rather uncertain since participants may have difficulty accurately remembering their age of arrival or early language exposure or have different interpretations of what the question targeting their first languages actually entails. Even though the question is phrased to suggest the possibility of multiple languages, individuals may still have different interpretations of the question and whether they consider it possible to have multiple first languages. In order to attempt to increase the certainty of the responses, when administering the

questionnaire, the participants were informed about this question and the possibility of having multiple first languages.

To further explore the linguistic backgrounds and environments, other questions in the questionnaire were used to confirm (or contradict) information gained in responses to other items and to form a holistic picture. Such questions include attendance in mother tongue instruction, early language exposure and the languages used in different domains and with different interlocutors. Even though measures were taken to increase the degree of certainty, the information is still self-reported and as such remains uncertain. Also, and most importantly, the age of the participants and previous life histories may make it difficult for some to remember early childhood language exposure. In addition, this may be the first or one of few previous occasions where they have been asked to think about these issues. Background variables are listed in Table 5:

Table 5 Background Variables in Questionnaire

Variables
Participant ID
Gender
Birthyear (and month)
Country of birth
Age at arrival
School background
Country school background
Mother tongue language(s)

5.7 The process of generating data

5.7.1 The questionnaire – administering procedures

The first part of the study which comprised the questionnaire, was conducted between December 2019 – March 2020 in Gothenburg, Stockholm and Malmö. All participants received written and oral information about the study and were able to ask questions about the project, purpose of participating, anonymity and confidentiality. Parents and caretakers had received written information and a written consent form, in which they actively had approved participation in the questionnaire and subsequent language diaries. Participants, parents and caretakers were given information in accordance with ethical guidelines and were made aware of the fact that they could withdraw their participation at any given time (see appendices E, F, G).

The administration of the questionnaire followed the same predetermined procedures and instructions and was administered and completed in my presence. Before handing out the paper and pen questionnaire, I informed the pupils about the outline of my visit and gave them instructions in agreement with the teacher on what to do after completing the questionnaire. As an introduction to the questionnaire, I asked the pupils about typical things they do after school and what languages they use in different activities and made a mind map of their answers on the classroom white board. This introductory and preparatory activity served to awake interest and prepare them to think about what they do after school. It also helped to create a joint understanding of what daily out-of-school activities may encompass. Furthermore, engaging the pupils in interaction helped to ease the formality of the situation and allowed them to become more familiar with me and I with them. The pupils were then presented with the questionnaire, the layout and its content. I advised them to read the instructions and every item carefully and also informed them about how some questions were to be answered by ticking a box, while others were answered by a written response. The pupils were also specifically informed about questions 2 and 3 (see questionnaire in appendix A) which address time spent on different activities using different languages. I mentioned to the pupils that time spent on different activities naturally may vary over time but instructed them to think about a typical day and answer in accordance with what they consider to be an accurate reflection of what they usually do. Since I had noticed from the piloting that pupils tended to leave a blank response if they did not engage in a certain activity in a certain language, I explained the importance of actively demonstrating their responses and asked the pupils to always indicate their response by ticking the corresponding box. Finally, before handing out the questionnaire, the pupils were instructed to complete the questionnaire individually in their own time and to maintain a quiet and comfortable environment. The pupils were also asked to address me or their teacher whenever something in the questionnaire was unclear or if they had any other questions.

5.7.2 The language diaries

The language diaries were conducted during fall and early winter 2020–2021. 50 language diaries were included in the study with the following distribution between the three participating settings: Gothenburg n=24, Malmö, n=12, Stockholm n=14, (girls=26, boys=24). Of this sub-sample in which the majority were born in

Sweden, 16 reported a migrant background from the following countries: Afghanistan (1), Denmark (1), Egypt (1), Eritrea (1), Iran (1), Iraq (1), Ireland (1), Kurdistan (1), Nicaragua (1), Nigeria (1), Poland (1), Saudi Arabia (1), Somalia (1), Syria (3). Of these, eight had arrived in Sweden within the past four years and were thus considered 'newly arrived students'. Besides the reported use of Swedish and English, the following 24 named languages occurred in the language diary material: Albanian, Arabic, Assyrian Neo-Aramaic, Bosnian, Cantonese, Danish, Dari, Farsi, Japanese, Kurdish Languages, Korean, Lingala, Mandarin, Mongolian, Pashto, Polish, Romanian, Romany, Serbian, Somali, Spanish, Tigrinya, Turkish, Twi. The participants were thirteen or fourteen at the time of completing the language diaries.

Initially the language diaries were designed with the intention of being a paper and pen activity. The reason for this was that writing by hand could be advantageous in activities that aim to have participants reflect on everyday habits and stimulate their metalinguistic awareness. This decision was also made with the consideration that access to computers may differ between schools. The participants at the Hazel school in Malmö completed the language diaries in school as a paper and pen activity in my presence. However, as the pandemic situation towards the end of 2020 prohibited school visits and travels, the language diaries conducted with the participants at the Birch school in Stockholm as well as with the participants at the Pine school in Gothenburg were distributed digitally in collaboration with the class mentors. The fact that the majority of language diaries were conducted digitally whereas the Malmö sample was completed using paper and pen may have had an impact regarding the length of responses, participants' dispositions towards the task as such, their inclination to write and so forth. Throughout the analytical stages, the potential consequences of the differences between these two modes of praxis have been taken into consideration.

At the Hazel school in Malmö, the participants were introduced to the language diaries by the researcher, and they had the chance to ask questions. The introduction involved making sure the participants had understood the purpose of the language diaries, what they were going to do, and to exemplify what an entry may contain. Each pupil received a booklet containing the language diary format for each day, covering the stretch of one week. The first page also included the instructions so the participants or their teachers had the possibility to return to them if needed (see appendix C). A week later, I returned to Malmö to collect the diaries and my visit to the school also allowed the opportunity to talk to participants about their experiences and thoughts about writing the diaries and

their daily out-of-school language use. To talk with participants and hear their comments provided valuable input which helped to inform the process of analysing the language diaries.

As mentioned, due to the pandemic situation, the language diaries with participants at the Birch school in Stockholm were conducted online in November/December 2020. In collaboration with the teacher, the language diary was prepared in digital format using Google classroom. The participants were quite familiar with working in Google classroom which I also had witnessed myself during my first visit almost a year earlier. Before the participants received the language diaries, I met with the class online to give them a short introduction with instructions, and they were also given the possibility of asking questions. Meeting with the participants again and reminding them of the research project was also important considering the long time that had elapsed since my last visit to the school in the winter of 2020. The instructions clarified the purpose of the language diaries and exemplified possible content areas. The introductory information session also contained an imaginary example to illustrate what a diary entry may look like. The participants filled in the diary as a task either in school or as homework on their computers over the stretch of one week. The participants also received a set submission date for when the language diary was to be completed. The teacher then forwarded the diaries to me digitally. In practice this meant that I received temporary access to the Google classroom files. After downloading the files, I contacted the teacher who immediately removed my temporary access to secure the files and privacy of the participants.

The language diaries at the Pine school in Gothenburg were completed in Spring 2021. In collaboration with the class mentor, the language diaries were distributed digitally using Google classroom. As with the participants in Stockholm, the pupils at the Pine school were quite familiar with the digital format and completed most of their tasks online. Due to the constraints of the pandemic, the teacher introduced and informed the pupils about the writing task and they completed the language diaries without me present. After completing the diaries, the teacher allowed me temporary access to download the participants' language diaries.

5.7.3 The interviews

Interviews with a subsample of 16 participants were made during Fall 2020 and Spring 2021. A list of interviewed participants including sociolinguistic profile information is presented in Table 6.

Table 6 List of interviewees including sociolinguistic profile information

Pseud. name	Age	Stated country of birth	Age at arrival	School experience from other countries	Stated "MT" languages	Languages in family interactions	Named languages in use*	Participation in MTI classes
Andres	14	Nicaragua	9	Nicaragua	"Spanish"	Spanish/Swedish	spa, swe, eng	Yes (spa)
Isabel	14	Sweden[7]	11	Ireland and Poland	"English"	English/Swedish/ Spanish/ Polish	eng, swe, spa, pol, jpn[8]	No
Hilal	13	Sweden	-	-	"Arabic"	Swedish/Arabic	swe, ara, eng	Yes (ara)
Grace	13	Sweden	-	-	"Twi/English"	Twi/English	swe, eng, twi	Yes (eng)
Avin	13	Sweden	-	-	"Kurdish"	Kurdish[9]/ Swedish	swe, eng, kur	Yes (kur)
Jamilah	13	Sweden	-	-	"Arabic/Swedish"	Arabic	ara, swe, eng	No
Hamid	14	Sweden	-	-	"Kurdish"	Swedish/Kurdish[10]	swe, kur, eng	No
Ali	14	Syria	11	Lebanon	"Arabic"	Arabic	ara, swe	Yes (ara)
Ermin	13	Sweden	-	-	"Bosnian and Romany"	Swedish	rom[11], swe, eng, (bos)	No
Lana	13	Sweden	-	-	"Kurdish"	Kurdish[12]	swe, kur, eng	No
Vanya	13	Sweden	-	-	"Pashto & Farsi"	Pashto/ Swedish/ Farsi	swe, pus[13], eng, fas[14], kor[15]	No
Salim	13	Sweden	-	-	"Arabic"	Arabic/Swedish	ara, swe, eng, jpn	No
Iman	14	Syria	9	-	"Arabic"	Arabic	ara, swe, kur	Yes (ara)
Lisa	13	Sweden	-	-	"Chinese"[16]	Swedish /Mandarin	swe, chi(cmn), eng	Yes (cmn/chi)
Dino	13	Sweden	-	-	"Bosnian and Swedish"	Swedish/Bosnian	swe, bos	No
Asim	14	Syria	8	Syria and Jordan	"Arabic"	Arabic/Swedish	ara, swe, eng	Yes

Note. Age refers to the age of the participant at the time of the interview

*stated in order of self-reported frequency and familiarity (Here presented using abbreviations from the ISO 639 code system)

The first round of interviews was made with participants in Malmö in October 2020. Due to the pandemic situation which again worsened at the end of fall 2020, the interviews in Stockholm and Gothenburg had to be postponed to the end of Spring in May and June 2021. All interviews were audio-recorded and carried out in the school setting during school hours. The individual interviews took

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[7] Born in Sweden, moved to Ireland as an infant.
[8] Japanese
[9] Sorani (also known as central Kurdish)
[10] Feyli (sub-dialect of Southern Kurdish spoken by Feyli Kurds primarily in the borderlands between Iraq and Iran and in Baghdad)
[11] Romany
[12] Sorani
[13] Pashto
[14] Participant uses the term "Farsi", the used ISO code is *fas* which refers to Persian at macrolanguage level.
[15] Korean
[16] The participant stated Chinese (chi) in the questionnaire and used mandarin (ISO 639 code: cmn) in the language diary.

approximately 20–30 minutes and were conducted in available spaces separated from the participants' classrooms. Efforts were made to ensure that the interviews took place in a familiar and quiet setting where the participants would feel calm and not be distracted or disturbed by other pupils at school. A few minor occasional disturbances from curious pupils did occur, as could be expected in a school setting, but not to the extent that it had an apparent impact on the interviewee or the interview situation. The language diary laid the foundation for the interviews and served as a starting point to invite the participants' engagement. The individual semi-structured interviews followed the themes and questions stated in the interview guide, but the range of content and issues addressed varied slightly between interviews depending on the participants' accounts. During the interviews I aspired to maintain an 'active and methodical listening' (Bourdieu, 1999a, p. 609) in order to follow the participants' accounts and adopting an in-the-moment reflexive methodological approach. This served the purpose of staying attentive to the effects of the social relationship and tacit structure inherent in the interview situation and as far as possible reduced any effects of symbolic violence manifested through asymmetric power relations (Bourdieu, 1999a, pp. 609–610). In so doing, the interviewees were the centre of the conversation and to establish a trusting, albeit temporary, social relationship, great emphasis was put on manifesting authentic engagement and availability, listening attentively and to 'honour the consequences of acting with genuineness' (Glesne, 1999, p. 105). The analyses of the language diaries and the biographical information obtained from the questionnaires constituted crucial sources of information in the interview situation. Having an understanding of each individual's reported language use patterns, linguistic and cultural biographies, family and friend constellations, leisure activities and interests became central and enabled me to increase the 'social proximity and familiarity' (Bourdieu, 1999a, pp. 609–610) with the participants. The strive towards gaining trust and increasing proximity and familiarity was also greatly facilitated by both my previous teaching experiences and research knowledge. These prior experiences and understandings helped to inform and contribute to the interview situation by providing a familiarity with aspects concerning languages in use, regional dialects, migrant trajectories, social conditions and language use patterns.

5.8 Reflexivity and ethical considerations

Throughout the research project, several ethical considerations have been taken into account. Both initially when approaching the research project, and during the research process as situations and circumstances continuously have given rise to ongoing reflections of ethical issues and dimensions relating to different phases in the research project. The attempts to adopt a reflexive research practice have entailed a continuous self-awareness and critical reflection of my own potential biases and predisposed subjectivities and their possible influence on the research practice. Throughout the project, personal thoughts and reflections have been documented in simple reflective journal notes in order to keep a record of my own perceptions as the study unfolded. This routine has been helpful in all aspects of the research practice, to process thoughts and observations and to question and move beyond initial presupposed assumptions and viewpoints. Having a former background of teaching young adolescents of the same age group, and with similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds as the participants, is likely to have shaped and informed my understanding of the studied phenomenon. While my previous professional experiences undeniably have influenced my research interest and chosen topic of study, it is important to acknowledge their influential impact on the research project as a whole and on various phases. Previous experiences of working in linguistically and culturally diverse settings may also impact epistemological assumptions, methodological choices and interpretations of responses and reported accounts. Being aware of and keeping track of my prior experiences, biases and predisposed subjectivities has been essential in striving to maintain a reflexive approach and situate myself in the research project and carefully consider my role as a researcher. However, besides acknowledging the influence of the researcher's own habitus on the research undertaken, it is also important to try to move beyond the individual and consider 'the most essential bias', namely 'the invisible determinations inherent in the intellectual posture itself, in the scholarly gaze' (Bourdieu in Wacquant, 1989, p. 34). Thus, rather than settling for self-absorbed contemplations of the individual researcher's positionality and dispositions, reflexivity from a Bourdieusian perspective also entails a constant scrutiny of the 'scientific unconscious embedded in theories, problems (and especially national) categories of scholarly judgement' (Wacquant, 1992, p. 40). This requires a careful exploration and contemplation of the taken for granted realities and the 'unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 178). The

complexity involved in combining divergent research traditions and practices also gives rise to issues of reflexivity. Not only how to think about one's own subjectivities, but also to include an epistemic reflection of the hidden bias in theories as well as consideration of the subjectivities of the participants.

This view which implies reflexivity as requirement (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 38) relates to the validation framework by Dellinger and Leech (2007) and what they identify as the foundational element. In their view, *the foundational element* refers to the 'researchers' prior understanding of a construct and/or phenomenon under study' (Dellinger & Leech, 2007, p. 323) which they believe could be important as evidence for ensuring construct validity. Other scholars have also addressed the role of prior understandings. For example, as argued by Beach et al. (2006, p. 502), since we always rely on prior knowledge, the question is not about breaking away from previous knowledge. The challenging problem is rather, 'how to capitalize on prior knowledge and use it to extract as much new knowledge as possible from the findings.' (Beach et al., 2006, p. 502). Rather than necessarily viewing our prior knowledge and understandings as disadvantageous they can form part of a quality criteria which, however, needs to be carefully exploited through constant critical examination and reflective practice. During the research process, it became continuously evident how every school visit, every encounter with participants, every reading or conceptual acquaintance or every analysis affected and forced thinking and thus continued to change the subjectivities I brought to the study. Likewise, the participants' subjectivities might have varied throughout the process. Participants' subjectivities may shift and evolve due to issues relating to the participants' different individualities and circumstances but also as they become more acquainted with the topic at hand and in this case increasingly aware of their daily language use and dispositions. Hence, as part of a reflexive research approach it is important to be aware of not only the subjectivities of the researcher, but also the subjectivities of the researched participants, and how subjectivities may alter and develop in interaction and throughout the research process. The reflexive practice also involved an awareness and consideration of how my presence as a visiting researcher was perceived by the participants. Without any previous acquaintance with the participating pupils, the position of the researcher, at least initially, could be likened to that of a visiting stranger. This required considerations of how to present the study, engage interest and establish trust in the very first encounters with the participants. In the present PhD-study, the role of the researcher was mainly characterized as that of an outsider. The role of the physical characteristics of the visiting researcher and its presupposed

connotations should not be underestimated. The physical characteristics of the researcher and what these features might represent need to be taken into account as they unwittingly might shape participants' perceptions and assumptions of the researcher's background. Such assumptions might include: what the researcher is interested in knowing, the range of the researcher's knowledge and comprehension of the phenomenon studied, and the perspective and dispositions from which the researcher enters the research setting and the research inquiry. In this case, my stereotypically Scandinavian appearance might prompt assumptions of my representation which might have influenced participants' perceptions and responses. My presence in the schools was generally met with curiosity and the participants showed great interest in participating and sharing their thoughts and experiences of their out-of-school language use. However, at times my presence also seemed to generate or bring to light an awareness among the pupils of societal structural divides, bringing attention to the outsider/insider dynamics with me representing a non-resident visiting guest and stranger. For example, some pupils made expressions which can be seen as positionings or manifestations of both allegiance and resistance with stereotype image representations of themselves as inhabitants in their local neighborhoods, verbalizing perceptions such as 'this is how we speak in 'the projects' [17] (my translation from Swedish: 'det är så här vi pratar i orten') or 'you know she wants to know how we speak in the 'projects' (my translation from Swedish: 'Du vet, hon vill veta hur vi pratar i orten'). These expressions illustrate how the young adolescents sometimes positioned themselves as speakers belonging to the local context and its youth speaking community/practices.

Research targeting young adolescents requires continuous and careful reflections of potential ethical issues or dilemmas. Besides issues concerning the researcher's role in relation to participants and concerns of potential power relations, age-related dimensions may also require particular ethical considerations. Research with young participants poses challenges and consideration of a number of different aspects such as the young age of the participants and the sometimes-difficult content and questions addressed. As mentioned, in the design of the questionnaire and language diaries, particular considerations were made with

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[17]   Approximate translation. The Swedish word 'orten' is a shortening of the Swedish word 'förorten' which means 'the suburb' and can most closely be compared to the American 'projects' or the British 'urban housing estate'. However, henceforth, the Swedish term 'orten' will be used without translation.

regards to the young age of the participants concerning general comprehensibility. Therefore, attention was paid to the language use in written instructions and items in terms of word choice and sentence structure. The role of the participants' age was also allowed for in the organization of texts through careful consideration of length of instructions, organization of items and overall layout. Efforts were also made to ensure that questionnaire items were formulated with consideration to the participants' potential language backgrounds and potential previous migratory experiences.

Prior to the data generating phase, the project applied for an ethical review and obtained an ethical approval by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority, November 12, 2019. The ethical review application included a project plan, data generating instruments and materials as well as information to participants and letters of consent. When conducting research with children under the age of 15, informed consent from parents or caretakers must be collected in order for participants to take part. The process of obtaining participants' consent includes making sure participants and their parents or caretakers are thoroughly informed about the study. It involves enabling participants and caretakers to ask questions about the project and provide sufficient time to decide (Morrow, 2008). Since the participants are young, it becomes even more important to provide pertinent information in order for them to make an informed decision. All participants have received oral and written information about the research project and have been able to ask questions. Parents and caretakers received written information about the project followed by a written consent form, in which they actively approved participation. The information letter and written consent forms have been developed in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority. All participants have received oral and written information about their right to withdraw their contribution to the project without reason and with no detriment to themselves. Furthermore, the information and the written consent letters included information of how the anonymity of individuals and schools will be protected (see appendices E, F, G).

5.9 Challenges and limitations

The different research methods each have their own specific challenges and limitations and raise particular concerns of validity and reliability. The following section addresses some of the challenges and limitations and discusses potential methodological weaknesses and biases. In doing so, issues of validity and reliability

are addressed. The discussion of validity and reliability also includes aspects regarding the procedures involved in sampling and the phases of generating data.

5.9.1 Challenges and limitations concerning the questionnaire

One limitation with using a questionnaire concerns the fact that a questionnaire is self-reported data which raises issues of whether the participants' responses are honest and correct (see e.g., Cohen et al., 2018). Questions can be misunderstood, and participants may not know or remember the correct answer but still feel inclined to give a response. Participants may also answer questions in a way they believe is socially desirable and edit their responses to please or impress (see e.g., Cohen et al., 2018). To establish contact with the participating adolescents and to increase the response rate and strengthen the reliability, the questionnaire was administered and completed in my presence. It enabled participants to engage in conversations and ask questions directly to me which contributed to transparency and yielded valuable insights to the research process which otherwise would have been lost. Being present not only helped to gain valuable information and knowledge that informed the research project as a whole but also facilitated the data processing stage when computing and interpreting questionnaire responses. However, the presence of the researcher could also have a negative impact as the researcher's presence may influence the participants' responses by having participants feel inclined to give answers they think the researcher would like or answers they believe are considered accurate or appropriate (Cohen et al., 2018). The researcher may also be perceived as a symbolic representation of the linguistic hegemony which may have a negative effect by reinforcing certain ideologies in the data (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017).

The questionnaire, which consists of 25 tasks, is comprehensive. However, in designing the questionnaire, careful considerations were made regarding layout and organization of items to create variation, engage interest, and avoid participant fatigue. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that a questionnaire of this length may be challenging for some participants and a few also commented on the length of it and found it difficult to complete. However, the vast majority of the participants immediately engaged in the topics and showed no signs of difficulty in completing the questionnaire. This may be due to a number of reasons. Despite possible concerns, it is reasonable to assume that since the topics mostly concern everyday activities the content is easy to relate to and may therefore attract interest.

Answering questions about out-of-school language use and attitudes may also be a relatively uncommon activity which in itself may awake interest. As a fairly straightforward task, the questionnaire may also be seen as a welcome distraction from the daily routine. However, questions of language use seemed to attract particular interest as many participants started to engage in conversations about their language use and a genuine interest was also reflected in the way the participants meticulously filled in the open-ended questions of their out-of-school language use or made comments in the margins. As described in chapter 4, much attention has been paid to the content and terminology used in the questionnaire. The questionnaire does contain questions which distinguish between named languages but also included multiple open-ended formats. The use of named languages served to map the participants' use of Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages in a range of out-of-school receptive and productive activities. The open-ended questions were used to map patterns of language use in interactions with different interlocutors, in organized activities and future language use. Distinguishing between named languages was part of this thesis, yet in doing so there is a possibility that the use of named languages influenced the participants' answers in the open-ended questions. Even so, the open-ended questions allowed answers in which participants were able to bring nuance and add information or make comments whenever necessary.

To establish face validity, efforts were made to ensure that the content, as far as possible, would correspond to the participants' range of potential out-of-school activities. This entailed making sure that most activities would be recognized by the participants while still including a wide enough range of different activities but also that instructions and questions anticipated and allowed for responses reflective of multilingual language use and interaction.

The open-ended questions were useful in obtaining rich information. Some participants kept the responses to the main languages in use whereas other would include all languages as part of their repertoire. For example, some participants included the modern European languages they attend at school such as Spanish, French, German in their responses both with regard to oral interactions with family, relatives, and friends but also elsewhere in the questionnaire. With self-reported data, there is of course a possibility that the participants actively use these languages at home because of their multilingual trajectories. However, considering the fact that European languages like French, Spanish and German are introduced in year 6, the participants have just begun taking classes in these languages and thus, it is reasonable to assume that the participants therefore consider them part

of their repertoires at home, though the use of these languages might be limited to occasional instances of homework practices.

It is important to note that the questionnaire constitutes one of three methods used in this study. It was designed to be followed up by qualitative methods in the forms of language diaries and interviews. Apart from targeting issues of participants' language ideologies and perceptions of language and identities, the qualitative methods further expand on the questionnaire by exploring the participants' language use and linguistic profiles in greater detail. In the next chapter, some first preliminary results from the questionnaire are presented, focusing on the participants' language use in different out-of- school activities.

5.9.2 Challenges and limitations of using language diaries

Since diary entries (like the questionnaire) constitute self-reported data, diary studies have been subjected to critique, raising concerns of whether self-reported diary accounts can provide accurate reflections of individuals' experiences (Bailey & Nunan, 1996). Other concerns raised by critics involve the fact that the data of diary-entries rely on the commitment of participants and might be influenced by their metalinguistic awareness (Bailey & Nunan, 1996). These concerns are important to acknowledge and were also to some extent noted in this study. Many participants completed the language diaries with a seeming interest in wanting to report their daily language practices. However, the degree to which participants reported their language use varied. Some participants would include various details about their language use in different situations and activities, give examples of interactions and provide rationales, whereas others would be briefer in their accounts, include few details or examples and sometimes forgot to report the languages used. Thus, the language diaries showed great variety in the way participants reported their language use. This variability of written accounts might be due to a number of aspects such as the participants' interest in the topic, their metalinguistic awareness of language use in different practices, their preference for writing, their preference for this particular writing task, their language familiarity and so forth. The instructions and grid format of the language diaries (as well as the questionnaire items and the interview questions), were given in Swedish. The majority of the participants completed their diaries in Swedish. Of the fifty language diaries, only one recurrently included elements of Heritage Languages in the diary accounts. There is a possibility that more strongly encouraging pupils to complete the language diaries using whatever languages they prefer would have

benefitted some participants. However, when later asked about whether they would have wanted to complete the diaries in any of their Heritage Languages, not one of the participants reported an interest in doing so. Still, to not more clearly encourage the use of multiple languages in the diaries can be seen as a limitation which could have been avoided by more clearly stating it as a possibility in the instructions to the language diaries. Yet, such an approach would have implications which would require preparations and established routines when interpretating accounts at the analytical stage.

Nonetheless, despite the above-mentioned concerns which do need to be considered when using self-reported diary material, the language diaries in this study have confirmed reported experiences from previous studies regarding the strong potential of the method. Using language diaries in this study proved beneficial, not only in engaging participants but also in generating rich sources of data and in complementing the information obtained through the questionnaire.

5.9.3 Challenges and limitations concerning the interviews

The individual interviews served not only to illuminate the findings from the questionnaire and the language diaries but also to let young adolescents at the age of 13–14 put their daily language use, language ideologies, experiences, and perceptions of identities into words. The individual interviews thus required careful consideration of several different aspects such as the young age of the participants and the sometimes-difficult content addressed. Furthermore, the asymmetry of power between interviewee and interviewer (Mishler, 1986) was also taken into serious consideration. Children and young adolescents may feel powerless and insecure during interview situations when in the presence of the researcher (Greig et al., 2013). Likewise, children may answer in the way they believe is socially desirable or expected or say what they assume the researcher would want them to say or they may be too intimidated or shy to reveal their true feelings or opinions (Greig et al., 2013). It is also important to consider the degree of unfamiliarity of the situation, especially considering the topic of inquiry. It is reasonable to assume that this was the first time the participants were interviewed about matters such as their language use and perceptions about languages, experiences of using languages in different situations, as well as language in relation to identities. Therefore, careful consideration was given to establishing trust and figuring out what strategies to use to best alleviate the strangeness of the situation. In attempts to minimize some of these very difficult challenges, the interviews

took place during the school day in a familiar, non-threatening environment inside the school. Furthermore, using the language diary of the participant as starting point helped to alleviate the formality of the situation and asymmetry of power by putting emphasis on the interview as a co-constructing interactional event (see De Fina, 2019). Before the pandemic, the plan was also to spend some time in the classes prior to the interviews to allow the participants to become more familiar with me. Unfortunately, due to the pandemic this was no longer possible. However, the participants met me both during the administration of the questionnaire and (in most cases) during the process of giving instructions for the language diaries. The importance of local knowledge of the respondents' social context and life situations is also stressed by Mishler (1986) arguing the contextual basis as necessary for adequate interpretation of responses. As suggested by Bryman (2016), to facilitate interpretation of data, it is recommended that researchers should acquainted with the local environment and social worlds of the respondents, in this case the school setting and local community of the respondents. Unfortunately, the pandemic made it difficult, not to say impossible, to spend time in schools to get familiar with the participants and gain a deeper understanding of the local social contexts. This is likely to have had an impact on the interviews regarding my attempts for reflexivity, as I was very well familiar with one of the settings (Gothenburg setting) and much less familiar with the other two (Stockholm and Malmö settings). The degree of local knowledge (ranging from very high to very low) might have influenced the extent to which I was able to successfully pick up on, or relate to, context specific aspects. Such aspects might include familiarity with physical spaces and arenas in the local surroundings (e.g., local neighborhood activity or sports centers, stores, libraries, schools etc.), key figures as well as a general familiarity with the local neighborhood and other nearby areas.

6. Analytical Approaches and Procedures

6.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the analytical approaches and procedures undertaken in the analysis of data. The first part of the chapter introduces the overall analytical approach guiding the integrated analysis and presents the analytical model which was developed during the course of analysis. Since the study employs a mixed methods design, the analytical approaches and procedures involved in each method (questionnaire, language diaries, interviews) are then described. Therefore, the second part of the chapter describes the analytical processes and procedures in each of the three separate methods.

6.2 Overall analytical approach and model of analysis

This study explores the reported out-of-school language use of young adolescents and the interplay of ideologies, investment, and the formation of emergent identities. Using a mixed methods design, this is explored through the use of three different methods, each of which requires its own specific mode of analytical approach and procedure. The results from the three separate strands have then been merged to provide the full analysis. Thus, the aim and research focus of the study call for a holistic analytical approach. An integrated perspective is essential for deepening our understanding of mechanisms involved in everyday language use patterns and the interrelationships between language use and ideologies, investment, and identities. Guided by the research questions and the theoretical perspective from which this study departs, the analytical approach engages with theoretical concepts which help to understand the reciprocity, heterogeneity and dynamics involved in young adolescents' everyday language use. The analytical approach employed in this study therefore incorporates Bourdieu's notion habitus, and its relating concepts, in understanding the central constructs and themes present in the data of this particular group of participants' out-of-school linguistic

practices. The analysis has also been guided by the notion of language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard, 2020) and Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment.

The findings pointed to how the participants' language practices centered on the four following intersecting dynamics, namely, *activity/situation – language ideologies – time/space – interlocutor(s)*. This is illustrated in a model which was developed during the analytical process to provide guidance and support in the organization and interpretation of data.

6.2.1 Towards a Bourdieusian model of analysis

Throughout the course of analyzing the different data sets, the process of understanding and organizing the themes and categories generated in the participants' responses, called for a holistic approach. As the research project proceeded, the need to map constructed themes and showcase the interconnectedness of constructs became increasingly evident.

The qualitative analysis of participants' language diaries directed attention to how the inclusion of theoretical concepts could enhance the analytical process. Bourdieu's habitus and its essential relating concepts proved useful in understanding the participants' language use as practices located in a multidimensional social space (Bourdieu, 1979). As argued and demonstrated by for example Stroud (2004), Hanks (2005), Blommaert (2005b, 2015), Salö (2015, 2018), Eliaso Magnusson (2020) and others, the theoretical concepts of Bourdieu can be valuable analytical tools in sociolinguistic studies of language ideologies and practices in contemporary situations framed by globalization and migration processes. As argued by Wacquant (2014, p. 120), 'habitus is indeed a multi-scalar concept that one can employ at several levels of social activity (from the individual to the civilizational), and across degrees and types of aggregation (settings, collectives, institutions) depending on one's research questions.'

Undertaking analysis of young adolescents' out-of-school language use in everyday life involved an engagement with the following questions: 'Does the very ambition of understanding practice make any sense? And what is involved in understanding and knowing a practice with an approach that is intrinsically theoretical'? (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 380). In Bourdieu's view every speech act, or even action is 'an encounter between independent causal series', between socially constructed dispositions and the system of structures of the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 37). In broad terms, since the notion of habitus, and its related

pillar concepts, perceives linguistic practices as complex, dynamic, and structured by previous practices and experiences, this allows the analyses of linguistic practices to incorporate the social conditions of language use. The notion of habitus may also prove very appropriate in the analysis of language practices by allowing for a consideration of how social conditions produce a system of dispositions which govern and shape linguistic practices (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Arguing for its utility, Blommaert (2015, p. 10) gives the following description of habitus:

> Habitus shows itself in every social activity – we always embody the sociohistorical realities that formed us as individuals who take specific (non-random) positions in a social field, with degrees of access to the material and symbolic capital that characterize these positions, and the relationships of dominance or subordination they involve with others. (p. 10)

In this study of young adolescents' out-of-school language use, investment and emergent identities, habitus helps to bring forward how reported linguistic practices are constituted by and constitutive of the social conditions of life. The way in which habitus comprises embodiment also becomes productive in the exploration of everyday linguistic practice of young adolescents in contemporary modern societies by signifying the interrelation between the body and the social world. In this study, the relationship between body and society is an important aspect of understanding the young adolescents' reported experiences and dispositions. Embodiment is a crucial part of habitus which in this study allows for an understanding of how different identity positionings and categories are embodied in the participants' reported practices and dispositions. In the words of Bourdieu, 'habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history' (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 82.) Thus, habitus as concept enables a view of language use as situated in real time but shaped by socio-historical processes. Habitus as a product of social conditions also allows the analysis to center on language use as 'adapted to a situation or rather, adapted to a market or a field' (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 78). As described by Reay (1995, p. 357) 'habitus can be viewed as a complex internalized core from which everyday experiences emanate. It is the source of day-to-day practices.' Taking a Bourdieusian approach in this study most importantly allows for an analysis which puts a primary focus on the dynamic relations between language use, investment, and formation of identities. The analysis of the language diaries indicated how the language use of the participants appeared relationally bound to four main intersecting dynamics adhering to the

activity or situation at hand, the underlying ideologies permeating it and its practitioners, its location in time and space and its present (or non-present) agents or interlocutors with their preferences, ideologies, and interests.

6.2.2 A guiding analytical model

The model below was developed with the aim of illustrating the intersecting dynamics at play in the participants' reported linguistic practices as located in multidimensional space of habitus, field, and capital. The model served as a guiding analytical tool which helped to systematically organize the analytical process and understanding of the participants' accounts.

Figure 5 Guiding Analytical Model
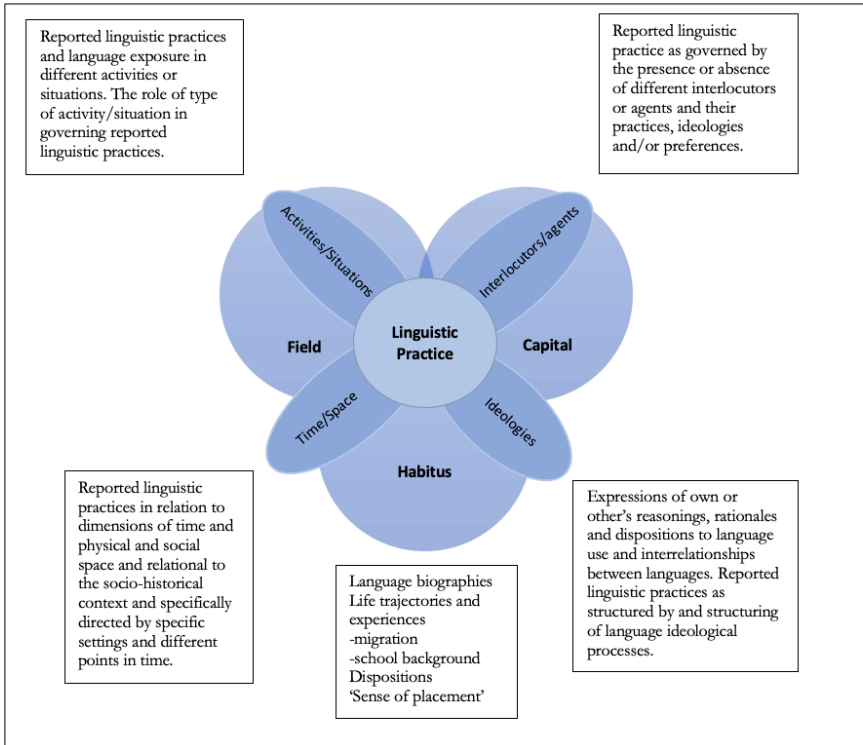
Based on the analysis of the diary accounts, the guiding analytical model illustrates the linguistic practices of the young adolescents as primarily directed by four main intersecting dynamics. The dynamics are placed on the underlying overlapping circles of habitus–field–capital which signify linguistic practices as produced in the intersection of habitus and market (capital + field) and the relational interplay of individual and context (Bourdieu, 1993). The four dynamics vary in scope and representation between different participants' accounts but still form the central themes emerging from the language diaries. When comparing the language diary entries with the questionnaire data and language biographical information, the utility of habitus was further highlighted with regard to participant's experiences and life trajectories, such as migration paths and previous school backgrounds. The reported use of languages in different activities and situations and with different interlocutors also corresponded to the reported responses in the questionnaire data which further strengthened the main dynamics derived from the diary accounts. Comparing the diary data with the questionnaire data thus not only helped to deepen the understanding of the participants' linguistic practices but also strengthened the motive for placing Bourdieusian concepts at the center of analysis.

In subsequent paragraphs the relational dynamics in the analytical model are described in more detail. As demonstrated in the analysis of the language diaries, the language use in an activity or situation can be seen as directed by for example the participants' interests or preferences, the type of activity (e.g., verbal, physical, aesthetic, receptive, interactive) or situation (degree of formality/informality). Certain activities and situations seemed associated with particular language practices which therefore might direct practitioners to use a certain language or languages. The type of activity/situation may thus also intersect with not only place, culture and capital but also with the presence or absence of other participating agents. For example, the language use in a given communicative situation may be directed by the participating agents' ideologies, preferences, and positions of influence. As displayed in the data (see chapters 7 and 8), the interlocutor seemed to play a vital role. The reasons for engaging in a certain activity or situation may also vary greatly. We may engage in activities or situations based on our own interest and enjoyment which in turn may be guided by the influence of others and various sources of input through the sociocultural and historical dimensions at a particular time and space. Shaped by habitus, our engagement in activities or situations may further be directed by our linguistic competence, possibilities emanating from our social position and cultural capital,

gender roles and group identifications. We may also engage in activities or situations of duty or various ideas about what is considered expected. Activities or situations may also be imposed on us due to external requirements or demands from others. As mentioned, the language use of an activity or situation may also be the result of preference, either for pragmatic or practical reasons. For example, a certain language or language style may serve as a "lingua franca" in linguistic practices or activities or a certain language or linguistic variety may be preferred by other practitioners. Thus, the language use may also be governed by personal interests, ideologies, or preferences, where the participant may prefer a certain language over others. Also, a participant may prefer a certain language or languages with the intention of actively practicing or taking part in a linguistic milieu. Likewise, language preferences may be due to the participant's sense of comfort and familiarity. Still, habitus, field, and capital structure the activities and language practices the participants have access to and have interest in and thus define the language(s) used.

Linguistic practices may also be governed by time/space dimensions which may converge closely with the interlocutors or agents present and dominating praxis. The spaces the participants engage in or come across, either online or offline, may have different norms of linguistic practices. These norms may be directed by agreed systems of beliefs among the participating practitioners based on traditions, characteristics and customs tied to the specific type of activity or situation. Set in a particular socio-cultural time and space in history, the norms may be guided by previous and past linguistic practices traditionally carried out in that space. Language ideologies as tied to space, thus indicate how language use tends to become associated with a setting or location, a certain type of linguistic practice becomes expected in a certain type of environment and with certain interlocutors. The place where young adolescents collectively grow up may also play a decisive role in shaping common practices, interests, norms, fashions, ideas, and participation in activities which must be acknowledged. Thus, language ideologies may also interplay with activities and space (which also intersects with habitus) since certain activities may be dominated by certain linguistic norms and practices. Habitus may thus shape individuals' access to and use of certain activities which in turn may shape the positions of the participants. It should be mentioned that the participants are not perceived as "possessing" certain language ideologies, rather their responses and accounts are seen as expressing positions reflective of language ideologies.

Language ideologies may also be influenced by the beliefs and practices of parents, friends, and siblings as well as norms tied to the collective space in which individuals are brought up. Hence, language ideologies may further be impacted by past and current norms, values and practices dominating the socio-historical, political, geographical, and cultural contexts the participants previously have or currently are part of. Thus, the linguistic hegemony of a society where some languages are valued over others may potentially influence the language ideologies of individuals where children and adolescents come to realize at an early age which languages are valued and which languages which are not.

The dynamics involved in the formation of language ideologies further showcase (which the model aims to illustrate) how language ideologies are interconnected to field and capital where certain languages or linguistic practices are valued as capital in some fields of practice but not in others. This relates to the work by Darvin and Norton and the analysis of language investment also included Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment (see chapter 2) as the main guiding tool in the interpretation of the participants' dispositions towards languages and imagined future. Ideologies and capital allow the analysis to understand power mechanisms in practices, identity positionings and the structuring of habitus (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Likewise, these dynamics also relate to how language use by some may be regarded as a desirable asset while the equivalent language use by others may be devalued and seen as a deficit. This raises concerns of linguistic inequality where language use by some may be given value but become devalued if used by others. For example, the use of English may be seen as a desired asset when used by some but a deficit when used by others. Language use other than that dominant in society may thus be viewed differently depending on the languages and the speakers using them. Such perceptions tend to rest on monolingual and unequal ideologies where the use of languages other than the dominant language are seen as desired and valuable first if and when the dominant language is "in place" or considered "mastered" according to certain (official or unofficial) norms and criteria. Thus, the use of languages other than the dominant language for people who are in the process of acquiring a given dominant language risk being questioned and seen as a distracting element in the process of learning the dominant language. This highlights the "disparity between knowledge and recognition" and the importance of acknowledging young adolescents out-of-school linguistic practices and ideologies of language use in education, where 'social mechanisms of cultural transmission tend to reproduce the structural disparity between the very unequal *knowledge* of the legitimate

language and the much more uniform recognition of this language' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 62). The model also signals how language ideologies may vary depending on the activity or situation but also how this relationship is seen as reciprocal where activities may be shaped by but also themselves shape language ideologies and linguistic norms.

6.3 Analysis of the questionnaire

The questionnaire responses were first read through and then reported in SPSS 26. Initially, a univariate analysis using descriptive statistics helped to identify emergent patterns of the participants' language use in different activities and situations. The questionnaire contains a pool of items arranged in two separate scales addressing the everyday language use and exposure to Heritage Languages, Swedish, English, and additional languages in a variety of out-of-school activities. The first analytical stage therefore involved frequency and sample distribution of each variable. Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages and crosstabulations), served to distinguish frequency and distribution of Heritage Languages, Swedish, English, and additional languages in various out-of-school activities. The initial descriptive statistics also involved mapping the participants' patterns of language use with different interlocutors. Since the questionnaire also aimed to map the participants' ideologies toward Heritage Languages, Swedish and English and their perceived value for different situations and objectives, the univariate analysis also included the dispersion of responses to these items. The internal consistency (or reliability) of the questionnaire sub-scales was assessed using Cronbach's Alpha. Cronbach's Alpha values above 0.8 represent good levels of reliability and above 0.9 are considered excellent level of internal consistency (Pallant, 2016). Item analysis and inter-item correlations assessed the relationships between items and distinguished inconsistencies and error variance.

Missing data was analyzed at variable and scale level and treated accordingly depending on the identified randomness of responses. When the nature of the missing data was estimated as MAR (Missing at Random), imputation techniques were used. This concerned the scale data for participants' language ideologies towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English, where missing data were treated using the mean imputation method known as *item mean substitution* (IMS) (Huisman, 2000). This meant that when preparing the scale for analysis, the item mean was inputted for each missing value.

Other missing values seemed to indicate a systematic pattern which was dealt with through other statistical imputation techniques. This concerned the scales used for mapping the participants' language use in different out-of-school activities. When analyzing the randomness of the missing responses, the missing cases indicated a systematic pattern between observed data and the missing values. The blank responses seemed to represent the category response "never or almost never". Written and oral instructions were provided during all field visits. However, seemingly some participants still left a blank response if they regarded the activity as something that they never or almost never engaged in. As I was present when the participants answered the questionnaire, I also noticed that some would leave a blank response to certain activities in additional languages or Heritage Languages. When asked about this, participants would respond that they simply left it blank since they never engage in it. The blank response thus seemed to represent "never or almost never". For example, if participants regarded the sub-item watching movies in additional languages as something which very rarely or almost never happened, some participants left a blank. This pattern of response occurred at all participating schools and therefore when noticing this, participants were reminded of the importance of clearly indicating their answer. When asked about the repeated missing responses, some participants accounted for this by saying: "but I never do that" and explained that the blank response was meant to indicate that. They were then encouraged to instead mark their answer by ticking the equivalent alternative 'never or almost never'.

Missing values may be due to a number of reasons and on other items, participants have randomly missed a line or made occasional lapses. However, the systematic pattern of missing responses noted on the scales of language use in activities, is important to consider and to some extent explains the varying numbers of missing values for each sub-variable in the activity scales. Against this backdrop and considering the limited number of missing cases, when preparing data for analysis, the missing cases on the scales of language use in activities were given the value representing 'never or almost never'.

Preparing data for analysis also involved examining frequencies using cross-tabulation analysis. Preliminary analyses of frequencies were also performed to ensure no violation of assumptions. The analytical process then continued with inferential statistical analyses which mainly involved bivariate correlations using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to investigate the relationship between variables.

6.4 Analysis of language diaries

The qualitative analysis of the language diaries was inspired by a reflexive approach to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke et al., 2019) which aims to identify patterns in the data and provide a theoretically informed interpretation of the described patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2021a). This framework of reflexive thematic analysis incorporates a six-phase process. The six procedures in their most recent description, include: '1) data familiarisation and writing familiarisation notes; 2) systematic data coding; 3) generating initial themes from coded and collated data; 4) developing and reviewing themes; 5) refining, defining, and naming themes; and 6) writing the report' (Braun & Clarke, 2021b, p. 331). While there are different approaches to thematic analysis, reflexive thematic analysis was found suitable as it emphasizes a reflexive approach to theory, data and interpretation which aligns with the theoretical and conceptual framework informing the analysis. It posits an understanding of thematic analysis as a positioned and 'situated interpretive reflexive process' where coding is 'open and organic' (Braun & Clarke, 2021b, p. 334). Since the language diaries served to map the participants' language use in greater detail, it required a flexible and open approach to the data.

The first stage of the analysis of the language diaries involved a familiarization with the material to obtain an overall understanding of the data. This also involved making decisions regarding criteria for inclusion/exclusion. Diaries which were completed successfully and included entries on most days formed the analysis. For example, language diaries which only included accounts of daily procedures such as going to/from school, references to hygiene routines or eating, with no linguistic specifications at all, were excluded. Diaries which only contained copied entries where the respondent clearly had repeated the exact same entry from the first day were also excluded. The second phase involved a systematic analysis of features in the language diary data to generate initial codes. Particular attention was paid to what activities the participants engage in, what languages they use with whom, when and why. In this second phase, each individual diary was analyzed in detail and the content of the diary was summarized in a grid format protocol to facilitate further analysis together with notes of points to explore further in a potential interview situation. This phase also involved a closer examination of the participants' linguistic practices to map the participants' varied language use. For example, 'what languages do participants use and come into contact with during the week of the language diary?' 'What patterns can be discerned in the

participant's language use?' 'What languages are used when and where, and with whom?' During this process, the information obtained from participants' language diaries was also complemented with the questionnaire responses. By using a combination of data sources in a thorough analysis of frequency, usage patterns and participants' language biographies, language use profiles were distinguished.

Thereafter, the analysis continued by focusing on mapping the participants' reported language use in different activities and situations, using a grid format to construct initial codes. What activities and situations do the adolescents report? What languages do they use or encounter? This part of the analysis shifted attention towards a closer focus on different activities and situations. As for the interactional practices, activities and situations were reported as they appeared in the participants' diary entries. Based on the diary content, distinctions were made depending on whether or not interlocutors were present during the activity or situation. This particularly applied to language use in interaction with siblings compared to language use when interacting with parents, but also for engaging in activities with friends, siblings or relatives. Broad categories were also made to include accounts of language use without specification of activity or situation or when no interlocutors were mentioned, as in entries like 'I speak X at home'. Such unspecified statements of language use were coded using a general category of 'language use at home (no activity/situation stated)'. These initial code categories were later assessed, organized and labelled into higher order categories or themes representing different types of language use in different situations/activities and with different interlocutors. The analysis of the language diaries also entailed tracing elements of ideologies or rationales for language use generated from the diaries. Excerpts of diary entries containing statements reflecting participants' ideologies, views or preferences were quite limited but were coded into different categories depending on the notions present in the participants' diary entries.

Throughout the process of analyzing the language diaries, reflective notes were kept recording spontaneous reflections and interpretations of each participant's diary entries. This involved comments and preliminary understandings of the overall content of the diaries as well as specific details and themes present. Excerpts were also included to illustrate the examples and reflections of the participants' accounts of linguistic practices.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the process of analyzing the language diaries brought a need to tie the language diary content to the theoretical approach adopted in this thesis. This led to the development of the analytical model which helped guide the interpretation of the data and displayed the interconnectedness

of main constructs and how the theoretically informed perspective contributed to the analysis. The analysis of the participants' language diary entries thus directed attention to how theoretical concepts could be incorporated to accommodate the analytical process. The model thus aimed to incorporate the major themes present in the data and their relationship to the theoretical concepts influencing the analysis.

After the first analysis, the language diaries were imported in NVivo 12. Using the NVivo software program served to organize the data, identify potential supplementary categories, and keep track of categories, sub-categories, and key themes. NVivo also facilitated the data analysis by allowing for examining coded statements without separating them from the context, in this case: the language diaries.

6.5 Analysis of interviews

The interviews served to explore the participants' language use and ideological positions in more depth. If the questionnaire and the language diaries primarily mapped the participants' language use to varying degrees of detail, the interviews were more focused on examining participants' rationales and ideologies of language use and identities. Having examined pattens of language practices, the interviews directed attention to the underlying dimensions of those patterns and what they might mean in relation to conceptualizations of identities, investment, and sense of placement. The analysis of the interviews was thereby more closely theoretically informed by the Bourdieusian practice approach adopted in this thesis, where Bourdieu's notion of habitus and its relating concepts as well as other notions were used as the main tools for thinking about and influencing perspective. However, as mentioned, in the analysis of investment, the interviews were examined using Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment, placing investment at the intersection of identity, capital and ideology.

The overall analysis of the interviews incorporated the guiding analytical model developed during the analysis of the language diaries. The guiding analytical model, presented earlier in this chapter, proved helpful in the analysis and categorization of data. Using the guiding analytical model as foundation, data generated from the interviews were examined, noted, and categorized. The four main dynamics in the model derived from the language diary analysis were found to be applicable also to the interview accounts. Therefore, these were used as main themes from which theoretically informed concepts and other topics were incorporated in the analysis.

Themes were noted in a thematically organized protocol. NVivo 12 was used to support listening and transcribing interviews excerpts. The findings of these various analyses will be elaborated in the following 4 chapters.

Findings

The following four chapters (chapter 7–10) will provide a detailed account of the findings from four perspectives. Chapter 7 focuses on the participants' language use in different domains and on interactional practices. This is followed by chapter 8 which presents the participants' language use in out-of-school activities. Thereafter, chapter 9 reports the participants' dispositions and investment in languages. Chapter 10 presents the participants' accounts of language use in relation to identities and sense of placement.

7. Patterns of Language Use in Out-of-School Domains and Interactional Practices

In this chapter, the participants' reported use of languages with different interlocutors is presented. The chapter includes integrated findings from the questionnaire, language diaries and interviews and focuses on participants' everyday language use in interactions taking place with various interlocutors in out-of-school domains. An overview of language use patterns is presented followed by examples of participants' described language use in daily interactions. Results from the main sample (questionnaire) are integrated with findings from the sub-samples (language diaries, interviews) to add depth and nuance. The chapter begins with family interactions, focusing on the participants' language use with parents and siblings. It then continues by presenting the participants' language use when engaging with friends and classmates. Finally, the chapter includes participants' language use with relatives. The chapter ends with some concluding notes.

7.1 A note on framing participants' language use

Before presenting the findings of the participants' reported language use, some considerations must be made clear. As demonstrated in chapter 5 in the presentation of participants, the participants' language use may vary greatly, as do participants' perceptions of languages and what they consider to be their "mother tongues", or the languages they consider themselves to be most confident in. For a thorough description of how the language use of participants has been mapped and conceptualized in this thesis, please see chapter six. The analytical work of framing participants' language use and repertoires has laid the foundation for the qualitative findings presented in all the following results chapters. Here, a contextual understanding has been vital for the interpretation of the findings. Careful attention has been paid to mapping the diverse linguistic repertoires of participants when analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data. Great care was

taken to maintain reflective of the linguistic diversity of the sample when coding the questionnaire responses. Participants' responses to open-ended questions regarding their language use in interactions and what they considered their 'mother tongue' were maintained, and thus not coded into pre-fixed categories. However, to facilitate presentation of questionnaire data of the whole sample which comprised close to forty named languages, the presentation of the questionnaire results required categorization through the use of broad – and somewhat crude – categories such as: Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages. Henceforth, when referring to the distribution of language use for the sample as a whole (or the language diary sub-sample) the results are presented with reference to the languages mentioned by participants as named language[18] categories and 'mother tongue' languages are categorized as 'Heritage Languages'. As initially mentioned in this thesis, when describing participants' accounts at whole sample levels, the category term Heritage Languages (HLs) was considered to be the most applicable term.

7.2 Mapping everyday language use in interactions

The results presented in this chapter are based on data from all three sets of data, the questionnaire, the language diaries and the interviews. In the questionnaire the participants reported their daily language use with different interlocutors in an open response format. The language diaries later allowed the participants to more freely express their language use with different interlocutors and in different situations and activities. In the subsequent interviews, participants could describe their language use with different interlocutors in greater detail, elaborate further and also add information which helped to explain the questionnaire responses and the language diary accounts.

The questionnaire included two open response questions[19] targeting spoken interaction where the participants were instructed to report the languages most often used in spoken interaction with different interlocutors. Based on Baker's (1992) latent variable analysis of language background as well as the variables in the Language and Social Background Questionnaire (LSBQ) (Anderson et al.,

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[18] Henceforth, in the presentation of questionnaire data, named languages are used as broad categories without reference to any specific variety. Instead, the named languages are used as overarching categories which include the innate diversity represented in each language.

[19] Item 4a-j and item 5a-j in the questionnaire (see appendix A) each comprise 10 variables.

2018), each of the two questions includes ten items measuring interaction patterns with: mother, father, siblings, cousins/younger relatives, grandparents, other older relatives, friends, classmates, teachers and neighbours. The first question focused on what language or languages the participants usually use when speaking to the above stated people and the second question targeted the reverse interaction pattern, that is, what language or languages the above stated people usually use when speaking to the participant. The internal consistency for the total 20 items was α=.88. The open response format aimed to bring forward the participants' own reports of their language use and allow an unlimited variety of language use descriptions. While open response formats may pose the risk of writing fatigue, these two items were surprisingly well received, and a majority of participants showed interest in the questions and carefully and rather meticulously reported their languages use. Figure 6 provides an example of a participant's response pattern.

Figure 6 Example of Questionnaire Responses on Items of Spoken Interaction Patterns

This example illustrates the amount of detail and attentiveness paid by participants to these spoken interaction items. As demonstrated in the figure, participants would sometimes alter the order in which languages were stated between question

four and question five. Since question four targeted the languages used by the participant, the order of languages was not necessarily the same on question five, as it targeted the languages used by others when speaking to the participant. As an example, the responding participant in Figure 6 shifts the order of stated languages when it comes to interaction with grandparents. While the participant reports using "English, Twi" when speaking to the grandparents, the reverse order "Twi & English" is found in the response to what languages the grandparents use when speaking to the participant. This might seem incidental, yet in the total sample, the shifted order in the majority of cases appeared to be deliberate. Therefore, coding categories distinguishing between order of languages stated have been maintained when necessary.

Some participants would also add information to further explain patterns of language use, as seen in the example (see Figure 6). As the questionnaire example illustrates, this participant carefully described the language use with different interlocutors and repeatedly put information within brackets to further describe, elucidate or give a rationale for the use of languages.

7.3 Language use with family members

When mapping young adolescents' linguistic practices outside school, interaction patterns with family members become central. The time spent before and after school typically involves the home setting and interactions with different family members. The qualitative findings in this study also reflect how interactions with family members form a central part in the out-of-school lives of the participants as demonstrated in previous studies (e.g., Rampton, 1995; Otterup, 2005; Bellander, 2010; Rydenvald, 2017).

The following section presents the patterns of language use found regarding the participants' reported language use with parents and siblings.

7.3.1 Patterns of language use with parents and siblings

When examining the participants' responses and accounts across the three strands of data, language use with family members appeared to follow certain usage patterns regarding frequency distribution while simultaneously demonstrating rich diversity in terms of features of speech patterns and their governing foundations, such as: degrees of mixing, purposes, circumstantial factors and language ideologies and rationales. Thus, while certain languages seemed to dominate in

certain situations and with certain interlocutors, the ways languages were used and for what purposes could vary greatly.

7.3.1.1 Questionnaire responses of language use with parents and siblings

When speaking to parents (or caretakers), the majority of participants reported using Heritage Languages followed by participants who reported using Heritage Languages and Swedish in combination. A few participants reported using Swedish when speaking to their parents (or caretakers) at home and a few of the responses also included a combination of English, Heritage Languages and Swedish. It should be noted that newly arrived participants tended to use Heritage Languages to a greater extent with parents or caretakers. Table 7 shows the distribution of questionnaire responses.

Table 7 Distribution of Language Use with Family Members

Language use when speaking to…	HL(s)	HL(s) /Swe	Swe/HL(s)	Swe	Eng and/or HLs/Swe
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
mother	53(61)	18(16)	12(11)	11(7)	6(6)
father	54(61)	12(11)	14(10)	9(8)	7(8)
siblings	21(24)	21(18)	25(20)	22(26)	11(13)

Note. N= Mother (92/90), Father (88/87), Siblings (87/86) The numbers in parentheses represent the corresponding responses of what languages the participants report that family members use when they speak to the participant.

When speaking to the mother, 53 percent reported using Heritage Languages, followed by 18 percent who reported using both Heritage Languages and Swedish or Swedish and Heritage Languages (12%). Of the responding participants, 11 percent reported using Swedish when speaking to their mothers. English also occurred (alone or in combination with Heritage Languages or Swedish) but was only reported by a few participants (6%). When speaking to the father 54 percent reported using Heritage Languages, followed by 14 percent who reported a combination of Swedish/Heritage Languages or Heritage Languages/Swedish (12%). Another 11 percent reported using Swedish only and then 7 percent used English either alone or in combination with Swedish or Heritage Languages.
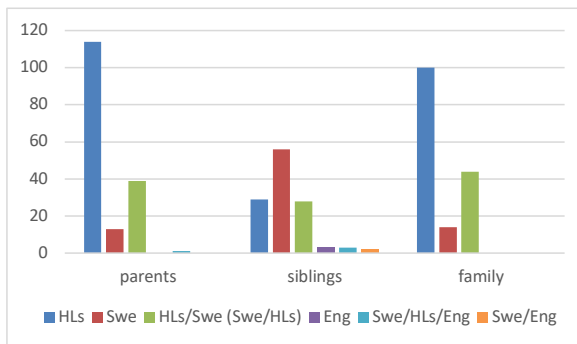
In interaction with siblings, the language use formed a different pattern which was characterized by a higher prevalence of Swedish and more commonly included

combinations of Swedish and Heritage Languages. When speaking to siblings, 25 percent reported using a combination of Swedish and Heritage Languages. This was followed by 22 percent who reported using Swedish only. Of these, all but three were born in Sweden and the three born in other countries (Somalia, Egypt, Nigeria) arrived at ages seven, three and one, respectively. Another 21 percent reported using Heritage Languages/Swedish and 21 percent reported using Heritage Languages only. The use of English occurred more frequently too in various combinations with either Heritage Languages or Swedish or both and amounted to a frequency of 11 percent.

7.3.1.2 Diary accounts of language use with parents and siblings

The language diaries contained multiple references to the use of languages in family interactions. Since the language diaries covered the time spent before and after school, many entries reflected the daily language use at home with parents and siblings. The reported language use pattern with parents (or caretakers) and siblings, found in the questionnaire results, was also reflected in the language diaries. Figure 7 displays the number of instances of language use with family members in the language diaries.

Figure 7 Number of Diary Instances of Language Use with Family Members

As shown in the figure, Heritage Languages dominated in interactions with parents and in the family as a whole while Swedish tended to dominate in interactions with siblings. Interactions with siblings also, to a greater yet still small extent, included languages in various combinations with English. Participants' diary entries sometimes contained references to 'parents', sometimes 'mother' and/or 'father'. In the figure above, all instances have been summarized into the broader category

'parents'. It should be noted though, that most instances of interactions with 'parents' in the diary referred to interactions with mothers. Of the total language diaries (*n*=50) 90 instances referred to interactions with mothers, compared to 31 instances referring to interactions with fathers. Even if the number of instances with mothers were almost three times higher than the instances referring to interactions with fathers, no major differences regarding language use patterns could be found. In terms of interactions with mothers, a majority of the 90 instances 62 (or 69%) refer to the use of Heritage Languages and as for interactions with fathers, 21 instances out of 31 (or 68%) refer to the use of Heritage Languages. In interactions with mothers, twenty (of 90) diary instances referred to the use of a combination of Heritage Languages and Swedish (HLs/Swe or Swe/HLs) and eight instances referred to the use of Swedish. Regarding interactions with fathers, diary entries contained eight instances (of 31) that referred to a combination of HLs/Swe or Swe/HLs, followed by one instance of Swedish and one instance of Swe/HLs/Eng. When compared, the observed numbers of instances showed no major differences between interactions with mothers and fathers.

Diary accounts that included the word 'parents' amounted to 46 instances. The participants also described linguistic practices within the family as a whole by referring to the 'family' (e.g., 'I speak X with my family') which could involve all or several family members. In the fifty diaries, 80 instances referred to the use of Heritage Languages when interacting with the 'family'. The diaries also contained 38 instances of references to language use 'at home' with no interlocutor specified (distribution HLs: 20, Swe: 10 and Swe/HL /HL/Swe: 8). The instances referring to language use 'at home' have been added to the category 'family' (Table 8).

Table 8 Diary Instances of Language Use with Family Members

Language use in interaction with…	HL(s) (%)	HL(s) /Swe/ Swe/HL(s) (%)	Swe (%)	Eng and/or HLs /SwE (%)
'parents'	31	11	4	0
'mother'	62	20	8	0
'father'	21	8	1	1
'family'/'at home'	100	44	14	0
'siblings'	29	28	56	8

Note. Counted instances in which diary entries refer to languages use with parents, mother, father, family, at home or siblings.

The distribution of instances is also visualized in Figure 8. The figure helps illustrate how Heritage Languages seemed to dominate in the home domain and in interactions with parents while Swedish dominated in interaction with siblings.

Figure 8 Language Use in Interaction with Family Members – Language Diary Instances
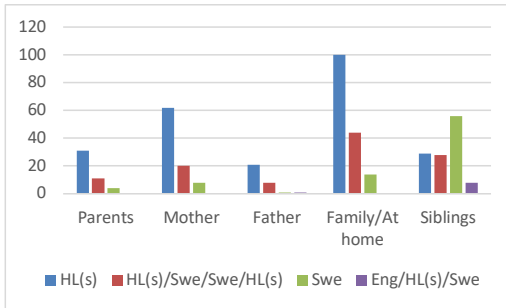
7.3.1.3 Diary and interview examples of language use with parents and siblings

In the language diaries, most participants referred to the use of Heritage Languages when interacting with parents (or caretakers) whereas Swedish or multilingual practices (Heritage Languages and Swedish) tend to be more common in interactions with siblings. One example of this was given in a diary entry by participant Asim[20] – who, in this entry, reported using Arabic (the language he stated as 'mother tongue' in the questionnaire and the interview) with parents and Swedish with siblings. 'I woke up spoke Arabic with my parents and Swedish with my sister. I met my friend in the bus talked Swedish and went to school' (Asim,

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[20] All participants have been assigned pseudonyms.

age 14, Grade 7). *[Swedish original: 'Jag vaknade pratade arabiska med mina föräldrar och Svenska med min syster. Jag träffa min vän i bussen pratade Svenska och gick till skolan.'].* This excerpt depicts how language use shifts as Asim moves between interactional practices with parents, siblings and friends. However, Asim's diary also contained examples which contrast and bring nuance to this seemingly clear-cut pattern. The following entry excerpt by Asim gives a less stable depiction of language use tied to the dimension of time: 'Yesterday I woke up greeted my mum in Arabic who was going to work quickly then I went to school with my sister there we spoke Arabic this time.' *[Swedish original: 'Igår vaknade jag hälsade på min mamma på arabiska som skulle till jobbet snabbt sedan gick jag till skolan med min syster där vi talade arabiska denna gången.'].* In this entry, Asim reported the use of Arabic when greeting his mother but, in contrast to the previous entry, also described using Arabic with his sister while going to school. Asim reported 'we spoke Arabic this time' which may signal how language use practices with the sister can alter from time to time. The entry thus exemplifies the dimension of time and temporality of language use and how language use practices may shift and take different forms at different times and occasions. In the interview Asim also described how language use might vary but then in relation to place, for example when speaking about language use with siblings: 'Yes they use a little Arabic but when we're home then, like, when we are with our parents but like, when we're in school and when we're out then we use Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Ja de använder arabiska lite fast när vi är hemma då fast asså när vi är med våra föräldrar men typ när vi är i skolan och så när vi är ute då vi pratar svenska]* (Interview Asim).

Participants also gave examples of mixing Swedish and Heritage Languages with siblings as in this diary entry excerpt by Avin who wrote: 'Then I was at home and then I talked to my sister, usually we mix Swedish and Kurdish when we talk to each other.' *[Swedish original: Sedan var jag hemma och då pratade jag med min syster, oftast brukar vi blanda svenska och kurdiska när vi pratar med varandra.]* In a later interview, Avin also described mixing Kurdish and Swedish with her siblings: 'sometimes it can be like this like, if I answer in Kurdish and then like you mix in some Kurdish words and some Swedish words' *[ibland det kan vara typ så här om jag svarar på kurdiska och sen såhär man blandar ibland några kurdiska ord några svenska ord]* (Interview Avin). Avin continued and explained that the mixing of languages tends to depend on what she feels like speaking at the moment: 'Like this…you know…yeah…just how you feel what you feel like talking' *[typ så hära…du vet…ah …bara hur man känner vad man känner för att prata]* (Interview Avin). The way languages are used in mixing patterns is here described as something that just

happens depending on what the speaker feels like doing in the moment (cf. Jonsson, 2013). When asked further about this, Avin explained how words can have different meaning or weight in the two languages and how languages might be used differently depending on what different words are able to express. In the interview Avin stated: 'words and such can have a completely different meaning if you say it in Kurdish than in Swedish sometimes ... you can say or you can also express yourself in different ways when it comes to the different languages' *[ord och sånt kan ha en helt annan betydelse om du säger det på kurdiska än på svenska ibland… kan man säga eller man kan uttrycka sig också på olika sätt när det gäller de olika språken]*(Interview, Avin). When then asked if the topic of the conversation can play a governing role, Avin gave the following example:

> For example, if you're going to show your love for your siblings, then I think it's nicer to say it in Kurdish because it like feels like it's more meaningful. Because it's kind of like this, that it comes from your heart because it's your mother tongue it's your sister and it's kind of like this really, yes you say it in Kurdish because it feels like this more valuable or more meaningful like that it means more, I would say that.
>
> *[Swedish original: Till exempel om man ska visa sin kärlek för sin syskon, så tycker jag det är finare o säga det på kurdiska för det är så här känns mer meningsfullt. För det är typ så hära, att det kommer från ens hjärta för det är ditt modersmål det är din syster och det är typ så här verkligen ja man säger det på kurdiska för det känns så här mer värdefullt eller mer meningsfullt typ att det betyder mer, det skulle jag säga.]*

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

In this interview excerpt, Avin described how she believed Kurdish allowed for more authentic affectionate expressions which hold more value and meaning. Avin also explained the reason why she preferred Kurdish when expressing true feelings by stating that: 'it comes from your heart because it's your mother tongue'. This statement indicates an emotional attachment to Kurdish which Avin refers to by using the term 'mother tongue'. The role of the 'mother tongue' becomes emphasized as Avin considers it to be at the core of the heart and therefore more apt for expressing affections. For Avin, Kurdish seemed associated with the language of the heart, and as such assigned more meaning. In this example, Kurdish thus seemed to hold a particular emotional value as symbolic capital. Avin also referred to the role of the interlocutor as playing a central role, through the words: 'it's your sister'. Thus, Avin seemed to suggest how using Kurdish when expressing affection for her sister accentuates the meaning further as it is a shared language between the two which bears some personal and symbolic significance. In sum, Avin's statements suggest and exemplify how Heritage Languages (here

Kurdish) can allow for more precious and truthful expressions in personal interactions with close family members. In this case, Kurdish is assigned linguistic and symbolic capital as a language of meaning and value. In a way, these excerpts illustrate an ideological position where the 'mother tongue', in this case Kurdish, appears tied to one's identity perceptions. This ideological stance can in turn be seen as reflective of the system of dispositions structured by habitus, in the way language (here Kurdish) is seen as central to one's sense of self. The ideological position might also reflect a disposition of habitus, acquired through upbringing, displaying the language as cherished within the family and thus given high value as capital. Avin's association with Kurdish as coming 'from the heart' further indicates an essentialist understanding of 'the mother tongue' but in a way also signifies the embodiment of this ideological disposition, suggesting Kurdish as embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1977b).

Other participants also addressed how languages can be used to serve different purposes. One example included Asim who, as mentioned, mostly uses Swedish in school or outside with his siblings but in the interview also gave an example of how he sometimes might switch to Arabic with his siblings when in school or outside the home:

Asim: 'Then a little Arabic depending on the matter'

[Sen lite arabiska kanske beroende på saken]

JB: Ok well, when you say "depending on the matter" what do you think of then?

[Swedish original: Jaha, när du säger "beroende på saken" vad tänker du på då?]

Asim: 'Like if we're to talk about for example if there is someone there with us who is with us and I wanna tell something, talk about something that happened at home or so, then I speak Arabic so it's like that or maybe because if I am to yell at someone then I yell in Arabic.'

[Swedish original: Asså om vi ska prata om till exempel om det är någon som är där som är med oss och jag vill berätta en sak, prata om något som hänt hemma eller så då jag pratar arabiska så att asså det är så eller kanske för att om jag ska skälla på någon då jag skäller på arabiska.]

JB: Aha, why do you think that is?

[Swedish original: Jaha, vad tror du det beror på?]

Asim: 'Like we have…it's more it's much better, it feels much better than Swedish'

[Swedish original: Asså vi har…det är mer det är mer bättre, det känns mycket bättre än svenska]

Asim explained how Arabic can be used to discuss personal matters with his siblings and keep others out of the conversation. Asim's description was also similar to that of Avin in that Asim mentioned that he sometimes preferred Arabic over Swedish depending on the topic. Rather than expressing close affection, Asim's example of preferring the Heritage Language concerned the expression of opposite emotions, such as yelling at his siblings. Hence, this example also illustrates how languages in interaction can be used for various purposes and to express matters tied to personal issues or strong emotions.

While language use with siblings appeared to vary depending on time and place, the data also repeatedly demonstrated the role of interlocutor by indicating how language use might vary between siblings within the same family. The diary entries contained several examples of interactions with siblings and the following excerpts by Vanya illustrate a few of them: 'After I had finished, I went out with my little brother for a little while to get some fresh air. We spoke both Pashto and Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Efter att jag var klar gick jag ut med min lillebror en liten stund för att få lite frisk luft. Vi pratade både pashto och svenska.]* (Vanya, age 13, grade 7). The excerpt shows how Vanya and her brother on this occasion used both Pashto and Swedish in interaction. In a subsequent entry, a few days later, Vanya made the following description: 'I then went out with my little brother for a walk and to go to the playground in X. I only speak a little Swedish, English and Pashto with my brother because he's not so fluent in languages.'*[Swedish original: Jag gick sedan ut med min lillebror på en promenad och för att gå till lekplatsen i X. Jag pratar bara lite svenska, engelska och pasto med min bror eftersom att han inte är så språkkunnig.].* In contrast to the first diary excerpt, Vanya's language use with her little brother here also included English. Thus, Swedish, English and Pashto were used in interaction in this instance which points to the temporality of language use. Vanya also adds information to explain the language use by referring to her little brother as not being so fluent in languages. The example thus demonstrates the role of the interlocutor since the young age of the brother here may shape the way languages are being used. Vanya's diary also contained references to interactions with her older brother, which in contrast depicted a language use dominated by Swedish:

> After playing online I hurried to get ready since I would get a ride from my big brother to go to the library in X. On the way there we speak Swedish and I also spoke Swedish with the staff at the library.
>
> *[Swedish original: Efter onlinespelande skyndade jag mig att fixa i ordning eftersom att jag skulle få skjuts av min bror till biblioteket i X. På vägen talar vi svenska och jag talade också svenska med personalen i biblioteket.].*

<div align="right">(Vanya, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

In contrast to the interaction with the little brother, the interaction with the older brother was in Swedish. Vanya's language diary excerpts thus signal the role of interlocutor. The passage is clearly dominated by Swedish and besides speaking to her brother, Vanya also mentioned speaking Swedish to the library staff. In a later interview, Vanya also expressed how her language use with siblings sometimes can be directed by the preferences and language ideologies of her parents. During the interview, Vanya mentioned: 'Uhm when our mum and dad sometimes get like, angry with us for speaking too much Swedish, then we say we speak Pashto or Farsi.' *[Swedish original: Eh, när våran mamma och pappa ibland asså blir arga på oss vi pratar för mycket svenska, så vi säger vi pratar pashto och farsi.]*

In the language diaries and interviews, the participants often indicated how interactions at home may differ between family members depending on the interlocutor. As mentioned, participants' accounts showed how Swedish tends to dominate in communication among siblings whereas Heritage Languages would be more prevalent in interactions with parents. This was illustrated in the following excerpts by Dalia:

> When I came home I said hello to my mum in Arabic and my siblings in Swedish. Then I did usual stuff such as cleaning and today I took a shower and studied. I studied in Swedish and talked to my siblings in Swedish and with my mum in Arabic. I chatted with my friends in Swedish and then I went to bed.
>
> *[Swedish original: när jag kom hem så hälsade jag på min mamma på arabiska och på mina syskon på svenska. Sedan gjorde jag vanliga saker så som att städa och idag duscha jag och pluggade. Jag plugga på svenska och snackade med mina syskon på svenska och med min mamma på arabiska. Jag chattade med vänner på svenska och sedan gick jag och la mig.]*

<div align="right">(Dalia, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

Examples of common interactions at home with parents typically involved morning greetings and daily conversations particularly after school. The excerpt by Dalia, also depicted Heritage Languages as used in interaction with parent(s)

while Swedish appeared more frequently used when speaking to siblings. The excerpt by Dalia also illustrates how Swedish tends to be the language used in school-related work and when interacting with friends, which is addressed later in this chapter.

However, language use in mixing patterns also occurred in interactions with parents. The following diary entry by Lisa provides one example:

> I woke up and speak a little with my dad in Mandarin and Swedish. I go and eat breakfast and then I brush my teeth. My mum calls me, we speak Mandarin and Swedish. I go to my room and talk a little with my sister in Swedish.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag vaknade och pratar lite med min pappa på mandarin och svenska. Jag går och äter frukost och sedan borstar jag tänderna. Min mamma ringer mig, vi pratar mandarin och svenska. Jag går till mitt rum och pratar med min syster på svenska.].*

<div align="right">(Lisa, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

When interacting with parents, Lisa referred to using both Mandarin and Swedish yet when interacting with her sister Mandarin was absent. Another example of how languages can be used with parents and siblings was expressed in the diary entry excerpt by Isabel:

> I hung out with my friends for a little while after school (10 minutes) and we spoke Swedish, then my mum called me and told me to hurry home because I was late in English (she called me for like one minute). Then I ran and picked up my little sister and came home. I told my mum about my day in a mix of Swedish and English and my mum gave me a kit kat. I got a craving for pancakes, so I baked them by watching an English baking video and listened to Spanish music (maybe 1 hour, I mostly listened to Maluma and Daddy Yankee). Then my mum asked me why I didn't eat my KitKat in Spanish and I answered in English (my mum knows English, Swedish, Spanish because she is from Chile, Italian French and some more).
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag hängde med mina kompisar för en stund efter skolan (10 minuter) och vi pratade svenska, sedan ringde min mamma mig och sa till mig att skynda hem för att jag var sen på engelska (hon ringde mig för typ en minut). Sedan sprang jag och hämtade min lilla syster och kom hem. Jag berättade om min dag till min mamma med en blandning av svenska och engelska och min mamma gav mig en kitkat. Jag blev sugen på pannkakor så jag bakade de genom att kolla på en engelsk bakningsvideo och lyssna på spanska musik (kanske 1 timme, jag lyssna mest på Maluma och Daddy Yankee). Sedan min mamma frågade mig varför jag åt inte min kitkat på spanska och jag svarade på engelska (min mamma kan engelska, svenska, spanska för att hon är från Chile, italienska, franska och några mer.]*

<div align="right">(Isabel, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

Isabel described her use of languages after school with her friends, sister and her mother. As seen in this example, Isabel used both Swedish and English (and Spanish) with her mother. Isabel is born in Sweden but moved to Ireland as an infant and relocated to Sweden at the age of eleven. She has stated English as 'mother tongue' (Questionnaire and interview). In the diary entry excerpt, Isabel exemplified how language use is played out in interaction by describing how her mother asks her a question in Spanish which Isabel replied to in English. Isabel also included information about her mother's linguistic repertoire to explain the language use at home. This in-depth diary account thus highlights how migrant trajectories and the linguistic backgrounds of participants and their parents, as well as the family dynamic may come into play in governing the way languages become used in family interaction at home.

In the case of family interactions, the language diaries repeatedly included references to meals and participants' described interactions with parents frequently involved conversations at breakfast or dinner. Meals or particularly dinners, were also shown to be central social events for family interactions in Bellander's (2010) observations of young people's daily use of language. The following diary entry by Mateo is one example which includes the dinner situation:

> When I had finished the school day I call my mum and tell her that I have finished in Albanian. Then I hang out with my friends and speak Swedish. Then I take the bus home. When I come home I speak Albanian with my family. Then I eat food and we speak Albanian at the dinner table. Thereafter I go to my room and play PlayStation where I speak both Albanian and Swedish with my Albanian friend and cousin and we played for maybe 1 and a half hours. And I listened to hip hop in both Albanian and Swedish.'
>
> *[Swedish original: När jag slutat skoldagen ringer jag min mamma och berättar att jag har slutat på albanska. Sedan så hänger jag med mina vänner och pratar svenska. Sedan så tar jag bussen hem. När jag kommer hem pratar jag albanska med min familj. Sedan äter jag mat och vi pratar albanska vid matbordet. Därefter går jag till mitt rum och spelar playstation där jag pratar både albanska och svenska med min albanska vän och min kusin och vi spelade i kanske 1 och en halvtimma. Och jag lyssnade jag på hip hop både albansk och svensk.]*
>
> (Mateo, age 13, Grade 7)

This entry exemplifies the use of Heritage Languages when eating meals at home with family members. The entry in total also provides a rich example of a day after school in the life of this participant which highlights the role of interlocutor. As shown, Mateo reported using Albanian with his mother and family, Swedish with friends after school and then Albanian and Swedish while gaming.

Although dinners with the family commonly seemed to be dominated by Heritage Language use, these situations would also sometimes involve the use of Swedish. The following diary excerpt by another participant Elina depicts the use of both Heritage Languages and Swedish:

> I came home after school then I was in the living room and browsed on my phone in Swedish. Then I ate dinner with my family and we all spoke together I spoke Swedish with my siblings and Assyrian with my parents.
>
> *[Jag kom hem efter skolan sen så var jag i vardagsrummet kolla på min mobil på svenska. Sen så åt jag middag med min familj och vi alla pratade med alla jag prata svenska med mina syskon och assyriska med mina föräldrar.]*

<div align="right">(Elina, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

This entry illustrates how languages may become used at the dinner table and again reflects the language use pattern of using Heritage Languages in interaction with parents while Swedish tends to be more prevalent in interaction with siblings. However, even if the excerpt does indicate the role of interlocutor, it does not reveal any details of speech or 'mixing' patterns and the language use among the family members may be more complex than what this entry discloses. Mixing patterns were also reflected in the diary by Idil who also referred to 'mixing' languages as in the following quote: 'I came home from school and ate dinner with my family and mixed between Somali, Swedish and Danish.' *[Swedish original: Jag kom hem från skolan och åt middag med min familjen och blandade mellan somaliska, svenska och danska.]*. The diary of Idil (who quite recently relocated from Denmark to Sweden) also highlights the multifaceted nature of multilingualism and how Heritage Languages may encompass languages in a repertoire acquired from past countries of residence (i.e., diverse migrant trajectories) and not only the languages of the family descent.

Language use with parents was also exemplified in the diary by Avin. The following account illustrates the role of interlocutor but also how the activity itself becomes an intersecting dynamic:

> On the way home I listened to Swedish music, when I was home I spoke in Kurdish with my mother and helped her make the salad. Then my dad helped me with a math task and that is almost the only time I speak Swedish with my dad to be able to understand.
>
> *[Swedish original: Påväg hem lyssnade jag på svensk musik, när jag var hemma pratade jag på kurdiska med min mamma och hjälpte henne med att göra salladen. Sedan hjälpte min pappa mig med en matteuppgift och då är det nästan enda gången jag pratar svenska med min pappa för att kunna förstå.]*

From Avin's description, the use of Swedish with her father seemed closely tied to the activity of doing homework. Avin also explained that the reason for using Swedish was to 'be able to understand'. In this example, the type of activity thus appeared to govern the language practice, as perhaps did the preferences of the participating agent, her father. The statement suggests that Avin prefers to use Swedish when completing math tasks as it reportedly supports her understanding. Although Avin mentioned using both Kurdish and Swedish at home and occasionally with friends, the preference for Swedish in this instance can be explained by aspects of language dominance. Avin was born in Sweden and reports Swedish as the language she feels most confident in (questionnaire and interview). However, the preference of language on this occasion for doing homework could also be linked to the type of activity and its content, as school related work, homework material is commonly produced in the dominant language Swedish (or English). Using the language of school when doing homework is perhaps also not only expected by the school but also preferred by the participants, particularly maybe by participants who consider Swedish to be the language they feel most confident in. However, participants' preferences may also vary between school subjects and certain subjects might be particularly disposed to the use of Swedish while others more easily could include the use of Heritage Languages.

The language diaries also provide examples of how language use can be tied to the dimension of space. In the following excerpt, Faiza, who usually reported speaking Somali when interacting with her mother, provided the following account of a Saturday spent with her mother in town.

> I woke up later in the morning spoke Somali and ate breakfast for about 20 min. My mum and I went to town, we talked to each other on the way to town which took 30 min. We went in and out of different stores and looked at clothes and we spoke mostly Swedish with the staff and with each other. We were in different stores for about 15 min and then thereafter we ate at max[21] and of course we spoke with the staff in Swedish and with each other.
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag vaknade sent på morgonen pratade somaliska och åt frukost i ungefär 20 min. Jag och min mamma åkte in till stan vi pratade med varandra påväg till stan som tog 30 min. Vi gick in i olika butiker tittade på kläder och vi pratade mest svenska med personalen och med varandra. Vi var i olika butiker i ungefär 15 min och sedan därefter åt vi i max och såklart pratade vi med personalen på svenska och med varandra.]* (Faiza, age 13, Grade 7)

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[21] *Max* is the name of a Swedish hamburger restaurant chain.

As demonstrated in this diary entry, while spending time in town Faiza described using Swedish with her mother (as well as with staff in shops and at the hamburger restaurant). Regarding the interaction pattern with her mother, this entry is in contrast with other entries in Faiza's diary which, in total, indicates Somali dominant at home when interacting with her mother. While the activities of shopping and dining likely play a part in this instance, this entry also points to how the role of place might come into play in the underlying dynamics governing language use. The use of Swedish with staff in various settings can be expected but the overall presence – or domination – of Swedish in the linguistic field of the city center, could also form part in influencing linguistic practices in personal interactions.

7.4 Language use with friends and classmates

This section presents the participants' reported language use with friends and classmates. Friends and classmates are central interlocutors in the lives of the participants, yet patterns of interaction may differ between friends and classmates. Those who the participants consider to be their friends are not necessarily the peers they are organized with in a class. While, for some participants, their closest friends are their classmates, others engage more with friends or contacts in other classes, in other schools, in other parts of the city, in other parts of the country or in other countries. Some participants also refer to online friends who they meet only through engagement in online settings. The dynamics of language use with friends may also alter depending on the space or setting in which the linguistic practice is situated and the spaces which the speakers are tied to or associated with. For example, language use with classmates – as the word classmates indicates – is likely, for many, associated with language events typically taking place within the school setting. Therefore, language use with classmates might be different from language use with friends. The space of practice with its norms, values and habitual practices is likely to have an impact on the language use. Thus, language use with classmates might be influenced by the linguistic practices of the school and therefore differ from the language use the participants associate with friends. Language practices may also alter depending on the linguistic background and preferences of a given group of speakers. Following Baker (1992), a distinction was made between friends and classmates. In the analysis of language diaries, distinctions were also made with regards to the places or settings in which the

interactions took place. The following section presents the participants' language use with friends and classmates in different spaces and settings. It begins by describing the overall patterns of language use, then continues with providing examples of fluidity and unpredictability of language use through juxtaposing examples from diary entries and interview transcripts.

7.4.1 Questionnaire responses of language use with friends and classmates

Findings from all three strands of data indicated how Swedish tends to dominate in interaction with friends. In the questionnaire, of the responding participants, 57 percent reported using Swedish when speaking to friends (Table 9). This was followed by 13 percent who reported a mixed use of Swedish and Heritage Language(s). Only 3 percent have reported the use of Heritage Languages and Swedish and very few, only 2 percent, reported using Heritage Languages only when speaking to friends.

Table 9 Distribution Language Use with Friends

Language use when speaking to…	HL(s)	HL(s) /Swe	Swe/HL(s)	Swe	Swe/Eng	HLs/Swe/ Eng*	Eng
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
friends	2(3)	3(7)	13(14)	57(56)	14(13)	6(4)	1(1)

Note. N= 91/90 *HLs/Swe/English in different stated order combinations

The equivalent pattern was reflected also in the responses to question five targeting what languages friends typically use when speaking to the participants, presented in the parentheses in Table 9. The questionnaire results showed a high prevalence of Swedish in language use with friends, which findings from the other strands of data also confirmed. When a combination of languages was reported, it was still dominated by Swedish in interaction with friends. While most combinations of languages in interaction with parents were listed as: Heritage Languages and Swedish, the reverse order, that is, Swedish and Heritage Languages, was repeatedly reported for language use with friends and classmates. The order of languages named in participants' questionnaire responses thus seemed to have significance.

When speaking to classmates the vast majority of participants (72%, N=91) reported using Swedish (Table 10).

Table 10 Distribution Language Use with Classmates

| Language use when speaking to… (%)	HL(s) (%)	HL(s) /Swe (%)	Swe/HL(s) (%)	Swe (%)	Swe/Eng (%)	HLs/Swe/ Eng* (%)	Eng (%)
classmates	3(3)	3(4)	10(9)	72(73)	9(9)	1(0)	1(1)

Note. N=91. The numbers in parentheses represent the corresponding responses of what languages the participants report that classmates use when they speak to the participant.

Much like the language use pattern with friends, 10 percent reported the use of Swedish and Heritage Languages. Only 3 percent responded using Heritage Languages only when speaking to classmates and equally few reported using a combination of Heritage Languages and Swedish. The use of Swedish and English was also present in reported interactions with classmates as 9 percent reported using a combination of Swedish and English. In contrast to the interaction pattern with friends, very few participants reported using any combination involving Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. An almost identical pattern appeared in the responses to question five targeting which language or languages the classmates use when speaking to the participants. The majority (73%) responded that classmates would use Swedish and only 3 percent reported the use of Heritage Languages only. While 9 percent responded the use of a combination of Swedish and Heritage Languages, only 4 percent reported the reverse order, that is, Heritage Languages and Swedish. With identical frequency, 9 percent reported that their classmates use Swedish and English and only one percent reported the use of English only.

7.4.2 Diary accounts of language use with friends and classmates

The language diary entries and the interviews reflected the same overall pattern, yet consideration must be given to the circumstances and particularities of linguistic practices. The language diaries and interviews allowed more room for participants to describe where and when the interactions took place, the type of situation or event and the composition of speakers or interlocutors present. However, when looking at the total 50 language diaries, without taking any of the above considerations into account, the dominance of Swedish in interaction with friends was evident. The number of instances in the diaries that contained references to language use with friends is presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9 Language Use with Friends – Number of Diary Instances
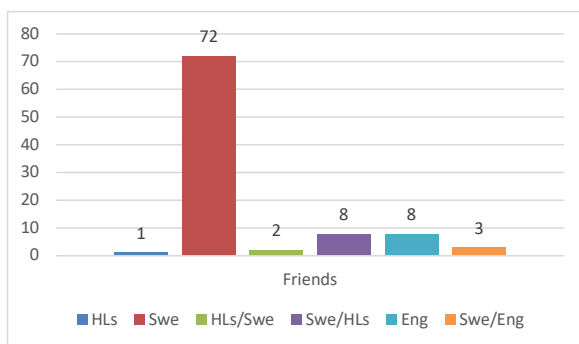
Of the reported instances of language use with friends in the language diary entries, a majority of 72 referred to the use of Swedish. A few instances, (8) referred to the use of Swedish and Heritage Languages and a few others (8) reported instances of using English with friends. The use of English typically involved interactions with friends in different online or digital activities such as gaming or chatting.

The language diaries contained 40 instances of language use with classmates and 38 of these referred to the use of Swedish.

7.4.3 Diary and interview examples of language use with friends and classmates

The language diary entries provided several examples of language use with friends and classmates. The following diary entry excerpt by Viyan included an example of how language use can alter between siblings and friends and between out-of-school and school settings:

> I woke up in the morning and ate breakfast then I went to school with my sister and on the way we spoke Kurdish and then I was inside the school and before we started my friend and I talked to each other and we spoke Swedish then I had lessons.
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag vaknade på morgonen och åt frukost sedan gick jag till skolan med min syster och på vägen pratade vi kurdiska och sen var jag inne i skolan och innan vi började så pratade jag och min kompis med varann och vi pratade svenska sen hade jag lektioner.]*

(Viyan, age 13, Grade 7)

The excerpt by Viyan illustrates the high prevalence of Swedish in interaction with friends but it also indicates language use as tied to place. Viyan described speaking Kurdish on the way to school with her sister and then shifted to Swedish as she entered the school building 'then I was inside the school and before we started my friend and I talked to each other and we spoke Swedish'. While Viyan's use of Swedish with the friend at school may be the result of several dimensions, the excerpt does signify Swedish as the language of school. A linguistic divergence between home and school could be discerned in several diaries. One example was manifested in the diary entry excerpt by Adam who reported: 'I speak Polish at home and Swedish at school.' *[Swedish original: Jag pratar Polska hemma och svenska i skolan.]*. While the linguistic divergence between home and school may be more or less distinct and vary between individuals, Adam's case constitutes an example at the top of the scale. In his diary, Adam repeatedly illustrated a clear-cut linguistic divide between home and school, where Polish was associated with the home and Swedish with school (cf. Moskal & Sime, 2016).

Although a majority of the diaries contained references to the use of Swedish with friends, participants did also report how Heritage Languages sometimes would be present in interactions. An example of this was found in the diary by Lana who wrote: 'Then I spoke on Face Time with my friends in Swedish and a little Kurdish, then I only spoke Kurdish with my family.' *[Swedish original: Sedan så pratade jag Facetime med mina kompisar på svenska och lite kurdiska, därefter pratade jag bara kurdiska med min familj]*. When asked about the use of Face Time during the later interview, Lana describes that the language use tends to depend on the situation and who she is speaking with. Lana: 'but sometimes we usually write in Kurdish and Swedish, it is very mixed. It depends on what the situation is and who I am with.' *[Swedish original: men ibland vi brukar skriva på kurdiska och svenska, det är jätteblandat. Det beror på vad det är för situation och vilka jag är med]* (Interview, Lana).

Another example of how participants interact in mixing patterns with friends was given in the diary entry excerpt by Avin which contained the following description of language use with friends:

> When I was home, I talked to my mother in Kurdish, then my friends and I spoke on Facetime. Sometimes I can speak Kurdish with my friend and then we mix in a lot of Swedish and Kurdish. After that I had training then I always speak Swedish with my team and my coach. Then after training I went home with some friends and then we spoke Swedish all the way home. Finally, I came home and then I spoke Kurdish with my parents and Swedish with my sister.

[Swedish original: När jag var hemma pratade jag med min mamma på kurdiska, sedan pratade jag och mina kompisar på facetime. Ibland kan jag prata kurdiska med min kompis och då blandar vi in jättemycket svenska samt kurdiska. Därefter skulle jag ha träning då pratar jag jämt svenska med mitt lag och min tränare. Sedan efter träningen åkte jag hem med några kompisar och då pratade vi svenska hela vägen hem. Till sist kom jag hem och då pratade jag kurdiska med mina föräldrar och svenska med min syster.]

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

Avin described how interaction with friends sometimes could involve a mix of Swedish and Kurdish. The entry excerpt also contained references to language use with teammates at sports practice where Avin referred exclusively to the use of Swedish. Organized sports activities appeared in several language diaries as an exclusively Swedish speaking domain. Avin also described using Swedish when going back home after the sports practice, 'Then after training I went home with some friends and then we spoke Swedish all the way home'. The entire excerpt illustrates an example of how participants navigate their linguistic repertoires between different situations, interlocutors and domains.

During the interviews, participants also addressed how language use tends to vary depending on the interlocutor and how they perceived a difference between how languages are used in school versus outside school. One of them was Hilal who during the interview gave the following explanation to language use with different interlocutors:

JB: Mm, can it be different depending on who you are talking to?

        [Swedish original: Mm, kan det va olika beroende på vem man pratar med?]

Hilal: 'Yes because if he is all-Swedish then I cannot speak Arabic with him or any other language he doesn't know, then I have to speak Swedish. Then the Swedish can like vary with the Swedish I speak with my friends and the Swedish I speak with an adult, because at school…because then you use a school language and with my friends maybe an everyday language.'

        [Ja för om det nån helsvensk kan jag inte prata med han arabiska eller nåt annat språk som inte han kan då måste jag prata svenska. Då kan typ svenskan variera med svenskan jag pratar med mina vänner och svenskan jag pratar med någon vuxen, för det i skolan för då använder man ett skolspråk och mina vänner kanske ett vardagsspråk.]

JB: In what way do they differ, do you think?

        [Swedish original: På vilket sätt skiljer sig dom, tycker du?]

Hilal: 'It is like more school…like…uhm…it's not you don't say like 'ayo' and stuff like we speak, me and my friends, it's more like "Hello there, how are you today" and stuff like that.'

[Swedish original: Det är mer typ skol…typ…ehm…det är inte man säger inte typ "shoo"[22] och sånt som vi säger jag och mina vänner utan det är mer typ …"Hejsan hur står det till och sånt"]

JB: Ok, so you think it differs in that way?

[Swedish original: Ok, så du tycker det skiljer sig på det sättet?]

Hilal: 'Yes you have to like vary the language like adapt yourself, adapt the language to different people, how they speak.'

[Swedish original: Ja man måste typ variera språket typ anpassa sig anpassa språket till olika människor, hur de talar.]

In this excerpt, Hilal describes how he varies his language use when speaking to his friends and when speaking to adults at school. In doing so, Hilal particularly referred to how he thinks there is a 'school language' in school and an 'everyday language' with friends. When asked about the difference between these two ways of speaking, Hilal exemplified this by illustrating how the everyday language with friends generally tends to contain more use of words associated with 'contemporary urban vernacular'[23], whereas the school language was described as usually characterized by a more traditional Swedish phrasing and politeness in tone. Hilal argued further how language use might vary depending on the interlocutor and expressed how he often adapts the language depending on who he is speaking to and how they speak.

In the interview, several of the participants reflected on how language use tends to vary depending on the interlocutor and showed a high level of awareness of linguistic hierarchies and language use "norms" or "registers" in various situations, both regarding Heritage Language use but also particularly the use of Swedish. One example of this was found in the interview with Avin who stated:

Avin: 'Yes, it depends, like often it depends on who I hang out with. Because like now when you grew up in the suburb it comes like

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[22] Term commonly used as greeting phrase in Swedish contemporary urban vernaculars.
[23] Umbrella term suggested by Rampton (2011, 2015) referring to youth speech styles in multilingual settings, transcending age and ethnicity.

you…say many like you speak 'ortenspråk'[24] like really often with friends and stuff. But when it comes to people, like older people you cannot talk to them like that because it's like really disrespectful, you want, you cannot say 'man what are you doing?' like it's not nice. You should say like this 'ah hey how are you doing how are you?'. For example, when I talk to you now, I don't talk like this with my friends because it's not the same thing cos my friends, you can like see what…they don't care it's your friend. And when you're a teenager, you kind of think like friends are funny and like you want to follow friends, so if they say something, you often hang out with them, you suddenly learn the language they speak.'

[Swedish original: Ja, det beror på asså oftast beror det på vem jag hänger med. För till exempel nu när man är uppvuxen i förorten så kommer det asså man… säger många asså man pratar ortenspråk, så här jätteofta med sina kompisar och sånt. Men när det gäller folk, alltså äldre människor så kan man inte prata så med dom för det är så här jätterespektlöst man vill, man kan inte säga "mannen vad gör du!?" asså det är inte fint. Man ska säga så här "ah hej hur mår du hur är det?". Till exempel när jag pratar med dig nu, jag pratar inte så här med mina kompisar för det är inte samma grej för mina kompisar kan man så här se vad som..dom bryr sig inte det är ens kompis. Och när man är tonåring så tycker man typ så här kompisar är roliga och så här kompisar vill man följa efter så om de säger någonting du hänger ofta med dom så lär man sig helt plötsligt språket som dom pratar.]

JB: Mm, you say it is 'ortenspråk'?

[Swedish original: Mm, du säger att det är ortenspråk?]

Avin: 'Yes'

[Ja]

JB: Mm, could it be called youth language?

[Swedish original: Mm, skulle det kunna vara ungdomsspråk?]

Avin: 'Uhm, it depends like I think it depends on where you're from because   there are a lot of young people in Sweden who don't speak like that, like the way I speak or like many at X-school speak, because there are like, if you're for example going to X (other area

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24   The youth language styles or multilingual urban language practices which traditionally have been associated as the speech styles of immigrant youth in the suburban areas outside the larger Swedish cities. In research, media and by the public, these contemporary urban vernaculars have also been referred to as Suburban Swedish ("ortensvenska"), Suburban slang ("förortsslang") and Rinkeby Swedish ("Rinkebysvenska") (see e.g., Jonsson, 2018; Milani, 2010; Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Stroud, 2004).

in the city) where my cousin lives then there are like really few people who speak like that, at least what I've heard there in the neighborhood where they live. I think it depends because we who are foreigners maybe have more of this like 'Ey yalla let's go' like this 'yalla' and stuff, you see it also from, it comes from Kurdish and like Arabic. Or like 'para' it's also like this slang word and it's from Kurdish or 'bram' like this 'Yalla bram' let's go, that's also in Kurdish so it's like also a lot it depends I think, if you're from Sweden you are more used to the Swedish and you only speak Swedish at home also, so I think it becomes like that, like it depends.

[Swedish original: Ehm, det beror på asså jag tycker det beror på vart man kommer ifrån för det finns många ungdomar i Sverige som inte pratar så, så som kanske jag pratar eller som många i X-skolan pratar för det finns asså om du ska till exempel gå till X där min kusin bor så är det typ så här jättefå människor som pratar så, vad jag hört i det då det område dom bor i. Jag tror det beror på för, för vi som är utländska kanske har mer det hära "Ey yalla, vi drar" asså så här yalla och sånt man ser det också från det kommer själv från kurdiska och arabiska typ. Eller typ "para" det är också så hära slangord och det är från kurdiska eller "bram" så här "Yalla bram" vi drar, det är också på kurdiska så det är också så här mycket det beror på jag tror man är från Sverige man är mer van vid det svenska och man pratar bara svenska hemma också så jag tror det blir så asså det beror på.]

In this interview excerpt, Avin reflected about how her language use with friends tends to be influenced by the contemporary urban vernacular which she associated with the local neighborhood. Avin reasoned that the use of contemporary urban vernacular might be more common among people whom she referred to as 'foreigners', positioning herself by stating: 'we who are foreigners maybe have more of this like 'Ey yalla let's go'. Avin also mentioned how she tends to vary her language depending on who she is speaking to. Like Hilal, Avin too exemplified how the way she speaks Swedish with her friends differs from how she would speak with for example older people. To further exemplify she referred to speaking with me and how that was different from how she would speak with her friends: 'For example, when I talk to you now, I don't talk like this with my friends.' The excerpt illustrates a high awareness of language use norms but for Avin the varying of linguistic practices in relation to interlocutor was also seen as a matter of respect. Yet, even so, Avin's description indicates an awareness of the linguistic hierarchy and recognition of the legitimacy of the dominant language. Avin also reasoned about how language use tends to be shaped by the area where you live and argued that 'there are a lot of young people in Sweden who don't speak like that, like the way I speak or like many at X-school speak'. This statement signifies Avin's

awareness of how her way of speaking is tied to the societal space where she lives. Avin argued further how the language use becomes linguistically influenced by many of the languages present in the linguistically diverse urban area.

Differences between language use *in* and *out* of school were also expressed by other participants. One example was Ali who during the interview described: 'Yeah, so outside I talk in a <u>completely</u> different way. But here I'm talking I dunno...the real like the real...' *[Swedish original: Ah, så jag pratar ute på ett heelt annat sätt. Men här jag pratar jag vet inte…det riktiga så den riktiga…]* (Interview Ali, age 14, Grade 7). When asked to explain what he meant by 'real', Ali responded: 'I mean the real Swedish, not "shoo", "yani" and stuff like that. Here (in school) I'm talking... like... without these words and stuff *[Swedish original: Asså jag menar den riktiga svenska, inte "shoo", "yani"25 och sånt. Här jag pratar… typ…utan dom här orden och sånt]* (Interview Ali, age 14, Grade 7). Ali thus seemed to make a clear division between the language practices inside and outside school. For Ali, language use in school was associated with what he considered 'real' Swedish, which was expressed as diverging from the out-of-school language use described as characterized by contemporary urban vernacular features. The example illustrates an ideological position of linguistic purism (Kroskrity, 2010; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) reflecting the linguistic hegemony where the dominant language practice of institutions is considered the norm, representing a "standard" practice.

7.5 Language use with relatives

Less surprisingly, the participants' reported language use when speaking to relatives seemed to vary depending on who the relative is. The questionnaire drew a distinction between 'cousins/younger relatives', 'grandparents' and 'other older relatives. At first glance, the pattern displayed here can indicate that language use or alteration of languages varies depending on the age of the relative. However, while age might be one impacting factor, other interconnected factors might also impact on the use of languages. While some relatives might reside in other countries, other relatives might live in the same city or attend the same school which might have an impact on language practices. Linguistic backgrounds, migrant trajectories, and number of years in Sweden might also govern language use with both young and older relatives, and so on. Hence, several factors might play a role in how language is used in spoken interactions. Other sources of impact

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[25] Contemporary urban vernacular term of Turkish/Arabic origin meaning e.g., 'you know' or 'like'.

might include the setting, the topic and purpose and the interlocutors present and their linguistic preferences.

7.5.1 Questionnaire responses of language use with relatives

As shown in Table 11, the results indicated how participants vary their language use depending on who they are speaking to.

Table 11 Distribution of Language Use with Relatives

Language use when speaking to…	HL(s)	HL(s) /Swe	Swe/HL(s)	Swe	HLs/Eng	Swe/HLs/Eng*	Eng
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Cousins/yr	36(35)	12(9)	19(20)	20(22)	7(6)	8(7)	0
Grandparents	82(80)	4(5)	6(6)	6(6)	2(2)	0(0)	1(1)
Other older relatives	61(60)	7(7)	7(9)	12(10)	7(4)	3(4)	2(3)

Note. N=cousins/younger relatives (89/88), grandparents (86/85), other older relatives (87/87). Swe/HLs/English in different order combinations. The numbers in parentheses represent the corresponding responses of what languages the participants report that each relative group category use when they speak to the participant.

The participants' responses showed how language use with cousins and younger relatives varied and often involved a combination of languages. While the largest group of participant responses (36%) reported using Heritage Languages, 20 percent responded using Swedish only. This was followed by 19 percent reporting the use of Swedish and Heritage Languages and 12 percent reported Heritage Languages and Swedish. A few participants (8%) reported using various combinations of Swedish, English and Heritage Languages and another 7 percent of the participants reported using Heritage Languages and English with cousins and younger relatives. Compared to the interaction patterns with cousins and younger relatives, the interactions with grandparents appeared less diverse. The vast majority (82%) reported using Heritage Languages only. As noted, responses would fall into most of the other categories too but at much lower frequency. In the matter of interaction with other older relatives (e.g., uncles, aunts etc.), the pattern was slightly different. A majority of participants reported using Heritage Languages (61%) but 12 percent reported using Swedish. Using a combination of languages also appeared slightly more common as compared to the interaction pattern with grandparents.

The responses to the reverse question of what languages different relatives typically use when speaking to the participant, showed corresponding numbers which are presented in the parentheses in Table 11.

7.5.2 Diary examples of language use with relatives

The language diaries also revealed patterns of language use when interacting with relatives. The total 50 diaries contained 28 instances of references to language use with relatives. A majority of these (15 instances) referred to interactions with cousins. Other instances included grandparents, other older relatives and a few participants also referred to 'the relatives'.

One example of language use with relatives was given in the following entry by Avin. This particular entry also gives an illustration of linguistic practices with different interlocutors (parents, relatives, friends) which reflects the overall language use pattern found in the questionnaire results regarding how language use might vary depending on the interlocutor.

> When I had come home, I spoke to my parents in Kurdish then I watched different movies. Later in the evening, we went to my uncle's home. There I spoke Kurdish with everyone except my cousins who are a little younger and know Swedish. When I came home I brushed my teeth while I spoke in Swedish with my friend then I browsed social media until I fell asleep. When you browse social media you can both listen, read and write in Swedish and English.
>
> *[Swedish original: När jag hade kommit hem pratade jag med mina föräldrar på kurdiska sedan kollade jag på olika filmer. Senare under kvällen gick vi hem till min farbror. Där pratade jag kurdiska med alla förutom mina kusiner som är lite yngre och kan svenska. När jag kom hem borstade jag tänderna medans jag pratade på svenska med min kompis sen kollade jag lite på sociala medier tills jag somna. När man kollar på sociala medier kan man både lyssna, läsa och skriva på svenska och engelska.]*

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

As demonstrated in this entry, Avin reported using Kurdish with 'everyone' at her uncle's except with her younger cousins, which in a sense confirms the "age-related" pattern described earlier. Avin's description 'my cousins who are a little younger' does seem to indicate the role of age. However, the statement is also followed by 'and who know Swedish' which points to the language familiarity of the interlocutors as playing a contributing role. Thus, age is likely to be one of several dimensions at play. Avin's reference to the fact that the cousins in question know Swedish, indicates how the role of interlocutor with their preferences and linguistic trajectories form part in governing language use. In total, the diary entry

by Avin illustrates the role of interlocutor as an important dimension of language use. Even though the age of the interlocutors may play a part, one must also consider other potential dynamics at play such as contextual factors and the individuals' personal histories. When interacting with cousins who for example might be Swedish residents and know Swedish, and who perhaps live in the same neighborhood or attend the same school, Swedish is likely to form a great part of the repertoire.

Other times, relatives might live in other countries which can contribute to the way languages are used. In the following excerpt, Alyssa described using English while gaming with a cousin living in Germany:

> When I came home I played on my Nintendo Switch and listened to music in the meantime in English. I played for two hours with my cousin and we spoke English because he is from Germany.
>
> *[Swedish original: När jag kom hem spelade jag på min nintendo switch och jag lyssnade på musik medans på engelska. Jag spelade i 2 timmar med min kusin och vi pratade engelska eftersom han är från Tyskland.]*
>
> (Alyssa, age 13, Grade 7)

This entry provides an example of how the trajectories and the role of place come into play in governing language use. Alyssa explains the use of English by referring to the fact that the cousin resides in Germany. The use of English might be due to the preferences of the cousin for various reasons, or English is the agreed preferred language by both. The use of language might also depend on the activity of gaming, where English might be the expected language of communication. The use of English in this entry can be further explained by the language background information. Alyssa is born in Sweden and has stated Swedish as the language she knows best. Kurdish is stated as "mother tongue" and is used in combination with Swedish in everyday interactions with parents but Alyssa does not participate in mother tongue instruction. Both the questionnaire and the diary data also provide evidence of a relatively high exposure to English in daily out-of-school activities (Questionnaire, language diaries). Thus, Alyssa might be particularly invested in using English when given the possibility. Using English when speaking to young relatives residing in other countries might sometimes be expected but taking other possibly intersecting factors into account can help enrich the analysis and provide a more holistic understanding of the entry and the dynamics at play.

In another language diary entry during the weekend, Alyssa described how the whole family visited another cousin:

> After breakfast my whole family went to my cousin's home. It was great fun there because I had not seen her for almost a month. My cousin and I played and we also watched a movie in English. We all ate dinner and spoke in Kurdish and Swedish. It was very nice.
>
> *[Swedish original: Efter frukosten så gick hela min familj hem till min kusin. Det var väldigt roligt där eftersom jag inte hade sett henne på ungefär en månad. Jag och min kusin spelade och vi kollade även en film på engelska. Vi alla åt middag och pratade på kurdiska och svenska. Det var väldigt trevligt.]*
>
> <div align="right">(Alyssa, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

The diary entry described how languages were used when visiting relatives where a combination of Kurdish languages and Swedish was used in spoken interaction. Since Alyssa described how the 'whole family' visited her cousin, it is likely that both adults and children were present. The phrasing: 'We all ate dinner' also suggests the presence of other people, and it is reasonable to assume them to be of varying ages. The language use described at the dinner table thus reflects the overall pattern of language use found in the questionnaire responses of language use with different relatives.

The use of both Heritage Languages and Swedish with relatives was reflected also in the language diary by Zaya who gave the following description: 'and after that we went to my grandmother's and my cousins' and we spoke Assyrian and a little Swedish there too, then we went home and I spoke Assyrian with my family but also Swedish with my siblings.' *[Swedish original: och efter det åkte vi till min mormor och mina kusiner och där pratade vi Assyriska men lite Svenska också sen åkte vi hem och jag pratade Assyriska med min familj men också svenska med mina syskon.]* Another example was given by Faiza who in one diary entry described meeting her cousin in town after school: 'I came from school, put some music on then went to town where I met up with my cousin, then we ate at X and went home again we spoke Swedish together and Somali.' *[Jag kom från skolan satt på musik sedan åkte in till stan där jag mötte upp min kusin, sedan åt vi X och åkte vi hem igen vi pratade svenska tillsammans och somaliska.]*

Other times, participants referred to other family members and their use of languages when communicating with distant relatives. One example of this was seen in the diary by Isabel: 'My mum called my abuela (grandmother) and they spoke Spanish over the phone while my siblings and I watched TV and ate food.' *[Min mamma ringde min abuela (mormor) och de pratade spanska över telefonen medans jag och mina syskon kollade på tv och åt mat.]*

Interactions with relatives could also occur during special occasions or family events. The language diary by Grace contained a description of language use while attending a wedding:

> At 12:00 I went and got dressed because we were going to X (name of other city). We spoke Swedish, English & Twi. We were going to my godmother's wedding. We were like there all evening and just danced wildly. We ate African food and meanwhile we spoke Twi. I talked Twi/Eng with the relatives and Swedish with my siblings.
>
> *[Swedish original: När klockan slog 12:00 gick jag och tog på mig för att vi skulle till X. Vi talade svenska, engelska & twi. Vi skulle till min gudmors bröllop. Vi var där typ hela kvällen och bara dansade loss. Vi åt afrikansk mat och under tiden snackade vi twi. Jag snackade twi/eng med släkten och svenska med mina syskon.]*

(Grace, age 13, Grade 7)

As seen in the excerpt, Grace referred to the use of multiple languages while attending the wedding. Sometimes Twi appeared to be more present as for example when referring to eating. Grace, who has English and Twi as stated 'mother tongues' (questionnaire & interview), also described using both Heritage Languages while speaking to her relatives but Swedish with her siblings.

7.6 Summarizing notes

This chapter has presented the result of the participants' reported use of languages in interactions with different interlocutors. Integrated findings from all three strands of data, demonstrated how participants' use of Heritage Languages, Swedish and English were used in different interactional practices and situations. Heritage languages seemed to dominate in interactions with parents and relatives whereas Swedish was more common in interactions with siblings, friends, and classmates. However, the findings also pointed to the great diversity in the way languages were used in practice in terms of speech patterns, purposes and underlying dynamics and ideologies.

8. Language Use and Language Exposure in Out-of-School Activities

This chapter presents participants' reported use and encounters with languages in various activities in their everyday lives after school. As in chapter seven, this chapter also reports integrated findings from all three strands of data: questionnaire, language diaries and interviews. Although activities and interactional practices might go hand in hand, in contrast with chapter seven, this chapter focuses on the language use and exposure the participants engage in through various media activities but also other leisure activities taking place outside school. The chapter begins with an introduction to the scale variables of activities used in the questionnaire. Then, the results are presented starting with the questionnaire results, followed by findings from the language diaries and interviews for each type of activity. The questionnaire results introduce the overall patterns to which the diary and interview findings add nuance and depth.

8.1 Language use in out-of-school activities

The questionnaire included a relatively large number of items addressing a range of out-of-school activities and the participants' use of Heritage Languages, Swedish, English, and additional languages when engaging in these activities. To map the young adolescents' use of languages in everyday activities outside school, the questionnaire needed to include a wide variety of different activities. It should be mentioned that, in addition to the items of daily non-organized activities, the questionnaire also included a question which addressed participants' degree of involvement in organized spare time activities such as sports, playing an instrument or other equivalent activities such as acting, singing, and so forth together with an indication of the languages most often used during these activities.

In the language diaries, the participating young adolescents described their everyday language use in various situations and activities before school, and in the

afternoon/evening after school. The language diaries also stretched over a weekend to ensure a greater variety regarding the participant's everyday language use and engagement in spare time activities.

The interviews later allowed for further inquiry into the dynamics of language use in certain activities in the everyday lives of the participants where they could add more information, explain, and discuss issues of language use in more depth.

8.1.1 Questionnaire mapping of out-of-school activities

The questionnaire items of out-of-school activities addressed how often and to what extent the participants used or encountered Heritage Languages, Swedish, English and additional languages when engaging in different out-of-school activities. As mentioned, the questionnaire included a wide range of activities and as expected, some activities proved to be more common than others and thus, frequency of language use varied accordingly. To avoid ceiling effects[26], an estimation was made to distinguish between low and high frequency activities. In the questionnaire, activities which were assumed to be 'high frequency' like listening to music, engaging in social media, and so forth were treated separately using a five-point scale of estimated number of hours per day spent on each activity in different languages. However, the questionnaire started with activities considered less frequent in nature, using a four-point scale to map participants' frequency of use at a daily, weekly, monthly, or hardly ever level. Although exceptions may occur, it was estimated that it would be unlikely for most participants to spend several hours on these activities during the amount of time available before and after school on a regular weekday. As an example, watching numerous full-length movies during either the morning or afternoon/evening hours, on a regular school day, is likely to be rather uncommon. Therefore, the four-point scale used for responses on these variables ranged from 'every day', 'once or twice a week', 'once or twice a month' to 'never or almost never'.

The listed activities included both productive and receptive activities and comprised listening, reading, watching, writing and the activity of recording own videos on social media. Social media use can be difficult to define since video posts could include a range of receptive, productive, multimodal, and aesthetic activities which may or may not include speaking. As such, the information of what type of

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[26] The situation where the majority of participants score at the upper limit of a scale, e.g., respond 'every day' for common activities.

activity "recording video" entails is rather uncertain. However, it is fair to assume that language production is involved in one way or another.

The activities listed in Table 12 were measured using a four-point scale, providing a first general pattern of frequency and use.

Table 12 Out-of-school Activities using the Four-Point Scale

Out-of-School Activities I	
Watching movies	Reading magazines (e.g., sports, comics, fashion, music)
Listening to radio	Reading aloud to someone at home
Listening to audio books	Reading blogs
Listening to someone at home reading aloud	Writing longer texts (e.g., stories or lyrics)
Reading books	Writing a diary or blog
Reading the News	Recording own videos (e.g., YouTube, Snapchat, TikTok)

Note. Scale response categories: 'Every day' – 'Once or a few times a week' – 'Once or a few times a month' – 'Never or almost never'

It could be argued that a few of these activities potentially could be activities participants engage in with a relatively high frequency, as for example the activities which involve reading. However, the pilot-study results confirmed the initial estimation, mentioned above and left no reason to make any modifications.

The 'high frequency activities', included nine activities such as listening to music, engaging in social media, and so forth. A complete list of the nine activities is presented in Table 13.

Table 13 Out-of-School Activities using the Five-Point Scale

Out-of-School Activities II	
Watching videos (e.g., YouTube)	Reading on social media (e.g., Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook)
Listening to music	Writing on social media (e.g., Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook)
Playing computer/video games	Watching Television Series (e.g., Netflix)
Playing online games	Watching Television (Swedish or foreign channels)
Chatting/Speaking with players online	

Note. Scale response categories: ('5 hours or more' – '3 to 5 hours' – '1 to 3 hours – 'Less than 1 hour' – 'No time')

Even though individual deviations could occur, these activities were all considered likely to be present on a daily basis. As noted, a distinction was made between computer/video games and online games. Although these activities do overlap,

the specification of online games served to include participants' gaming activities using a mobile phone but also to provide an indication of participants' potential frequency of online interaction with other players.

8.1.2 Questionnaire results for watching movies

In the questionnaire, the item *watching movies* referred to full length movies and not shorter movie clips or videos which was addressed in another item, presented later in this chapter. Participants' responses on the frequency of watching movies in Heritage Languages were mostly categorised as either, 'Once or a few times a month' (39%) or 'Never or almost never' (35%).

Figure 10 Frequency Distribution of Watching Movies
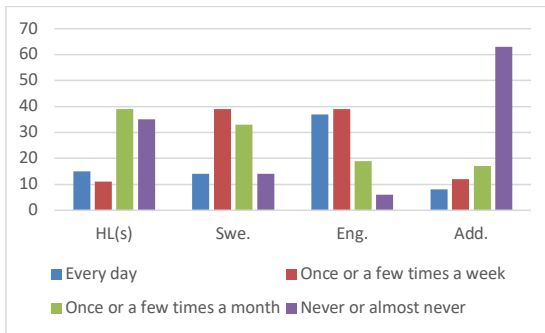
Note. HL(s) (*N*=82), Swe. (*N*=85), Eng. (*N*= 90), Add. (*N*=83)

A few participants reported watching movies in their Heritage Language(s) on a daily or weekly basis (15% and 11%). Watching movies in Swedish was more common and most participants reported doing so on a weekly basis (39%) which is a considerably higher percentage than the result in the same category for watching movies in Heritage Languages. Of the responding participants, 33 percent reported watching movies 'once or a few times a month'. A few participants reported watching movies in Swedish on a daily basis (14%) and an equal percentage (14%) marked the answer 'never or almost never'. As demonstrated in Figure 10, the number of participants responding 'Never or almost never' to watching movies in Swedish was also markedly lower compared to the equivalent response category for watching movies in Heritage Language(s) (Swedish 14%, Heritage Language(s) 35%). The participants' responses to watching movies in English generated a slightly different pattern. In contrast to

the responses for the exposure to movies in Heritage Languages and Swedish, a considerably higher number of participants (37%) reported watching movies in English every day, and 39 percent of the participants reported a frequency of 'Once or a few times a week'. Watching movies in additional languages appeared rare and the vast majority (63%) of responses were found in the category 'never or almost never'. In sum, the pattern indicates how English-speaking movies tend to be the most frequent ones, followed by movies in Swedish. This is not surprising given the high dominance of English-speaking movies in the global movie industry. The relatively high frequency of Swedish speaking movies is also expected since the participants live in Sweden and are more likely to be exposed to the marketing of Swedish produced movies to a greater extent than the promotion of movies featuring their Heritage Languages or any additional language. As noted very few participants reported regularly watching movies featuring any additional language.

Except for animation or movies aimed for a young audience, Sweden does not dub foreign movies or series but instead adds subtitles. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not include questions of subtitles. Thus, the participants' potential use of subtitles must be considered since movies which for example feature English might be subtitled in Swedish or another language. However, as later shown, some language diary accounts featured the use of subtitles.

8.1.3 Language diary accounts of watching movies

The dominance of English when watching movies was also reflected in the language diaries. The language diaries (n=50) contained a total of 67 instances referring to the activity of watching movies. Of these, 27 occurrences referred to watching English–speaking movies. Eight instances referred to watching movies in Heritage Languages and references to watching Swedish speaking movies occurred five times in the material. The remaining 26 occurrences comprised references to the activity of watching movies but without any language specified. Even though English-speaking movies appeared to be the most frequent, the many possible language distributions included in the 26 instances of watching movies without any language specification cannot be ruled out. The distribution of instances did not entirely correspond with the questionnaire results. For example, watching movies in Heritage Languages appeared to be more frequent than watching movies in Swedish. Yet again, this distribution must be seen in relation to the quite large number of instances where no language was specified.

8.1.3.1 Language diary entries and interview examples of watching movies

In one of her diary entries, Avin gave the following description of watching movies: 'Then I watched Netflix and then I watched an English movie. Then I checked on YouTube and then it is usually different sometimes in Swedish and sometimes in English. The same goes when I watch movies.' *[Swedish original: Sedan kollade jag på netflix och då kollade jag på en engelsk film. Därefter kollade jag på youtube och då brukar det vara olika ibland på svenska och ibland på engelska. Samma gäller när jag kollar på film.]* In another entry, Avin reported the following: 'When I was at home, I spoke Kurdish with my family and then I watched an English movie.' *[Swedish original: 'När jag var hemma pratade jag kurdiska med min familj sedan kollade jag på en engelsk film.'].* Watching movies in English was also described by Hilal: 'I did some homework in Swedish. Then I watched a movie in English.' *[Swedish original: 'Jag gjorde några läxor på Svenska. Sen kollade jag på en engelsktalande film.'].* The domination of movies featuring English or Swedish was reflected also in the interviews. During the interview, Hilal mentioned watching movies in his spare time and described: 'Action movies or funny movies ... kids ... I don't know. So, it's usually funny movies action movies like sometimes English-speaking movies or Swedish movies.' *[Swedish original: Actionfilm eller roliga filmer… barn… jag vet inte. Alltså, det brukar vara roliga roliga filmer actionfilmer typ ibland engelsktalande filmer eller svenska filmer.]*

Even if movies in English and Swedish seem to dominate, the following diary excerpts by Indra also illustrate how the exposure to languages through watching movies may alter from time to time as it included examples of both watching movies in English and Arabic. In one of her entries Indra stated: 'I went home after school, ate my food, then I played on my mobile phone and watched an English movie.' *[Swedish original: 'Jag gick hem efter skolan åt min mat efter spelade jag i min mobil och kollade på en engelska film.'].* In a subsequent entry a few days later, Indra reported watching a movie in Arabic, 'while I was eating, I watched a movie that is in Arabic' (Swedish original: *'samtidigt jag åt mat kollade jag på film som är på arabiska'.)* These excerpts thus signify the temporality of the activity of watching movies and how we as consumers of movies in our everyday lives might vary between languages of preference. Watching movies in Heritage Languages was also exemplified by other participants, for example Andres who wrote: 'After dinner I watched a movie in Spanish.' *[Swedish original: Efter maten tittade jag på en film på spanska.]* Another example was found in the diary by Hayat where one of his diary entries included the following: 'we watched movies in Tigrinya' *[Swedish original: vi kollade på film på tigrinska].*

Idil who is born in Denmark and moved to Sweden just a few years before the time of the study, reported watching movies in Danish with her family. 'I hang out with my family and speak Swedish, Danish and Somali. We watched a movie with the family. The language in the movie was Danish.' *[Swedish original: 'Jag umgås med familjen och pratar svenska, danska och somaliska. Vi kollade på film med familjen. Språket på filmen var danska.'].* This excerpt indicates a high prevalence of Danish at home, which is to be expected given the migrant trajectory of being born and raised in Denmark. In addition, the example points to watching movies as a social activity enjoyed together with others and how the company of others thereby may influence the language of the movie. In the interviews, participants also expressed how language encounters through the activity of watching movies might vary between family members at home. One such example was given in the interview with Lana. When asked about whether the languages of movies might vary between family members, Lana took the example of her younger siblings: 'Like…they watch like Swedish kids' movies because they are kids, I might watch like English or Turkish.' *[Swedish original: Typ… dom kollar på svenska så hära barnfilmer för att dom är barn, jag kanske kollar på så hära engelska eller turkiska.]* This example points to how language preferences might vary between family members of different ages.

Another example of how movies were watched together with others include the diary by Asim who in one diary entry described: 'then I watched an English horror movie together with my mum and sister.' *[Swedish original: sedan kollade jag med min mamma och syster på en engelsk skräckfilm].* Thus, sometimes the participants' encounters with languages through movies appear to be governed by the presence of others. However, the analysis also made visible how linguistic practices – like watching movies – might be governed by the interplay of several dimensions. One example of this was reflected in the following diary entry excerpt by Nara:

> Today I woke up and I didn't have my phone because my mum had taken it because she thought I used it too much so I watched my little brother and he was watching a kids' movie in Mongolian so I watched it.
>
> *[Swedish original: Idag så vaknade jag och jag hade inte min mobil för att min mamma hade tagit den för hon tyckte att jag kollade på den för länge så jag passade min lillebror och han kollade på en barnfilm på mongoliska så jag kollade på den.]*
>
> (Nara, age 13, Grade 7)

Nara's contact with the movie in Mongolian, at this particular moment in time, seemed to be governed by the fact that her brother was watching it. However, the

act of joining her brother in watching the movie was seemingly unintentional as she referred to her mother taking her phone away. The excerpt thus illustrates how multiple dimensions might come into play in governing participants' linguistic practices and contacts.

Participants sometimes also included the language of subtitles as in the example by Vanya. 'After I had woken up, my family was home. I greeted everyone in Farsi. They had cooked food, so I ate the food while I watched an English movie with Swedish subtitles.' *[Swedish original: Efter att jag hade vaknat var min familj hemma. Jag hälsade på farsi till alla. De hade lagat mat så jag åt maten medan jag kolla på en engelsk film med undertexter på svenska.].* Sometimes participants referred to watching movies with subtitles in Heritage Languages, as in the case of Aleksander 'Then I watched a movie in English with Polish subtitles.' *[Swedish original: 'Sedan kollade jag på film som var på engelska med polsk undertext.]*

8.1.4 Questionnaire results of watching video clips, television series and live television broadcasts

Besides watching movies, the questionnaire also included three items targeting the participants' contact with languages through other video content. These were, video clips, television series and live television broadcasts. The item *watching video clips*, referred to the activity of watching videos clips on, for example, YouTube or other platforms featuring video clips. Although the concept of video clips typically refers to short clips of video recordings, the construct is also somewhat imprecise as it may include videos of varying length. The duration of video clips might depend on the content and purpose of the video. On YouTube the length of videos can differ between content categories where, as an example, the video length of music content tends to be shorter than the length of videos streaming content such as gaming, film, and animation. In 2018, the average length of video clips on YouTube was 11.7 minutes (Statista.com, 2022). The length of video clips can also vary between, and within, media platforms due to file size policies. However, the term 'video clips' typically refers to videos shorter than a traditional TV-program and in the questionnaire the term was intended to indicate video material of maximum 15 minutes in length. Since video clips might be part of a longer recording, the activity of watching several video clips in a row might easily overlap with the activity of watching a full-length series or live/recorded show (and even movies). Hence, distinguishing video clips from watching television series, shows, or movies can be quite difficult. Nevertheless, in this study the

construct of watching video clips has been treated as referring to shorter clips of video not exceeding 15 minutes.

The item watching Television Series (e.g., on Netflix, etc.) served to map the participants' contact with languages when engaging in watching TV series, using any possible video on demand or streaming service. *Television series* can be described as a set of regularly presented programs which generally are 'released in episodes that follow a narrative and are usually divided into seasons' ("Television show", 2022). Oftentimes, TV series are characterized as fictional entertainment resolving around the same characters, themes or topics.

The item watching Television series was thus intended to be associated with the practice of watching episodes of (primarily) fictional entertainment. While *Watching Television (channels either Swedish or foreign)* might overlap with watching series and vice versa, the item intended to map the participants' exposure to languages via the practice of watching Television broadcasts (for example live stream TV) in, what could be considered, a more traditional sense.

An overview of the frequency distribution of watching video clips, Television series and live Television broadcasts[27] is presented in Table 14. As demonstrated, comparing the time spent on watching videos on for example YouTube or TikTok, watching videos in English and Swedish was noticeably more frequent than watching video clips in Heritage Languages or additional languages.

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[27]   Henceforth, when referring to watching broadcasts on television channels, the acronym TV will be used to indicate this and distinguish it from streamed programs or other video content.

Table 14 Frequency distribution of Watching Video Clips, Television Series, Television Channels

		5 hours or more %	3 to 5 hours %	1 to 3 hours %	Less than 1 hour %	No time %
Watching video clips (e.g., YouTube)	HL(s)	4	4	16	25	52
Watching video clips (e.g., YouTube)	Swe.	4	11	38	27	20
Watching video clips (e.g., YouTube)	Eng.	10	22	41	22	6
Watching video clips (e.g., YouTube)	Add.	2	2	10	14	71
Watching Television Series (e.g., Netflix)	HL(s)	2	2	14	16	66
Watching Television Series (e.g., Netflix)	Sw.	7	8	30	26	29
Watching Television Series (e.g., Netflix)	Eng.	18	19	27	17	19
Watching Television Series (e.g., Netflix)	Add.	4	2	4	7	83
Watching Television (Swe. or foreign channels)	HL(s)	4	4	14	16	62
Watching Television (Swe. or foreign channels)	Sw.	6	10	24	25	35
Watching Television (Swe. or foreign channels)	Eng.	6	8	16	25	45
Watching Television (Swe. or foreign channels)	Add.	-	2	4	-	94

Note. video clips (HLs *N*=84, Swe. *N*=90, Eng. *N*=88 Add. *N*=84), Television Series (HLs *N*=84, Swe. *N*=89, Eng. *N*=89 Add. *N*=84), Television (HLs *N*=85, Swe. *N*=88, Eng. *N*=85 Add. *N*=82)

While 16 percent (*N*=84) reported spending 1 to 3 hours on watching video clips in Heritage Languages, 25 percent estimated spending less than one hour a day watching videos where Heritage Language(s) are used. In contrast, 38 percent (*N*=90) of the participants reported watching video clips in Swedish, spending a considerable amount of time of 1–3 hours a day. Similar to Heritage Languages, 27 percent watched video clips in Swedish daily but estimated spending less than one hour. As for watching video clips in English, 41 percent (*N*=88) responded spending an estimated 1–3 hours a day and 22 percent estimated that they watched video clips in English from 3 to 5 hours a day. English was clearly the language that dominated the activity of watching video clips. While 20 percent reported that they spend 'no time' watching video clips in Swedish, only 6 percent of responses were found in the same category for English. Watching video clips in any additional language proved to be less common and 14 percent reported a daily exposure of less than one hour.

8.1.5 Language diary accounts of watching videos, series and Television

In the language diaries, references to watching videos and series were considerably more frequent than watching TV which reflects the results from the questionnaire. Watching TV proved to be very uncommon and of the 50 language diaries, only ten participants made references to watching TV. The language diaries contained a total of 29 instances referring to watching television of which two referred to watching the News. In contrast, watching series and videos was by far more frequently mentioned. The language diaries contained a total of 63 instances referring to watching series. Of these, twenty-two entries referred to watching series in additional languages, mainly due to the popularity of Korean drama and Japanese anime series. Another thirteen entries referred to watching series in English, six to Heritage Languages and three to series in Swedish. However, nineteen instances were left without any language specified. Watching video clips (or videos) was by far the most common with a total of 98 entries recorded. Of these, 52 instances referred to watching video clips in English, followed by 22 instances referring to video clips in Swedish. Eleven entries referred to watching video clips in Heritage Languages and one diary entry referred to video clips in additional languages. Another eleven entries had no language specified.

8.1.5.1 Language diary entries and interview examples of watching videos, series and Television channels

As for watching videos, the language diaries generally included references to watching videos on YouTube or TikTok. In one of her diary entries, Lisa described watching videos after school: 'I am in my room and watch videos in English. *[Swedish original: Jag är i mitt rum och kollar på videos på engelska.]* The frequency of English was also present in the diary entries by Mateo whose diary accounts reported a daily frequency of watching videos in English, exemplified in the following entry excerpt: 'When I finished, I watched English videos on YouTube for about one hour, then I ate food and the relatives came by. We spoke Albanian.' *[Swedish original: När jag slutade kollade jag på Youtube på engelska videos i ungefär en timma sedan åt jag mat och släkten kom förbi. Vi pratade albanska.].* Even if videos in English appeared to dominate, participants' diaries also contained references to watching videos in Swedish and Heritage Languages as well as additional languages. This was exemplified in another entry by Mateo where he wrote: 'When I came home and had finished the remote classes, I watched YouTube in for example Albanian,

English and Swedish for about one hour.' *[Swedish original: När jag kom hem och var klar med distansundervisningen kollade jag på Youtube på bland annat albanska, engelska och svenska i ungefär en timma.]*

Other examples of watching videos in several languages include the diary by Isabel where one of the diary entries contained the following example: 'I chilled out in my bed for a while and watched TikTok videos in English, some Swedish and some Spanish (1 hour maybe).' *[Swedish original: Jag chillade i min säng för en stund och kollade på TikTok videos på engelska, lite svenska och lite spanska (1 timme kanske).]* In the case of Isabel, she considered English to be her 'mother tongue' yet Spanish (as well as Polish) are also part of her Heritage Languages. Another example of watching videos in Heritage Languages was reported by Andres who wrote: 'At home I ate food and spoke Spanish and Swedish with my siblings, then I did Swedish homework, after I listened to Spanish music and watched Spanish videos'*[Swedish original: Hemma åt jag mat och pratade spanska och svenska med mina syskon sen gjorde jag svenska läxa efter lyssnade spanska musik och tittade på spanska videos]*.

The prevalence of watching videos in Swedish was also exemplified in the following diary entry excerpt by Hilal: 'I watched YouTube for 20 minutes and it was the Swedish language I used.' *[Swedish original: Jag kollade på YouTube i 20 minuter och det var svenska språket jag använde.]* Some participants also reported watching videos in additional languages. One example of additional language exposure was found in the following diary entry by Vanya:

> I went into my room and watched TikTok. The TikToks I sat and watched in my bed were both in Swedish and English, but the majority were in English. I also watched YouTube in Korean with English subtitles.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag gick in till mitt rum och kolla på tiktok. Tiktoksen som jag satt och kolla på i min säng var både på svenska och engelska, men majoriteten var engelska. Jag kollade också på youtube på koreanska med engelska undertexter.]*

<div align="right">(Vanya, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

The account by Vanya exemplifies the use of both English and Swedish when watching videos but also how English video clips tend to dominate. The account also illustrates the exposure to additional languages. In the case of Vanya, Korean constitutes an additional language. Vanya's account also exemplifies how the activity of watching videos might vary between different platforms. For participants, watching videos on TikTok might differ from watching videos on YouTube. In this case, Vanya's account indicates how YouTube is used for streaming series as she later in the diary mentioned regularly watching a Korean

drama series: 'The series was in Korean (k-drama), but with English subtitles.' *[Swedish original: Serien var på koreanska (kdrama), men med engelska undertexter.]*. This case referred to streaming series on YouTube and the example thus overlaps with the category of watching series.

This diary entry from Vanya highlights references to the activity of watching series, mentioned in a number of diaries. The majority of instances referred to watching series in English and Swedish but there were also examples of watching series in Heritage Languages and additional languages. One example of watching series in Heritage Languages was demonstrated in the following diary entry excerpt by Asim: 'I came home, spoke Arabic with my parents watched a series in Arabic, went out with my friend spoke Swedish and added some words in Arabic.' *[Swedish original: Jag kom hem talade arabiska med mina föräldrar kollade på arabiska serier gick ut med min vän talade svenska och la till några ord på arabiska.]*. In one of his diary entries, another participant, Hilal, described: 'Then I watched a 25-minute episode on Disney Plus in Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Därefter kollade jag på ett 25 minuter avsnitt på Disney Plus med språket Svenska.]*. Another entry by Hilal contained the following account: 'When I came home, I rested for an hour, then I watched a series like a 90-minute episode in English.' *[Swedish original: När jag kom hem så vilade jag en time då jag kollade på en serie alltså ett 90 minuter avsnitt på engelska.]*. At first sight, the examples by Asim and Hilal can be seen as quite ordinary manifestations of how participants watch series in different languages. However, with these entries, the two participants also help to signify the value of holistic approaches in analyzing linguistic practices. Both Asim and Hilal use Arabic and Swedish at home, yet while Asim is born in Syria and came to Sweden at the age of 8, Hilal is born and raised in Sweden. These varying language biographies and early life trajectories are important to consider when analyzing the dimensions involved in shaping the linguistic practices the participants engage in. Taking a holistic approach enhanced the analysis of the diary entries by Asim and Hilal as biographical information helped to inform the understanding. It also allowed for an analysis of how habitus, structured by past experiences, can influence linguistic practices.

Similar to the activity of watching movies, the activity of watching series sometimes also appeared to be governed by the dimension tied to the presence of others (cf. the role of interlocutors/agents). This was exemplified in one of the diary entries by Isabel:

> I helped my mum to clean the kitchen while I listened to Spanish music. It took one hour. We watched a Swedish TV-series called Love and Anarchy for 2 hours. Then I went and watched Japanese Anime with English subtitles for 1 ½ hour.
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag hjälpte min mamma att städa köket medans jag lyssnade till spansk musik. Det tog en timme. Vi kollade på en svensk TV-serie som heter kärlek och anarki för 2 timmar. Sedan gick jag och kollade på japanska anime med engelska undertext för 1 ½ timme.]*

(Isabel, age 13, Grade 7)

The diary entry excerpt by Isabel points to how certain series might be more common to watch in the company of others. In this diary entry excerpt, it was indicated that she and her mother watched the Swedish TV-series together and how she subsequently watched the Japanese anime[28] series by herself. Thus, the example illustrates how the role of others can come into play in governing how participants encounter languages in out-of-school activities.

Other examples of the presence of other people were found in the diary by Viyan who in one of her entries described: 'Then it was evening, and we watched a Turkish series, then my cousins went home and then I was tired and slept.' *[Swedish original: Sedan blev det kväll och vi kollade på turkisk serie sen gick mina kusiner hem och sen blev jag trött och sov.]* Similar to the activity of watching movies, this example also illustrates the activity of watching series as a social activity taking place in the company of others. Again, this example signals how the role of others comes into play in governing the linguistic practice also in more receptive activities. As with the results presented for watching movies, the dimension of temporality must also be taken into consideration in relation to series. Series come in many different languages, a strand of investigation beyond the scope of the language diary documents. Evidence indicated that the participants may watch series in many different languages depending on the preferences and interests of those watching. This was apparent in the interview with Lana who stated: 'It depends. Sometimes we watch a Kurdish series, Turkish, Arabic, English, it depends.' *[Swedish original: Det beror på. Ibland kollar vi på kurdisk serie, turkisk, arabisk, engelska, det beror på.]*

As demonstrated in the questionnaire results, some participants reported spending a considerable amount of time watching series in English, with 18 percent reporting 5 hours or more and 19 percent estimating spending 3–5 hours a day. The extent to which watching series appeared to be a high frequency activity

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28   The Japanese term *anime* is an adaptation of the English word 'animation'

was exemplified in the diary by Vanya. In one of her diary entries, Vanya described: 'I then went into my room to watch a new series on Netflix which was shown in English. After I had completed watching five episodes of the series it was as late as three o'clock'.' *[Swedish original: Jag gick sedan in i mitt rum för att kolla på en ny serie på Netflix som spelades upp på engelska. Efter att jag hade kollat klart fem avsnitt av serien var klockan så mycket som tre.]*

The language diaries reflected the low frequency of watching TV, in a traditional format, but 29 participants made references to watching TV. One example was found in the diary by Asim who repeatedly referred to watching TV in Arabic. One of the diary entries included the following account: 'I spoke Arabic with my family and then watched Arabic News and Arabic TV' *[Swedish original: Jag pratade med min familj arabiska sen kollade på arabiska nyheter och arabisk tv]*.

The diary by Michael included numerous references to watching TV, of which most featured TV in Swedish, as exemplified in the following diary entry excerpt: 'This morning I woke up by myself and did not speak to anyone but I watched TV where they spoke in Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Denna morgon vaknade jag själv och pratade inte med någon men jag kollade på tv som pratade språket svenska.]*

8.1.6 Questionnaire results for listening to music

The questionnaire item *listening to music* was part of the nine 'high frequency' activities which used a five-point scale with the response categories: '5 hours or more' – '3 to 5 hours' – '1 to 3 hours – 'Less than 1 hour' – 'No time'. Figure 11 presents an overview of the frequency distribution.

Figure 11 Frequency Distribution of Responses to 'Listening to Music'
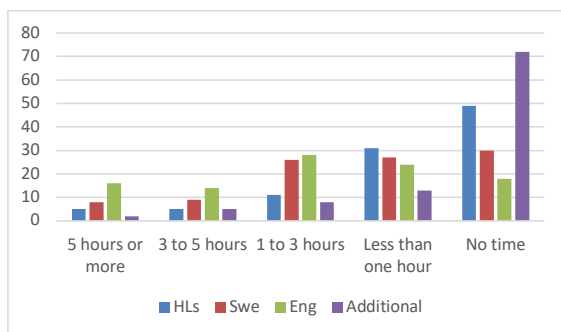
Note. HLs: *N*=84, Swe: *N*=89, Eng: *N*=90, Add: *N*=85

As illustrated, English and Swedish were found to dominate the activity. As for English, of the responding participants (*N*=90), 28 percent reported spending somewhere between one to three hours a day listening to music in English. Another 16 percent estimated that they spent 5 hours or more per day, listening to music in English and 14 percent reported an estimated daily activity of around three to five hours. Of the remainder, 24 percent reported spending less than one hour a day and 18 percent spent no time listening to music in English. While Swedish was slightly less common among the participants reporting the highest frequency, 26 percent (*N*=89) still reported an estimated daily activity of one to three hours, which is very close to the equivalent 28 percent for English. The participants who reported spending less than one hour amounted to 27 percent, slightly higher than for the English responses. Almost twice as many, 30 percent, reported spending no time listening to music in Swedish. When it comes to listening to music in Heritage Languages, 31 percent (*N*=84) reported spending less than one hour a day, and 11 percent estimated a daily activity of one to three hours. A few participants reported spending more than 3 hours (5 hours or more=5%, three to five hours=5%) whereas 49 percent marked their answer in the category 'no time'. However, since the responses were to reflect a typical day out-of-school, one must consider the time spent on other activities. Thus, it is worth considering that in competition with other everyday activities, the time for listening to music might for some participants be short and allocated to brief sessions of listening, for example while going to and from school or to other activities. Considering this, one must not forget that the reported estimations of spending less than one hour listening to music still indicate a daily exposure. For example, even though listening to music in Heritage Languages was less frequent, 31 percent still reported a daily activity. Listening to music in additional languages was less common and 13 percent (*N*=85) reported a daily activity of less than one hour a day. The vast majority responded that they spent no time listening to music in additional languages.

8.1.7 Language diary accounts of listening to music

Listening to music appeared relatively frequently in the language diaries. The fifty language diaries contained a total of 104 instances referring to listening to music. As shown in the figure below, listening to music in English was the most common with a total of 40 instances. Instances of listening to Swedish music amounted to 26 times, followed by 22 instances of listening to music in Heritage Languages.

Only four instances included additional languages, which were: German, Korean and Japanese, and in 12 instances the language was not specified. Language diary instances of languages when listening to music are displayed in Figure 12.

Figure 12 Language Diary Instances of Languages when Listening to Music
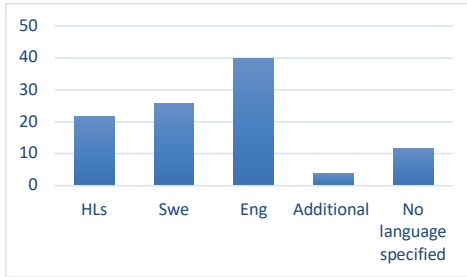
8.1.7.1 Language diary entries and interview examples of listening to music

Less surprisingly, English was the most common language featured when participants referred to listening to music. While some participants exclusively referred to listening to music in English, others reported listening to a combination of English and music in Swedish and/or Heritage Languages. Some participants mostly referred to Swedish music while others mostly reported listening to music in Heritage Languages. The diary by Vanya featured examples which illustrated how listening to music might vary from time to time. Vanya: 'After that I went to the kitchen and cooked food with English music on in my headphones.' *[Swedish original: Efter det gick jag till köket och lagade mat med engelsk musik på i mina hörlurar.]* In another entry, Vanya reported: 'When I was done, I took the bus home. To pass away the time I then listened to music. The music was played in random order which was in both Swedish and English.' *[Swedish original: När jag var klar åkte jag bussen hem. Jag lyssnade då på musik för att fördriva tiden. Musiken spelades i en slumpmässig ordning som var både på svenska och engelska.]* The examples by Vanya point to the variability in the activity of listening to music and how the dimension of time comes into play in the activity as a linguistic practice. Participants also included accounts which demonstrated the influence of both English and Swedish music. The diary by Faiza included one example. In one of the diary entries Faiza described: 'We got in the car and spoke Somali while we listened to music in English on the radio.' *[Swedish original: Vi satt oss i bilen och pratade på somaliska samtidigt som vi lyssnade på musik på engelska i radion.].* In another entry, Faiza wrote: 'went on the bus, since I was alone, I did not speak much and listened to Swedish

hip hop music, then I came home and spoke Swedish with my siblings.' *[Swedish original: gick på bussen, jag pratade inte så mycket eftersom jag var ensam och lyssnade på svensk hiphop musik, sedan kom jag hem och pratade på svenska med mina syskon.].* The examples by Faiza point to the situatedness of the activity and how listening to music can be more or less of a deliberate act. In some situations, it might be incidental, as in the example when listening to the radio in the car.

The language diaries also included other examples which accentuated the situatedness of the activity of listening to music and how the presence of others might come into play in the dimensions influencing the activity. One example of this was found in the diary by Alyssa. Alyssa's diary contained almost daily instances of listening to music and, with two exceptions, the instances referred exclusively to listening to music in English, as in the following example: 'I studied for 1 hour and listened to music in English.' *[Swedish original: Jag pluggade i 1 timme och lyssnade på engelsk musik.]* However, in one entry where Alyssa reported spending time with her cousin, she gave the following account: 'I hung out with my cousin all day and we played games in English and listened to music in English and Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Jag var med min kusin hela dagen och vi spelade spel på engelska och lyssnade på musik på engelska och svenska.]* Considering the fact that Alyssa's frequent references to listening to music almost entirely included music in English only, the example here could be seen as an indication of how the company of her cousin could be one of several governing dimensions. However, a language dairy kept over a longer period of time or observational methods would perhaps reveal instances dominated by other languages as musical preferences also might fluctuate over time. Still, the diary includes yet another example of how the presence of others might constitute a governing dimension: 'When I woke up, I went and had breakfast with my mum and dad. We spoke Kurdish and listened to music in Kurdish.' *[Swedish original: När jag vaknade gick jag och åt frukost med min mamma och pappa. Vi pratade kurdiska och lyssnade på musik på kurdiska.].* This example signals the situatedness of the activity and indicates how the company of others might govern the linguistic practice or activity. The example further serves as an important reminder for regarding the language diary entries as glimpses, tiny glimpses of temporary snapshots into the daily lives of these individuals. It provides a reminder of the importance of not becoming too preoccupied with the most frequently occurring patterns but to more accurately draw attention to situations and occasions which illustrate the dynamics of everyday language use. Initially it may be tempting to regard the language use patterns of these snap shots as stable and thus to overlook the situatedness of these accounts as given in, and

bound to, a specific point in time in the life of this adolescent where dynamic dimensions constantly change and evolve with time and influence. In a way, the diary excerpts by Alyssa helped illustrate the importance of covering a stretch of days or over the weekend, at least covering a week, in order to obtain the divergencies and a nuances of language use. While listening to music might be an activity highly dominated by English and Swedish, Heritage Languages might be more present than participants initially state if not during individual listening but perhaps at social gatherings with family or friends. Alyssa's example signals listening to music as a situated practice, tied to the dimensions of time and place and the presence of others.

Some participants mostly made reference to listening to music in Swedish. One such example was found in the diary by Avin: 'When I was on my way home, I put my headphones on and put on my playlist with Swedish music.' *[Swedish original: När jag var påväg hem så satte jag på mig mina hörlurar och satte på min spellista med svensk musik.]* A similar account was demonstrated in the diary by Jamilah who wrote: 'Took a walk alone for half an hour by myself and listened to music in my air pods in Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Tog en promenad ensam i en halvtimme lyssnade på musik i mina airpods på svenska.]*

Some participants also reported listening to music in Heritage Languages. One example was Andres who frequently referred to listening to music in Spanish: 'I woke up, ate breakfast with my siblings, spoke Spanish and then I took the bus, in the bus I listened to Spanish music.' *[Swedish original: Jag vaknade åt frukost med mina syskon pratade spanska sen åkte jag buss i bussen lyssnade jag på spanska musik.]* Andres was born in Nicaragua and came to Sweden at the age of nine. At the time of the first part of the study, he was thus considered a 'newly arrived student' based on the current definition where a student is considered to be newly arrived until four years after arrival. Spanish appeared to be highly prevalent in the life of Andres which might influence the use of languages in everyday out-of-school activities. This example thus indicates how the early life and social trajectories of participants might contribute to the dynamics of influencing dimensions. The diary by Iman also contained references to listening to music in Heritage Languages: 'I went out with my sister, we listened to music in Arabic, then we came back and watched an Arabic series on YouTube.' *[Swedish original: Jag gick ut med min syster, vi lyssnade på musik på arabiska, därefter kom vi tillbaka och sen jag kollade på youtube på arabiska serie.]* As in the case of Andres, Iman too has a quite recent migrant history as she came to Sweden from Syria in 2015 at the age of nine. Just like Andres, at the time of the early part of this study, Iman was considered a newly arrived student. Both the

questionnaire and the language diary of Iman indicated a high prevalence of Arabic which also was evident in the later interview. When asked whether she ever listened to songs in Arabic, Iman replied: 'Yes, always!' During the interview, Iman also mentioned that she occasionally would listen to English music too, yet when asked about Swedish music she replied: 'No, I don't like Swedish music.' The case of Iman could be seen simply as evidence of varying preferences, yet it might perhaps also indicate the role of language and culture and how linguistic practices might be influenced by participants' sense of cultural attachment which might vary in relation to participants' experiences of migrant and social trajectories. Another example of listening to music in Heritage Languages was present in the diary by Isabel. In one diary entry, Isabel gave the following account: 'I worked on a homework I had while I listened to English 'love songs' (hehe, it's cheesy I know :)) for like 3 hours.' *[Swedish original: jag jobbade på läxa som jag hade medans jag lyssnade på Engelska 'love songs' (hehe, its cheesy i know :)) för typ 3 timmar.]* As mentioned in chapter 7, Isabel has lived most of her life in Ireland and just recently moved to Sweden at the age of eleven. Although English music might dominate due to its position in the global music industry, for Isabel, English – together with the other Heritage Languages in her repertoire– forms part of her self-concept. As described in chapter 7, Isabel considers English her "mother tongue" but uses English, Swedish and Spanish at home and also speaks a little Polish with her father. In the interview Isabel also described her mother's linguistic repertoire, knowing more than five languages. A rich variety of languages appeared to be present also in the activity of listening to music, as described by Isabel during the interview:

JB: And then you have written a lot about that you listen a lot to Spanish and English music…

[Swedish original: Och då har du skrivit mycket om att du lyssnar mycket på spanska och engelsk musik…]

Isabel: Spanish and English music yeah. My mum like she has this awesome taste in music, she like listens to everything like: Arabic, Swedish, Spanish, this Italian, French, I mean everything yeah. But she recommends like… I grew up listening to Spanish songs, like always when she is cooking, like baking she puts on this loud music, like Spanish music. I like that kind of music, it makes me happy because it reminds me of my mum. So, I listen mostly to Spanish and English music, yeah like that. Because like that…that is how I grew up yeah.

[Swedish original: Spanska och engelsk musik ah. Min mamma asså hon har liksom värsta musikssprå..smak. Men hon rekommenderar liksom, jag var uppväxt med att lyssna på spanska låtar liksom alltid när hon kokar, liksom bakar hon sätter på liksom högt musik liksom spansk musik. Jag gillar sån där musik, det gör mig glad för att det påminner mig om min mamma. Så jag lyssnar på mest spansk musik och engelsk musik, ah sådär. För asså det… jag var uppväxt så jao.]

JB: 'But at home, you also hear music in a lot of different languages?'

[Swedish original: Men hemma kan du också höra dä massa olika språk i musiken?]

Isabel: 'Oh yeah yeah yeah, a lot! Like, I hear an awful lot of languages every day, like, I get a little confused almost.'

[Swedish original: Oh ja ja ja skitmycket, asså jag hör fett många språk varje dag, asså jag blir lite förvirrad nästan.]

As demonstrated in this excerpt, Isabel described how she regularly encounters multiple languages at home by listening to her mother playing music in various languages. When reasoning about her own language preferences in music, Isabel referred to how she is used to hearing her mother play Spanish music at home. Thus, indicating how listening to Spanish music formed part of the habituated practices of everyday life. When expressing her preference for Spanish music, Isabel referred to the positive associations it brings. Significantly, Isabel explained: 'I like that kind of music, it makes me happy because it reminds me of my mum'. The statement thus seems to convey a disposition closely tied to early childhood memories, her mother and joyful moments.

Although instances were few, some participants referred to listening to music in additional languages too. One of the examples was found in the diary by Mateo who wrote: 'listened to music in my room in German, Swedish, English and Albanian'. *[Swedish original: lyssnade på musik i mitt rum på tyska, svenska, engelska och albanska.]* For Mateo, who has reported using Albanian and Swedish at home, German is an additional language. Another participant, Milica besides listening to music in English also reported listening to Japanese and Korean music.

8.1.8 Questionnaire results of other listening activities

Neither of the other two listening activities targeted in the questionnaire were found to be particularly frequent in nature. Table 15 presents an overview of the frequency distribution of all three activities: *listening to radio*, *listening to audio books* and *listening to someone reading at home*.

Table 15 Frequency Distribution of Listening Activities

		Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
		%	%	%	%
Listening to radio	HL(s)	5	9	8	78
Listening to radio	Swe.	7	19	24	51
Listening to radio	Eng.	8	12	11	70
Listening to audio books	HL(s)	4	5	9	82
Listening to audio books	Swe.	9	28	18	45
Listening to audio books	Eng.	8	15	7	69
Listening to someone reading at home	HL(s)	8	18	24	51
Listening to someone reading at home	Swe.	4	31	18	47
Listening to someone reading at home	Eng.	5	19	15	61

Note. listening to radio (HLs *N*=87, Swe. *N*=89, Eng. *N*=86), listening to audio books (HLs *N*=85, Swe. *N*=89, Eng. *N*=85), listening to someone reading at home (HLs *N*=85, Swe. *N*=88, Eng. *N*=85*)*

As anticipated, *listening to radio* was found to be less common with most responses found in the category 'Never or almost never', with 78 percent (*N*=87) in Heritage Language(s), 70 percent (*N*=86) in English and 51 percent (*N*=89) in Swedish. Yet, of the responding participants, 24 percent reported listening to the radio in Swedish 'Once or a few times a month' and 19 percent reported doing so 'Once or a few times a week'. While listening to the radio was found to be a less frequent activity in general, Swedish radio clearly dominated and compared to listening to radio in Heritage Language(s) and English, listening to radio in Swedish was almost twice as common.

As shown in Table 15, *listening to audio books* followed a similar pattern in being a less frequent activity among the participating young adolescents. Most responses for listening to audio books in Heritage Languages or English were found in the response category 'Never or almost never' (HL=82%, *N*=85) (Eng. 69 percent, *N*=85). However, 28 percent (*N*=89) reported that they listen to audio books in Swedish 'once or a few times a week', and 18 percent estimated doing so 'once or a few times a month'. The number of participants who responded that they 'never or almost never' listen to audio books in Swedish was relatively high at 45 percent. However, compared to Heritage Languages, English and additional languages, the

number of responses in this category was still considerably fewer. Even though listening to audio books seemed to be a low frequency activity among this group of participants, listening to audio books in Swedish appeared to be considerably more common than listening to audio books in Heritage Languages. Additional languages were not presented in the table since only a handful of participants reported engaging in listening activities featuring an additional language.

Listening to someone reading at home, was also quite uncommon among the participants and most of the responses were found in the category 'never or almost never'. However, compared to the other two activities, listening to radio and audio books, listening to someone reading at home showed a larger range of responses. Even though the majority of 51 percent (*N*=85) responded that they 'never or almost never' listen to someone at home reading aloud in their Heritage Language(s), 24 percent still reported doing so at least once or a few times a month and 18 percent stated a weekly frequency. As for listening to someone at home reading aloud in Swedish (*N*=88), the largest group was found in the category 'never or almost never' (47%) yet 31 percent reported a frequency of 'once or a few times a week', followed by 18 percent who stated, 'once or a few times a month'. Listening to someone reading at home in English (*N*=85) was more uncommon with 61 percent reporting 'never or almost never' and the participants who reported either 'once or a few times a week' or 'once or a few times a month' were both less than twenty percent (19% and 15% respectively).

The low frequency of these listening activities was also reflected in the language diaries. With one exception, where one participant described listening to music on the car radio, language diaries did not include any references to listening to the radio, listening to audio books, or listening to someone reading aloud. Listening to pod casts was not included in the questionnaire and of the fifty diaries, only one participant mentioned listening to pod casts.

8.1.9 Questionnaire results for reading books

In the questionnaire, reading activities amounted to five variables. Information about reading habits was also covered in other parts of the questionnaire, for example the participants' estimated frequency of library visits as well as the most common language(s) in the books usually borrowed when visiting the library. Of the responding participants, 41 percent (*N*=85), reported borrowing books at the public library or school library at least once a week. A majority (59%) of the responding participants (*N*=85) reported that they generally borrow books in

Swedish and another 32 percent reported that they most often borrow books in Swedish and English. The activity of reading books demonstrated a varied distribution of responses. Figure 13 presents the questionnaire results.

Figure 13 Frequency Distribution of Reading Books
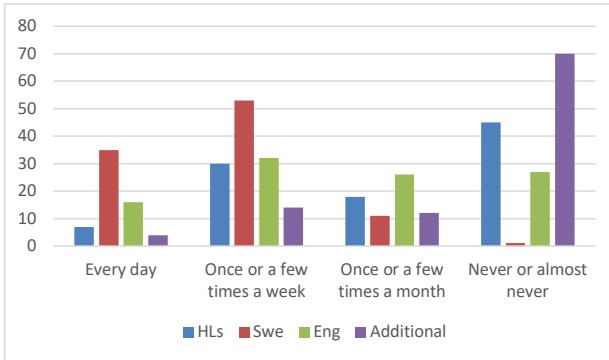
Although the largest group of responses, as to how often the participants read books in Heritage Language(s), were found in the category 'never or almost never' (45 %, *N*=83), 30 percent reported reading books in their Heritage Language(s) 'once or a few times a week'. This was followed by the category 'once or a few times a month' with 18 percent. Of the responding participants, 7 percent reported reading books in Heritage Languages 'every day'. As for reading books in Swedish, the opposite pattern of distribution of responses was found. As shown in the figure, 53 percent (*N*=89) reported reading books in Swedish 'once or a few times a week', followed by 35 percent who reported reading daily. Only 11 percent reported reading books in Swedish 'once or a few times a month'. In contrast to the responses on reading books in Heritage Language(s) the responses in the category 'never or almost never' for reading books in Swedish was close to nothing with only one response. As for reading books in English, 32 percent of responses (*N*=82) were found in the category 'once or a few times a week'. Almost equal numbers of participants responded, 'never or almost never' (27%) or 'once or a few times a month' (26%). Of the responding participants, 16 percent reported reading books in English 'every day'. As seen in Figure 13 reading books in an additional language turned out to be very uncommon and most responses (70%, *N*=81) were found in the category 'never or almost never'.

8.1.10 Language diary accounts of reading books

The language diaries contained a total of 44 instances referring to the activity of reading books. To some extent, the dominance of reading books in Swedish was also notable in the language diaries as 17 instances referred to reading books written in Swedish. However, an equal seventeen instances had no language specified. Nine instances referred to reading books in English and only one instance referred to reading books in Heritage Languages.

8.1.10.1 Language diary entries and interview examples of reading books

The language diaries contained numerous references to reading books. For example, Avin wrote: 'Then I brushed my teeth and read my book which is written in Swedish.' *[Swedish original: Sedan borstade jag tänderna och läste min bok som är skriven på svenska.]* A similar account was found in the diary by Vanya who in one entry wrote: 'When I was done, I went to my room, put on my pyjamas and took a new book to read before I went to sleep. The book was in Swedish.' *[Swedish original: När jag var klar gick jag till mitt rum, tog på mig pyjamas och tog fram en ny bok att läsa innan jag sov. Boken var på svenska.].* During the interview, Hilal was asked about reading books and the languages of the books he typically borrows from the library. Hilal replied: 'Swedish and English, but mostly Swedish books. Sometimes English books so I can get better at English, then I borrow English books, but I mostly borrow Swedish books.' *[Swedish original: Svenska och engelska, men mest svenska böcker. Ibland är det engelska böcker så jag kan bli bättre på engelska då lånar jag engelska böcker men svenska böcker lånar jag mest.]* Hilal confirmed here that English books were borrowed for the purposes of practicing English.

As mentioned above only one instance referred to reading books in Heritage Languages. This was found in the diary by Andres who gave the following account: 'After that I went to my room where I read a Swedish book and a Spanish book and then I watched Spanish videos.' *[Swedish original: Efter gick jag till min rum där jag läste en svenska bok och en spanska bok sen tittade jag på spanska videos.]* In the interview Andres also confirmed that he mostly reads Spanish books. During the interviews when books were discussed when mentioning reading books in Heritage Languages, other participants would refer to it as part of the activities during classes in mother tongue tuition.

A few participants also reported frequently reading books in English. One example was Milica who gave several accounts of reading books in English as in the following diary entry excerpt 'then I continued reading my book in English'

[Swedish original: Sedan fortsatte jag att läsa min bok på engelska]. Throughout the language diary, Milica consistently referred to reading books in English, except for one instance where she referred to reading a book in Swedish. In principle, this is unsurprising since many people both young and old read books in various languages. However, Milica's example can be seen as a valuable reminder of regarding the language diary entries as tiny glimpses or temporary snapshots of the daily lives of these individuals. This evidence suggests that it might be easier than at first anticipated to begin considering the language use patterns of these snap shots as stable patterns. Thus, possibly limiting the significance of the situatedness of these accounts as examples given in and bound to a specific point in time in the life of this adolescent where interactional dynamics are likely to constantly change and evolve with time and influence.

8.1.11 Questionnaire results for other reading activities

The questionnaire also included four other reading activities. These were: *reading the News, reading magazines, reading aloud to someone at home* and *reading blogs*. Reading posts on social media was also part of the questionnaire but is presented in the subsequent section in this chapter. Since reading blogs proved to be a very low frequency activity it is not presented or discussed here.

8.1.11.1 Reading the News

Even though the input of traditional news media in the lives of young adolescents (aged 11–14) could be assumed to be relatively sparse, traditional news media today is easily accessible in mobile phones and news in various languages is also distributed through social media platforms. However, this item did not refer to any type of input of news, but rather particularly addressed the frequency of *reading the News*. As such, this variable is part of the other items addressing receptive input of texts of which reading the News is one, alongside reading books, reading magazines, reading aloud, reading blogs, and reading posts on social media. Table 16 presents an overview of the questionnaire results (see below). As demonstrated in Table 16, reading the News in Heritage Language(s) was not very common and most of the responses were found in the category 'never or almost never' (60%, N=85). However, the frequency of reading the News in Swedish showed a different distribution. With 34 percent (N=89), the largest number of responses were found in the category 'once or a few times a week' and 27 percent reported reading the News in Swedish 'once or a few times a month'. While 21 percent of

the responding participants answered that they 'never or almost never' read news in Swedish, 18 percent reported doing so 'every day'. Reading the News in English was quite uncommon, and most responses were found in the category 'never or almost never' (53%, *N*=85), yet 21 percent reported reading the News in English 'once or a few times a week.' Reading the News in an additional language was very uncommon and 93 percent (*N*=82) marked the answer 'never or almost never'.

Table 16 Frequency Distribution of Reading Activities

		Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
		%	%	%	%
Reading the News	HL(s)	12	13	15	60
Reading the News	Swe.	18	34	27	21
Reading the News	Eng.	11	21	15	53
Reading the News	Add.	1	2	4	93
Reading magazines	HL(s)	5	12	14	70
Reading magazines	Swe.	15	28	22	35
Reading magazines	Eng.	16	13	17	54
Reading magazines	Add.	5	-	2	93
Reading aloud to someone at home	HL(s)	6	29	17	49
Reading aloud to someone at home	Swe.	21	33	19	27
Reading aloud to someone at home	Eng.	9	21	19	51
Reading aloud to someone at home	Add.	1	6	6	87

Note. Reading the News (HLs *N*=85, Swe. *N*=89, Eng. *N*=85, Add. *N*=82), reading magazines (HLs *N*=86, Swe. *N*=89, Eng. *N*=86, Add. *N*=85), reading aloud to someone at home (HLs *N*=84, Swe. *N*=88, Eng. *N*=85, Add. *N*=83).

8.1.11.2 *Reading Magazines*

The item *reading magazines* referred to magazines with various contents such as sports, comics, fashion, music et cetera. As shown in Table 16, reading magazines in Heritage Language(s) was uncommon and most of the responses were found in the category 'never or almost never' (70%, *N*=86). Less than 20 percent reported reading magazines in their Heritage Languages 'once or a few times a month' (14%) or 'once or a few times a week (12%). Reading magazines in Swedish was

more common. Although most participants reported 'never or almost never' (35%, *N*=89), 28 percent reported reading magazines in Swedish 'once or a few times a week', followed by 22 percent responding 'once or a few times a month'. A small group of participants (15%) reported reading magazines in Swedish 'every day'.

8.1.11.3 Reading Aloud to Someone at Home

The responses of language use in the activity of *reading aloud to someone at home* displayed the following pattern. As seen in Table 16, even if reading aloud to someone at home in Heritage Language(s) appeared to be uncommon, 29 percent (*N*=85) of the participants still responded, reading aloud 'once or a few times a week'. A small group of participants 17 percent reported 'once or a few times a month' but still most responses were found in the category 'never or almost never'. As for reading aloud in Swedish, a more evenly distributed pattern emerged. While 33 percent (*N*=88) reported reading aloud to someone at home in Swedish 'once or a few times a week', 27 percent responded 'never or almost never'. Another 21 percent reported reading aloud in Swedish 'every day' and 19 percent reported reading aloud to someone at home in Swedish 'once or a few times a month. The pattern of distribution for reading aloud in English resembled the one for reading aloud in Heritage Language(s) with most of the responses found in the category never or almost never (51%, *N*=85) followed by 21 percent who reported 'once or a few times a week'. Of the responding participants, 19 percent reported reading aloud in English 'once or a few times a month, yet participants who estimated reading aloud in English 'every day' were found to be less than ten percent (9%). As demonstrated, reading aloud in any additional language proved to be very uncommon and 87 percent of responding participants (*N*=83) reported 'never or almost never'.

In the language diaries, reading aloud to someone at home only was mentioned only once by a participant who reported reading to his little brother: 'When I came home, I read a little for X and went to bed.' *[Swedish original: 'När jag kom hem så läste jag lite för X (name of sibling) och la mig.'].*

8.1.12 Questionnaire results for language use on social media

The questionnaire contained several items aimed at mapping the participants' use of social media. An overview of the social media platforms most used is presented in Table 17. As shown, YouTube, Snapchat and Instagram were the social media

platforms used most, followed by WhatsApp and TikTok. Three percent report that they never use social media.

Table 17 Participants' Use of Social Media Platforms

	n
YouTube	81
Snapchat	68
Instagram	60
WhatsApp	53
TikTok	47
Facebook	10
Twitter	9
Others	6
(e.g. Tumblr, Reddit, WeChat, YOLO,Tellonym)	

As for the participants' use of languages when engaging in social media, items measured receptive input from reading on social media and the productive output from writing on social media, by posting or commenting. Using additional language(s) on social media proved to be very uncommon with more than 90 percent responding 'no time' on both items and therefore the frequency distribution displayed here will focus on Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. As seen in Table 18, a large group of the participants 66 percent (*N*=83) reported that they spend no time on an average day reading social media in Heritage Languages.

Table 18 Distribution and Frequency of Using Social Media

		5 hours or more	3 to 5 hours	1 to 3 hours	Less than 1 hour	No time
		%	%	%	%	%
Reading on social media	HL(s)	2	5	10	17	66
Reading on social media	Swe.	8	9	28	33	23
Reading on social media	Eng.	7	7	30	28	29
Writing on social media	HL(s)	2	2	13	17	65
Writing on social media	Swe.	10	16	25	26	23
Writing on social media	Eng.	6	10	16	29	40

Note. reading on social media (HLs *N*=83, Swe. *N*=91, Eng. *N*=87), writing on social media (HLs *N*=82, Swe. *N*=88, Eng. *N*=83).

While very few participants reported spending several hours a day, yet in total, 34 percent still reported doing so daily to a varying extent (seen over the four estimated time response categories). However, reading social media in Swedish and English was considerably more common. A total of 78 percent (*N*=91) of the participants reported that they read social media in Swedish daily, to a varying extent. Of these, 28 percent estimated spending between one to three hours taking part in social media content in Swedish and 33 percent reported spending less than one hour. The use of English followed a similar pattern with a total of 72 percent (*N*=87) who reported that they read social media in English daily. Of these, 30 percent estimated spending around one to three hours a day, and 28 percent reported spending less than one hour.

Regarding the productive use of languages through writing by posting own material or commenting on others', most participants reported spending no time writing in their Heritage Languages. Yet, in total, 34 percent (*N*=82) reported writing in their Heritage Language(s) on social media daily. Of these, very few reported spending several hours a day and the largest group (17%) less than one hour a day. Swedish was found to be far more common and, in total, 77 percent (*N*=88) reported using Swedish when writing on social media to a varying extent. Of these, 25 percent estimated writing in Swedish on social media for between one and three hours a day. While Swedish followed a similar pattern of distributed responses for both reading and writing, as seen in Table 18, English was more frequent in receptive input (reading) but less common in productive use (writing). Of the responding participants, 61 percent (*N*=83) reported using English when writing on social media daily. Of these, the largest group (29%) estimated spending less than one hour a day writing in English on social media. Thus, Swedish was found to be the language most often used when writing on social media.

8.1.13 Language diary accounts of social media

In the language diaries the number of instances referring to social media use (not including YouTube)[29] amounted to twenty-eight. The only social media platforms mentioned were Instagram and Snapchat. Of the 28 instances, 10 referred to using Swedish whereas six instances referred to using English. No instances referred to using Heritage Languages, yet 12 instances had no language specified.

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[29]   Even if YouTube is considered a social media platform it has been excluded as such in the analysis of language diaries as no participants referred to using it in any other sense than for streaming video materials.

8.1.13.1 Language diary entries and interview examples of using social media

As mentioned, many instances of using social media in the language diaries had no language specified. Of the ones that did specify the languages used, Swedish and English were the only languages referred to. While Swedish was common, English was also noted among the participants' entries. For example, Elina stated: 'I checked my phone which is in Swedish and went into social media which usually is in English' *[Swedish original: jag kollade på min mobil som är på svenska jag gick in i sociala medier som oftast är på engelska].* Another example was found in the diary by Alyssa, who wrote: 'I looked at my social media and the postings were in English.' *[Swedish original: Jag kollade mina sociala medier och dem är på engelska.]*

Others referred to using both Swedish and English. In one of her diary entries, Avin wrote: 'Then I went through social media and then I usually always write in Swedish, read in Swedish and listen to stuff in Swedish.' *[Swedish original: gick jag igenom sociala medier och då brukar jag alltid skriva på svenska, läsa på svenska och lyssna på grejer på svenska.].* The language diary as well as the interview (displayed later) revealed a more multifaceted picture. In one of her diary entries, Avin gave the following explanatory account concerning the language use on social media:

> After that I looked at social media and it depends on which app you are in because in some apps you usually write, while on others you read or listen or something. But if I'm writing something I write in Swedish, and it can happen that you mix in some English.
>
> *[Swedish original: Efter det kollade jag på sociala medier och det beror på vilken app man är i för på vissa appar skriver man oftast medans vissa andra läser man eller lyssnar man på något. Men om jag ska skriva något så skriver jag på svenska och det kan hända att man blandar in några engelska ord.]*
>
> (Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

Avin's account here indicated how language use might vary between different social media platforms depending on what she uses it for. As indicated, some social media platforms might involve more typing and others might typically be used for receptive input (reading or listening). Avin here also stated that she usually writes in Swedish but with an occasional mixing of English. In a later interview, Avin developed her reasoning about social media use even further:

> For example, on Snapchat you often write with your friends like you check out people's stories and stuff, then you need to like answer like "oh what did you do yesterday" like that or I don't know whatever. Then you often use Swedish when it comes to Snapchat. But for example, TikTok or Instagram it depends on what posts you look at. Most often on TikTok I usually tag my

cousins who don't live in Sweden and then I have to speak English so they understand because there is no Kurdish alphabet on the phone. And then it's like more difficult to write and find the right words. But sometimes you can also do it in Kurdish like this easy word: "yeah I'm dying laughing" but in, what is it called, Swedish letters. They still get it because they kind of live in Norway.

[Swedish original: Till exempel på Snapchat så skriver man oftast med mina kompisar man så här kollar på folks stories och sånt sen får man typ så här svara "oj vad gjorde ni igår" typ så här eller jag vet inte vad som helst. Då pratar man oftast svenska när det gäller Snapchat. Men till exempel TikTok eller Instagram det beror på vart man kollar på inlägg så hära vilket inlägg man kollar på. Oftast på TikTok brukar jag tagga mina kusiner som inte bor i Sverige och då måste jag prata engelska för att dom ska förstå för att det finns inte alfabets på kurdiska… alfabetet på kurdiska på mobilen. Och sen så är det så här typ svårare o skriva och hitta rätt ord. Men ibland kan man också göra det på kurdiska typ så här lätt ord 'ah jag dör av garv' fast på, vad heter det, svenska bokstäver. Dom fattar fortfarande för dom bor typ i Norge.]

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

As demonstrated in the excerpt, Avin described how Swedish tends to be the language usually used on Snapchat as it often involves writing with friends (here indicating friends from school or other friends present in everyday life). As for the use of TikTok and Instagram, Avin explained that it depends on the posts you are looking at. Through the example of her cousin, Avin's description pointed to how the role of others – as in other people's posts – determines the linguistic practice. Avin's description also indicated how she uses English instead of Kurdish with her cousins as she lacks a Kurdish Sorani[30] alphabet keyboard on her phone. Thus, sometimes the technological set up or availability might direct the language used in digital communication. The issue of not having a Sorani keyboard on the phone was also brought up as the interview moved on to a question regarding the use of social media with relatives in Kurdistan[31]. The excerpt also pointed to the role of linguistic preference and familiarity, as Avin mentioned it sometimes can be difficult to find the right words in Kurdish.

During the interview when later asked to elaborate further on the high prevalence of Swedish and English on social media Avin stated:

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[30] Sorani is a Central Kurdish dialect. In contrast to for example Kurmanji (the northern dialect) which has a Latin-based alphabet, Sorani writing system is Arabic–based (Esmaili & Salavati, 2013).

[31] Kurdistan is here, and in subsequent chapters, used in reference to participants' accounts to describe the geographical region of predominantly Kurdish settlement which includes parts of the nation-states Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Armenia, and Syria. Sweden has official representation in the Kurdistan region but has not officially recognized Kurdistan as an independent nation state.

> JB: 'Uhm, do you think it often is about the fact that you don't have the language [Sorani alphabet] on your phone, or do you think you still would use Swedish or English a lot on social media?'
>
> *[Swedish original: Eh, tror du att det ofta handlar om att man inte har språket i mobilen som gör att, eller blir det ändå att man skulle använda svenska på sociala medier mycket tror du eller engelska?]*
>
> Avin: 'I think you use Swedish a lot on social media because you are in Sweden and like this is a country which is like natural to you. So I think it would be Swedish even if there would be like other….languages [alphabets] on the keyboard or I dunno.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Jag tror att man använder mycket svenska på sociala medier eftersom att man befinner sig i Sverige och så hära det är ett land som är så här vanligt för en. Så jag tror det är svenska även fast det fanns så här andra… språk på tangentbordet eller jag vet inte.]*
>
> JB: 'and because you often use it with friends you already meet here?'
>
> *[Swedish original: och för att man ofta använder det med kompisar man redan träffar här?]*
>
> Avin: 'Yes' *[Ja.]*

The above interview excerpt points to the social and contextual situatedness of the linguistic practice, that is, the social world of its users. As Avin pointed out, the language use is tied to the country in which you are in, and since Sweden is the country where she and her friends live their lives, speaking Swedish tends to be what is most usual among friends.

8.1.14 Questionnaire results of language use when gaming

Three items in the questionnaire address the use of languages when playing digital games. The questionnaire distinguished between computer/video games and online games. The reasons for this were to include games which are mostly accessed and played on mobile phones but also to include the type of games that usually entail live communication and interaction with other players. To target participants' active (or productive) language use in gaming and not only the language exposure they encounter through the language used in the game as such, the questionnaire also included an item of chatting/speaking with other players online. However, it is important to note that all three items may intersect to various degrees depending on the particular game the participants associate with. Games are available on different gaming devices, yet some games can be played on any

possible digital device, whereas others require a computer, or a console attached to a television. Thus, some games may be played using either a computer, a console or a mobile phone and may or may not entail online interaction with other players. The distinction served to cover as many of the possible associations the participants could make without being too game specific and thus, too narrow. An overview of the questionnaire results is presented in Table 19.

As demonstrated in Table 19, playing computer and video games in Heritage Language(s) proved not to be very common. Instead, English and Swedish proved to be the most frequent languages used when playing games. The distribution of responses followed similar patterns for both computer/video games and for online games. Less surprisingly, English dominated and 27 percent (*N*=86) reported spending between one to three hours on both computer/video games where English is used.

Table 19 Distribution and Frequency of Gaming Activities

		5 hours or more	3 to 5 hours	1 to 3 hours	Less than 1 hour	No time
		%	%	%	%	%
Playing computer/video games	HL(s)	2	5	5	7	81
Playing computer/video games	Swe.	4	7	22	23	44
Playing computer/video games	Eng.	14	14	27	21	24
Playing computer/video games	Add.	2	4	5	4	85
Playing online games	HL(s)	2	1	8	11	77
Playing online games	Swe.	8	5	17	26	44
Playing online games	Eng.	11	12	27	21	28
Playing online games	Add.	1	4	6	2	86
Chatting/Speaking to other players	HL(s)	4	6	7	8	75
Chatting/Speaking to other players	Swe.	7	9	24	23	37
Chatting/Speaking to other players	Eng.	5	14	18	19	44
Chatting/Speaking to other players	Add.	1	2	4	1	91

Note. Playing computer video games (HLs *N*=83, Swe. *N*=86, Eng. *N*=86, Add. *N*=80), playing online games (HLs *N*=83, Swe. *N*=87, Eng. *N*=89, Add. *N*=81), Chatting/Speaking to other players (HLs *N*=83, Swe. *N*=87, Eng. *N*=84, Add. *N*=80)

A total of 14 percent reported spending from three to five hours a day and others estimated spending as much as five hours or more on an average day on games in which English is used. Another 21 percent reported playing English speaking

computer/video games daily but estimated their frequency to be less than one hour.

The pattern was similar for online games, where 27 percent (*N*=89) reported spending one to three hours a day on English-speaking games. Another 21 percent also engaged in online games daily albeit for less than one hour a day. Swedish was the second most frequently used language when playing online games with 17 percent (*N*=87) reporting that they spend between one to three hours a day. Another 26 percent reported that they play online games in Swedish for less than one hour a day. The use of Heritage Language(s) appeared to be uncommon although marginally more frequent when playing online games than video/computer games. While a total of 19 percent (*N*=83) used Heritage Language(s) to varying degrees when playing computer/video games, 22 percent (*N*=83) reported using Heritage Language(s) when playing online games. Playing games using additional languages of any kind proved to be very uncommon.

8.1.15 Language diary accounts of gaming

The language diaries contained a total of 67 instances referring to gaming activities. While 20 of these referred to gaming in English, only three instances included references to gaming in Swedish and two instances referred to gaming in Heritage Languages. However, 42 instances had no language specified and therefore the frequency of language use in the activity of gaming represented in the language diaries is uncertain.

8.1.15.1 Language diary entries and interview examples of gaming

In the language diaries, most of the instances where language was specified referred to English in connection with the activity of gaming. That is, either by referring to playing a game which was in English or when reporting using the language while gaming with other players. One example was found in the diary by Tom who made several references to gaming. In one diary entry, Tom reported gaming with friends: 'I was talking to my friends in English while we were playing a game called "Specter / Phasmopabia" until the evening'. *[Swedish original: Jag pratade med mina vänner på engelska medans vi spelade ett spel som heter "Specter/Phasmopabia" tills kvällen].* The account did not provide any clues as to whether the friends met online or in real life. However, the frequency of gaming and the types of similar accounts given in the diary, did give the impression of online gaming encounters. Still, the contrary possibility cannot be ruled out. In a later diary entry, Tom wrote: '…then I played

with my friends and spoke English' *[Swedish original: …sen spelade jag med mina vänner och pratade engelska.].* Judging from the diary, Tom seemed to be a quite frequent gamer who spent a considerable amount of time gaming in English. One example of this was found in the following account by Tom: 'Played all day with my friends, a scary game and wrote in English.' *[Spelade hela dagen med mina vänner ett läskigt spel och skrev på engelska.]* This diary statement revealed more about the communication with friends, thus suggesting online communication as Tom specified writing in English. Other participants explicitly referred to 'internet friends' such as Nara who in one diary entry stated: 'After a while I chatted with my internet friends in English and then I did some homework again.' *[Swedish original: Efter ett tag så chattade jag med mina internetvänner på engelska och sen så gjorde jag lite läxor igen.]*

Very few participants referred to using Heritage Languages while gaming, yet there were a few examples of occurrence. One example was found in the diary entry by Andres, who gave the following account: 'played mobile phone games which are in Spanish' *[Swedish original: spelade mobilspel som är på spanska].* At other times, Heritage Languages occurred in combination with Swedish, as in the example by Mateo who wrote: 'Then I go to my room and play PlayStation where I speak both Albanian and Swedish with my Albanian friend and my cousin and we played for maybe one and a half hours.' *[Swedish original: Därefter går jag till mitt rum och spelar playstation där jag pratar både albanska och svenska med min albanska vän och min kusin och vi spelade i kanske 1 och en halvtimma.]* In this example it is indicated that Mateo and his friend and cousin communicated in a combination of Albanian and Swedish which suggests that the cousin and friend reside in Sweden which in turn might influence the use of Swedish. The role of others in governing language use was visible also in the diary by Alyssa who in one entry reported gaming with her cousin from Germany (this entry was also presented in chapter 7): 'When I came home I played Nintendo Switch and Listened to English music. I played for two hours with my cousin and we spoke English because he is from Germany.' *[Swedish original: När jag kom hem spelade jag på min nintendo switch och jag lyssnade på musik medans på engelska. Jag spelade i 2 timmar med min kusin och vi pratade engelska eftersom han är från Tyskland.].* Other participants also mentioned gaming with cousins. One example was Lana who during the interview described gaming in Kurdish with her cousins:

> Lana: 'Yes. No, so if I play games, I play with my cousins, those who live in Kurdistan. It's the kind of live game you can play on your mobile phone.'

[Swedish original: Ja. Nej alltså om jag spelar spel så spelar jag med mina kusiner, dom som bor i Kurdistan. Det är sån live-spel man kan spela på mobilen.]

JB: Ok, does it involve talking or writing?

[Ok. Är det så att man pratar eller skriver?]

Lana: 'Yes you talk like this or yeah "go and get this thing" or "give it to me" or…'

[Swedish original: Ja man pratar så hära eller ah "gå och hämta den här grejen" eller "ge mig den" eller…]

JB: And then you do it in Sorani?

[Swedish original: Och då gör ni det på Sorani?]

Lana: 'Yes, in Kurdish' *[Swedish original: Ja, på Kurdiska.]*

Lana did not report gaming frequently but mentioned that when she does engage in gaming, she usually plays a live game on her mobile phone with her cousins who live in Kurdistan. When asked about the language practices within the game, Avin described how it typically involves making requests or completing tasks and when doing so the cousins speak Kurdish.

The dynamic use of languages while gaming was also demonstrated in the diary entries by Jalil. In one of his entries, Jalil stated: 'I was at home after school I played computer games with my brothers in Arabic and a little English.' [*Swedish original: Jag va hemma efter skolan jag spela dataspel med mina bröder arabiska och lite engelska.*]. However, some accounts of gaming referred to Arabic only with no other languages stated. In a later entry, Jalil again reported gaming with his friend but then mentioned the use of Swedish and English: 'I played with my friend and I spoke Swedish /English.' *[Swedish original: Jag spela med min vän och jag prata svenska/engelska.]*. While the Swedish word "play" can refer to a number of different activities, the fact that the diary did not contain any references to other activities and that gaming seemed to constitute a major interest, Jalil's example was coded as "gaming". There is a possibility that Jalil forgot to specify the activity and in fact was referring to playing football, playing cards, playing music and so forth. However, given the overall impression of the diary entries of this participant it is reasonable to assume that gaming is the suggested activity.

At times, the type of game also seemed to play a decisive role in the participants' use of languages in combination with the languages of co-players. One example was Ali who during the interview reported using Arabic while gaming. When asked

about the use of Swedish, he replied: 'Uhm, no one plays this game, there are no Swedes playing this game. I only play with my friend sometimes, he knows Swedish and I talk to him, but not all the time.' *[Swedish original: Eh, ingen kör den här spelet det är inga svenskar kör det här spelet. Jag kör bara med min vän ibland, asså han kan svenska och jag pratar med honom, men inte hela tiden].*

Very few participants referred to using Swedish only, while gaming yet one example was found in the diary by Michael who wrote: 'And at his house we played games and spoke Swedish with each other.' *[Swedish original: Och hemma hos honom så spelade vi spel och pratade svenska med varandra.].*

8.2 Summarizing notes

This chapter has presented the young adolescents' reported use and encounters with languages in various out-of-school activities. Integrated findings from all three strands of data (questionnaire, language diaries, interviews) revealed distributional patterns of language use in a wide range of different activities, where certain languages were found to dominate in certain activities. Conclusively, the patterns of language use in different out-of-school activities presented in this chapter, point to a high prevalence of Swedish and English in both productive and receptive activities. Heritage Languages were also shown to be present but were used to a varying degree depending on dimensions such as time and space, presence of others, interests, and preferences. A few participants were also invested in activities in additional languages, particularly when watching series or listening to music.

9. Language Ideologies and Language Investment

Having examined the participants' reported everyday language practices in chapter seven and eight, this chapter presents the young adolescents' ideological positions in relation to languages and investment in language practices in Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. While drawing on information from the whole study, the primary focus here includes questionnaire data and interview accounts. More specifically, the chapter centers on the participants' unique individual perspectives regarding the role and value of languages in education, for acquiring new friendships and for their imagined future including higher education studies, work opportunities and family life. This account begins with a presentation of the questionnaire results followed by findings on participants' dispositions of languages as reflected in the interviews. The chapter then continues with a presentation of statistical analyses investigating the relationship between out-of-school language practices and language ideologies. The chapter ends with some brief concluding notes.

9.1 Mapping ideologies and investment in languages

The participants' ideologies in languages were primarily explored through the questionnaire and the interviews. Although language ideologies occasionally were present in a few diary accounts, the language diaries mainly focused on the participants' reported language use. The participants' investment in languages were explored using all three methods and the language practices reported in diary entries reflect the participants' investment in languages. However, the questionnaire and the interviews were specifically targeted towards addressing ideologies and investment. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the results from the questionnaire and the interviews. The questionnaire included items which specifically aimed to map the participants' ideological positions and investment in languages. Items addressed both what languages the participants would like to

learn well, while also clarifying individual ideological positions concerning Heritage Languages, Swedish and English and their imagined use of these languages in the future. Based on the work by Baker (1992) and Oppenheim (1992), the questionnaire included a set of multidimensional items assessing the participants' language ideologies with regard to Heritage Languages, Swedish and English in various content areas, using a four-point Likert scale to evaluate the level of agreement. It also included two similar items mapping participants' positions concerning the value of these languages for their imagined future studies and work opportunities as adults. The final section of the questionnaire included an open-ended question which addressed the participants' imagined future use of languages as adults.

During the interviews, the participants' ideological positions were revisited through questions related to which languages the participants found most important to learn, what languages they considered most fun learning and their imagined future use of languages. As later shown in this chapter, the interviews examined participants' ideologies and rationales in greater depth and some of the questions highlighted issues of cultural heritage and language maintenance.

9.2 Participants' ideological positions towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English

9.2.1 Questionnaire results of language ideologies

As previously mentioned, the questionnaire included a set of 23 items selected to examine the participants' language ideologies related to Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. The four-point scale included the following levels of agreement: 'agree a lot – agree a little – disagree a little – disagree a lot'. The internal consistency of the scale of 23 items reported a Cronbach's Alpha value of α=.82. The set of items included specific statements which targeted different aspects tied to the dimension of language ideologies. First, the position expressing a *need* or *interest* in receiving more instruction in the language. Second, whether it is *fun* learning the language, positions towards Swedish and English as school subjects and positions towards the lessons in Swedish and English at school. Third, the importance of the language with regard to: a) succeeding in school, b) getting to know new friends c) getting a job, and d) acquiring "good proficiency" in the language. (For specific wording of items see appendix A, or B). This section

presents the distribution of the participants' answers to these statements, some of which paint a strikingly clear pattern.

9.2.1.1 Dispositions towards Heritage Languages

Evidence of participants' ideological positions related to Heritage Languages are presented in this section, drawing on data from the questionnaire, followed by interview data. Of the 23 items, seven items addressed Heritage Languages tied to the different aspects mentioned earlier. An overview of the participants' distribution of responses to these seven items is presented in Table 20.

Table 20 Ideologies of Heritage Languages (frequency distribution)

Items		N	Agree a lot	Agree a little	Disagree a little	Disagree a lot
a	We should have more mother tongue tuition	83	15%	23%	29%	23%
b	It is fun to learn more in my mother tongue(s)	84	34%	28%	21%	9%
c	It is important to have good proficiency in one's mother tongue(s)	86	53%	28%	6%	5%
d	I would like to use my mother tongue(s) more in other subjects in school	82	25%	17%	24%	23%
o	My mother tongue(s) is/are important to succeed at school	86	36%	22%	24%	12%
r	My mother tongue(s) is/are important when getting to know new friends	85	28%	32%	23%	10%
u	My mother tongue(s) is/are important for getting a job	85	28%	23%	27%	14%

For the item addressing the participants' positions towards receiving *more mother tongue tuition*, a small majority of 29 percent reported a slight negative position marking the answer 'disagree a little'. Yet, equal groups of 23 percent respectively reported either a slight positive position towards having more mother tongue tuition ('agree a little') *or* a clear negative position ('disagree a lot'). Of the remainder, 15 percent were strongly positive towards more tuition in mother tongue languages. The topic of this item seems to have divided the participants in opposing views as the result clearly revealed the participants' differing positions.

The result concerning the need or interest in more mother tongue instruction (MTI) must also be interpreted with reference to the fact that participation in mother tongue instruction is non-mandatory and not all participants do participate in MTI. Of the 92 participants in this study, 49 percent (N=45) reported that they did participate in MTI, and 51 percent (N=47) did not. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the mean values for those who did participate in MTI and those who did not. The result of the t-test showed no significant difference in mean values for those participating in MTI (M=19.97, SD=4.33), and those who did not (M=19.23, SD=5.28,), t (90) =.728, p=.47.

Even if participants would like to attend MTI, sometimes a particular language might not be offered at the school or in their municipality. Several other intersecting individual and contextual factors might also influence the participants' differing views. The participants' responses might be influenced by the current organizational set up of MTI and its position in relation to other languages in the Swedish curriculum. The participants' positions might also be affected by the degree to which they use their Heritage Languages in their everyday lives, and some might also feel more or less confident in their Heritage Languages. Aspects tied to personal interest and family language policies might also influence the participants' responses. Later sections in this chapter will provide accounts of how the interviews revealed varying views about receiving more mother tongue tuition in school. This was reflected also in the questionnaire as the item *d*, mapped the participants' notions of using their Heritage Languages in other subjects in school. The result revealed a split picture with opposing views among the participants. When responding to the statement *'I would like to use my mother tongue(s) more in other subjects in school'*, 28 percent (N=82) of the participants agreed a lot, whereas 27 percent marked the answer 'disagree a little' followed by 26 percent who were clearly negative ('disagree a lot') and 20 percent who were slightly positive ('agree a little').

Regarding whether the participants considered it *fun to learn* more in their mother tongue(s), 34 percent were strongly positive ('agree a lot') and 28 percent reported that they were slightly positive ('agree a little'). While 21 percent were slightly negative ('disagree a little'), only 9 percent marked their answer 'disagree a lot'. The statement to this item was worded in general terms to keep it less attached to mother tongue instruction and target participants' overall disposition towards learning more in their Heritage Languages. Yet, there is a possibility that the participants' responses might be influenced by their experiences of participating in

MTI. Nevertheless, the result might still signify their current interest in learning which in turn provides an indication of their level of investment.

Signs of participants' investment in their Heritage Languages were also reflected in their responses to the statement addressing the *importance of having good proficiency* in the Heritage Languages. Most of the participants were generally positive as 53 percent 'agreed a lot' and 28 percent displayed a slightly positive position ('agree a little'). Only a few participants 6 percent ('disagree a little') and 5 percent ('disagree a lot') considered "good proficiency" to be of less importance. However, as shown, the participants were profoundly divided both about having more mother tongue tuition and whether their mother tongue should be used more in other subjects in school. Thus, the participants displayed positive ideological positions as they agreed about the importance of knowing or learning one's 'mother tongues' yet seemed to disagree about the degree of investment in the educational provision that would enable more use of 'mother tongue'–languages at school. The participants' division in views might depend on various dimensions and forces at play. For instance, the split responses might be contingent on what the participants perceive as 'benefits of investment' and to what extent they recognize that their mother tongue languages can serve as 'affordances to their learning' (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 46–47). That is, the extent to which participants perceive their 'mother tongue' languages as capital in different learning contexts. Prevailing dominant ideologies permeating institutional and educational practices determine the value of capital and what is constructed as legitimate knowledge, thus governing what is approved or rejected, privileged, or marginalized (Darvin & Norton, 2015). These ideological structures and normative practices shape habitus and dispositions which might influence the participants' level of investment. The participants' divided viewpoints might also stem from their varying levels of language proficiency in their reported 'mother tongues'. Some participants might feel the need to receive more instruction to increase their language skills, while others might find it superfluous. This in turn might be connected to the participants' diverse life trajectories and the extent to which the languages are used at home. Participants' interest or disinterest in receiving more mother tongue tuition might also relate to the degree to which they wish to develop language skills as a means to maintaining or strengthening connections with relatives and/or the attachment with the heritage culture. As shown later in this chapter, while the participants generally expressed an investment in their Heritage Language, they displayed different rationales and positions about receiving more mother tongue tuition in school. This discussion

is returned to later in this chapter when presenting the participants' interview accounts on this topic.

However, when it comes to the participants' positions as to whether Heritage Languages are *important to succeed at school*, the distribution of responses showed more variance. Most participants expressed positive positions, with 36 percent who 'agreed a lot', followed by 22 percent who 'agreed a little'. Another 24 percent were less convinced of the importance of Heritage Languages for school success and 'disagreed a little' whereas 12 percent clearly disagreed and marked their answer 'disagree a lot'. The result indicates that participants' positions towards whether Heritage Languages are significant or not for school success tend to vary greatly. Likely, participants' inclinations to acknowledge their Heritage Language(s) as a valuable resource, or linguistic capital for educational purposes in education settings might differ depending on numerous interconnected individual and contextual variables. The diversity in the participants' dispositions mirrors the two-sided position of mother tongue instruction: on the one hand, it has status insofar as it is legislated. On the other hand, it has low status because of a variety of implementational choices et cetera. The participants' ideological positions are also influenced by their individual situated life experiences. These could include (but are not limited to) aspects relating to linguistic and cultural backgrounds, parents' socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, family language policies, personal experiences and overall school success together with imagined future possibilities.

A similar result was found for the statement targeting the importance of Heritage Language(s) for future work employment *('getting a job')*. While most participants considered it to be important, (28% 'agree a lot', 23% 'agree a little'), 27 percent were less convinced and marked their answer in the category 'disagree a little' and another 14 percent strongly disagreed ('disagree a lot').

As for the statement of *acquiring new friends*, most participants considered it to be of importance 32 percent ('agree a little') and 28 percent ('agree a lot'), yet 23 percent found it be of less importance ('disagree a little') and 10 percent expressed a clear negative position ('disagree a little').

9.2.1.2 Dispositions towards Swedish

We now turn to the participants' questionnaire responses to the statements for Swedish. The items for Swedish were identical to the statements for Heritage Languages except for two which aimed to map participants' positions towards the language as school subject. This concerned items *g ('The lessons in Swedish are fun')*

and the negatively worded item *h ('Swedish is a boring subject').* An overview of the distribution of responses is presented in Table 21.

Table 21 Ideologies of Swedish (frequency distribution)

Items		N	Agree a lot	Agree a little	Disagree a little	Disagree a lot
f	We should have more Swedish in school	86	28%	24%	25%	16%
e	Swedish is a fun school subject	86	47%	30%	15%	1%
g	The lessons in Swedish are fun	84	36%	27%	24%	4%
h	Swedish is a boring school subject	83	11%	16%	20%	44%
i	It is important to have good proficiency in Swedish	86	73%	21%	-	-
p	Swedish is important to succeed at school	86	87%	6%	-	-
s	Swedish is important when getting to know new friends	84	65%	17%	8%	1%
u	Swedish is important for getting a job	85	78%	13%	1%	-

As noted, a small majority of 28 percent reported a strong positive position towards *having more Swedish in school* and marked the alternative 'agree a lot'. This was followed by opposing views where 25 percent reported a slightly negative position towards receiving more Swedish in school and 24 percent who reported a slightly positive position. Another 16 percent strongly disagreed ('disagree a lot'). The result must be seen in relation to the current number of hours of instruction in Swedish or Swedish as a second language in compulsory school.[32] Even though Swedish and Swedish as a second language, comprise a considerable number of hours of instruction, most participants (28% + 24%) would still like to receive more teaching in Swedish. Yet, 25 percent 'disagreed a little' which could indicate a contentment with the current situation.

The vast majority of the participants found Swedish to be a *fun subject.* As many as 77 percent reported agreement, 47 percent 'agreed a lot' and 30 percent 'agreed

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[32]   Throughout compulsory school (grades 0–9), pupils in Sweden are guaranteed a total of 1490 teaching hours in Swedish or Swedish as a second language. English as school subject comprises a total of 480 teaching hours (Skolverket, 2022a).

a little'. Fifteen percent disagreed a little and only 1% were clearly negative ('disagree a lot') towards Swedish being a fun subject.

As mentioned, the participants' ideological positions towards Swedish as a school subject were measured with two additional items. As for the statement *'The lessons in Swedish are fun'*, 36 percent of the participants strongly agreed ('agree a lot') and 27 percent 'agreed a little'. While 24 percent were more hesitant ('disagree a little') only 4 percent strongly disagreed ('disagree a lot').

The responses to the negatively worded item: *'Swedish is a boring subject'* did not entirely mirror the distribution of responses to its opposite equivalent item ('Swedish is a fun subject'). However, the result fairly closely reflected the participants overall positive positions towards Swedish as a school subject. Of the responding participants, only 11 percent strongly agreed that Swedish is a boring subject followed by 16 percent who marked the answer 'agree a little'. Another 20 percent 'disagreed a little' and as many as 44 percent strongly disagreed. In sum, most participants reported favourable positions towards Swedish as a school subject.

Turning to the four indicators of the importance of Swedish regarding proficiency, school success, making new friends and work employment, the result displayed a clear pattern. Concerning *the importance of having a "good" proficiency* in Swedish, 73 percent of the responding participants 'agreed a lot' and the remainder 21 percent reported a less strongly favourable position 'agree a little'. No participants disagreed with the statement. The result can be seen as reflecting the strong dominance of Swedish in education and society, thus acknowledging the value of Swedish as linguistic capital where "good" proficiency in Swedish might be associated with educational success and a wider range of future opportunities.

For the questionnaire item measuring participants' positions towards *the importance of Swedish to succeed at school* the result was even stronger. Of the responding participants, 87 percent strongly agreed with the statement ('agreed a lot') and 6 percent 'agreed a little'. No participants disagreed with the statement. Since Swedish is the dominant language of instruction in most Swedish schools, this result is not particularly surprising. Considering the dominance of Swedish in education and thus the seemingly indisputable nature of the statement, the outcome is expected.

When it comes to the importance of Swedish at a more personal level, the result was less clear cut. The responses to the statement *'Swedish is important when getting to know new friends'* showed a general favorable position as 67 percent of the responding participants 'agreed a lot' and 17 percent 'agreed a little'. However, 8

percent were less convinced and 'disagreed a little' and 1 percent did not agree at all.

As to whether Swedish is important for future work employment ('*Swedish is important for getting a job'),* a total of 91 percent agreed (78% 'agree a lot' + 13% 'agree a little). Only 1 percent slightly disagreed.

9.2.1.3 Dispositions towards English

Of the 23 listed items, eight targeted the participants' dispositions towards English as school subject and its degree of importance for education, acquiring new friends and future work employment. Table 22 presents an overview of the participants' distributed responses.

Table 22 Ideologies of English (frequency distribution)

Items		N	Agree a lot	Agree a little	Disagree a little	Disagree a lot
f	We should have more English in school	86	44%	29%	20%	1%
e	English is a fun school subject	85	59%	27%	5%	1%
g	The lessons in English are fun	86	58%	26%	10%	-
h	English is a boring school subject	84	4%	4%	24%	59%
i	It is important to have good proficiency in English	82	78%	11%	-	-
p	English is important to succeed at school	86	82%	12%	-	-
s	English is important when getting to know new friends	86	59%	24%	9%	2%
u	English is important for getting a job	85	74%	16%	2%	-

When compared with the results for Heritage Languages and Swedish, regarding participants' positions towards more instruction, English clearly stands out. In their responses to the statement *'We should have more English in school'*, 44 percent of the responding participants 'agreed a lot', followed by 29 percent who 'agreed a little'. Yet, 20 percent were not as enthusiastic towards having more English in school ('disagree a little') and 1 percent 'disagreed a lot'. The result points to an expressed interest in (or need for) having more English in school which in turn can indicate an overall positive disposition towards English among the participants. However, the result must be seen in relation to the number of hours allotted to English in school, but also other influencing factors affecting

participants' responses. In general, English appeared to be a popular subject. To the statement *'English is a fun school subject'*, 59 percent reported a strong positive position ('agree a lot') and 27 percent agreed a little. Only a small percentage was less enthusiastic, 5 percent disagreed a little and 1 percent disagreed a lot. To further map participants' positions towards English as a school subject and English in school, the questionnaire also included the item *'The lessons in English are fun'*. The responses to this item also confirmed participants' generally positive position towards English as a school subject. Of the responding participants, 84 percent reported a favourable position (58% 'agree a lot' + 26% 'agree a little'). Only 10 percent disagreed a little and not one participant strongly disagreed.

The negatively worded item: *'English is a boring school subject'* clearly reflected the participants' overall positive position to English. Compared to the corresponding opposite item ('English is a fun subject') an identical 59 percent strongly disagreed with the statement, followed by 24 percent who slightly disagreed. Only a total of 8 percent agreed that English was a boring school subject (4% 'agree a lot' + 4% 'agree a little').

When it comes to the four items on the importance of English, the result in many ways resembled the distribution for Swedish. As for the statement addressing the importance of *'having "good" proficiency in English'*, a total of 89 percent reported a favourable disposition (78% 'agree a lot' + 11% 'agree a little'). No participants disagreed. The result is close to the distribution of responses for the equivalent item for Swedish. With just a minor difference, the result indicates that the participants seem to consider good proficiency in English to be almost as important as Swedish. Their responses can be seen as indicative of the current status and position of English in Swedish society and in the globalized world at large.

The status of English was further reflected in the distribution of responses to the item addressing whether *'English is important to succeed at school'*. A total of 94 percent reported a favourable position of which most were strongly positive (82% 'agree a lot' and 12 % 'agree a little'). Again, no participants disagreed with the statement. When compared to Swedish, the distribution of responses was almost identical. Thus, the participants' responses indicate that Swedish and English are seen as almost equally important for succeeding at school. In contrast, just over 50 percent of the responding participants (58%), reported a favourable position to the equivalent statement for Heritage Languages.

Similar to the result for Swedish, the participants' positions regarding the importance of *English when getting to know new friends* were more diverse. While a total

of 83 percent reported a positive position (59% 'agree a lot' + 24% 'agree a little'), 9 percent were less convinced, marking their response in the category 'disagree a little' and the remainder 2 percent 'disagreed a lot'. Possibly, the results for the importance of English for making new friendships might be related to aspects such as the level of frequency of playing online internationally, engaging in other international online communities, frequent travel outside Sweden, or other possible forms of contact where English is used. Regarding the importance of English for work employment, *'English is important for getting a job'*, the result to a great extent resembled the distribution of responses for the corresponding item for Swedish. Of the responding participants, a total of 90 percent agreed that English is important for future work employment (74% 'agree a lot' + 16% 'agree a little'). Only 2 percent disagreed with the statement ('disagree a little'). Both Swedish and English seem to be considered important for future work employments. By contrast, only half of the responding participants agreed with the equivalent statement for Heritage Languages.

9.2.2 Interview examples of participants' ideologies

Having presented the questionnaire results of the participants' dispositions towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English, the following section provides examples from the individual interviews. During the interviews, some questions aimed to explore participants' accounts about languages and language use and their investment in (primarily) Heritage Languages, Swedish and English.

9.2.2.1 Interviewees about using more Heritage Languages in school

During the interviews participants were asked about whether they would like to use their Heritage Languages in other school subjects in school. Most of the participants initially expressed a reluctance to do so. Some of the participants' referred to feeling more confident in using Swedish in school-related work. One example of this was found in the interview with Hilal:

JB: 'Would you like to use Arabic in other school subjects as well?'

[Swedish original: Skulle du vilja använda arabiskan även i andra ämnen i skolan?]

Hilal: 'I dunno, I don't think so…I feel more confident with Swedish than Arabic because in Arabic I don't have the same fluency.'

> [*Swedish original: Jag vet inte jag tror inte det… jag känner mig mer säkrare med svenskan än arabiskan för i arabiskan jag har jag har inte typ samma flyt.*]

JB: 'Ok so it's easier to read in…?'

> [*Swedish original: Ok, så det går lättare att läsa på…?*]

Hilal: 'Swedish, yes.' [*Svenska, ja.*]

As shown, Hilal expressed a reluctance towards using Arabic in other school subjects as he found it easier to read in Swedish. Thus, Hilal seemed to consider Swedish to be more beneficial to his learning, indicating a sense of investment in Swedish in educational practices (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Hilal's position might also be linked to how he perceives the roles of Swedish and Arabic in his own linguistic repertoire. Earlier during the interview Hilal had clearly referred to Swedish as, what he called, his "first language" and Arabic as his "mother tongue". This was demonstrated when Hilal was asked about whether he would have preferred completing the language diary in Arabic. Hilal then gave the following explanation:

Hilal: 'No, I'm not that good at Arabic I was still born in Sweden so Swedish is my first language, Arabic is my mother tongue.'

> [*Swedish original: Nej, jag är inte så bra på arabiska jag är ändå född i Sverige så svenska är mitt första språk arabiska är mitt modersmål.*]

JB: So, you would say that Arabic is the language you bring with you from home as a mother tongue?

> [*Swedish original: Så du skulle säga att arabiska är det språk du har med dig hemifrån som ett modersmål?*]

Hilal: 'Yes, but Swedish is what I speak. Since I was born in Sweden, then Swedish is my first language because I can't speak Arabic with everyone here in Sweden. It's mostly … Swedish.'

> [*Swedish original: Ja, men svenska är det jag pratar. Sen jag är född i Sverige, då svenskan är mitt förstaspråk för jag kan inte prata arabiska med alla här i Sverige. Det är mest… svenska.*]

JB: 'Ok, so you feel most confident in…?'

> [*Swedish original: Ok, så du känner dig säkrast på…?*]

Hilal: 'Swedish yes. Most confident in because this is perhaps not Iraq
           or any other country where you speak Arabic and get used to it.
           Here maybe it… with Swedish here you are kind of really used to
           it because in school everywhere you use it, you read, write, then
           you get 100 percent used to it… and know it.'

[Svenska ja. Säkrast på det för det här är inte kanske Irak eller nåt annat land där man
pratar hela tiden arabiska och blir van vid det. Här kanske det…med svenskan här är man
typ <u>jätte</u>van vid det för i skolan överallt använder det man läser skriver då man blir 100
procent van vid det…och kan det.]

In this interview excerpt, Hilal clarified how he considered Swedish to be the
language he feels most confident in. Hilal also explained that he considered
Swedish to be his, so called, "first language", referring both to the fact that he was
born in Sweden and the dominance of Swedish 'then Swedish is my first language
because I can't speak Arabic with everyone here in Sweden. It's mostly … Swedish.'
By referring to competence, the excerpt thus indicates how Hilal positioned his
authenticity and legitimacy as a Swedish speaker. The excerpt can be seen as an
example of how competence not only encompasses the ability to be understood
but equally also the wish to be believed and respected, thus including the 'right to
speech' (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 648; Norton, 2013, p. 150).

Hilal's ideological position regarding the role of Swedish was further explicated
as he referred to the high exposure and daily use of Swedish in school and society
at large: 'you are kind of really used to it because in school, everywhere you use it,
you read, write, then you get 100 percent used to it… and know it.' Hilal seemed
to accentuate his linguistic familiarity and claims to linguistic ownership by
emphasizing how he had gotten '100% used to it' and then additionally added
'…and know it'. The example signifies language practices as constituted by and
constitutive of social conditions, situated in the socio-political and historical
context, in this case Sweden and the domination of the official language. Hilal's
account can also be seen as reflecting an ideological position which lies close to a
view of language use and exposure as multidirectional processes of 'language
socialization' (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) focusing on 'how children are socialized
through the use of language as well as how children are socialized to use language'
(Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 184).

Later in the interview, when returning to the topic of being interested in having
the opportunity to use Arabic more in school, Hilal gave the following account:

I dunno like I don't think so. It is still… We still live in Sweden so why not
use Swedish here. It's still a Swedish school you have to learn Swedish, math

and stuff. You also learn Arabic, but it is maybe once a week so it's good as it is now.

[Swedish original: Jag vet inte asså jag tror inte det. Det är ändå…Vi bor ändå i Sverige så varför inte använda svenska här. Det är ändå en svensk skola man ska lära sig svenska, matte och sånt. Arabiska lär man sig också men det är kanske en gång i veckan så det är bra som det är nu.]

(Hilal, age 13, Grade 7)

Concerning the question of having the possibility to use Arabic more in school, Hilal expressed no such interest. The use of more Heritage Languages in school practices can of course be difficult to depict without any previous experiences or references, which can explain some of the participants' hesitant responses to this question. Hilal did not seem to perceive the benefits of more Arabic and expressed a position acquiescent of current conditions. Hilal's account can also be seen as reflective of the valuing of Swedish as capital in education and society at large where 'institutional patterns and practices (…) structures habitus' (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 47). In other words, the account which clearly includes references to the school as institution, illustrates the power of the education system in reproducing market and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977b). The excerpt thus indicates an ideological disposition of habitus where the dominant language of Swedish is taken for granted in school and thus perceived as expected, reasonable and customary, serving practical purposes. The embrace of Swedish, or complicity with the rules of the game, signifies also how habitus, shaped by ideologies, predisposes dispositions which correspond with prevailing ideologies (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Hilal's answer also seems to reflect an ideological position of the official language as bound up with the nation state and its geographical (or cultural) origin and setting. The account can thus be seen as reflective of a perspective resting on monolingual ideologies which presuppose an imposed recognition of the official language and a 'unified linguistic market' (Bourdieu, 1991). The excerpt indicates a complicity with Swedish as the legitimate language in school which ultimately signifies how the educational system plays a critical role in symbolic domination by shaping dispositions and maintaining established hierarchies of linguistic practices (Bourdieu, 1991; Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Hilal then moved on to express how he felt content with the current position of Arabic in school. However, He also expressed an investment in developing his Arabic and when asked about whether he would like to develop his Arabic, he responded: 'Yes, that's kind of why I go to home language[33] here at school, because

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33 Mother tongue tuition (MTI)

I kind of want to develop my Arabic and so on.' *[Ja det är typ därför jag går på hemspråk här i skolan för jag vill typ utveckla min arabiska och så.].* The excerpt in total illustrates the dynamics of investment as Hilal expressed an investment in both Swedish and Arabic, albeit for diverse purposes and perceived benefits.

Other participants also expressed feelings of content with the current arrangement regarding Arabic in school. One example was Salim who responded: 'Naah, no I think it's enough, I speak quite a lot of Arabic in school… I know the language, I can't write it but I can speak it. I think that's enough for me.' *[Nae nä jag tycker det räcker, jag pratar ganska mycket arabiska i skolan… jag kan språket, jag kan inte skriva det men jag kan prata det. Jag tycker det räcker asså för mig.].* Salim expressed a position of contentment despite acknowledging limitations regarding his writing skills in Arabic. These examples of contentment might also signify how young adolescents' investment can be constrained by hegemonic structures and practices. Another example of expressed contentment with current conditions was given by Avin who initially expressed a similar position to Hilal and Salim regarding the possibility of using Kurdish languages more in school:

> No because I think that like, you learn, you speak it at home and stuff too, so I think it will be too much if you have to have it… but it depends, if you… what grade you go to. I have attended mother tongue since grade zero, and then until now. I think it's good, once a week because you speak it at home too ... a lot with the parents and stuff. So, once a week is enough.
>
> *[Swedish original: Nej för jag tycker att man asså man lär man pratar ju det hemma och sånt också, så jag tror det kommer bli för mycket om du så här ska ha… men det beror på, om du…vilken klass du går i. Jag har gått i modersmål sen nollan, och sen tills nu. Jag tycker det är bra, en gång in veckan för du pratar det hemma också.. mycket med föräldrarna och sånt. Så det räcker med en gång i veckan.]*

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

Similar to Hilal, Avin thus also expressed being content with the current arrangement of having mother tongue tuition once a week. Hilal and Avin's expressed contentment can be seen as an indication of the processes by which ideologies are reproduced by hegemonic consent. In this excerpt, Avin articulated a reluctance to using Kurdish more in school by commenting that it would be 'too much' since it is used at home. However, in the next sentence, Avin argued that it could depend on the grade you are in. By taking herself as an example, Avin seemed to indicate that the need for more Heritage Languages in school might depend on one's age and degree of language contact and confidence. Yet, later

during the interview as we returned to the topic, Avin elaborated further and then strongly emphasized the importance of knowing one's "mother tongue(s)":

JB: Do you think that there should be more mother tongue in school, more opportunity to use your mother tongue?

[Swedish original: Tycker du att man borde ha mer modersmål i skolan, mer möjlighet att få använda sitt modersmål?]

Avin: 'I think it depends on the person. So, if you have, if for example, because I think if you come from a country, and you don't know your language then it's a real pity. You really should know your language that you come from. Like, if I was a Kurd and didn't know my language then I would not have felt like a Kurd. Because everyone has different prejudices and my prejudice is that… if you do not come from a place, like if you don't know your language, for example, it doesn't feel as if you are Kurdish, in my opinion. I would never have felt like a Kurd if I didn't know my language. Then here in Sweden I am Swedish because I don't even know my language. But it's because there are different feelings that can make one feel like this "yeah like I'm Kurdish" and then these different cultures, different traditions, it depends on the person, the country you come from (…) If you don't know your language, then it is a great pity and if you don't know it, I think you should have it several times a week, to learn it. To be able to communicate with cousins, relatives, family, yeah. And I also think that as a parent you should take the initiative when you have children that they should learn their own language.'

[Swedish original: Jag tycker det beror på person. Asså om du har, om till exempel, för jag tycker om du kommer från ett land och du inte kan ditt språk så är det jättesynd. Man ska verkligen kunna sitt språk som man kommer ifrån. Asså hade jag varit kurd och inte kunnat mitt språk så jag hade inte känt mig som en kurd då. För alla har olika fördomar och min fördom är asså… om man inte kommer från ett ställe, asså om man inte till exempel kan sitt språk så känns det inte som att man är kurd, enligt mig. Jag hade aldrig känt mig som en kurd om jag inte kunde mitt språk. Då här i Sverige jag är svensk, för jag kan inte ens mitt språk. Men det beror på för att det finns så här olika känslor som kan få en så här känna 'ah asså jag är kurd' och sen så här olika kulturer, olika traditioner, asså det gäller från person, landet man kommer ifrån. (…) Om man inte kan sitt språk, så är det så här jättesynd och om man inte kan det så tycker jag att man ska borde ha det flera gånger i veckan, för att lära sig det. För att kunna kommunicera med sina kusiner, släktingar, familj, ah. Och jag tycker också att som förälder man ska ta det som initiativ först när man får barn det här ska lära sig sitt egna språk.]

Here Avin strongly advocated for the importance of knowing one's 'mother tongue' languages by discussing the role of language for one's sense of belonging and cultural affiliation. In this account, Kurdish seemed to be attributed significance by representing the cultural origin. Maintaining Kurdish was thus seen as important for retaining a connectedness with the cultural heritage of past generations. In Avin's view, knowing Kurdish was seen as essential for cultural self-identification and sense of belonging. Avin thus demonstrated a strong investment in Kurdish, recognizing Kurdish as significant for her identity positioning as Kurd and in legitimizing a 'rightful place' as a member of the cultural community (Darvin & Norton, 2015). The account in a way shows how Kurdish is seen as a symbol of cultural recognition. As Avin pointed out: 'I would never have felt like a Kurd if I didn't know my language.' Avin then continued by pointing out how an imagined loss of not knowing Kurdish would confirm her as only being Swedish: 'Then here in Sweden I am Swedish, because I don't even know my language.'[34] The statement thus indicates an ideological position where language is seen as essential for belonging and cultural affiliation. From Avin's point of view, not knowing Kurdish would be equal to a lost attachment with the heritage culture. The statement also indicates how Avin appears to be navigating between competing ideologies, hybrid cultural affiliations and identity representations. Issues of identities, place and belonging will be returned to and more deeply explored in chapter 10. While the notion of language as essential in representing cultural belonging might be commonplace, the excerpt by Avin should also be seen in relation to the particular identifications and politics of belonging in the Kurdish diaspora (see Eliassi, 2010; Khayati & Dahlstedt, 2014) and the often-strong orientation towards the homeland (Brubaker, 2005). At the end of the excerpt, Avin then went on to strongly advocate the importance of receiving mother tongue instruction. In her previous account Avin had indicated that the need for mother tongue instruction could depend on one's age and proficiency, yet here, Avin stressed the importance for students who do not know their 'mother tongue' languages to receive it several times a week. Thus, Avin seemed to indicate that the extent of mother tongue tuition could vary in accordance with the needs of the students.

Other participants also strongly advocated the importance of mother tongue instruction. One example was Grace who also argued for the importance of being able to learn and practice your 'mother tongue' languages more in school. Yet,

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[34] Referring to Kurdish

Grace, had a slightly different perspective stemming from her own experiences. Grace reported Twi[35]/English as her mother tongues and reports using both languages together with Swedish in everyday interactions at home (questionnaire, language diaries, interview). However, due to a lack of teachers in Twi, Grace had been declined access to mother tongue instruction in Twi and instead participates in MTI in English. During the interview, Grace was asked whether she thought students should be able to use their 'mother tongue' languages more in school. Grace replied:

> Yes, I actually think so. I think they should employ, like there is no mother tongue (tuition) in other (languages) so it's not everyone who gets mother tongue (tuition). Like, I get English because of this, and I actually think they should kind of find someone who knows it because we should still deserve to what is it called… attain it.

> *[Swedish original: Ja det tycker jag faktiskt. Jag tycker dom borde anställa typ asså det är inget modersmål i andra så de är inte typ alla som får modersmål. Typ jag får ju engelska på grund av det här och jag tycker faktiskt de borde typ leta upp någon som kan för vi ska ju ändå förtjäna att vad heter det…klara det.]*

(Grace, age 13, Grade 7)

In this excerpt, Grace clearly expressed her disappointment with not receiving mother tongue tuition in Twi and argued that schools should put more effort into finding a teacher. The excerpt shows an example of resistance as Grace expressed dissent with the structures which constrain her opportunities for receiving the educational provisions for investing in Twi. After a short disruption, the interview continued, and Grace was asked to elaborate her response:

JB: Do you just want to develop a little bit on exactly what you just said? You said that you would like the school to employ more people who could speak the students' mother tongues…

        [Swedish original: Vill du bara utveckla lite precis det du sa nu? Du sa att du skulle vilja att skolan anställde fler som kunde prata elevernas modersmål…]

Grace: Yes because, like we also deserve to kind of learn our language. Not that our parents shouldn't teach us, but they have still taught us the basics, I think someone should continue to teach us so that then our parents could be impressed and such things, because others get mother tongue tuition, which is not wrong, but like

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[35]   Twi is an individual language and dialect of the Akan language, primarily spoken in southern and central Ghana. With around 17–18 million speakers, an estimated 80% of the population in Ghana speaks Twi as a first or second language ("Twi", 2022)

everyone should be allowed to talk and learn their mother tongue(s) here in school.

[Swedish original: Ja för att asså vi förtjänar också att typ lära oss vårt språk asså. Inte att inte våra föräldrar ska lära oss men dom har ändå lärt oss grunden jag tycker någon ska ändå typ fortsätta lära oss så att sen våra föräldrar blir imponerade och såna saker för andra får modersmål, vilket är inget fel, men asså alla borde få snacka asså få lära sig sitt modersmål här i skolan.]

JB: Why do you think it is important?

[Swedish original: Varför är det viktigt tycker du?]

Grace: I actually think it's important because I'll probably use my language more in life and I'll probably want to teach my children and so on and so forth, like I just think it's important that everyone knows their mother tongue.

[Swedish original: Jag tycker faktiskt det är viktigt för jag kommer använda mitt språk säkert mer i livet och jag kommer säkert vilja lära mina barn och så och ja asså jag tycker bara det är viktigt att alla kan sitt modersmål.]

As Grace developed her response, she discussed the importance of receiving mother tongue tuition in terms of equality, as she expressed: 'we also deserve to kind of learn our language'. Grace's response can be seen as an act of resistance to how conditions and power structures can position learners in unequal ways (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Grace continued by saying that even though parents initially teach the foundations, formal education should still provide a teacher who could continue the teaching. Thereby, Grace also seemed to refer to how development in 'mother tongue' languages should be an educational concern which in return could allow students to impress their parents, something she herself had been denied. For Grace, the importance of mother tongue tuition in school seemed to be a matter of recognition and equality. When asked about why instruction in 'mother tongue' languages is important, Grace plainly referred to the likelihood that she will use it in the future and how she would like to pass it on to her future children. Once again, the statement signalled issues of linguistic equality, as she affirmed: 'I just think it's important that everyone knows their mother tongue'.

Another participant Vanya also stressed the importance of MTI in school by referring to it being crucial to spend time learning while still young:

JB: Do you think that everyone should have the opportunity to
           receive more mother tongue instruction in school?

           [Tycker du att alla borde ha möjlighet till mer modersmålsundervisning i skolan?]

Vanya: 'Yes, I think so. If you don't know the language you have, you
           know if you don't learn it like, when you're younger, that is when
           you have time, you work for it, when you get older you will not
           be able to learn the language if you don't have the commitment
           and time for it, that's why.'

           [Swedish original: Ja det tycker jag för om man till exempel inte kan det språket
           som man har, kan man om man inte lär sig asså när man är yngre, det är då man
           har tid man har jobb till det och sen när man blir äldre man kommer inte kunna
           lära sig språket om man inte har engagemang och tid för det, det är därför.]

9.2.2.2 Interviewees about the languages most important to learn

To further examine the participants' ideologies and investment in languages, the
interview included questions which reflected some of the statements listed in the
questionnaire. More specifically, the interview included questions about what
languages the interviewed participants considered to be the most important to
learn, their imagined future use of the languages and, what languages they found
most fun learning. The findings revealed an almost unanimous recognition
regarding the imagined importance of learning English. Almost all interviewed
participants, considered English to be the most important language to learn,
followed by Swedish and/or Heritage Languages. While participants also
expressed the importance of learning Heritage Languages and Swedish, those
accounts occasionally revealed more complex and ambivalent positions.

When asked about what languages he considered to be important to learn Hilal
gave the following account:

> So, in general, it's important to learn English, Swedish, these two. Like,
> Swedish helps with jobs and stuff, so you get a wider vocabulary and can
> speak well here in Sweden, Swedish. And English helps you more in the
> world, like with other countries if you don't understand so you can
> communicate with them.
>
> *[Swedish original: Asså överhuvudtaget är det ju viktigt att lära sig engelska svenska de två. Asså svenskan*
> *hjälper ju jobb och sånt, så man får bredare ordförråd och så kan tala bra här i Sverige, svenska. Och*
> *engelskan hjälper ju mer världsligt asså med andra länder om man inte förstår så kan man kommunicera*
> *med dem.]*

                                                          (Hilal, age 13, Grade 7)

Hilal's earlier position towards Swedish was reflected also in this excerpt as Swedish was stated as significant for future work opportunities. As for several of the interviewed participants, Hilal also considered English to be important by referring to its global use. As noted, only Swedish and English were stated in Hilal's account of what languages he considered important to learn. Arabic was not mentioned. When then asked about the role of Arabic, Hilal replied:

> My mother tongue, it's more like, I learn it yes, it's good so that I develop all the time, so I'm not on the same level so that I can talk to my relatives in Iraq like with wider Arabic vocabulary.
>
> *[Swedish original: Modersmål min, det är mer, asså att jag lär mig det ja det är bra så att jag utvecklas hela tiden, att jag inte ligger på samma nivå så att jag kan ta tala med mina släktingar i Irak typ med bredare arabiska ordförråd.]*

<div align="right">(Hilal, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

Even though Arabic was initially left out of Hilal's account of the languages important to learn, this excerpt by Hilal points to his investment in Arabic and the importance of continuous maintenance and development. For Hilal, Arabic appeared to be primarily associated with family and relatives and maintaining connections with relatives in Iraq. Again, this excerpt seemed to reflect a disposition towards languages tied to the associated locality of its use. Even though Arabic is widely spoken across the globe, Hilal still mostly seemed to associate his use of Arabic with interactions with family and relatives in Iraq.

Other interviewed participants gave similar accounts. One example was Salim. When asked about whether he considered some languages to be particularly important to learn, Salim first sensibly replied: 'Uhm for everyone or for me?' When then asked to begin with the languages important for him, Salim gave the following account:

> English and Swedish because I live in Sweden… and uhm Arabic because it is my mother tongue like my family and my relatives. Because I don't have so many relatives here in Sweden the rest of them are in other countries, they know Arabic so it would have been sad not to be able to talk to them.
>
> *[Swedish original: Engelska och svenska asså för jag bor i Sverige …och eh arabiska för det är min modersmål asså min familj och mina släktingar. För jag har inte så mycket släktingar här i Sverige resten de är i andra länder dom kan arabiska så det hade varit tråkigt att inte kunna prata med dom.]*

<div align="right">(Salim, age 13, Grade 7)</div>

Salim too seemed to associate Arabic with family and relatives. For Salim the importance of languages also seemed closely associated with communicative purposes and the significance of a language was sometimes seen as tied to the geographical locality of its use. Salim mentioned English and Swedish as the most important by referring to the fact that he lives in Sweden. The statement thereby indicates a view where English is considered just as important as Swedish in Sweden. Salim also mentioned the importance of Arabic but then with reference to maintaining contact with relatives residing in various countries around the world. As the interview continued towards whether these languages would be important for others too, Salim elaborated further:

> Salim: Like it can be important cos Arabic it is, if you are going to travel somewhere else, for example to the Middle East... then it's good if you know Arabic… or French if you're going to Lebanon because in Lebanon you speak French. And uhm English is also important because all over the world you speak English. In the whole world. Swedish it's good if you're going to Sweden or if you might be wondering about something let's say in America and you happen to meet someone Swedish then you can talk to them in Swedish. Not many other languages are important. Just their mother tongue languages too. That's what's important. Mother tongue and English are the most important and if you know another language it's also good, like bonus points.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Asså det kan ju va viktigt för arabiska det är om du ska resa någon annanstans, till exempel till mellanöstern… då är det bra om du kan arabiska… eller franska om du ska till Libanon för i Libanon pratar man franska där. Och eh vad heter det engelska det är också viktigt för att över hela världen pratar man engelska. I hela världen. Svenska det är bra om du ska typ till Sverige eller om du kanske undrar om någonting vi säger i Amerika sen träffar du på någon svensk då kan du prata med dom svenska. Det är inte så mycket mer så språk som är viktiga. Bara deras modersmål också. Det är det som är viktigt. Modersmål och engelska det är viktigaste och om du kan ett annat språk är det också bra, typ som pluspoäng.]*
>
> JB: Ok so you think they are more important than Swedish?
>
> *[Swedish original: Ok så du tycker dom är viktigare än svenskan?]*
>
> Salim: 'Yes, I think they are more important than Swedish as long as you don't live in Sweden. If you live in Sweden, then Swedish is important.'

> *[Swedish original: Ja jag tycker dom är viktigare än svenskan så länge du inte bor i Sverige.*
> *Bor du i Sverige då svenska är viktigt.]*

In this interview excerpt, Salim mentioned travelling to exemplify why he considered Arabic, French, English and Swedish to be important. In doing so, Salim's account of important languages focused on the communicative purpose of language. Overall, Salim's examples tied each language to its locality and use in time and space. Arabic was primarily seen as important for travels to the Middle East, and when travelling to Lebanon Salim also specified the use of French as important. Thus, Salim's account seemed to represent a view of languages as primarily associated with their regional and cultural origin and prevalence. Similar to most of the interviewed participants, Salim too argued the importance of learning English by referring to its widespread use in the world as lingua franca. At the end of the first passage, Salim concluded that he considered English and one's 'mother tongue' to be the most important languages to learn. When then asked whether he considered English and Arabic to be more important than Swedish, Salim further emphasized the local situatedness of the language by stating 'Yes, I think they are more important than Swedish as long as you don't live in Sweden. If you live in Sweden, then Swedish is important.' Salim's statement thus indicates how Swedish was perceived important when used for purposes within its local (national) setting. Thus, Swedish as linguistic capital appeared to be seen as tied to its market. Beyond the borders of Sweden, the imagined use of Swedish seemed less perceivable.

Participants also discussed the importance of languages in relation to future 'imagined identities' (Darvin & Norton, 2015), raising issues of ensuring language maintenance. One example was Vanya who during the interview referred to how she would like to ensure that "her" languages (Pashto and Farsi) are passed down to her children.

> JB: Are there any languages that you think are particularly important to learn?
>
> *[Swedish original: Är det några språk som du tycker är särskilt viktiga att lära sig?]*
>
> Vanya: 'English and then like yeah, I think so, the most important thing is English and then the languages that I have myself to be able to teach them to my children and so in the future. And then I think English is more important because uhm like it's a language you speak globally that's why.'

> [Swedish original: Engelska och sen typ ah jag tycker det så det viktigaste är engelska och sen dom språken som jag själv har för att asså kunna lära ut det till mina barn och så i framtiden. Och sen tycker jag engelska är bättre viktigt för att eh så det är ett språk man talar globalt det är därför.]

Like most of the participants, Vanya too considered English to be the most important language to learn by referring to its global use. Vanya also mentioned "her" languages (Pashto and Farsi) as important by referring to how she would like to teach them to her children in the future. The excerpt by Vanya thus illustrates a position where English is considered of greatest importance based on its role as lingua franca whereas the Heritage Languages (Pashto and Farsi) are given significance as means to maintain and pass down affiliations and connections with the cultural heritage to future generations. Imagined futures and ideas about language maintenance were present also in the interview with Asim. Born in Syria, Asim came to Sweden at the age of eight and has reported a school background from Syria and Jordan (questionnaire and interview). During the interview, Asim discussed his imagined use of Arabic in the future.

JB: Do you think Arabic will be useful to you in the future?

> [Swedish original: Tänker du så att arabiska kommer vara användbart för dig i framtiden?]

Asim: Yes, because I don't intend to live here all my life. Maybe I'm moving down to Qatar, yeah you don't know, or so cos my dad he will maybe work there so I still plan to move there. It's much better there like if you are going to become something good. Like if you are going to be an architect, engineer or so they have more buildings and they do more, how should I say, more updates so they make more updates there, than here.

> [Swedish original: Ja för att jag tänker mig att inte bo här hela livet. Kanske jag flyttar ner till Qatar ja man vet inte eller så för min farsa han ska kanske jobba där så jag tänker mig ändå att flytta dit. Det är mer bättre där typ kanske om man ska bli något bra. Typ om man ska bli arkitekt, ingenjör eller så de har mer byggnader och dom typ de gör mer hur ska man säga det är mer update asså de gör mer uppdateringar där, än här.]

For Asim, his imagined future use of Arabic appeared to be closely tied to the idea of going to Qatar for work. At the time of the interview Asim expressed a strong interest in moving to Qatar for work, arguing that the opportunities for work would be better there. Thus, Asim did not seem to perceive an imagined future

use of Arabic in Sweden but rather automatically related his imagined use of Arabic to when he would have moved to an Arabic-speaking country. As the interview continued, Asim elaborated his reasoning further regarding what languages he considered important:

JB: But would you like to become an architect here in Sweden then and work with it here?

[Swedish original: Men skulle du vilja bli arkitekt här i Sverige då och jobba med det?]

Asim: 'Maybe I would study here and then go there…'

[Swedish original: Kanske jag skulle studera här och sen åka dit…]

JB: '…and not stay?'

[…och inte stanna?]

Asim: Depending on like now when I talk like I, how should I say, (have) not totally decided that I will do so but I think so more, maybe I will stay here but like it's much better still for my grandchildren and stuff, they may forget the language. So maybe I can take them there and then the language stays. Because I think for me, for me right now I should take my children and grandchildren, Arabic is more important than Swedish.

[Beroende på asså nu när jag snackar asså jag har hur ska jag säga det är inte direkt jag kommer göra så men jag tänker så mer så kanske jag kommer stanna här men asså det är mer bättre för asså ändå asså mina barnbarn och sånt, de kanske glömmer språket. Så jag kanske kan ta dom dit och sen språket stannar. För jag tycker för mig, för det, asså för mig just nu jag ska ta mina barn och barnbarn arabiska är viktigare än svenska.]

JB: Do you think so?   *[Swedish original: Det tycker du?]*

Asim: Yeah, cos like Swedish you only speak it in one country. Uhm like, maybe in Sweden and maybe some parts of Finland but Arabic you speak it in several like 23 countries, 24 countries 25 so yeah that's why Arabic is more important, then also it depends on the religion too, so in religion it is the Arabic language that applies and the culture and stuff like that so that's why. So, I think Arabic is more important than Swedish. Even if in Sweden they tell you Swedish you have to speak it, because you will work and stuff. Although maybe I see myself more like in Arab countries than here, like maybe, or it does not have to be Arab countries, but it can be like

countries like that have good economies and such, good job opportunities and such, like good jobs you know.

[Swedish original: Ah för att asså svenskan man talar det bara i ett land. Eh kanske typ i Sverige och kanske några delar av Finland men arabiska man talar det i flera typ 23 länder, 24 länder 25 så ah det är därför arabiska är mer viktiga, sen beroende också på religionen också, så det i religionen det är arabiska språket som gäller och kulturen och sånt så det är därför. Så arabiska tycker jag är viktigare än svenskan. Även om i Sverige man säger till dig svenskan du måste tala det för du kommer jobba och sånt. Fast kanske jag ser mig mer asså i arabiska länder än här, typ kanske, eller det behöver inte vara arabiska länder men det kan va typ länder som asså har sån bra ekonomi och sånt, bra jobbtillfälligheter och sånt, asså bra jobb liksom.]

While Asim acknowledged the possibility that he might alter his position along the way and decide to stay in Sweden, he still argued that it would be much better in Qatar with regard to his future children and grandchildren: 'but like it's much better still for my grandchildren and stuff, they may forget the language. So maybe I can take them there and then the language stays.' While Asim previously had argued about relocating for better work opportunities, he now reasoned about moving (to Qatar) as essential for ensuring maintenance of Arabic. Asim then concluded by stating that he considered Arabic to be more important than Swedish. When asked further, Asim contrasted Swedish and Arabic, arguing that while Swedish is spoken in Sweden and parts of Finland, Arabic is a widely spoken language. Asim also argued the importance of Arabic by referring to its central role in religion and culture. In sum, Asim's dispositions, and perceived benefits of investment in languages (Darvin & Norton, 2015) were clearly interrelated with an imagined future context or 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991). For Asim, the imagined community would offer better opportunities for him to ensure that Arabic is passed down to future generations, but also provide more work opportunities. When asked about work opportunities in Sweden, Asim's answer further displayed his imagined opportunities for achieving his aspirations.

JB: You don't think that Sweden has a lot of work opportunities for you in the future?

[Swedish original: Du tänker inte att Sverige har mycket "jobbtillfälligheter" för dig i framtiden?]

Asim: 'Yeah there is a kind of job shortage here… but in other countries … you can find a job in two weeks. When you get stuck here (in Sweden) you need to wait and wait and maybe it is not so, like it's good salary but it's better chance of life, life over there. It might

be the same job but over there it becomes better and there you might get more chances.'

[Swedish original: Ah det finns typ jobb-brist här… fast i andra länder man…det finns du kan hitta jobb på två veckor. När du kommer fast här du behöver vänta och vänta och kanske och det är inte så, det asså det är bra lön men det är bättre livschans, liv där borta. Det kanske är samma jobb fast där det blir bättre och där du få kanske mer chanser.]

Asim's account revealed a position where the opportunities for work in Sweden are viewed as limited and the process of gaining employment is slow. Asim argued that by moving to other countries, he would have a 'better chance of life' and that even if you would have the same job, life would be better and 'you might get more chances'. The account thus indicates how Asim – at the age of fourteen – perceives his future position in Sweden as offering few possibilities and limited chances to achieve his desires and ambitions in life. Salient in the interviewed participants' accounts of imagined future language use was the ambivalence towards a future life in Sweden. While some of the participants did express an imagined future in Sweden, others, such as Asim for example, in varying degrees conveyed an ambivalent position towards a future life in Sweden.

The findings also pointed to how participants in their ideological positions navigated between national and transnational notions of languages. Regarding the languages the participants considered to be most important to learn, the accounts revealed ideologies of language use as bound to fixed national-linguistic boundaries but also ideologies of global language use ratifying the linguistic hierarchy and hegemony of English. In the following interview excerpt, Isabel displayed an ideological position reflecting a view of languages as tied to their national and local situatedness yet valued by their function as capital for global communication and their place in the global linguistic hierarchy.

JB: What languages do you think young people your age here at your school think are important to learn for the future?

[Swedish original: Vilka språk tror du ungdomar i din ålder här på din skola tycker är viktigast att lära sig för framtiden?]

Isabel: Mm English 100% or Swedish. Uhm, I think English yeah most of them have to learn English. Everyone knows English, it's the world's largest language, except uhm Chinese, but they only speak it in China. So, everyone must know English. But Swedish is also important because there are a lot of children in this school who come from other countries, so some need to learn a lot of Swedish

yeah if they intend to live here. So that's what I think, English and Swedish yeah.

[Swedish original: Mm engelska 100 % eller svenska. Eh, jag tror engelska ah dom flesta asså man måste lära sig engelska. Alla kan engelska det är världens största språk förutom eh kinesiska men de pratar bara det i Kina. Så alla måste kunna engelska. Men svenska är också viktigt för asså det finns jättemånga barn som kommer från andra länder som går i den är skolan så vissa behöver lära sig eh mycket svenska ah om de tänker bo här så. Så det är det jag tänker engelska och svenska ah.]

Isabel initially asserted English to be the most important 'English 100%' yet then adding Swedish as important too. However, she then went on to argue the importance of English by referring to its global position in the world. As Isabel knowingly pointed out, Chinese might be the most widely spoken (first) language in the world[36], yet pointed to its local use as a "limitation" in contrast to English by stating: 'but they only speak it in China', thus implying English as still more useful due to its global use. When then moving on to argue the importance of Swedish, Isabel referred to the locality of Swedish by stating that Swedish is important 'if they intend to live here'. Similar to other participants, Isabel too highlighted Swedish as important within the market of Sweden. The example illustrates how English (compared to Swedish) is seen as offering a wider range of resources generating an increased value of cultural capital and social power (see Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Isabel's account also seemed to contain elements of temporality of residence indicating that not all classmates might have the intention of staying in Sweden. As presented in more depth in chapter 10, Isabel also expressed a desire to move back and did not imagine a future in Sweden as she stated that she associated herself more with living a life in Ireland. While other participants more clearly depicted a future adult life in Sweden, the thought of moving back still appeared to be present. One example of this was seen in the interview with Lana. When asked about what languages she considered to be most important to learn, Lana replied:

Lana: 'Swedish, because I will still have a future in Sweden. I have a life in Sweden, so I think the Swedish language is more important even though I want to learn more Kurdish… because you never know…'

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36   For a closer discussion of the common truisms of "lingua francas" with particular regards to English and Chinese, see Pennycook (2012).

> *[Swedish original: Svenska, för jag kommer ändå ha en framtid i Sverige. Jag har ett liv i Sverige så jag tycker det svenska språket är viktigare fast jag vill lära mig mer kurdiska… för man vet aldrig…]*

JB: Never know? *[Vet aldrig?]*

Lana: 'move to Kurdistan someday, or I'll go back in two three weeks so I still have to speak Kurdish, I have to know the Kurdish language.'

> *[Swedish original: flyttar till Kurdistan nån dag eller jag åker tillbaka om två tre veckor så jag måste ändå prata kurdiska, jag måste kunna det kurdiska språket.]*

Lana considered Swedish to be the most important language to learn by referring to her imagined future life in Sweden as well as her present life here. Then Lana added that she still would like to learn more Kurdish because 'you never know'. When asked to elaborate, Lana mentioned the possibility of moving to Kurdistan but also referred to a trip planned to take place within a few weeks' time. Thus, while Lana clearly expressed an imagined life in Sweden, the idea of moving was still present as Lana indicated it to be a possibility not to be ruled out. The response can be seen as indicating a 'third space' position where Lana seemed to display dual affiliations between languages and cultures, navigating between dual imagined future cultural contexts.

9.3 Investigating the relationship between out-of-school language practices and language ideologies

Having examined the participants' positions towards languages as well as their reported language practices in everyday out-of-school activities, the final section in this chapter presents the results of the relationship between language use in out-of-school activities and language ideologies. The relationship was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. The procedures of dealing with missing data are described in chapter six. As presented in this chapter, the questionnaire contained one scale measuring the participants' dispositions towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. This scale was divided into three scales, one for Heritage Languages, one

for Swedish and one for English. These were then treated as three separate variables. As presented in chapter 7, the questionnaire also contained two scales examining participants' language use in low frequency activities and high frequency activities. These two scales were also divided into three total score scales for each targeted named language. In total, nine variables were used in the statistical analyses.

If looking first at the relationship between language use and exposure to Heritage Languages and ideologies of Heritage Languages, the result shows positive correlations between the variables. The total score of dispositions towards Heritage Languages consisted of seven items and had an internal consistency of $\alpha=.83$. The total score of low frequency (LF) activities comprised twelve items and the value for Cronbach's Alpha was $\alpha=.85$. The total score of high frequency activities included nine items and the internal consistency was $\alpha=.91$. The result of the correlation is presented in Table 23.

Table 23 Correlations between Heritage Language Use and Exposure and Dispositions towards Heritage Languages

		Total Score Ideologies HLS	Total score LF activities HLS	Total Score HF Activities HLS
Total score Ideologies HLS	Pearson Correlation	1	.367**	.201
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	.054
	N	92	92	92
Total score LF Activities HLS	Pearson Correlation	.367**	1	.648**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001		<.001
	N	92	92	92
Total score HF Activities HLS	Pearson Correlation	.201	.648**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.054	<.001	
	N	92	92	92

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Note. LF=low frequency, HF = high frequency

Heritage Language use in low frequency activities and dispositions towards Heritage Languages, were found to be moderately positively correlated r .37, $N=$ 92, $p<. 001$. Regarding the relationship between the use of Swedish in high frequency activities and dispositions towards Swedish, there was a small correlation r .20, $N=92$, $p<. 054$. While there are several suggestions for interpreting the strength of the relationship, this study follows the guidelines by

Cohen (1988) where correlations between r=.10 to .29 is considered small, r = .30 to .49 is considered medium and r= .50 to .1.0 is considered large. However, as broad descriptors of effect size, Cohen's benchmarks should be used with caution as some areas of research, such as the field of education tend 'to have smaller effect sizes than others' which might make Cohen's guidelines seem misleading (Valentine & Cooper, 2003, p. 5)

When examining the relationship between Swedish out-of-school language use and dispositions towards Swedish, the result also demonstrated a correlational relationship. The total score of ideological positions towards Swedish included six items (the negatively worded item was excluded in the analyses) and had an internal consistency of α=.73. The total scores for activities both had the same number of items as previously mentioned, with twelve items comprising low frequency activities and nine items measuring high frequency activities. The total score for low frequency activities had a Cronbach's Alpha value of α=.76 whereas the internal consistency of the total score for high frequency activities was α=.83. The result is presented in Table 24.

Table 24 Correlations between Swedish Use and Exposure and Dispositions towards Swedish

		Total Score Ideologies Swe	Total Score LF Activities Swe	Total Score HF Activities Swe
Total Score Ideologies Swe	Pearson Correlation	1	.461**	.286**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	.006
	N	92	92	92
Total Score LF Activities Swe	Pearson Correlation	.461**	1	.418**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001		<.001
	N	92	92	92
Total Score HF Activities Swe	Pearson Correlation	.286**	.418**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	<.001	
	N	92	92	92

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Note. LF=low frequency, HF = high frequency

The result found a relationship between out-of-school use and exposure to Swedish and dispositions to Swedish, displaying a strong positive correlation, r .46, N=92, p<. 001 between ideological positions and low frequency activities. Following the correlational pattern displayed of Heritage Languages, there was a

less strong yet still significant correlation between high frequency activities in Swedish and dispositions towards Swedish, *r* .29, *N*=92, *p*<. 006.

Turning to the relationship between out-of-school English use and exposure and dispositions towards English, the total score of dispositions towards English contained six items and showed an internal consistency of α=.71. The total score of low frequency activities comprising twelve items had an internal consistency value of α=.85, whereas the value for the total score of high frequency activities in English (nine items) was α=. 83. The result is displayed in Table 25.

Table 25 Correlations between English Use and Exposure and Dispositions towards English

		Total Score Ideologies Eng	Total Score LF Activities Eng	Total Score HF Activities Eng
Total Score Ideologies Eng	Pearson Correlation	1	.265*	.198
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.058
	N	92	92	92
Total Score LF Activities Eng	Pearson Correlation	.265*	1	.435**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		<.001
	N	92	92	92
Total Score HF Activities Eng	Pearson Correlation	.198	.435**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.058	<.001	
	N	92	92	92

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Note. LF= Low Frequency, HF= High Frequency

The result found positive yet small correlations between English use and exposure and dispositions towards English. There was a positive correlation between dispositions towards English and language use in low frequency activities, *r* .26, *N*=92, *p*<. 011. Following the pattern of correlations for Heritage Languages and Swedish, the correlation was again smaller between ideological positions and out-of-school use of English in high frequency activities, *r* .20, *N*=92, *p*<. 058.

In sum, the results found positive relationships between out-of-school language use and ideological positions towards languages. The strength of the relationship varied slightly between Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. Language use and positions to Swedish displayed the largest correlation, followed by Heritage Languages. English use and exposure and dispositions towards English turned out to have the smallest correlation. These results should be

interpreted with caution. The strength of the relationship varied between the two activity scale variables, which indicates that the scale affects the effect sizes. The statistical significance must also be seen in relation to the sample size of this study. Even though the results demonstrate an existing association between the variables, a correlation does not provide an explanation of underlying foundations. While the potential effect of other variables must be taken into account, the correlational findings provide a starting point for further analyses, showing that there is a relationship between language use and language ideologies. The patterns of the relationship could be further investigated using regression analysis and other more nuanced inferential statistics techniques.

However, the result of the correlations still offers some possible indications. The large correlation between use and exposure to Swedish and positive dispositions towards Swedish could potentially reflect the participants' high use and exposure to Swedish in their out-of-school lives. It might also reflect the role participants ascribe to Swedish for school success and future opportunities in Sweden. The same might account for the correlations found between dispositions and use of Heritage Languages. However, the small correlation with regard to English might suggest that positive ideological positions towards English do not necessarily correspond with a high use and exposure to English in out-of-school activities. Even though the participants do spend a considerable amount of time on activities where English is used, they might still use and encounter Swedish to a greater extent. The total score of positions towards English displayed the highest mean value (M=25.3, SD=2.48), followed by positions towards Swedish (M=21.1, SD=2.51) and Heritage Languages (M=19.6, SD=4.82). The results regarding English might to some extent point to the well-established role of English as a "high-status" school subject and its place in the linguistic hierarchy. That is, participants might hold positive positions towards English due to its position as a school subject and recognition as linguistic capital yet may not necessarily engage in English at an individual level. Thus, participants might not value English at an individual level but the dominant ideologies and recognition of English as capital might still influence the participants' positive positions. When examining students' ideologies, prevalent ideologies regarding the role of the language as school subject and its overall status as a language in society need to be taken into careful consideration.

9.4 Summarizing notes

This chapter has presented the participants' language ideologies and investment in Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. Adopting a Bourdieusian approach and drawing on the concept of investment, one of the aims of this study was to explore the participants' language ideologies and investment in languages. The results show how the participants consider both Heritage Languages, Swedish and English to be of value and significance but express different meanings and implications regarding their values as capital in local, national, and global markets.

10. Language Ideologies, Identities and Linguistic Sense of Placement

Drawing on information from interview accounts, this chapter reports the participants' described ideologies, identities and linguistic 'sense of placement' (Bourdieu, 1984, 2000). While previous chapters have presented the participants' reported use of languages in various settings and practices as well as their ideologies and degrees of investment, this chapter continues by directing more attention to the role of language use in the participants' emergent identities and language ideologies in their present, as well as imagined future lives. The chapter is thematically organized, centering on issues pertaining to dynamics of cultural belonging, language ownership, identities, and linguistic sense of placement. The chapter ends with some concluding notes.

10.1 Identities and ideologies of language use

One of the aims with the individual interviews was to further explore the participants' perspectives on the dynamics of language use in relation to issues of identities, language ideologies and language investment. The language diaries and interview guide formed the foundation for the interviews, yet the sequential research design also allowed for a thorough preparatory analysis of both questionnaire and language diaries which provided vital background information when conducting the interviews. The analysis of the interviews revealed the participants' accounts to be centered on the following recurrent topics and concepts: identification and cultural belonging, language ownership, identities, language maintenance and linguistic sense of placement. Each of these themes are explored in the following sections.

10.1.1 Language ownership, cultural belonging and identities

The interviews revealed how participants associated languages with forming part of their identities and how language competence appeared to be seen as intimately

connected to their sense of cultural identifications and belonging. The interview with Avin constituted one example in which issues of belonging, linguistic ownership, and cultural identities were particularly salient. When asked about what languages she felt most comfortable with or most "at home", Avin responded:

Avin: 'Swedish and Kurdish, I would say… that you feel most at home in because, in Sweden you can like, you can speak Kurdish but it will be more Swedish because then you feel like 'yeah I live in Sweden I can speak Swedish' without anyone judging me. But then Kurdish also because it's where I come from, it's like a part of me, it's like a part of my identity you know, yes, so it also feels at home to me… because that's my language.'

[Swedish original: Svenska och Kurdiska typ, skulle jag säga… att man känner sig mest hemma i för att, i Sverige så kan typ så hära man kan prata Kurdiska så här det är så men det blir mer Svenska för då känner man så här 'ah jag bor i Sverige jag kan prata svenska' utan att nån dömer mig. Fast sen kurdiska också för det är vart jag kommer ifrån det är som en del av mig det är som en del av min identitet så hära, ja så det känns också hemma för mig…för det är ju mitt språk.]

JB: And you say it's "my language"?

[Swedish original: Och du säger det är "mitt språk"?]

Avin: 'Yes, I mean like this, it's your background, it's the language you usually speak at home with your parents and that is, it's not, like, it's yours, it's where you come from. No one can say like this: 'yeah you say it like this you say it like that, you should not say it like that because it is, it's your background, it's kind of, like your language, you decide. Your language you know, do you understand what I mean?'

[Swedish original: Ja, jag menar typ så hära det är ju ens bakgrund, det är det språket du pratar oftast med hemma med dina föräldrar och sånt det är det är inget asså det är <u>ditt</u>, det är vart du kommer ifrån. Ingen kan säga så hära: 'ah du säger så du säger såhär man ska inte säga så' för det är, det är din bakgrund, det är typ, typ så här din språk, du bestämmer. Ditt språk typ, fattar du vad jag menar?]

JB: Mhm

Avin: Yes *[Ja]*

JB: And how, if you compare that feeling with the Swedish language?

[Swedish original: Och hur, om du jämför den känslan med svenska språket?]

Avin: 'Yeah, I think there's probably a difference because if, for example, a Swede had come and told me like "yeah… you cannot say so in Kurdish" then I would probably have said "What!? You don't even know my language what are you saying?" ... Then I have this… I can say what I want because it's my language. But if a person had spoken to me in Swedish, who was Swedish, for example, then I you would be like "yeah okay, I might have to correct this mistake or maybe I shouldn't say it like that anymore" because it feels like it's kind of their language for their Sweden, they talk it at home. Do you understand what I mean?'

[Swedish original: Ah jag tror nog det är skillnad för att till exempel om en svensk hade kommit och sagt till mig att så här 'ah… du kan inte säga så på kurdiska' då hade jag nog sagt 'Va!? Du kan inte ens mitt språk vad är det du säger?'...Då har jag så här…jag kan säga vad jag vill för det är mitt språk. Men hade en person pratat med mig på svenska, som var svensk till exempel då hade man så här 'ah okej, jag kanske ska rätta det hära felet eller jag kanske inte ska säga så längre' för det känns som att det är typ deras språk för deras Sverige, dom pratar det hemma. Fattar du vad jag menar?]

Avin stated feeling "at home" in both Swedish and Kurdish, and when explaining referred to how the languages made her feel. Regarding Swedish, Avin described that she tends to speak more Swedish since it makes her feel like: '"yeah I live in Sweden I can speak Swedish"' without anyone judging me'. Avin's statement, in a way, indicates a claim for language ownership, suggesting a willingness to use Swedish without the judgement of others. When then describing her feelings towards Kurdish, she distinguished Kurdish as linked to her cultural heritage and closely tied to her identity repertoire. Avin's comment on the role of Kurdish also indicated more confident claims of linguistic ownership: 'because it's where I come from, it's like a part of me, it's like a part of my identity you know, yes, so it also feels at home to me… because that's my language.' Avin thus accentuated how Kurdish was "her language" forming part of her identity. When invited to elaborate more, Avin exemplified by referring to it as the language you speak at home with parents and further emphasized it in terms of language ownership by referring to it as a symbol of one's cultural heritage: 'like it's yours, it's where you come from.' To further illustrate her sense of language ownership, Avin exemplified how Kurdish allows her to feel in control, leaving others unentitled to comment, oppose or make judgments towards her language use since, as she stated: 'it's your background, it's kind of, like your language, you decide.' This example thus indicates how Kurdish in contrast to Swedish affords a sense of power or legitimated authority where competence and the close association

between language and identity generates a 'right to speech' (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 648; Norton, 2013, p. 150). When asked to compare that feeling to the Swedish language, Avin further illustrated by positing a view where one's recognition as a legitimate language speaker is seen as closely connected to national and cultural identity representations. Avin contrasted the experience of language ownership between Kurdish and Swedish and expressed a lower sense of authority as a Swedish speaker positioning herself as disassociated with what she referred to as a "Swedish" Swedish speaker: 'because it feels like it's kind of their language for their Sweden, they speak it at home'. Avin's account thus illustrates the experience of navigating between the dominant language and Kurdish and how the linguistic repertoire might entail different feelings of belonging and linguistic sense of placement. While Avin expressed feeling authorized to use Swedish, the account indicated a sense of being questioned as a legitimate speaker, by suggesting previous experiences of being corrected or judged.

As the interview continued, issues pertaining to belonging, identities, and linguistic sense of placement were further elicited.

JB: Yes, but uhm you were born in Sweden…

[Swedish original: Ja, men ehm du är ju född i Sverige…]

Avin: 'Yes, but it still doesn't feel like my language because it still feels like I am, I don't feel Swedish. I would not say "yeah hey I'm Swedish". I would say "hello I'm Kurdish". Because I'm not Swedish, I am, even though I was born in Sweden, it doesn't feel like I am Swedish, it feels like I come from Kurdistan and I am Kurdish. Because it's part of my background, it's part of my parents' background, it's where my parents come from. And then I think you are very drawn to the parents, like this if the parents decide "yeah I should be a Muslim", you'd be like "yeah I will also be a Muslim" but then when you get older you can make more of your own choices. So maybe when I'm older, I feel like a Swede more than a Kurd, but right now I feel like a Kurd and not a Swede.'

[Ja, men det känns fortfarande inte som mitt språk eftersom att det känns fortfarande som att jag är, jag känner mig inte svensk. Jag skulle inte säga 'ah hej jag är svensk'. Jag skulle säga 'hej jag är <u>kurd</u>'. För att jag är inte svensk, jag är, även om jag är född i Sverige så känns det inte som att jag är svensk, det känns som att jag kommer från Kurdistan och jag är kurd. Eftersom att det är en del utav min bakgrund, det är en del av mina föräldrars bakgrund, det är vart mina föräldrar kommer ifrån. Och så ändå tror jag att man dras mycket till föräldrarna, typ så här om föräldrarna bestämmer 'ah jag ska va muslim', du så

här 'ah jag ska också va muslim' fast sen när man blir äldre kan man göra mer sina egna
val. Så kanske när jag är äldre känner jag mig som än svensk mer än en kurd men just nu
känner jag mig som en kurd och inte en svensk.]

As revealed in this excerpt, despite being born and raised in Sweden, Avin explained that she did not 'feel Swedish' but associated herself more with her Kurdish heritage, indicating cultural and ethnic origin as significant for national or cultural identification: 'even though I was born in Sweden, it doesn't feel like I am Swedish, it feels like I come from Kurdistan and I am Kurdish.' In her reasoning, Avin referred to Kurdish being part of her linguistic and cultural 'background' and identified strongly with the background of her parents. Avin then continued by mentioning the influence of the parents and how one, at a young age, is more inclined to associate with parents and with their background and way of life, using religion as an example. This example, in a way, points to the manifestation of habitus in thought and action. Avin's account indicates a system of dispositions where Kurdish and the cultural heritage provide a sense of pride and form part of her sense of self. Thus, the account signifies habitus, 'as a product of history' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 54) which is subjected to and affected by experiences (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Yet it also suggests the interrelationship between habitus and the social world where the relation to social structures shapes practices and dispositions. Hence, Avin's ambivalent identity positioning and sense of belonging could be seen as the product of personal history experiences and the relationship to the social world and its conditions and constructed structures of differently valued representations. The statement by Avin thus signified a dynamic position of cultural belonging, changing over time. This was even further explicated as Avin concluded: 'So maybe when I'm older, I feel like a Swede more than a Kurd, but right now I feel like a Kurd and not a Swede.' By considering how her cultural identification might change with age, Avin's statement in a way signified identity formation processes as changeable and temporary.

JB: Do you think that it can change over time also how you feel about that affiliation?

[Du tänker att det kan ändra sig över tid också hur man känner med den tillhörigheten?]

Avin: 'Yeah I think so. Because it depends on like, if you feel that you belong in a place then you feel you can say something like this, this, "yeah this is me" but now like, even if I feel that I belong in Sweden I would never say that I'm Swedish because I'm not Swedish, I'm Kurdish, even though I was born here. Do you

understand what I mean? It's part of my background, Kurdish, it's part of me. It will always be in me like this.'

[Swedish original: Ah det tycker jag. För det beror på liksom, om du känner att du hör hemma i ett ställe då känner då ska man säga typ så här 'ah det här är jag' fast nu asså även om jag känner att jag hör hemma i Sverige så skulle jag aldrig säga att jag är svensk för jag är inte svensk, jag är kurd, även om jag är född här. Fattar du vad jag menar? Det är en del av min bakgrund, kurdiska, det är en del utav mig. Det finns den kommer alltid finnas i mig alltså det här.]

When specifically asked about whether the sense of affiliation or belonging might change over time, Avin identified the sense of belonging to a place as a central dynamic: 'it depends on like, if you feel that you belong in a place then you feel you can say something like this 'yeah this is me'. The statement thus reflects an ideological position where one's identities or sense of self may be governed by the sense of belonging to a physical place. Yet, Avin also stated that she felt that she belongs in Sweden but she still wouldn't say that she is Swedish despite being born in Sweden: 'even if I feel that I belong in Sweden I would never say that I'm Swedish because I'm not Swedish, I'm Kurdish'. Avin's statement thus suggests an ambivalent position as she seems to navigate between national and cultural identifications and belongings. Avin also declared a strong sentiment towards her Kurdish heritage, then explicating the Kurdish language as a marker of identity: 'It's part of my background, Kurdish, it's part of me. It will always be in me like this.' The interview excerpt thus illustrates the ambivalence and complexity involved in identity formation and positionings as Avin's account moves between a dynamic perception of cultural and national belonging as changing over time, vis-à-vis a view of language and identity as perpetual and stable. Avin's description of language and culture as durably inscribed in the body also signifies the physical embodiment of habitus as 'embodied history' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 56).

Other participants also addressed issues of national and cultural identifications yet from a slightly different perspective. One example was Lana who during the interview initially presented herself as being from Kurdistan. Early in the interview, Lana was asked if she could tell me a little bit about herself. She then replied: I'm from Kurdistan but… I speak Swedish almost all the time… except when I'm home.' *[Swedish original: Jag är från Kurdistan fast… jag pratar svenska nästan hela tiden… förutom när jag är hemma.].* As suggested by this initial reply, Lana seemed to denote Kurdish as central to her self-perception and cultural belonging. Later during the interview, when asked about this, Lana further described her thoughts of cultural belonging.

JB: And you said like this "I am from Kurdistan" … but you were born in Sweden right?

        [Swedish original: Och du sa så här "jag är från Kurdistan"…men du är ju född i Sverige va?]

Lana: 'I am Swedish but with a Kurdish background, I have learned this…'

        [Swedish original: Jag är svensk fast med kurdisk bakgrund, jag har lärt mig det hära…]

JB: Who taught you that?

        [Swedish original: Vem har lärt dig det?]

Lana: 'No-one. I have just realized myself that Sweden is an important country for me. I was born here, I go to school here. Sweden has given me school and knowledge and stuff. So why not just say I'm from Sweden when I'm already born here.'

        [Swedish original: Ingen. Jag har bara själv insett att Sverige är ett viktigt land för mig. Jag är född här jag går i skola här. Sverige har gett mig skola och kunskap och sånt. Så varför inte bara säga jag är från Sverige när jag redan är född här.]

JB: Mmm exactly… uhm it is interesting because you think you should add that you have a Kurdish background?

        [Swedish original: Mm precis… mm det är intressant för du tycker du ska lägga till det här att du har kurdisk bakgrund?]

Lana: 'Yes, because I'm not Kurdish, it's my parents who are Kurdish, although they have given it to me, like this knowledge about Kurdistan, the language and stuff like that…'

        [Ja, för jag är inte kurd det är mina föräldrar som är kurder fast dom har gett det till mig alltså så här kunskapen om Kurdistan, språket och sånt dära…]

JB: Mmm

Lana: '… and my appearance.' *[Swedish original: …och mitt utseende.]*

JB: Your appearance? *[Swedish original: Ditt utseende?]*

Lana: 'Yes, because I don't look so Swedish either.'

[Swedish original: Ja, för jag ser inte så svensk ut heller.]

JB: What do you look like when you look Swedish then?

[Swedish original: Hur ser man ut när man ser svensk ut då?]

Lana: 'No, like you can't say 'look Swedish' even if like many are perhaps blonde, blue-eyed, but I have very dark hair, dark eyes maybe a little darker in skin tone and stuff like that.'

[Swedish original: Nej alltså man kan inte säga "svensk ut" fast typ många är kanske blonda, blåögda, men jag är har väldigt mörkt hår, mörka ögon kanske lite mörkare i hudtonen och sånt.]

As noted, Lana described herself as being 'Swedish but with a Kurdish background' and in her reply indicated that this was something she had 'learned', suggesting a kind of outward influence or nurtured position. Yet, when asked about it, Lana stated that she herself had come to that realization. Lana then referred to the significance she ascribes to Sweden. Lana pointed out Sweden as an important country for her, stating: 'I was born here, I go to school here. Sweden has given me school and knowledge and stuff. So why not just say I'm from Sweden when I'm already born here.' Lana's position thus seemed to display an ambiguity in her sense of belonging. While Lana considered Sweden to be an important country for her, she initially did not refer to herself as Swedish. Although Lana in this account described herself as Swedish with a Kurdish background, her recognition of herself as Swedish still appeared somewhat ambivalent. When asked more about the inclination to add her Kurdish background Lana declared: 'Yes, because I'm not Kurdish, it's my parents who are Kurdish'. Lana then referred to her cultural heritage as being passed down to her by her parents, mentioning knowledge about Kurdistan and language as forming central parts: 'although they have given it to me, like this knowledge about Kurdistan, the language and stuff like that', Lana then added: 'and my appearance', referring to how her physical appearance is different from that of a conceptualized "Swede": 'Yes, because I don't look so Swedish either.' Thus, Lana seemed to suggest that her appearance would lead people to think she would have a foreign background thereby indicating physical appearance as a marker of ethnicity and cultural belonging. Lana's positioning here can be seen as reflecting an ideological position of language, identity and belonging as nested in 'a dynamic of ethnolinguistic categorization' (Blommaert, 2006, p. 516). As the interview continued, the discussion touched upon stereotypical public images of physical

characteristics signaling ethnic and cultural affiliations. Lana then returned to the role of physical appearance as a marker by which others ascribe one's cultural and ethnic identities:

Lana: 'But I don't think if you saw me the first time you would think I am Swedish.'

[Swedish original: Men jag tror inte heller om du såg mig första gången du skulle tro att jag är svensk.]

JB: Would I not think you were Swedish?

[Swedish original: Skulle jag inte tänka att du var svensk?]

Lana: 'Like "Swedish" like that, but not with a Swedish background. I think you would think I had a different background.'

[Swedish original: Alltså "svensk" så dära, fast inte bakgrund svensk. Tror att du skulle tro att jag hade en annan bakgrund.]

As illustrated by this excerpt, Lana further pointed to the role of physical appearance as a marker of ethnicity and cultural belonging as she doubted whether, at first sight, I would consider her to be Swedish: 'But I don't think if you saw me the first time you would think I am Swedish.' When invited to elaborate further, Lana confirmed that I would acknowledge her as "Swedish", supposedly then referring to Swedish in a technical sense by being a Swedish citizen and member of society, but that I also would think of her as having a 'different background'. Lana thus seemed to doubt that she would come across as "Swedish" implying that her physical features might convey otherwise. Lana's example thus pointed to physical appearance as central in shaping the assumptions and prejudices of others, but possibly also in affecting our sense of ethnic and cultural belonging by the extent to which our physical appearance generates perceptions of us as "authentic" or "legitimate" members of communities. The excerpt can thus be seen as reflecting 'raciolinguistic ideologies' (Flores & Rosa, 2015) showcasing how communities and individuals are subjected to social and institutional expectations to 'look like a language' (Rosa, 2019).

The idea of physical appearance as a marker of ethnic and cultural identity was mentioned also by other participants. One example was Avin who discussed linguistic and cultural heritage as being part of one's identity, which is further illustrated later in this chapter. In so doing, Avin stated:

For example, now, like, I can read you, for example now I see you have blond hair and blue eyes, then I can figure out yeah she is Swedish. So, this is how it's a part of you.

[Swedish original: Till exempel nu, asså jag kan läsa av dig, till exempel nu jag ser du har blont hår och blåa ögon då jag kan lista ut ah hon är svensk. Så det är så här det är en del utav dig.]

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

Again, physical appearance was expressed as a marker of ethnic, cultural and here national belonging: 'then I can figure out yeah she is Swedish'. For Avin, physical appearance appeared to be seen as a significant marker of one's sense of self, forming part of one's self-identifications and identity representations. The position to some extent, points to physical features as central signs by which a person's ethnic, cultural, and national heritage can be predicted. As exemplified, by Avin, physical traits like blonde hair and blue eyes appeared seen as representative of a conceptualized stereotypical Swede as Avin, based on my physical Scandinavian features, distinguished me as ethnically Swedish.

Ideas about cultural affiliations and Swedishness, were also addressed in the interview with Jamilah. When asked whether she believed that senses of cultural identifications could alter, fluctuating from time to time, Jamilah responded:

Jamilah: 'No, like, I don't think it can change or so but… if you become a lawyer, for example, it is easier to get a job right, it is easier in Sweden to get a job when you are Swedish, right?'

[Swedish original: Nej jag tror typ inte det kan växla eller så men….om man till exempel blir advokat så är det enklare o få jobb eller hur det är enklare i Sverige att få jobb när man är svensk eller hur?]

JB: When you are Swedish? What does it mean to be Swedish then, do you think?

[Swedish original: När man är svensk? Vad är det att vara svensk då tänker du?]

Jamilah: 'Like Swedish surname and so on.'

[Swedish original: Asså svenskt efternamn och så.]

JB: Okay…

Jamilah: 'But still, I think it's easier to get a job if you're Swedish. So, I may not talk like I do now with my friends I think I will definitely not talk like that in the future.'

[Swedish original: Men ändå så tycker jag det är enklare att få jobb om man är svensk. Så jag kanske inte pratar som jag gör nu med mina vänner jag tror att jag absolut inte kommer prata så i framtiden.]

While Jamilah responded that she did not perceive cultural identifications as continually changing, she did seem to imagine that her sense of cultural affiliation might change in relation to imagined future competition of employment as Jamilah stated: 'it is easier in Sweden to get a job when you are Swedish, right?' When then asked about what she associated with 'being Swedish', Jamilah referred to having a 'Swedish surname' indicating this as being a symbol of Swedishness or "qualifying" as a "Swede". Jamilah then continued by asserting that she likely would alter her way of speaking in the future: 'I think it's easier to get a job if you are Swedish. So, I may not talk like I do now with my friends I think I will definitely not talk like that in the future.' Jamilah thus seemed to consider her current way of speaking with her friends as diverging from the type of talk she associates with as being "Swedish", implying certain ways of speaking as crucial for being recognized as "Swedish" in the competition for future work opportunities.

Thus, being Swedish can here be seen as associated with adhering to dominant modes of speaking. The example thus mirrors an ideological position where language practices other than the dominant mode(s) are constructed as linguistically deviant. Jamilah's account further suggests an awareness of linguistic hierarchies as Jamilah expressed a future interest or need to adhere to what the dominant society, or particularly the field of law as profession, potentially might consider to be legitimate ways of speaking. Thus, Jamilah seemed to recognize the value of linguistic resources in relation to different markets. Wanting to become a lawyer, Jamilah recognized how dominant linguistic competence of Swedish likely will function as linguistic capital on the market of the business of law. Thereby the excerpt also points to fields as sites of struggle governed by the structure of the distribution of capital, putting language use at the center of intersecting dynamics.

10.1.2 "I'm not a Swede in Sweden but I'm not a Kurd in Kurdistan"– navigating identities and senses of cultural authority

In the interviews, the participants recurrently addressed senses of language ownership and cultural authority as closely linked to emergent identities. The participants shared experiences of being questioned as eligible speakers or

members of cultural communities both within and between contexts. One example was Jamilah, who during the interview referred to an experience from fourth grade.

> Jamilah: 'Like in the fourth grade (….) just because I spoke another dialect in Arabic, I was teased for it. They said: "you can't speak Arabic, you can't read in Arabic, you can't write in Arabic, you're not an Arab". And there and then, I actually became very sad, but now I don't think so much about them, they uhm… I don't even care. So, I think, uhm, but I am an Arab, I'm the one who says if I'm an Arab, it is not up to you to decide.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Asså i fyran jag blev eh, jag kunde inte asså dom bara för jag pratade en annan dialekt på arabiska så blev jag retad för det. Dom sa du kan inte prata arabiska du kan inte läsa på arabiska du kan inte skriva på arabiska du är inte arab. Och där blev jag faktiskt jätteledsen, men nu jag tänker inte så mycket på dom, dom eh… jag bryr mig inte ens. Så jag tänker mm men jag är arab, det är jag som säger om jag är arab det är inte ni som ska bestämma det.]*
>
> JB: How did that feel, it must have been really difficult?
>
> *[Swedish original: Hur kändes det, det måste varit jättejobbigt?]*
>
> Jamilah: 'No but not so much but… like, at first I was very sad but then I thought who are they to tell me that I'm not an Arab. It's not they who decide it's I, it is my identity not theirs.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Nej men inte så mycket men… asså först blev jag jätteledsen men sen tänkte jag vem är dom att säga till mig att jag inte är arab. Det är inte dom som bestämmer det är jag det är min identitet inte deras.]*
>
> JB: Is that how you see it, that it's your identity?
>
> *[Swedish original: Är det så du ser det, att det är din identitet?]*
>
> Jamilah: 'Yes' *[Ja]*

Jamilah described how she was teased in the fourth grade for her way of speaking Arabic as her dialect was different from the dialect spoken by her peers. Jamilah described how they would comment on her way of speaking and questioned her competence in Arabic and thereby her legitimacy and authenticity as an "Arab": 'They said: "you can't speak Arabic, you can't read in Arabic, you can't write in Arabic, you're not an Arab."' Jamilah thus found her cultural identification questioned by her linguistic practices as her way of speaking deviated from dominant legitimate practices. Jamilah's story provides an illustrative example of

the constant struggles within fields over the legitimate ways of speaking. While the experience had saddened her, Jamilah also expressed resistance by declaring her right for identification: 'but I am an Arab, I'm the one who says if I'm an Arab....', stressing that her cultural identification is up to her to decide, not others. As the interview continued, Jamilah further emphasized her own right for cultural identification by stating: 'who are they to tell me that I'm not an Arab. It's not they who decide it's I, it is my identity not theirs.' For Jamilah, being an Arab clearly seemed to form part of her identity repertoire and thus the experience of being questioned as an eligible "Arab" must surely have been a hurtful violation to her sense of self as a young individual. Jamilah's story provides an example of the experience of being subjected to the judgments of others based on one's cultural and linguistic background. By being accused of not being a legitimate speaker of Arabic and for not being an "Arab", Jamilah felt her sense of identity questioned and criticized. Thereby, the example illustrates the powerful role language might have in the dynamics at play in the formation of emergent identities.

On the same theme, other participants also witnessed being questioned as a legitimate member of a national or cultural community. One example was Lana who during the interview shared her experiences and senses of belonging in Sweden and Kurdistan.

> Lana: 'Like, it's like this, I feel Swedish at home too, but in Kurdistan I feel really Kurdish. But sometimes people can judge you for like, "yeah you live in Sweden you should feel Swedish, you're not a real Kurd because you live in Sweden and stuff".
>
>   *[Swedish original: Alltså så hära, jag känner mig svensk hemma också fast i Kurdistan jag känner mig verkligen kurd. Fast ibland så kan folk döma en för "ah du bor i Sverige du borde känna dig svensk, du är inte riktig kurd för att du bor i Sverige och sånt."]*
>
> JB: Do they say that? *[Swedish original: Säger de det?]*
>
> Lana: (Nods her head)
>
> JB: And what do you think then?
>
>   *[Swedish original: Och hur tänker du då?]*
>
> Lana: 'Why should you care, you know Arabic should I call you an Arab because of that, you live in Iraq, you have no country, should I call you Kurdish just for that, you know like this. Though I don't say it, even though I think so.'

[Swedish original: Du ska inte bry dig du kan arabiska jag kallar dig arab för det dära, du bor i Irak du har inget land ska jag kalla dig kurd bara för det eller, alltså så hära. Fast jag säger inte det fast jag tänker det.]

Similar to Jamilah, Lana also expressed experiences of having her cultural identification questioned, referring to this happening when visiting relatives in Kurdistan. Lana mentioned how her sense of "being Kurdish" deepens when visiting Kurdistan but recounted how 'people' still tend to accuse her of not being a 'real Kurd', questioning her eligibility since she lives in Sweden. When asked what she felt about that, Lana described her usual response, implying that she usually avoided making judgements or biased assumptions about others. As the interview continued the discussion referred back to Lana's previous account of not always being recognized as Swedish.

JB: Mmm, and so you mention that here (in Sweden) people would say you are Kurdish and over there (in Kurdistan) people say…

[Swedish original: Mm, och så nämner du att här (i Sverige) så skulle man säga att du är kurd och där (i Kurdistan) säger man…]

Lana: 'Exactly you don't know, you are in between. I wouldn't be called Swedish the first time when you see me but like, I dunno. I'm not a Swede in Sweden, but I'm not a Kurd in Kurdistan.'

[Swedish original: Exakt man vet inte, man är mitt emellan. Jag skulle inte bli kallad svensk det första man när man ser mig fast asså, jag vet inte. jag är inte svensk i Sverige men jag är inte kurd i Kurdistan.]

JB: Is that how you feel? *[Swedish original: Är det så du känner?]*

Lana: 'Yes, or so people say. Like, when I'm in Kurdistan: "Yeah you are Swedish you live in Sweden you can speak Kurdish, you can speak Swedish. You are Swedish." Or when I'm here: "Yeah you know Kurdish, you have Kurdish background you are Kurdish, you are not Swedish, you are not real Swedish. So you're in-between.'

[Swedish original: Ja, eller folk säger det. Typ när jag är i Kurdistan: "ah du är svensk du bor i Sverige du kan prata kurdiska, du kan prata svenska. Du är svensk." Eller när jag är här "ah du kan kurdiska, du har kurdisk bakgrund du är kurd, du är inte svensk, du är inte riktig svensk." Så man är mitt emellan.]

JB: How do you feel about that, what do you think?

[Swedish original: Hur känner du om det, hur tänker du?]

Lana: 'You're used to it. But like, yeah, I don't know. It doesn't ... I haven't cared so much about it.

[Swedish original: Man är van med det. Men asså, ja jag vet inte. Det har inte…jag har inte brytt mig så mycket om det dära.]

When elaborating on the topic of being questioned in Sweden and in Kurdistan, Lana declared: 'Exactly you don't know, you are in-between', signifying a sense of not being fully recognized or belonging in either context. This understanding was further emphasized as Lana additionally stated: 'I am not a Swede in Sweden, but I am not a Kurd in Kurdistan.' When asked about whether that represents how she feels, Lana initially confirmed but also added or revised her response by stating: 'or so people say', indicating how this sense of identification or perceived cultural "in-betweeness" is a position ascribed to her by others. The statement signals how Lana finds herself subjected to different acts of positioning. The interview excerpt thus exemplifies how Lana navigates her sense of identification and belonging between the two contexts, positioning herself and being positioned by others as somewhere in-between. As the interview continued, Lana added examples to illustrate how people in Kurdistan tend to consider her to be Swedish whereas people in Sweden could comment that she has a Kurdish background, contending: 'you are not Swedish, you are not real Swedish.' This further illustrates Lana's reported experiences of having her cultural identity questioned by others, not being perceived as a "valid" or "true" member of either context.

Similar accounts regarding sense of identification and belonging were mentioned also by other participants. One example was Avin who also discussed her sense of cultural belonging but also mentioned "becoming Swedicized" (see Haghverdian, 2010) when visiting Kurdistan. When asked about whether she felt that the sense of cultural identification and belonging could change, Avin responded:

Yes absolutely! For example, here in Sweden it feels like "yeah, I'm Kurdish. I'm not Swedish I come from like this and like that and I'm Kurdish, I'm a proud Kurd". But then if you're in Kurdistan, you get very Swedish, like when you stand in line, you think: "why are you going before me, hello!?" It's like you are so used to the rules in Sweden. Like, when you go by car, there are road markings in Sweden but there are not in Kurdistan, so people go however they want. It's very strange. You get scared, you know you don't feel safe in traffic. And then it's like this "hey, what kind of roads do you have here in Kurdistan ?!" Like you really become very Swedish. Or if you are going to buy something, like, in town, and then you walk around like this and then you look like this you know: "wow how cheap this is", what a difference

from Sweden. Yeah, like that, and so when you stand in line and stuff and everyone goes before you, they don't care and here in Sweden it's like, you stand in line you stand in line, no one should go in front of you so you become very Swedish I would say.

[Swedish original: Ja absolut! Till exempel, här i Sverige så känns det så här 'ah jag är kurd jag är inte svensk jag kommer från så här och så här och jag är kurd, jag är stolt kurd' men om man är i Kurdistan så blir man jätteförsvenskad asså när man ser när man står i kö, man tänker: "varför går du före mig, hallå!?" Det är så hära man är så van vid Sveriges regler. Typ när man åker bil så finns det gränser i Sverige men det finns inte i Kurdistan folk åker hur man vill. Det är jättekonstigt. Man blir rädd asså man känner inte sig säker i trafiken. Och så blir det så här 'hallå vad är det för väg ni har här i Kurdistan?!' det är så här man blir faktiskt jätteförsvenskad. Eller om man ska köpa nånting, så här i stan, och sen går man så här runt och så kollar man så här ba: "wow vad billigt det här är" skillnad från Sverige. Ah typ så, alltså när man står på led och sånt och alla går före dom bryr sig inte och här i Sverige så är det så du står på led du står på led, ingen ska gå före en så man blir jätteförsvenskad skulle jag vilja säga.]

(Avin, age 13, Grade 7)

Avin explained how her sense of cultural affiliation tends to be enhanced depending on the context she is in. When in Sweden, Avin described feeling Kurdish and how she proudly acknowledged her cultural heritage, whereas in Kurdistan Avin described feeling Swedish, or as she expressed; "Swedicized". To illustrate, Avin gave several examples of situations in Kurdistan which made her feel Swedish. In the situations raised, Avin drew a contrast between Kurdistan and Sweden in relation to expected behaviors or societal systems referring to differences relating to queuing behavior, the traffic system and price differences. With these examples, Avin illustrated how the sense of cultural belonging can vary between cultural contexts. Even though Avin expressed a strong Kurdish identification, when in Kurdistan where social and societal patterns sometimes would strike her as different, her Swedish identification was stronger as she felt more accustomed to the expected behaviors and systems of Sweden.

10.1.3 Imagined future language use

During the interviews, participants were asked about their imagined future language use. As seen in Chapter 9, participants like Asim were thinking about their imagined adult language use and life in relation to issues of language maintenance. In Asim's case, one aspect of potentially moving abroad concerned making sure contextual conditions would ensure that the language could be passed down as cultural capital to his future children and grandchildren. The question of imagined future language use aimed to explore the participants' language ideologies and investment in languages. Answering such hypothetical questions can be

challenging, yet most of the participants had no difficulty imagining their future language use and could often express clear rationales for this when reasoning about future language use and preservation. Most of the interviewed participants showed a commitment to passing down their Heritage Language to future generations. One example was Salim, who, during the interview, when contemplating his imagined future language use, showed a strong commitment to pass down Arabic to his future children. In so doing, Salim reasoned about the role of language as a marker of identification and cultural heritage. It is worth noting that Salim earlier during the interview, had mentioned his engagement in Japanese Anime and Japanese culture and how it had led to an interest in moving to Japan as an adult. As the interview later addressed his imagined future language use, the idea of moving to Japan was therefore present in Salim's response.

> JB: When you think about the future and you are an adult and work and have a family and so on, what languages will you use then?
>
> *[Swedish original: När du tänker då på framtiden och du är vuxen och arbetar och har familj och sådär, vilka språk kommer du att använda då?]*
>
> Salim: 'It depends, like, if I move to Japan for example, then I will of course learn Japanese and Swedish and then a little English cos the school will also teach them (future children) English so I'll teach them Japanese and Arabic. They don't need Swedish cos if I move from Sweden, for example, and yeah some of my siblings are still in Sweden then you can maybe visit and then it's not so important that you can speak Swedish. The most important thing is that they can speak English, then they can talk.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Det beror på asså om jag flyttar till exempel till Japan då kommer jag såklart lära mig vad heter det japanska och svenska och sen lite engelska för skolan kommer lära dom också engelska så jag kommer lära dom japanska och arabiska. Svenska behöver dom inte för att asså om jag flyttar från till exempel Sverige och ah sen några av mina syskon är kvar i Sverige då man kan kanske hälsa på det är inte så viktigt att man kan svenska direkt. Det viktigaste är att dom kan engelska då kan dom prata.]*

When reasoning about his future language use, Salim seemed to indicate that his use of languages will depend on where he lives as he took the example of potentially moving to Japan. Salim then reflected on the languages he could see himself using and what languages he would use when potentially raising children in Japan: 'the school will also teach them (future children) English so I will teach them Japanese and Arabic.' Salim imagined that he himself would learn Japanese

and Swedish. The investment in learning Japanese probably stems from him seeing himself living there which might be reflective of his out-of-school engagement in watching Japanese Anime series. While Swedish was initially mentioned as part of his imagined future linguistic repertoire, Salim seemed to consider it to be superfluous for his future children, once having hypothetically relocated to Japan: 'They don't need Swedish cos if I move from Sweden (….) and yeah some of my siblings are still in Sweden then you can maybe visit and then it's not so important that you can speak Swedish.' According to Salim, English would thus be enough for communicating with family members and relatives residing in Sweden. Salim's disposition signified a view where Swedish is considered a capital within the context of Sweden, whereas English maintains its universally acknowledged capital, serving communicative purposes. The position transpiring from this example, to some extent, indicates the personal values attributed to the different languages but also their practical usage and position in the linguistic hierarchy and the relationship between capital and market. In Salim's view, learning and using Japanese appeared to be seen as a kind of prerequisite for living in Japan, a capital tied to its market, alongside Arabic as Heritage Language. Swedish however appeared to be of less importance outside of Sweden and instead Salim considered English would suffice for communicating with family and acquaintances remaining in Sweden. As the interview continued, Salim was specifically asked about whether Arabic would be important in an imagined future life with children, to which he responded:

Salim: 'Yes mother tongue Arabic is important.'

            [Swedish original: Ja modersmål arabiska det är viktigt.]

JB: Why? *[Varför?]*

Salim: 'Because if they are to be able to talk to like, relatives or to me. And it's their first language, it's who they are, it's their cultural language. It's also quite important that it doesn't die out as well, it's important that we continue.'

            [Swedish original: För att om dom ska kunna prata med så hära släktingar eller med mig. Och det är deras första språk det är den dom är det är deras kulturspråk. Det är också ganska viktigt så att den inte dör ut också, viktigt att vi fortsätter.]

Salim considered Arabic to be important to pass down to imagined future children. When reflecting on why that was important, Salim gave several reasons. For Salim,

Arabic was important for the children to be able to communicate with relatives and with him. In addition, Salim further argued the importance of Arabic by referring to how he would consider Arabic to be the children's 'first language', contending: 'it's who they are, it's their cultural language'. The statement thus indicates the role of language in identity formation and cultural affiliation, functioning as a symbol of the heritage culture. Passing the language down to future generations thus seemed to be of importance, not only for communicative purposes but also for identity representations and maintaining an awareness and recognition of the cultural heritage. In conclusion, Salim explained that he considered passing down Arabic to be critical to ensuring its existence, stating: 'It's also quite important that it doesn't die out as well, it is important that we continue.'

Jamilah expressed similar notions about her imagined future language use with her family as an adult:

> JB: What do you think when you work as a lawyer then, and maybe have your own family, what languages will you use in the family?
>
> *[Swedish original: Vad tänker du då när du jobbar som advokat då och kanske har egen familj, vilka språk kommer du använda i familjen?]*
>
> Jamilah: 'Uhm, I'll speak Arabic as best I can, so the language doesn't die out. So, the more I speak Arabic with them, they will also speak Arabic, so they can both speak very good Arabic and very good Swedish at the same time.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Ehm, jag ska prata så gott jag kan dom arabiska så språket inte dör ut. Så ju mer jag pratar arabiska med dom så kommer dom också prata arabiska, så dom kan både prata väldigt bra arabiska och väldigt bra svenska samtidigt.]*
>
> JB: Ok. Why do you think this is important?
>
> *[Swedish original: Ok. Varför tycker du det är viktigt?]*
>
> Jamilah: 'Because they should know who they are and what blood they have in them. That they should know where they are from.'
>
> *[Swedish original: För dom ska veta vem dom är asså vilket blod dom har i sig. Att dom ska veta vart dom är ifrån.]*

Like Salim, Jamilah also argued for the use of Arabic with reference to language preservation, stating: 'so the language doesn't die out'. Both Salim and Jamilah thus seemed to take a strong position towards passing down Arabic as cultural capital, pointing to the risk of language endangerment. It should be noted that both Salim

and Jamilah speak what could be considered minority Arabic dialects which are region specific, which to some extent might explain their minority perspectives regarding language preservation. Jamilah also declared an interest in wanting her future children to be able to speak well in both Arabic and Swedish which in a way indicates an ambition similar to the idea of simultaneous bilingualism.[37] Similar to Salim, Jamilah also mentioned the significance of her future children knowing their common heritage and where they come from, as she declared: 'they should know who they are and what blood they have in them. That they should know where they are from.'

The role of language for 'knowing who you are' and maintaining contact with one's cultural heritage and identification was a recurrent theme during the interviews. Avin too expressed similar views as she reasoned about her future language use as an adult:

JB: 'How do you think about the future when you are an adult and maybe have your own family?'

[Swedish original: Hur tänker du själv kring framtiden om när du är vuxen och kanske har egen familj?]

Avin: 'Of course my children must be able to speak Kurdish. They must know Kurdish. Because it's more fun if they can. That's the way they will feel "yeah I'm Kurdish", they should be proud of where the parents come from, they should be proud of it because it's a part of you. My language, where I come from, my culture, everything that's a part of you. It's like a part of oneself, a part of one's identity.'

[Swedish original: Jo såklart mina barn måste kunna kurdiska. Dom måste kunna kurdiska. För det är roligare om dom kan. Det är så då som kommer känna sig ah jag är kurd, de ska va stolta över det där föräldrarna kommer ifrån, de ska va stolta över det för det <u>är</u> *en del utav en. Mitt språk, vart jag kommer ifrån, min kultur allting det är en del utav en. Det är som en del en del utav ens, en del utav ens identitet.]*

As shown, Avin appeared strongly committed to pass down Kurdish to the future generation, arguing that: 'it's more fun if they can' but also that it would instill them with a sense of cultural belonging: 'That's the way they will feel "yeah I'm Kurdish".' Avin also contended that Kurdish would be important for the children

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37 *Simultaneous bilingualism* is a categorization of bilingualism with regard to timing, referring to when the onset of exposure to two languages occurs in parallel. For example, children who are exposed to two languages from birth (Armon-Lotem & Meir, 2019).

to cultivate a sense of pride in their cultural heritage: 'they should be proud of where the parents come from, they should be proud of it because it's a part of you.' The statement indicates a view of the heritage culture as being part of one's self-identification, thus putting language and culture at the centre of the dynamics involved in identity formation. This was further elucidated by Avin explaining: 'My language, where I come from, my culture, everything that's a part of you. It's like a part of oneself, a part of one's identity.' Thus, for Avin, her language and culture closely form part of her identity representations. Thereby, passing down the language to future generations becomes essential, not only as an act of maintaining the cultural heritage but perhaps also as a means for transmitting or sharing a sense of who she is.

Maintaining a contact with the heritage culture was put forward also by Lana when she discussed her imagined future language use within the family.

> JB: And if you have your own family and children?
>
> *[Swedish original: Och om du får egen familj och egna barn?]*
>
> Lana: Kurdish *[Kurdiska]*
>
> JB: Why do you think it is important?
>
> *[Swedish original: Varför är det viktigt tycker du?]*
>
> Lana: 'Because I keep the tradition. I really want it to be like this to have Kurdish, to speak Kurdish so that our children can speak Kurdish. They should know what the culture is like, they should go back to Kurdistan every year. So, I want them to know both languages and both cultures.'
>
> *[Swedish original: För att jag håller kvar traditionen. Jag vill verkligen att det ska vara så här att ha kurdiska, prata kurdiska att våra barn ska kunna kurdiska. Dom ska kunna hur kulturen är de ska åka tillbaka varje år till Kurdistan. Alltså jag vill att dom ska veta båda språken och båda kulturerna.]*

Lana expressed a view on language maintenance as keeping the tradition, indicating the tradition of passing down the Heritage Language as capital to future generations. Like several of the other participants, Lana also expressed a strong commitment for preserving the Kurdish language by passing it down to future children: 'I really want it to be like this to have Kurdish, to speak Kurdish so that our children can speak Kurdish.' Lana then stated the importance of knowing one' culture: 'They should know what the culture is like'. Yet, similar to Jamilah, Avin

also stated an interest in having the children socialized in both languages and cultures, that is, both Kurdish and Swedish: 'So, I want them to know both languages and both cultures.'

Other participants also identified the role of preserving the Heritage Language yet more closely addressed the role of Swedish and English. One example was Andres who, when asked about his future language use as an adult, contemplated: 'Swedish maybe but also Spanish so that they don't forget their language, the language I know. English too. The most important thing is Swedish cos they will live here. English too, and Spanish. Those three.' *[Swedish original: Svenska kanske men också spanska för att dom ska inte glömma sin språk, det språk jag kan. Engelska också. Viktigaste är svenska asså för dom ska bo här. Engelska också, och spanska. De tre.]*. While Andres considered it important to pass down Spanish so it would not be forgotten, he also considered Swedish to be the most important language since he imagined that they would live in Sweden: 'The most important thing is Swedish cos they will live here'. Hilal also expressed similar notions as he discussed his imagined future language use and whether he would like to pass down Arabic to future generations.

> JB: If you have children in the future, would you like them to learn Arabic?
>
> *[Swedish original: Om du får barn i framtiden skulle du vilja att de lärde sig arabiska?]*
>
> Hilal: 'Yes, so they can like, talk to relatives and so on, and so that they, if for example, we go to my home country Iraq sometime, then if they don't understand Arabic then they cannot talk. Then maybe I or the mother can translate so yes yes I think it's important. Not important but maybe that they know Arabic, they don't have to speak it all the time, just know it. But at the same time, Arabic is like, a language they will also grow up with, although Swedish will be their first language.'
>
> *[Swedish original: Ja, så de kan typ tala med släkten och så och så att de till exempel vi kanske åker någon gång till mitt hemland Irak, så om de inte förstår arabiska då kan de inte tala. Då får kanske jag eller mamman då översätta så ja ja jag tycker det är viktigt. Inte viktigt men kanske att de kan arabiska de behöver inte tala det hela tiden bara de kan det. Men samtidigt är arabiska typ ett språk de kommer också växa upp med det fast svenska kommer va deras första språk.]*

Hilal mentioned passing down Arabic as important as capital for communicative purposes when keeping contact with or visiting family and relatives in Iraq. While

Hilal found it important that his future children know Arabic he contended: 'they don't have to speak it all the time, just know it.' In Hilal's view Arabic would co-exist alongside Swedish yet added: 'although Swedish will be their first language.' Thus, Hilal seemed to consider both languages as equivalent capital or linguistic resources. The statement is in line with Hilal's previous notions of his own linguistic repertoire and ideological assumptions of languages, as discussed in Chapter 9. This view is different from that of, for example, Salim who expressed contrasting ideas about the positions of the Heritage Language vis-à-vis Swedish in the linguistic repertoire. Hilal's and Salim's examples thus highlight the manifold views of what participants consider constitutes one's "first" language (or "mother tongue" or "Heritage Language") and their roles in everyday practices.

It is possible to assume that the participants' answers to these quite hypothetical questions are influenced by input from various sources such as perceptions expressed by parents or other family members. Answers might also be reflective of their own linguistic experiences growing up. One example of this could be seen in the interview account by Isabel when contemplating her future family language use:

JB: If you have your own family in the future, what languages will you use then do you think?

[Swedish original: Om du får egen familj i framtiden, vilka språk kommer du använda då tänker du?]

Isabel: 'Yeah, I dunno, I was thinking about that. Uhm, I want to… because it was a problem for me when I was little, my mother can speak Spanish but she never taught me so my children, I want to talk English to them. I don't intend to live in Sweden when I am older so I will move from here. I don't know, back to Ireland I think, or Britain, I love that British accent. Uh I'll have one child or two children, I'll speak English to them at home, but I'll make sure they also learn Spanish and Polish from when they are young. Because now I have a big problem cos my family on my dad's side they know only Polish, my mom's side they only speak Spanish and I only know a little. But they think I know a lot so like it's embarrassing for me when they start talking way quickly in their language and I just: 'oh shit, chill a little' so I will make sure that my children learn both Spanish and Polish and English from when they are little, maybe Swedish. I don't know, no I don't think so. I think all my siblings will move from here when they get older so I don't think they'll need Swedish, but they should have Spanish,

that's the most important and English also they should know three languages I don't care, my children should be smart. So yeah, like that.'

[Swedish original: Ah jag vet inte, jag tänkte på det. Ehm, jag vill…för jag hade problem när jag var liten, min mamma kan spanska men hon lärde mig aldrig så mina barn jag vill jag ska prata med dom engelska. Jag tänker inte bo i Sverige när jag är äldre så jag ska flytta härifrån. Jag vet inte, tillbaka till Irland tror jag, eller Storbritannien, jag älskar såna British accent. Eh jag ska få ett barn eller två barn, jag ska prata med dom engelska hemma men jag ska se till att de också lär sig spanska och polska sen dom var liten. För nu jag har en stor problem för min släkt på min pappas sida dom kan bara polska, min mammas sida dom kan bara spanska och jag kan bara lite men dom tror att jag kan skitmycket så asså det är skämmigt för mig när dom börjar prata liksom choc snabbt på deras språk och jag bara: "oh shit, chilla lite" så jag ska se till att mina barn lär sig både spanska och polska och engelska sen när dom var liten, kanske svenska. Jag vet inte, nej jag tror inte det jag tror alla mina syskon ska flytta härifrån när de blir äldre så jag tror inte att de kommer behöva svenska, men dom ska ha spanska det där är den viktigaste och engelska också de ska kunna tre språk jag bryr mig inte, mina barn ska vara smarta. Så så där ah.]

While Isabel shared the commitment of passing down the Heritage Language to future generations, her reasoning had a slightly different starting point. Taking her own experiences as an example, Isabel argued the importance for her future children of learning her Heritage Languages. Isabel did not intend to stay in Sweden as an adult and therefore considered she would speak English with future family members but also argued that she would make sure to pass down the other Heritage Languages Spanish and Polish. Similar to Jamilah, Isabel's position signals a view reflective of the idea of simultaneous bilingualism (or multilingualism) as she referred to the importance of introducing the languages at a young age. Since Isabel did not see herself living in Sweden as an adult, Swedish was not perceived as linguistic capital. Spanish was seen as the most important language, followed by English and Polish, indicating their positions in Isabel's own language hierarchy. As a future resident in an English-speaking context, Isabel considered that Spanish would be most important to pass down yet stated that her future children should learn all three languages. Inspired by the wide linguistic repertoire of her mother, Isabel repeatedly referred to the idea of knowing many languages as an asset or capital.

10.1.4 Language use, culture and place as markers of identities and sense of placement

The participants' accounts of imagined future language use revealed participants' senses of identification and perceptions of language and culture in relation to language investment, belonging and sense of placement. The interview accounts contained examples of language use in relation to both local and national senses identifications. One example was explicated in the interview account by Isabel:

JB: And you don't intend to stay in Sweden?

[Swedish original: Och du tänker dig inte bo kvar i Sverige?]

Isabel: No, like, I like Sweden, people they are kind, it's a nice country, it's very nice I love the weather and … schools are pretty good. In Ireland, it was much more, more strict, much more strict than here. Like you didn't get like, these short breaks, you didn't get food at school, uhm it was a much harsher punishment, it was much harder to get good grades and so on. But I don't intend to live in this country, no it doesn't feel like my country, I don't feel like this is like home you know? I feel more comfortable in Ireland, that's my culture, like, I know this culture like, even today I have lived here for like, two, almost two and a half years and even now there are things that confuse me like ehm traditions like, I dunno, all Swedes know about except me. No, it's not my kinda country, I don't fit here. I fit better in Ireland. But still, it's a really cool place, I like to live here, people are kind, uh people are very kind actually, much kinder than some, than Poland for example. But no, Ireland is just better and then Great Britain they're really similar, I dunno, Ireland and Great Britain they're very similar so somewhere there and I feel better when I speak English so...

[Swedish original: Nej, asså jag gillar Sverige, folk dom dom är snälla, det är ett fint land, det är jättefint jag älskar vädret och (…) skolor är ganska bra. I Irland det var mycket mer mer strängare, mycket mer sträng än här. Liksom man fick inte sån bensträckare, man fick inte mat i skolan, eh det var mycket hårdare straff, det var mycket svårare att få bra betyg och så. Men jag tänker inte bo i det här landet nej det känns inte som mitt land alltså, jag känner mig inte som att det här är liksom hemma du vet? Jag känner mig mer bekvämt i Irland, det där är min kultur alltså jag kan detta kultur asså även idag jag har bott här typ två, nästan två och ett halvt år och till och med nu det finns saker som förvirrar mig asså såna ehm traditioner liksom jag vet inte, som alla svenskar kan förutom jag. Nej det är inte min liksom land, jag passar inte här. Jag passar bättre i Irland. Men ändå det asså det är jättecoolt plats, jag gillar att bo här, folk är snälla, eh folk är jättesnälla faktiskt, mycket snällare än

> *vissa, än Polen till exempel. Men nej, Irland är bara bättre och sen Storbritannien också*
> *dom har liksom jättesimilar, jag vet inte, Irland och Storbritannien dom är jättelika varandra*
> *så någonstans där och jag känner mig bättre när jag pratar engelska så …]*

While Isabel expressed a positive view of Sweden as a country, she declared that she had no intentions of staying in Sweden as an adult. When stating her position, Isabel referred to not feeling at home in the Swedish culture: 'I don't intend to live in this country, no it doesn't feel like my country, I don't feel like this is like home you know? I feel more comfortable in Ireland, that's my culture'. In contrast to her experience of the Swedish culture, Isabel referred to how the Irish culture as something she knows, in a way indicating a sense of place. To exemplify her experiences as a new resident in Sweden, Isabel mentioned how being unfamiliar with Swedish traditions and customs would make her feel distanced and confused. Referring to having lived in Sweden for two and a half years, Isabel stated: 'even now there are things that confuse me like ehm traditions like, I dunno, all Swedes know about except me.' Isabel then concluded: 'No, it's not my kinda country, I don't fit here'. It should be kept in mind that Isabel is a 'newly arrived student' and the process of resettling in another country might influence her current position, experiences and perceptions of an imagined future. When relocating from one context to another, this might be expected. Nevertheless, Isabel's account points to the role of language and culture in the process of navigating senses of identification and belonging. At the end of the excerpt, Isabel again asserted a positive position towards Sweden but explained how she still would feel more at home in Ireland or Great Britain. Isabel then concluded that she intends to resettle either in Ireland or Great Britain adding: 'and I feel better when I speak English so' indicating language as central for her identification, belonging and linguistic 'sense of placement' (Bourdieu, 1984, 2000).

As the interview continued, Isabel elaborated on her perceptions of the role of language and how using her Heritage Language makes her feel:

JB: Okay, do you feel differently then, like do you feel more secure or more comfortable?

> *[Swedish original: Okej, känner du dig annorlunda då, alltså du känner dig tryggare eller,*
> *mer bekväm eller?]*

Isabel: More comfortable kind of, because I still think in English, I can't get myself to think in Swedish so it's easier for me. Because when I have to speak in Swedish I need to kind of think in English and then translate it so it's harder for me you know? And I feel more

comfortable because there are some phrases, I think you say, that are only used in English and some things that, some words that I can use to express myself that are only in English which I don't know in Swedish. So, it's just easier in English, it's my language like, English is my language. Even though I'm half Latina, I haven't, I don't have that Irish blood in me, but I feel Irish. Like, I grew up there, like, it is my culture, yes.

[Swedish original: Mer bekvämt typ, för jag tänker på engelska fortfarande, jag kan inte få mig själv och tänka på svenska så det är lättare för mig. För när jag ska prata på svenska jag behöver liksom tänka på engelska sen översätta det så det är svårare för mig du vet? Och jag känner mig mer bekväm för det finns några fraser tror jag man säger som är bara på engelska och några saker som, några ord som jag kan använda för att uttrycka mig som finns bara på engelska som jag kan inte på svenska. Så det är lättare ba på engelska, det är mitt språk asså, engelska är mitt språk. Även om jag är halv-latina, jag har inte, jag har inte sån irländskt blod i mig men jag känner mig irländsk asså jag växte upp där det är min kultur asså, ja.]

Being in the process of acquiring Swedish, Isabel expressed the challenges she faces when using Swedish which she explained as one of the reasons why she felt more comfortable using English. Isabel also referred to the feeling of not knowing how to transfer language and culture specific expressions she is used to using to express herself. Describing it as being easier to express herself in English, Isabel explained that English is "her" language: 'So, it's just easier in English, it's my language like, English is my language.' Similar to several other participants, Isabel also expressed an understanding of language as a "possession" closely tied to one's cultural heritage and sense of self. Isabel further accentuated the role of English in her identity perception by referring to language as linked to cultural context. In doing so, Isabel in a way also made identity claims: 'Even though I'm half Latina, I haven't, I don't have that Irish blood in me, but I feel Irish. Like, I grew up there, like, it is my culture, yes.' In this statement, Isabel referred to herself as 'half Latina' (referring to her mother's Chilean background) indicating it as a feature that would "disqualify" her from being "Irish". Isabel's mentioning of "Irish blood" also indicated a view of national or ethnic identity as indicative of having a genealogical line of history. Yet, Isabel also made identity claims by commenting that she still "feels" Irish, referring to how she grew up there and again concluded: 'it is my culture'. Isabel thus posited dual views of national or cultural identification, both making references to genealogy as indicative of one's ethnic or cultural identity but also how the place where one feels most at home and where one has spent a significant part of one's life as indicative of one's sense of identity.

As seen in earlier chapters, participants displayed an awareness of linguistic hierarchies and particularly how local language practices such as using the contemporary urban vernacular sometimes might be perceived by the dominant society. In some of the interviews, participants would also refer to local language practices as indicative of one's background and belonging to specific urban areas. During the interview with Avin, the contemporary urban vernacular as identity marker was addressed:

Avin: 'Like, this, the way I talk, if I had gone out now and talked like this "Yeah ayo brother" and stuff like that then you would have thought "Yeah she comes like, maybe from X" (name of suburb where the school is located). Like this if you've seen me in X (name of city center shopping mall), or like this from X (another similar suburb). You can see things like that. Or maybe it's just me who thinks that way.'

        [Swedish original: asså så hära så som jag pratar om jag hade gått ut nu och pratat så hära 'ah sho bror' och sånt då hade du tänkt 'ah hon kommer så här kanske från X (namn på förorten där skolan ligger)'. Så här om du skulle sett mig i X (namn på köpcentrum i innerstaden), eller så här från X (annan liknande förort). Man kan så här se sånt. Eller det kanske bara är jag som tänker då.]

JB: Yes no there are probably many who think so, and what do you think about that?

        [Swedish original: Ja nej det är nog många som tänker så, och vad tänker du om det att det är så?]

Avin: 'Hm, in a way it's not good, but in another way it's kind of…okay because your identity has a lot to do with how you see yourself and how others look at you because it depends on how much, or what one shows to others. You may be in one way, but you can show something else, to others. It may be, for example, that I may be a very kind and soft person inside, but I kind of show this tough side of me because I don't want people to see me as a fragile person who you can easily walk over, who you can easily stomp on (…). So, I think, it's good that people can read you but sometimes you might read wrong or like, people can have bad prejudices about one another and then you can spread ugly rumours and stuff. That's not ok. But kind of like this that you can read a person, I can read a person through what style of music s/he listens to. Like, if you listen a lot to hip hop and stuff then you know, 'yeah this is one of', like, if someone listens to rap, Swedish rap, then you know (…) she speaks 'orten', our

language and is like that and she hangs (…) probably around X (name of suburb) and stuff. You can know this kind of stuff, it's a lot of this stuff when you live in the suburbs.'

[Swedish original: Hm, på ett sätt så är det inte bra men på ett annat sätt så är det typ såhära..okej för att ens identitet har med mycket med hur man ser sig själv och hur andra ser på en för det beror på hur mycket man, vad man <u>visar</u> till andra. Man kanske är på ett sätt men man kan visa nåt annat, till andra. Det kan va till exempel att jag kanske är jättesnäll och mjuk person inombords men jag visar typ denna tuffa sidan utav mig för jag vill inte att folk ska se mig som en krossbar människa som lätt kan gå över, som man lätt kan stampa på och (…). Så jag tror, asså det är bra att folk kan läsa av en men ibland så kanske man läser av fel eller typ folk asså kan ha dåliga fördomar om en och då kan man sprida fula rykten och sånt. Det där är inte ok. Men typ så hära att man kan läsa av en person, jag kan läsa av en person genom vilken musikstil den lyssnar på. Asså lyssnar du mycket på hiphop och sånt då man <u>vet</u>, 'ah det här en utav' så hära om du lyssnar på rap, svensk rap, då vet du '(…)hon pratar orten vårt språk och e så och hon hänger (…)säkert runt i X och sånt, man kan veta sånt det är så här mycket sånt när man lever i förorten.]

As demonstrated, Avin reflected on how one's way of speaking tends to be associated with a physical place. In this case, referring to how the use of the contemporary urban vernacular tends to be seen as indicative of youths from the Swedish urban peripheries. To exemplify, Avin took me (the researcher) as an example suggesting what she imagined I would have thought about her had she used a language more characteristic of the contemporary urban vernacular: 'if I had gone out now and talked like this "Yeah ayo brother" and stuff like that then you would have thought "Yeah she comes like, maybe from X". Yet, Avin also indicated how people's background or attachment to places also can be distinguished by other features, by implying that one's place of belonging can be visually perceived: 'You can see things like that.' When asked to elaborate on her perceptions about that, Avin reasoned that even though making presupposed assumptions about others can have negative consequences it also might be 'kind of … okay'. Avin continued her reasoning by proposing that: 'because your identity has a lot to do with how you see yourself and how others look at you because it depends on how much, or what one shows to others.' Avin's statement contained a view of identity which comprehends a reciprocity in identity perceptions. In this view, identity is thus not only a matter of how one perceives oneself but also how others perceive you and what markers of identity you send out to others. Avin exemplified how one can take on different identity positionings or characters depending on how one would like to be perceived by others. In doing so, Avin also mentioned that making assumptions about people based on whatever

identity markers they send out does not necessarily have to be bad but that there may be a risk of "misreading" people: 'sometimes you might read wrong or like, people can have bad prejudices about one another'. Avin continued her elaboration by taking music as an example, stating how listening to Swedish hip hop or rap music could signify one's language use and attachment to the suburb: 'if someone listens to rap, Swedish rap, then you know … she speaks 'orten', our language and is like that and she hangs … probably around X (name of suburb) and stuff.' Thus, in Avin's view listening to Swedish hip hop or rap could be seen as indicative of one's place or relationship to the suburb and individual ways of speaking and being. Listening to Swedish rap would thus suggest a certain linguistic familiarity, or sense of placement. The statement again indicated a collective association of the contemporary urban vernacular as linked to and "owned" by suburban youths noted in Avin's use of phrases such as 'our language' or 'to speak 'orten''. The view of music as identity marker also signalled how a person's music preferences could indicate the places they usually occupy.

Several of the participants expressed an awareness of how the peripheral suburb areas tend to be positioned in the social hierarchy and how they, as an urban periphery youth collective, tend to be perceived by the dominant society. Thus, the participants' accounts can be seen as indicating an awareness of 'one's position in social space' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 20). The interviews to varying degrees addressed issues of language use and local belonging, or sense of placement. One example was found in the interview with Avin when asked about whether the sense of belonging could alter between places within the local urban space.

JB: Mmm. And then I think, can that also happen in Sweden within Sweden, if you are in X (name of suburb where the school is located) and if you are in another part of the city, which you talked about before?

[Swedish original: Mhm. Och då tänker jag, kan det också hända i Sverige innanför Sverige, om du är i X (namn på platsen där skolan ligger) och om du är i en annan del av staden, som du pratade om innan?]

Avin: Oh yes, for example in X (name of the suburb where the school is located), you feel at home because it's usually people like yourself who live here. Like people who have parents who have an immigrant background, who may not know Swedish very well or like, people who have fled from Syria to Sweden and then they usually live here in X (name of suburb), like this, in X (name of another similar suburb), and such, that's where they usually move

in. And then when you go to town, to like, X (name of inner-city shopping mall), you can notice like, how sometimes there are very loud young people there and it's like, this is town, here you cannot be like in X (name of suburb). Cos X it's like, I don't know how to explain, it's X (name of suburb) it's like here live… like, mostly… young people who are like this 'orten' (urban youth), they can like (…) shout a lot. You feel at home, like, this is my neighborhood, this is where I live, this is my suburb. This is everything. Kind of like that. Not just X, not just the neighborhood center square, it can be X, X, X, X all those places, X (lists other local demographically similar suburbs). You feel like this "yeah this, this is my place."

[Swedish original: Aha ja, till exempel i X (namn på område där skolan ligger), man känner sig som hemma för det är oftast människor som en själv som bor här. Typ människor som har föräldrar som har invandrarbakgrund som kanske inte kan så bra svenska eller typ människor som har flytt från Syrien till Sverige och sen så bor dom oftast här i X (namn på området), såhära, i X(namn på liknande område), och sånt brukar dom flytta in. Och sen när man går till stan, såhär X (namn på köpcentrum i innerstaden), så kan man märka såhär ibland det finns jättehögljudda ungdomar och det är så här det är stan, här kan man inte vara som i X (namn på området) för X det är såhära jätte asså det, jag vet inte hur jag ska förklara, det är X (namn på området) det är så hära ah här bor… typ dom flesta… ungdomar som är så här "orten", dom kan asså dom (…) skriker mycket. Man känner sig som hemma, så här att det här är min trakt det här är jag bor det här är min förort. Det här är allt. Asså typ så här. Inte bara X asså inte bara centrum det kan vara X, X, X, X alla de där ställena, X. (Listar andra lokala liknande områden). Man känner sig så här ah här, det här är mitt ställe.

Avin responded to how the local suburb makes her 'feel at home' by referring to shared features and experiences with other residents: 'because it's usually people like yourself who live here. Like people who have parents who have an immigrant background, who may not know Swedish very well'. Language was again put at the center as Avin particularly addressed the shared experience of having parents of migrant background who are not very familiar with Swedish as the main common feature adding to the sense of belonging. Avin then continued by describing how the sense of belonging might alter between different urban spaces. Taking the example of suburban youths in the inner-city shopping mall, Avin illustrated how she would find herself somewhat conflicted between contrasting linguistic fields: 'sometimes there are very loud young people there and it's like, this is town, here you cannot be like in X (name of suburb).' The example illustrates how navigating the urban space might entail a kind of crossing of fields and perceived linguistic boundaries. Avin's description indicated a feeling on her part that the 'loud young

people' should conform to the local (and dominant norms) of language use and ways of being represented in the field of the inner city. In a way the example illustrates the power of dominant language practices within fields in exerting an experienced need for adapting language use to localized norms when navigating between urban spaces or fields. The inner city in the example becomes a kind of overall symbol of the dominant Swedish society. Avin then returned to the topic of feeling at home by referring to the young people in the suburb: 'here live… like, mostly… young people who are like this 'suburb' (urban neighborhood youth)', indicating how the suburb becomes an emblem of identity. In a way, the statement signifies the relationship between space and habitus, resonating how the body is in the world but also how the world is in the body (Reay, 2004; cf. Bourdieu, 1977a). Avin then returned to the topic of feeling at home, concluding with the thought that the suburb is her world: 'this is my neighborhood, this is where I live, this is my suburb. This is everything.' In doing so, Avin referred not only to the sense of belonging to her own local suburb but also to a sense of an equal belonging to other similar urban peripheries in the city. Avin then concluded by stating: 'You feel like this "yeah this, this is my place."' In sum, the example could be seen as indicative of how one's relation to a particular place and one's linguistic sense of placement are intertwined in the shaping of dispositions and language practices.

10.2 Summarizing notes

Drawing on interview data, this chapter has presented the participants' perspectives on the role of language in shaping identities, cultural belongings, and linguistic sense of placement. The final question in this study sought to explore what role out-of-school language use and exposure played in shaping young adolescents' emergent identities and views of languages and multilingualism. The findings indicate how the young adolescents consider languages as playing an essential part in their identity repertoires and sense of cultural belonging. They expressed ambivalent positions when navigating between cultural identities and senses of belonging and the reported accounts described issues pertaining to legitimacy and language ownership, language maintenance as part of imagined future language use, identification, and linguistic sense of placement.

11. Discussion

In this chapter the main findings of the study (presented in chapters 7–10) are discussed. The discussion begins with an introductory paragraph, followed by discussion sections dealing with main findings from the four result chapters. The chapter ends with concluding reflections followed by implications and suggestions for further research.

11.1 Locating dimensions of language practices and dispositions

The aim of this study was to explore the potential interplay of out-of-school language use, language ideologies, investment, and identities of young adolescents in linguistically heterogenous urban areas in Sweden. This entailed identifying what languages young adolescents in these urban areas use and encounter in their everyday lives outside school. It also meant an exploration of young adolescents' ideologies of languages and the connection between patterns of language use, language investment and constructions of identities. The study employed a sequential mixed methods research design where three instruments were used in the process of generating data (questionnaire, language diaries and individual interviews). The first part of the study aimed to identify patterns of language use by investigating the young adolescents' use and encounters with languages in their spare time. Thereafter, the patterns of language use formed the foundation for the exploration of participants' dispositions towards languages, investment in languages and identities. As mentioned in chapter six, when using the term ideologies with young participants, it is worth stressing that the participants' responses and accounts are seen as expressing positions reflective of language ideologies. Adopting a Bourdieusian approach, the study has considered language practices as located in the multidimensional space of habitus, field, and capital. In understanding young adolescents' use and perceptions of languages, Bourdieu's view of language as symbolic capital and notion of habitus (with its pillaring concepts) have constituted the main theoretical foundation for analysis. Most importantly, Bourdieu's thinking tools have informed the analysis by emphasizing

a view of language use or language practices as inextricably part of the greater social world and thus relationally bound to social structures and relations of power. Thus, in the present study, the language practices and dispositions of the young adolescents are seen as formed by the relational interplay between habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1991). As such, they are positioned between the dispositions that make up habitus and the contexts or fields in which agents act. Consequently, language practices and language ideologies are seen as inseparable, theoretically informed by a poststructuralist view of language as integral to identity constructions (Norton, 2000, 2010, 2013; Weedon, 1987, 2004).

The analysis of the participants' described language use indicated how the participants' language practices seemed to be directed by four main intersecting dynamics. During the process of analysis, these were categorized as *interlocutors/agents*, *activity/situation*, *time/space* and *ideologies*. In this chapter, the key findings of the present study are discussed in relation to these four influencing intersecting dynamics, as well as the research questions, previous research, and the theoretical and conceptual perspectives inspiring this thesis.

11.2 Language use in everyday interactions

The first question in this study sought to determine with whom, when and in what situations and contexts young adolescents aged 11–14 use different languages. More specifically, what distributional patterns could be discerned in young adolescents' described use of Heritage Language(s), Swedish, English, and additional languages and how linguistic repertoires are manifested in different out-of-school domains, linguistic practices, activities, and situations. Integrated findings of the participants' reported daily language use from all three strands of data (questionnaire, language diaries, interviews), make visible how family, relatives, friends, and classmates but also school constitute central parts in the lives of the young adolescents. Given the age of these participants, family, friends, and school are all expected to be central, but the findings indicate how interactions in the different social domains form part of the intersecting dynamics governing participants' language use and dispositions. The overall findings concerning the role of family, friends and school are in line with previous research on the impact of these social domains on young people's language use and language ideologies (e.g., Bellander, 2010; Otterup, 2005; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Rampton, 1995; Rydenvald, 2017). However, this study adds to the existing research by providing insights into practices and ideological positions among linguistically and

culturally heterogenous groups of young adolescents from different contemporary urban settings in Sweden.

11.2.1 Language use with family members and relatives

Information about the young adolescents' language use with family members from all three strands of data demonstrated how the language use within the family appeared to follow a quite clear distributional pattern regarding what languages the participants generally used with different interlocutors and in different activities or situations. However, the findings also demonstrated a great diversity in the ways languages were used with family members in terms of details of speech patterns such as degrees of mixing, purposes, circumstantial factors, and underlying dynamics such as language ideologies or rationales governing the linguistic practice. The questionnaire results indicated a language use pattern where Heritage Languages seemed to dominate in interactions with parents and relatives whereas the use of Swedish was evidently more prevalent in interactions with siblings, friends and classmates. This pattern of language use is consistent with findings from previous studies (e.g., Otterup, 2005; King & Ganuza, 2005; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Runfors, 2003, 2009; see also Boyd, 1985), yet provides up to date accounts of a linguistically diverse sample of young adolescents in urban areas in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. While most of the participants reported using Heritage Languages only in interaction with parents or caretakers, the results also demonstrated some use of Heritage Languages and Swedish in combination. Although less common, some participants reported using only Swedish in interactions with parents or caretakers. The patterns found in the questionnaire results were also confirmed by the language diaries, which demonstrated a higher prevalence of Heritage Languages in interactions with parents or caretakers. In interactions with siblings, the use of Swedish clearly dominated, but combinations of Heritage Languages and Swedish in various mixing patterns were also quite common. The results of the language diaries and interviews confirmed the language use patterns found in the questionnaire results. The pattern of language mixing also corresponds with previous research on the use of multiple languages and the role of family in Heritage Language use and maintenance (e.g., Grosjean, 1982; György-Ullholm, 2010; Jonsson, 2013; Kheirkhah, 2016; King & Ganuza, 2005; Starks & Lee, 2010). Even though the study found quite clear distributional patterns in terms of language use with different family members, the diaries and interviews demonstrated nuances and details regarding the underlying dynamics of

language use, showing a great diversity in the way languages are used in interactions. The results thus demonstrate the heterogeneity and dynamic nature of language use, signifying the importance of paying attention to the multiple ways in which languages are used in the home and within family units. For example, the diary and interview accounts seemed to indicate how language use with parents and siblings shifted from time to time, depending on a number of intersecting dynamics such as the circumstantial factors or type of situation but also by incidental preferences in the moment. Incidental momentary-like preferences were, for example, recurrently mentioned by participants when referring to mixing patterns of language use (cf. Jonsson, 2013), with the explanation that, 'it just happens'. Some languages were sometimes also referred to as more or less useful depending on the purposes of interaction in a given situation. For example, most participants perceived the Heritage Language as holding a particular emotional value as linguistic capital offering more precious, genuine, or truthful ways of expressing different emotions among close family members. As mentioned, the language use with family members varied depending on the interlocutor or agents present. The diaries and interview accounts revealed how language use with certain interlocutors tended to be governed by the linguistic preferences of the interlocutor. For example, participants referred to how the language would vary depending on the language the interlocutor felt most confident in.

The language use patterns within the family domain might also reflect the language ideologies not only of the young adolescents themselves but also their parents. Language use can vary greatly between families and in some families the language use might be the result of more or less explicit family language policies. The family has been identified as a critical domain or social unit influencing ideologies, policies, and practices of language (e.g., Spolsky, 2004, 2012). Although not explicitly studied in this thesis, the influence of parents' ideologies has been researched within the field of family language policy where parents' ideologies have been found to impact language practices in families (e.g., De Houwer, 1999; Zentella, 1997). The present study also indicates how the way languages are used within family units might depend on migrant trajectories and linguistic backgrounds. Again, the findings indicate how multiple dynamics simultaneously are at play in governing language practices.

The questionnaire also targeted language use with relatives. The results demonstrated quite clear patterns of language use when speaking to different relatives. Less surprisingly, Heritage Languages were particularly prevalent in interactions with grandparents. Interactions with other adult relatives were still

dominated by Heritage Languages but also included combinations of languages in mixing patterns. The interactions with cousins demonstrated the greatest variety. While most participants reported using mainly Heritage Languages with cousins, the primary use of Swedish was also commonly reported followed by combinations of Heritage Language and Swedish. The findings of the participants' language use with relatives indicate how age might be an impacting factor albeit in relation to other intersecting factors. These included factors such as the linguistic background and migrant trajectories of the relatives and whether the relatives reside in Sweden or abroad, language familiarity, ideologies and preferences.

11.2.2 Language use with friends and classmates and out-of-school versus in-school language use

Even though the interest of this thesis concerns the participants' reported language use beyond the school setting, the results of interaction with friends versus classmates demonstrate the dynamics of language use both *in* and *out* of school. While Swedish is highly prevalent in the participants' reported interactions with friends, it almost completely dominates in interactions with classmates. Patterns of interactions with classmates reveal how Swedish indeed is the most common language used in peer interactions. Although interactions with friends are dominated by Swedish too, findings also show how interactions with friends can include the use of either Heritage Languages and/or English to a greater extent. However, mixing patterns of language use appear to be less prevalent when interacting with classmates at school. This finding is consistent with that of Jonsson (2013) who found a greater separation of languages at school, or in school related activities, and how the adolescents in her study would avoid translingual practices at school. Other studies also found language use in school to be more homogenous compared to the language use patterns at home (Ag, 2018; Rydenvald, 2017). The findings in the present study thus add to the existing knowledge from previous studies regarding the linguistic divergence or 'home-school gap' (cf. Spolsky, 1974) between the language use norms and practices *in* and *out* of school (e.g., Van Avermaet, 2007). In addition, the participants' interview accounts contained descriptions which signify an awareness of how different linguistic varieties - or ways of speaking - have different symbolic value and how speakers take different positions (Bourdieu, 1991). Some participants would exemplify how they varied or adapted their speech depending on who they were talking to or the situation or setting, for example, between what some referred

to as language used in school and the everyday language used with friends which they often characterized as containing more slang or words from the contemporary urban vernacular (cf. Stæhr, 2014). The participants generally showed a high awareness of language use norms. For example, during the interviews, the participants would distinguish the contemporary urban vernacular or youth speech as containing more "slang" compared to the language used in school or in other "formal" situations, arguing how it might be considered less suitable in certain situations and with certain interlocutors. In drawing such a distinction, the participants adopt a position in which the contemporary urban vernacular is seen as subordinate when compared to the dominant legitimate practices against which all linguistic practices are measured (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 53). In turn, by distinguishing the urban vernacular as deviating from dominant modes of speaking, the participants direct attention to the interconnectedness between language use and ideologies and wider socio-political structures and aspects of power and inequality. In relation to this, the study also shows how participants demonstrate an awareness of the linguistic hierarchy and recognition of the legitimacy of the dominant language (see Bourdieu, 1991). The findings thus indicate a 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1991) and suggest an awareness – or 'common consciousness' of a linguistic hierarchy where the urban vernacular mode of expression tends to be systematically devalued by the dominant society and the education system (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 49). The participants associated their way of speaking as tied to the local neighborhood, showing their awareness that young people in other areas might speak differently, in a way signifying the relationship between social uses of language and social differences (see Bourdieu, 1991, p. 54). Taken together, these findings broadly support the work of studies in this area which have demonstrated adolescents' awareness of dominant language ideologies and language use norms (e.g., Ag, 2018; Bauer et al., 2015; Ganuza, 2008; Haglund, 2005; Jonsson, 2013; Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Otterup 2005). In relation to this, an awareness of language hierarchies and the way language operates was also manifested in the way some participants reflected on how their language use was shaped by the area where they live and how it might deviate from other modes of speaking in other areas. In this sense, the findings indicate an awareness of how ways of speaking are seen as tied to the space one occupies in society and the relationship between social uses of language and social differences (see Bourdieu, 1991, p. 54). However, even if the participants' ideological positions mirrored a view of the contemporary urban vernacular as associated with contemporary urban areas, growing up in a certain place does not necessarily

determine one's speech (see Bijvoet, 2020). Yet, the place with its demographics and other signifying characteristics and images associated with it, might shape one's sense of identification or disidentification[38] which in turn might manifest itself in language use and dispositions towards language use.

The high prevalence of Swedish in interactions with classmates at school is not surprising given the dominant role of Swedish in Swedish education where Swedish is principally the language of schooling. Swedish might sometimes also be used for practical reasons due to the linguistic diversity in the classroom. Swedish is a language almost all classmates understand and thus is seen as the lingua franca. Such a reasoning resonates with the finding in Rydenvald's (2017) study regarding the role of interlocutor where language use was found to serve inclusive purposes, facilitating all interlocutors' understanding. Even so, the domination of Swedish in education reflects and reproduces the linguistic hierarchy and the recognition of Swedish as official language. Many of the participants also consider Swedish to be their "strongest" language and the use of Swedish can thus be expected given how language familiarity and language use tend to be closely connected. Although this study showed a diversity regarding the participants' sense of what they considered constituted their "strongest" language, many of the participants are born and raised in Sweden and considered Swedish to be the language they felt most confident in. The way the dominant language of tuition, at some point, tends to become students' "strongest" language again resembles the findings by Rydenvald (2017).

11.2.3 Intersecting dimensions of language use

The qualitative findings demonstrate participants' descriptions of language use in different social domains, different situations, and activities and with different interlocutors. The analysis of the described language use of the young adolescents, presented in chapter 7, illustrates how the participants' language use practices appear governed by four intersecting dimensions. As shown, the role of *interlocutor* was clearly manifested in the results which visibly demonstrate how language use shifts depending on the interlocutor. This reflects the findings from the study by Rydenvald (2017) who found the interlocutor to be central to how languages end up being used, as the participants' interactions in her study seemed guided by principles of inclusion. However, the language use patterns and accounts in the

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[38] Term used by feminist and queer theorists which refers to the act of disidentifying or rejecting a personal or group identity ("disidentification", 2022) or what theorist and philosopher Judith Butler has described as 'experience of misrecognition' (Butler, 2011, p. 219). For an overview of the term, see e.g., Medina (2003).

present study, also indicate how the young adolescents' language use may vary depending on the situation or activity at hand which in turn can be guided by other participating agents or interlocutors present. The type of activity or situation and its characteristics might also dictate the way languages are used. Thus, the analysis found that several dimensions seemed to be at play and rather than identifying any one of these as more central than the other, the dimensions seemed to intersect in various dynamic ways. One of the four dynamics concerned the role of language ideologies in governing language practices in certain activities or situations. For example, the findings exemplify how the young adolescents' language use might shift depending on rationales and values deriving from language ideologies permeating different activities or situations or interactions with different interlocutors. The participants' perceptions of how languages are used with siblings and friends sometimes also indicate how the young adolescents interactionally position themselves and navigate between cultural affiliations and claims of identity. For example, participants' accounts can be interpreted as indicating how Heritage Languages are ascribed weight and affective value as linguistic capital when interacting with family members and relatives but also when expressing anger or deep feelings of affection. Lastly, the role of place appeared to constitute another intersecting dimension. While the role of place is more closely addressed in subsequent sections in this chapter, the results of the young adolescents' language use in interactions also bear indications of language use as tied to place. For example, the language diaries contained descriptions of language use in various settings or social domains. These domains include, but are not limited to, the home, the school and various outside settings, or situations such as commuting to and from home and school or when hanging out with friends, participating in sport, visiting relatives and going shopping in town. The findings presented in chapter 7 thus also indicate how the role of place comes into play in the young adolescents' described language use. As demonstrated, Heritage Languages dominate in interactional practices with parents and relatives and are, for most participants, present in everyday situations at home. The diary accounts thus indicate how Heritage Language use appears tied to the home domain - and the homes of extended family members - as constituting a linguistic space. The high prevalence of Swedish in interactions with classmates at school also signifies the role of place as an intersecting dynamic in shaping language use, which in turn points to the linguistic divide between home and school and the positions ascribed to the different languages by society and the education system (see Bourdieu, 1991). Other examples of language in relation to place include the descriptions of

language use while visiting societal institutions or physical spaces such as public libraries, hospitals, local stores, sports centers, and stores and restaurants located in the city center.

11.3 Language use and language encounters in various out-of-school activities and situations

Integrated findings from all three strands of data (questionnaire, language diaries, interviews) revealed distributional patterns of language use in a wide range of different activities, where certain languages were found to dominate certain activities. Conclusively, the patterns of language use in different out-of-school activities presented in chapter 8, point to a high prevalence of Swedish and English in both productive and receptive activities. Heritage Languages were also shown to be present but to a varying degree depending on dimensions such as time and space, presence of other agents, different kinds of constraints, interests, and preferences. A few participants were also invested in activities in additional languages, languages new to their linguistic repertoires, particularly when watching series or listening to music, for example Japanese and Korean.

The language diaries provided windows into the everyday activities of the participating young adolescents which contributed to the quantitative results and helped to explore the language practices in more depth. Participants' descriptive accounts and reasonings of their linguistic practices and encounters through various activities revealed dispositions to different languages, and how the use of languages in different activities could be tied to the intersecting dimensions outlined in chapter 6. Both the language diary entries and the interview accounts indicated the sociohistorical and contextual situatedness of everyday activities. The findings thus signified how the linguistic practices in different activities seemed to be generated by the interrelation between habitus – with its set of dispositions – and the social contexts or fields the young adolescents engage in and navigate between (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14)

The overall findings can be seen as reflecting the linguistic hierarchy of present Swedish society where Swedish and/or English tend to dominate in most areas of society (Hult, 2012). The participants' language use and exposure in out-of-school activities clearly reflected this pattern. However, it is important to note the potential interconnectedness between language use and type of activity and its specific characteristics. Certain activities may be more or less associated with a particular language or languages. For example, global popular culture often

employs languages to promote the culture. Although certain languages might dominate in certain activities, some activities may also simply be less accessible in particular languages. Even if there would be an interest in engaging in a specific activity in a specific language, the possibility of doing so might nevertheless be very limited. Thus, the use of language(s) in an activity may be governed by a combination of different interconnected factors relating to the type of activity, the language and technological means at hand, the language ideologies permeating the activity and the socio-historical and physical space in which the activity takes place. At times, the use of language in one activity may be governed by utility rather than preference or interest. At other times, the use of language may be more closely directed by interest or expectations which in turn may depend on the preferences or expectations of interlocutors as in the examples of gaming or engaging in social media. In addition, lack of access either to the activity or the technological means necessary, may prevent the use of for example Heritage Language(s) and thus availability may also direct to what extent a language is used or encountered.

In sum, even though the results presented here indicate clear patterns of language use in different activities, the findings also shed light on the variability of language use within these activities. The qualitative findings indicated confirming and contradictory and deviating examples which helped to bring nuance and affirmed the multifaceted nature of language use. This signifies the need for approaches in the study of everyday language practices which depart not from a dichotomizing view of universality versus uniqueness but rather from a 'relational and analogical mode of reasoning' (Wacquant, 1989, p. 36).

11.3.1 Participants' encounters with languages through watching movies, television, series and video clips

The findings in the present study demonstrated a clear dominance of English and Swedish when watching movies, series and videos. When watching movies, English speaking movies were the most frequent, followed by Swedish-speaking movies. English also dominated the activity of watching videos on for, example, YouTube and when watching Television Series. However, when watching Television broadcasts or shows, Swedish was slightly more frequent. The strong dominance of English in these receptive activities is consistent with the results of previous studies on out-of-school language use among children and adolescents in Sweden (Enever, 2011; Sundqvist, 2009; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014). The language diaries and interview accounts confirmed the distributional pattern but also

included examples of viewing activities in Heritage Languages. The findings also indicated how the language of a movie, series, video or TV-show might be governed by several factors tied to the four dimensions outlined in chapter 6. The participants' language experiences via movies, videos, TV programmes and series might be influenced by their own and/or others' preferences and interest and might also be dictated by the presence (or absence) of other agents. The exposure to a certain language when watching movies, videos, TV programmes and series might also depend on marketing strategies, the current popularity of the particular movie, video TV programmes or series, and the languages offered by the streaming service or platform used at that particular moment. It is important to also recognize the temporary features of these activities as momentary situated linguistic practices where language encounters might vary greatly from time to time. Preferences and interests might fluctuate in relation to different kinds of external influences and might also alter during different periods of life depending on contextual and conditional circumstances.

11.3.2 Language encounters when listening to music

English and Swedish also dominated in the activity of listening to music. Even though listening to music in Heritage Languages was less common, 31 percent still reported a daily frequency. Listening to music is a common source of input and the high frequency of English exposure reflects the findings from previous studies (e.g., Sundqvist, 2009; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014). Even if the present study found a higher prevalence of English, the language diary and interview accounts also reflected the influence of both English and Swedish music. Again, the variability of the activity is worth mentioning as preferences and listening patterns might fluctuate greatly over time, thus suggesting the time dimension involved in governing language encounters through music. Participants' frequency of listening to music in Heritage Languages also seemed to be reflective of the overall of frequency of the Heritage Language at home. Participants, who had recently migrated to Sweden more commonly reported listening to music in the Heritage Language(s). To some extent, the findings also point to the role of music in evoking personal memories and senses of cultural attachment.

11.3.3 Participants' encounters with languages through reading activities

The present study provides insight into the participants' language encounters in reading activities. The questionnaire results demonstrate how Swedish dominates in the participants' reading activities. When borrowing books at the library, most of the participants reported that they typically borrow books in Swedish only, followed by participants who reported borrowing books in both Swedish and English. As for the frequency of reading books regularly, most participants reported reading books in Swedish on a daily or weekly basis. However, the degree to which this refers to pure recreational voluntary reading is somewhat uncertain as there is a possibility that participants read novels as part of homework. As the questionnaire provides self-reported data, it must be acknowledged that items may be interpreted differently by different participants. Despite the instructions to focus on activities taking place out-of-school, on an average day, some of the items may overlap more than others with activities taking place *at* school. Thus, some activities may, by some participants, be associated with activities at school. There is also the possibility that participants could have forgotten to keep focused on what they engaged in during their spare time and instead, responded in accordance with what they were doing in school or throughout the entire day, school hours included. This possibility must be considered when interpreting the distributed responses. Since regular reading tends to be a common part of the school day and as such, the high frequency demonstrated in the results on this sub-item requires caution and careful interpretation. Nevertheless, despite this potential weakness, the patterns of distribution still provide an account of the participants' overall or typical use of languages in different activities, whether in or out-of-school. Furthermore, against the background information of the participants' patterns when borrowing books, a high prevalence of Swedish can be expected. While reading books in Heritage Languages was found to be quite uncommon, almost one third of the participants reported reading books in Heritage Languages on a weekly basis. The low frequency of reading in Heritage Languages compares to the findings by King & Ganuza (2005). The same pattern was found for reading books in English. Almost one third of the participants reported reading books in English weekly which corresponds with the information regarding the participants' book borrowing behaviour. However, more participants reported reading books in English everyday compared to the few participants who reported a daily frequency of reading books in Heritage Languages. The distribution of languages present in

the out-of-school reading activities might be due to several reasons. As more than half of the participants are born and raised in Sweden, Swedish is by some considered the language they feel most confident in. The participants' reading skills in their Heritage Languages might vary greatly and some of the participants during interviews particularly expressed having a limited reading proficiency in their Heritage Languages. Engaging in reading activities in Swedish (or English) might also be encouraged as being beneficial for overall academic success which is an assertion likely to play a part in the high prevalence of Swedish and English. Another impacting factor might have to do with the availability of books in Heritage Languages at the school library and the local public libraries.

Reading the News was found to be a relatively low frequency activity, yet Swedish dominated the activity and around one third of the participants reported reading the News in Swedish once or a few times a week. Reading the latest News in English was not as common, but 21 percent of the participants reported doing so on a weekly basis. Reading the latest News in Heritage Languages was not common, and few participants reported doing so on a weekly or daily frequency.

Reading magazines also displayed a higher frequency of Swedish and since this activity is less associated with school it could be assumed that the responses do reflect habits related to reading magazines outside of school. However, when examining the pattern of distribution for reading magazines, one must also consider the perhaps limited access to magazines in other languages at least in printed paper format. Printed magazines in English are both very expensive and not necessarily as easily accessed and magazines in Heritage Languages (if existing) may not even be accessible at all in Sweden. Magazines in Heritage Languages can of course be read online, however, printed copies might be difficult to get hold of unless ordered online or personally brought home from travels.

As for the item addressing the participants' frequency of reading aloud to someone at home, the pattern of distribution showed Swedish to be the most common language used. As the wording of this item included the home domain, it may be less associated with read aloud sessions in the school setting and it could therefore be rather safe to assume that the responses reflect the languages used when reading aloud at home and not in class. Although the question did not suggest any specific text, the activity of reading aloud may however entail text materials related to schoolwork which could provide one possible explanation to the high prevalence of reading aloud in Swedish. Other possible explanations to the dominance of Swedish could also be a lack of availability of texts in other

languages in the home and reading aloud at home might also include reading a bedtime story to a younger sibling.

11.3.4 Using languages on social media

Most of the participants in the study engage in social media regularly, yet the choice of social media platforms varies. Commonly used social media platform were Snapchat Instagram, WhatsApp and TikTok. However, the language diaries only contained specified references to Instagram and Snapchat. When reading posts on social media, Swedish and English were considerably more common than reading posts in Heritage Languages. The same pattern was found for the productive use of language when posting on social media. Swedish, closely followed by English was found to dominate. The questionnaire result was also confirmed by the language diaries which typically contained examples of the use of Swedish and English. The material also showed that while the interaction on social media was dominated by Swedish it also contained elements of English. During the interviews, participants argued that the language use and exposure on social media varied depending on a number of factors relating to the overall dynamics of activity/situation, interlocutor, time/space and ideologies. For example, the way languages are used might vary between the different platforms, where some for example tend to involve more Swedish than English and vice versa. Thus, the structure of the activity itself, here the social media platform, influences the dynamics of language use. The accounts one follows and thus the languages used in the posts and comments by others consequently influence the languages encountered. The preferences of the people one interacts with might also exert influence on the productive and interactional practices. For example, English was used more when interacting on social media with distant relatives. According to some of the participants, Swedish tends to be most common in social media practices that involve friends who they meet in their daily lives. The participants' examples also pointed to the social and contextual situatedness of the activity. Even though social media allows for interactions with people all over the world, the use of social media among young adolescents might more often be characterized as a localized activity that involves close networks of friends and peers from school. As one participant noted, the activity is situated in the country of Sweden where the everyday interaction among the young adolescents is dominated by Swedish and thus Swedish becomes the expected language of interaction on social media. Thus, the language use dominating everyday practices

with friends tends to be equally present in the digital interactions on social media (cf. Stæhr, 2014). This study does not focus on semiotic details regarding the participants' interactional practices on social media. However, even though some languages clearly seem to dominate, it is likely that the actual language practices closely resemble those of the face-to-face interactions of everyday life where elements of the participants' Heritage Languages as well as other resources in their linguistic repertoires form part of the interactions. Language use on social media also tends to be less stable than many face-to-face interactions and is often characterized by unpredictability and variability (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

Even though the use of Heritage Languages on social media was found to be less common, it was still reported as being used to a minor extent. The potential main reasons for the dominance of Swedish and English have already been discussed. Despite the dominance of Swedish among friends in interaction and the dominance of English on certain social media platforms, participants also mentioned that the use of Heritage Languages on social media sometimes could be limited due to technological constraints such as not having a keyboard in that language on the phone. The low prevalence of Heritage Languages might also be partly due to proficiency limitations as participants exemplified how it could be difficult to find the right word.

11.3.5 Language use in gaming activities

Less surprisingly, English and Swedish proved to be the most used languages in gaming activities. While English was found to dominate the activity of playing as such, when chatting or speaking to other players, Swedish was slightly more common than English although both languages were reportedly frequent. The high prevalence of English in gaming has been confirmed in previous studies (De Wilde, Brysbaert, & Eyckmans, 2020; Jensen, 2017; Olsson, 2011; Olsson & Sylvén, 2015; Sundqvist, 2009; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2012; Svendsen et al., 2015) however, less is known about the use of Heritage Languages and Swedish in gaming activities among young adolescents in Sweden. Although English was the language that primarily dominated the activity, the way both Swedish and English or sometimes Heritage Languages and Swedish/English seemed to be common in spoken interactions while gaming, broadly reflects previous studies on bilingual gaming activities (e.g., Leppänen, et al., 2009; Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009). In the present study, Heritage Languages were considerably less common than English and Swedish, yet, depending on the participating agents active in the game,

the use of Heritage Languages might occur more frequently. The findings from language diaries and interviews for example showed how participants would use Heritage Languages together with Swedish or English while gaming with for example cousins or siblings. As indicated by Leppänen et al. (2009), gaming activities have been found to be linguistically hybrid in nature and language use tends to be temporally directed by the various resources provided by the game and used for different purposes. Thus, the contextual features of the activity, in this case the type of game, seem to influence the way languages are used. The global digital gaming industry is substantially dominated by English. However, games are often produced for their specific markets, where China, the United States and Japan currently are at the top of the list[39], making Chinese, English and Japanese the most common languages. Games produced for the European market might be produced with an English-speaking audience in mind and thus require the use of English, whereas other games are playable in several languages, yet the language options available might be restricted and depend on the region in which the game was purchased. However, even though games might offer the use of several languages, English might still be the preferred language particularly in multiplayer games where it might be used as lingua franca. In games playable in several languages, the preferences for languages might alter depending on the type of game and whether or not it involves interaction with other players but also depending on the proficiency and preferences of the player. One must also distinguish between the languages produced in the game and the languages used by the players. Even though a game is translated and played in one language, communication within the game with other players might still occur in another language. Nonetheless, from a Swedish perspective, the overall position of English in Sweden reflected in the gaming market, possibly explains the high prevalence of English.

11.4 Dimensions of language ideologies and the ambiguity of language investments

One of the aims of this study was to explore the participants' language ideologies and investment in languages. The results show how the participants consider Heritage Languages, Swedish and English to be of value and significance but express different meanings and implications regarding their importance. The

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[39] Top markets ranked by revenue estimates 2021 according to a report by Newzoo (2022)

findings thereby also point to an ambiguity in the participants' language investments.

11.4.1 Dispositions towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English

English was clearly a language which the participants considered to be of great importance due to its global use as lingua franca. Thus, English seemed to be highly valued and considered to hold a stronger linguistic capital than both Heritage Languages and Swedish. Thereby the participants' dispositions did seem to reflect the role of English in the linguistic hierarchy due to its value as linguistic capital on its very widespread market (Bourdieu, 1993). However, the results also showed how the participants assigned great value to both Heritage Languages and Swedish. The participants generally expressed favourable positions towards Swedish as a school subject yet, in contrast to English, the participants displayed varying positions towards having more Swedish in school. With regard to the participants' dispositions towards receiving more tuition in the three languages in school the results must also be interpreted in relation to contextual circumstances such as the framing policies of the education system. For example, in Swedish compulsory school, the amount of time allocated to Swedish and English as school subjects varies considerably (see chapter 9). Thus, the participants' responses as to whether there should be more English in school can also be interpreted as reflecting the hours of instruction received in school, as compared to Swedish. The teaching time allotted to mother tongue tuition (MTI)[40] is limited and, when offered, lessons are commonly organized after regular school hours and generally comprise approximately 40–60 minutes per week (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Spetz, 2014; Skolverket, 2008). As calculated by Lainio (2013), a student participating in mother tongue tuition throughout compulsory school, would receive a total of 360 hours of instruction. As shown, participants expressed varying views about receiving more mother tongue tuition in school. Some participants expressed their contentment with the current amount and organization. Though, it should be mentioned that imagining alternative educational set ups and possibilities is likely to be difficult for such young students.

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[40] Mother tongue instruction is non-mandatory. According to the Swedish Ministry of Education (2011, p. 185), municipalities are obliged to arrange mother tongue tuition in a language only if 1) there are at least five students who are entitled to and want to participate in MTI in that same language and 2) there is a suitable teacher available in the language.

While the limited and peripheral position of MTI in the Swedish curriculum might play into some of the participants' dispositions, the interviews indicated how participants' varying interest in receiving more MTI seemed directed by multiple dimensions at play. For example, to what extent the participants perceive the benefits of investing in MTI (Darvin & Norton, 2015), which might depend on the level of proficiency and degree of use at home. Even though some participants displayed negative positions, others expressed strong positions towards the importance of receiving mother tongue tuition, mentioning it as significant for current language development, cultural affiliation, future language maintenance and educational equality. When participants expressed contentment with the current amount of MTI, they sometimes argued it to be 'enough' and that more MTI would be 'too much'. The participants' accounts thus pointed to how the devalued role of Heritage Languages in school, through acts of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1991), is "justified" and continuously withheld. The accounts signal the apparent contradiction involved in the unequal valorization of languages. While some students never have to question the taken for granted privilege of receiving education in the (dominant) language(s) they already use at home, others tacitly learn to recognize the legitimacy of the hierarchical relations of power (Bourdieu, 1991) and thus learn to feel appreciative of the allocated weekly ration (where available), thereby justifying the limited and diminished position of their Heritage Language(s) in the education system. The way in which some of the participants contemplated that receiving more MTI would be 'too much' in many ways also signals the paradoxical situation, where young adolescents tacitly come to recognize the legitimacy of the dominant language(s) at the potential expense of the development of their Heritage Languages. The results thus point to the dynamics of the linguistic field and the role of the education system in reproducing 'the structural disparity between the very unequal knowledge of the legitimate language and the much more uniform recognition of this language' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 62).

11.4.2 The ambiguity of language investments

The participants' favourable positions towards English are not surprising. Even if English has a considerably smaller amount of allotted teaching hours than Swedish, the subject of English is known for its popularity among students and for generally being regarded as an important school subject (Oscarson & Apelgren, 2005; Skolverket, 2004). Swedish teenagers have also been shown to be more

enthusiastic about learning English than other languages (Finndahl in press; Henry, 2012). Seen against the backdrop of the general popularity of English, the results from the questionnaire might be interpreted as pointing to a stronger investment among the participants in learning English as compared to learning either Heritage Languages or Swedish. However, the findings show how the participants also express strong investments in learning both Heritage Languages and Swedish. The interviews revealed varying and ambivalent ideological assumptions which both reflect the linguistic hierarchy in Sweden but also suggest the underlying complexities involved as participants find themselves navigating between (at times) conflicting commitments, needs, aspirations and interests. The participants' dispositions can clearly be seen as reflecting the reproduction of the dominant language and the linguistic hierarchy as English seemed to almost surpass Swedish. While the participants in this study did consider Swedish to be important in Sweden, English was still considered more important overall due to its widespread use and role as "global lingua franca". As a mandatory school subject in Sweden, proficiency in English, in contrast to other languages, is seen as expected and in education English has become an indisputable "natural" element resulting in establishing what Lainio (2013) has called a 'bilingual habitus'. Significantly, the result of the participants' dispositions reflects the position of English in the linguistic hierarchy (Hult, 2012), continuously endorsed and maintained by the education system. Yet, the role of Swedish is also expressed by the participants as significant for future opportunities in Sweden. Similar to the findings by Palm, Ganuza and Hedman (2019) the participants' accounts highlight Swedish as the legitimate language in school which can be seen as reflecting the decisive role of the educational system in the formation of habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). In sum, the result of the participants' dispositions can be seen as a representation of the linguistic hierarchy in Sweden, continuously preserved by the education system, emphasizing the role of Swedish (and English) for educational achievement, future opportunities, and social mobility.

11.4.3 Navigating ideologies and tensions of value and power

The participants' interview accounts of their dispositions towards Heritage Languages, Swedish and English seemed to reflect various ideological stances, all of which share elements of navigating salient underlying tensions between affective values and issues of power. Affective values are revealed in the forms of

cultural affiliations, honour, self-identification, individual desires and fulfilments, language maintenance as well as matters of recognition, equality, and power in the form of symbolic capital. Similar to findings from previous studies (e.g., Davila 2017; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019), the participants in this study considered it significant to maintain the Heritage Languages as cultural and symbolic capital in maintaining connections with relatives and affiliations with the heritage culture and to pass the language on to next generations. Some of the participants' accounts also indicated an essentialist connection between Heritage Language proficiency and ethnic identity, as also shown in previous studies (Ag, 2018; Ag & Jørgensen, 2013; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Stroud, 2004). The accounts also revealed how dispositions towards languages seemed to rest on assumptions of named languages as tied to concrete national geographical and cultural spaces, thus indicating languages as cultural–national representations. While English was generally considered a universal language, in contrast, participants typically referred to Heritage Languages and Swedish by the locality of their use. The cultural–national orientations towards languages can also be seen as relationally bound to the participants' own cultural heritages and past socio-political histories. The participants' dispositions might be reflective of ideologies of language-nation or language-culture associations which might be prevalent in different socio–political and cultural contexts. For example, for Kurdish speaking participants, language ideologies may (or may not) be specifically tied to the identifications and politics of belonging in the Kurdish diaspora (see Eliassi, 2010; Khayati & Dahlstedt, 2014). Equally, for Arabic speaking participants for example, interpretations of the accounted language ideologies can be seen in relation to ideological formulations of the role of language in the formation of the national identity in the Arab Middle East and the esteemed position and reverence of Arabic in Arab societies (see e.g., Suleiman, 2003). In the sense of Bourdieu (1991) the participants' ideological stances of languages as tied to national, cultural, or regional boundaries, also reflect the notion of a unified linguistic market which signifies the relational bond between habitus and the market. As such, participants' accounts might to some extent reflect perceptions resting on monolingual ideologies which presuppose an imposed recognition of the official language and a 'unified linguistic market' (Bourdieu, 1991). From a Bourdieusian perspective, participants' dispositions sometimes seemed to express a complicity with Swedish as the legitimate language in school which in turn signifies the decisive role of the educational system in symbolic domination and in maintaining established hierarchies of linguistic practices. This further illustrates how dispositions (or the

formation of the habitus) tend to be unnoticeably established through slow processes of acquisition 'by the sanctions of the linguistic market' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51). The participants' perceptions of the importance of knowing Swedish in Sweden also transpire political ideological static ideas about language as a prerequisite for a life in Sweden. Thus, the linguistic capital of Swedish is tied to the specific market of Sweden where the use of Swedish holds value. Some of the participants' emphasis of Swedish and English also points to the uneven legitimization of languages and the 'misrecognition' of children and young adolescents' multilingual repertoires (Bourdieu, 1991). As pointed out by Blommaert (2010, p. 178), understanding the normative power of the state is crucial for understanding globalization processes and the role of language, noting how 'migrants are drawn, reterritorialized and firmly locked into a *national* scale–level', a stable and uniform frame of time and space. Like the findings by Palm, Ganuza and Hedman (2019), the participants in the present study rarely perceived their Heritage Languages as having any economic or professional value in their future adult lives in Swedish society. This can be interpreted as indicative of how the young adolescents are measured against a 'mainstream', in this case, the legitimate practices of the dominant society, and images of linguistic and cultural homogeneity, where brought along linguistic resources rarely are considered of value and thus fall subject to misrecognition (Blommaert, 2010, p. 173; Bourdieu, 1991, p. 53). Thereby, the participants' accounts also signal how ideas about languages become accepted and taken for granted, or what Bourdieu would call *doxa*, the notion by which Bourdieu denotes how 'the natural and social world appear as self-evident' (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 156).

11.5 Ideologies of language in the construction of identities and linguistic sense of placement

The final question in this study sought to explore how young adolescents perceive their present and imagined future language use and the role of language in the formation of identities and dispositions. The participants' perspectives, expressed in their interview accounts, recurrently centered on the following main themes: identification and cultural belonging, language ownership, identities, language maintenance and linguistic sense of placement.

11.5.1 Senses of identifications and cultural belongings

The main findings point to how the young adolescents in focus consider languages as playing an essential part in their identity formations and senses of belonging. Most of the interviewed participants expressed a view of language as intimately connected to their identities and cultural belonging. Yet, the findings point to how senses of identities and belonging tend to vary between contexts and situations in time and space. While participants would "feel at home" in both Heritage Languages and Swedish, some participants viewed their Heritage Languages as more closely tied to the cultural heritage and perceived as inextricably linked to their identity repertoire. The results also displayed participants' ambivalent positions when navigating between cultural identities and senses of belonging. Most participants would identify themselves more with the heritage culture, expressing the heritage language as indicative of their identity while others identified more strongly with both the heritage culture and the Swedish culture. The interview accounts demonstrated how the young adolescents move between different senses of belonging and identities. The participants express a sense of identification with either their cultural heritage or with being "Swedish with an immigrant background" or sometimes with both. In these processes, language seems to play central role. For the participants in this study, language appeared to be seen as a symbol for the heritage culture, providing a sense of deep connection, authority, and validation. Yet, language also seemed to be central to the participants' sense of being Swedish concerning the participants' awareness of expectancies and language norms in the dominant society. Most of the participants considered their Heritage Language(s) as "their own", whereas few participants perceived Swedish in quite the same way. While some of the participants considered Swedish to be their "strongest" language, they also expressed a feeling of being unauthorized as legitimate speakers of Swedish, indicating linguistic products as constantly 'embedded in the field of reception' (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 647). The participants' accounts sometimes implied a sense of having experienced or felt an imposed censorship onto their linguistic products in relation to the dominant legitimate practices against which all linguistic practices are measured (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 53). Some participants demonstrated an awareness of how their way of speaking using the 'contemporary urban vernacular' (Rampton, 2011, 2015), which the participants refer to as "ortenspråk", might be perceived by mainstream society and how it can act as marker of identity, confirming similar evidence found in previous studies (e.g., Ganuza, 2008; Haglund, 2005; Milani &

Jonsson, 2012; Otterup, 2005). These findings also indicate how language appears to be central in identity processes as the participants move between different identifications and in the way they considered their parents' 'mother tongue' language(s) as their own. However, rather than necessarily moving between different poles of identifications, the results in the present study seemed more to indicate how various senses of identities might be at play at the same time but also how the sense of identification might vary and increase or decrease in particular contexts or situations. The weight ascribed to the cultural heritage might shift not only between specific cultural affiliations but also at the individual level. The value assigned to the heritage culture might vary in significance and take on different meanings between individuals. Thus, the cultural heritage might be given a more or less significant role in individual perceptions of languages, identities or sense of placement.

A few participants' accounts also pointed to physical appearance as shaping assumptions and prejudices of others and affecting our sense of ethnic and cultural belonging by the extent to which our physical appearance generates perceptions by ourselves and others as "authentic" or "legitimate" members of communities. These accounts of physical appearance to some extent denote how the body and our relation to it is 'a fundamental dimension of the *habitus* that is inseparable from a relation to language and to time' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 72). Senses of belonging and experiences of being positioned by others might have implications for the degree to which one feels invested in a society, culture, and language. In that sense, the participants' descriptions signify the dynamic and dual conditioning relation between habitus and field, signalling the role of habitus in 'constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense or with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy.' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant, 1989, p. 44). At the same time, by pointing to the significance of physical appearance, the participants' accounts can be seen as indicative of the role of the field in habitus by illustrating the embodiment of habitus and how the body is 'in the social world but also the ways in which the social world is in the body' (Reay, 2004, p. 432; cf. Bourdieu, 1977a).

11.5.2 Authenticity and struggles for legitimacy and language ownership

The participants also describe experiences which indicate struggles for legitimacy, by having their authenticity questioned. The accounts revealed expressions of being questioned both as "true" representatives of their heritage culture and as

legitimate "Swedes". Issues of authenticity and struggles for legitimacy are consistent with the findings from Haglund (2005) on social interaction and identification, but also reflect the findings by Blackledge and Creese (2015) in their study of multilingual practices among young people in European urban settings. The issue of legitimacy raises questions regarding traditional dominant ideas of "Swedishness", more specifically of *who* is identified as a "Swede" and *who* is considered a legitimate speaker of Swedish. While participants would consider Swedish to be the language, they feel most confident in, they also expressed feeling unauthorized as legitimate speakers of Swedish and rarely considered themselves to be "Swedish" by referring to their own or their parents' 'foreign background'. Instead, the participants generally regarded their Heritage Languages as more central to "who they are" and their cultural identities. These findings correspond with those of King and Ganuza (2005) where the adolescents' self-perceptions and sense of national and ethnic identities contrasted with their language preferences, with Swedish being the language they felt most confident in. Preferences for the dominant language have also been demonstrated in several studies (e.g., Babino & Stewart, 2015, 2017; Potowski, 2007). In the present study, the participants' reported experiences and positions regarding a questioning of their legitimacy as Swedish speakers likely signifies the young adolescents' high awareness of societal structures, ethnic segregation and discrimination and its impact on their perceptions of themselves and their position in society. It might also point to the participants' sometimes ambivalent positions towards Swedish and inclination to view themselves as "Swedish", particularly in a context where such a positioning or embrace of culture or behavior emblematic for stereotypical "Swedishness" can be seen as undesirable and treated with contempt and ridicule, for example through the belittling use of names such as 'Suedi' (cf. 'Svenne'). The word 'Suedi' (a translation of 'Swedish' from Arabic) is used in contemporary urban vernacular with reference to a Swedish person or stereotypical Swedish behavior. Oftentimes, the term is used in a condescending way referring to white Swedes acting in exaggerated stereotypical ways or to non-whites acting equally stereotypically and perceived as too culturally assimilated, for example through ways of being, speaking or acting[41] (Jagne-Soreau, 2019). However, as described by Jagne-Soreau (2019), in the song entitled 'Suedi' (Lundin, 2015), Swedish rapper Erik Lundin transformed the term to signify a claimed identity, responding to experiences of

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[41] In English speaking contexts, the meaning of derogatory terms or metaphors such as 'banana', 'bounty', 'Oreo' or 'coconut' can be seen as corresponding in the sense of "acting white" and that they suggest ethnic and cultural betrayal.

racism and racialization growing up in Sweden and navigating between senses of belonging. The song depicts the experience of growing up in 'mellanförskap'[42] (see e.g., Arbouz, 2011, 2012), translated to 'betweenship' (Arbouz, 2011), having one's national identity questioned by being racialized in Sweden while considered Swedish by relatives in his father's home country The Gambia. At the end of the song, Lundin describes "finding himself" and comes out to his parents as Swedish. As argued by Jagne-Soreau (2019), Lundin thereby reclaims the term 'Suedi' and overcomes its negative associations. In so doing, Lundin breaks away from dichotomies and promotes a post-national Sweden where non-white post migration generations should be able to identify as "Swedish" without any reservations or feelings of shame (Jagne-Soreau, 2019). The way participants sometimes expressed ambivalence towards considering themselves as "Swedish" can also be seen as highlighting the process of identification in which difference can be seen as an internal feature, as identification tends to require a conception of an existing difference to begin with, that is, to identify with something also means disidentifying from something else (see Butler, 2004, pp. 145-146).

For the interviewed participants in focus, the Heritage Languages seemed to invoke a sense of authority and legitimacy whereas the participants to varying degrees expressed a lower sense of authority as Swedish speakers. Yet, the findings not only pointed to struggles for authenticity between languages but also between varieties of language use within categorized named languages. The findings thus highlight the complex and juxtaposing ways in which language use is intertwined with young people's language ideologies, perceived identities, linguistic sense of placement and investment in languages. Everyday linguistic practices and ideologies of languages thus seem to play a vital role in shaping investments and identification processes.

Most of the participants' ideological positions towards languages to some extent reflected a view where languages are seen as possessed objects (Blommaert, 2006, p. 512) by making references denoting ownership, such as "my language". As mentioned, the participants' accounts reflected essentialist understandings of language and culture, where language is seen as a symbol for a particular culture

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[42] Term used to describe the experience of not feeling at home in any category but rather claiming the space in between, to feel between or outside of established norms or expected categories of national or cultural identities. The term *'mellanförskapet'* translated to *'the Betweenship'* first appeared as the name of the non-profit organization founded in 2005 in Stockholm, Sweden which aimed to 'raise debate on non-belonging, crossing-border identity, affiliation and participation of young people with foreign backgrounds in today's European societies' (Arbouz, 2011, p. 27; see also Arbouz, 2012).

indicating how culture is perceived in fixed terms as *a* set of common traditions, norms, practices, values, and beliefs shared by *a* people. The participants' accounts of language and culture reflect the findings by Ag (2018, p. 6). The ways languages are perceived by the participants thus echo the idea of languages as bounded entities and constituting a characteristic of groups of people. The conceptualization of languages as bounded entities is considered theoretically inadequate in describing the complexities of contemporary conditions and practices of language use. Such a one nation-one language perspective is also regarded as unsatisfactory due to the unwanted ideological implications it might generate (e.g., Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; see also Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). However, the findings in this study demonstrate how participants consider "their language(s)" to be indicative of their identities indicating how essentialist understandings and assumptions actually might be central to people's understandings of themselves and their identities (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Heller, 2007b; Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; May, 2005). In some senses this also resonates with what Bourdieu (1990a, p. 382) refers to as a kind of 'incompatibility between our scholarly mode of thinking and the strange thing that practice is.' An example of this was seen in the way participants' dispositions indicated how language competence was seen as connected to the sense of cultural belongings and identities. However, participants' senses of belongings and cultural identities also seemed connected to the cultural heritage and right to their own perceived identities. This was exemplified in interview accounts showing how participants' identity claims appeared closely embedded in parents' cultural backgrounds or their own past migrant trajectories. Therefore, at the same time, participants also expressed ambivalent and sometimes resistant positions towards the role of language competence for cultural belonging and identities. This was demonstrated as participants' conceptions of language and cultural identities contained expressions of language ownership claims as the young adolescents described their experiences of navigating between contexts and ideologies of legitimacy. Thus, at the same time, the interviewed participants expressed dynamic constructions of languages and identities, describing both languages and identities as shifting in relation to time, spaces, situations, and interlocutors.

In sum, the findings reveal how the young adolescents demonstrate an extensive awareness of how languages operate and how language appeared to play a central role in a web of intersecting dynamics influencing identities and senses of belongings. These findings resemble those of previous studies (e.g., Bauer et al., 2015; Haglund, 2005; King & Ganuza, 2005), yet this study narrates the

experiences of younger adolescents of various linguistic backgrounds but who share the experiences of growing up in residentially segregated urban areas in Sweden. The findings also reflect the findings by Palm, Ganuza and Hedman (2019), as the participants' interview accounts demonstrated how they tended to see themselves and be seen by others as 'culturally inauthentic' (Jaffe, 2012). Significantly, these findings indicate how participants navigate tensions between the identities they ascribe to themselves as subject positions, and the identities others position upon them (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). This is consistent with previous literature (e.g., Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Runfors, 2009), yet the present study adds to the existing research by providing accounts from a linguistically diverse group of young adolescents in contemporary urban areas located in three geographically separated settings in Sweden.

11.5.3 Imagined future language use and language maintenance

When asked about their imagined future language use, the young adolescents highlighted family as essential for preserving languages when reasoning about language use and language maintenance in their imagined future lives as adults. Consistent with findings from previous studies (e.g., Davila, 2017) most participants considered their Heritage Languages as cultural and symbolic capital important to maintain and develop. Language maintenance was primarily seen as essential as a means of preserving cultural heritage, family relations, constructing identities and retaining a sense of pride. Most participants expressed quite clear ideas about future strategies for language maintenance which generally seemed rooted in their own experiences. Passing down the Heritage Language to future generations was generally perceived as significant, not only to allow communication with relatives but also as a marker of identity and to maintain an awareness and respectful recognition of the ethnic or cultural heritage. Passing down the Heritage Language(s) was thus seen as significant as a way of endowing the future generations with a symbolic capital and sense of identity, to 'know who they are', 'to know where they come from.' The Heritage Language and the heritage culture thereby seemed significant for self-identifications and were given a central position in the participants' perceptions of identities.

The participants' accounts also seemed to vary slightly depending on the status and number of different national and regional languages. Speakers of more minoritized languages or dialects would speak in terms of language endangerment,

mentioning language maintenance as important for the language not to die out. The participants' accounts of imagined future language use also illustrated how some of the participants did not always imagine a future life in Sweden. Some participants imagined their future lives in contexts outside of Sweden or in various ways expressed a possibility of relocating to the heritage country or to other countries. A few participants explicated quite determined ideas of relocating to the heritage country as adults or to other countries where the Heritage Language is more widely spoken. These participants were often those who were new to Sweden and the rationales seemed to stem from either a sense of not belonging or in other cases from ideas that contexts where the Heritage Language(s) is spoken would offer better opportunities for work, better overall life chances and language maintenance possibilities for future generations. In a way this might suggest how 'power relations of the present project themselves onto the future, from which they govern present dispositions, especially those towards the future' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 64). According to Bourdieu, our imagined futures and aspirations are shaped by 'concrete indices of the accessible and the inaccessible, of what is and is not "for us"' (p. 64). Our relation to the future shapes present practices and dispositions and is governed by the relationship between habitus and the chances offered by the social world. Habitus with its dispositions is 'constructed in course of a particular relationship to a particular universe of probabilities' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 64). What we recognize as a 'probable future' is formed by our relationship with a world made up by categories of what is possible and impossible (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Other participants more vaguely expressed the possibility of relocating to the heritage country in the future, reflecting more of an uncertainty of 'you never know'. A few other participants also expressed ideas of moving abroad to a country not tied to the heritage culture, but which reflected a current interest or future interest to explore the world. While the participants might share a sense of uncertainty regarding their investment in a future life in Sweden, their reasons for imagining a future life in another country varied considerably. Some quite clearly expressed relocating for purposes of feeling more at home or in search of better work opportunities while others dreamed of relocating to explore a country or culture of interest. In the globalized era, which we continue to experience today, relocating to other countries has for many decades been a possibility which might be part of many young people' imaginations about their futures, at least for those to whom such imagined futures are seen as accessible and possible. Thus, in Sweden or equivalent contexts in the global north, imagining moving to another

country in the future might be quite common and shared among many young adolescents from various backgrounds. Hence, some of the participants' accounts do not necessarily indicate a hesitant position, or low sense of investment in a future life in Sweden. Imagining a future life outside of the Swedish context is likely to be commonplace among many adolescents, even if the incentives might vary. Among the most socially privileged groups of young adolescents, imagining a future life or career in other countries might in fact be seen as an expected norm. For the most socially privileged young adolescents, studies abroad or future international employment during young adulthood tend to be seen as desired and expected ambitions associated with success. Consequently, the participants' accounts should be interpreted with great caution and further research is needed to differentiate any potential distinctive patterns of imagined futures among different groups of young adolescents.

11.5.4 Language use, place and linguistic sense of placement

The participants' accounts also revealed the role of place in contributing to signifying their sense of 'who they are'. Their awareness of themselves as residents in an urban area segregated from the dominant majority society was regularly present in their perceptions and positioning of themselves and thus also seemed to form part of the process of identity construction (cf. Sernhede, 2002). The findings thereby also point to the role of place in constructions of identities and how multiple interconnected aspects might contribute to young adolescents' perceptions of themselves. The participants' statements concerning language and space might be seen as representing how the inhabited space establishes division and hierarchies between people and practices (Bourdieu, 1990b). Examples also highlighted the relationship between space and habitus, suggesting the embodied feature of habitus (Reay, 2004). Yet, the role of place is not only used here with reference to a physical geographical space but is also represented in participants' perceptions or senses of themselves in the world. Bourdieu's notion of habitus therefore constitutes a significant concept as it 'implies a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others"' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19). The participants' accounts thus indicate 'how the sense of the value of one's own linguistic products is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social space.' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 82). The participants' perceptions of their place in the social world in relation to language use in various social domains in a

way indicates how the role of linguistic 'sense of placement' can be seen as foundational in shaping dispositions to language use.

In this study the participants' linguistic sense of placement could be seen as present in relation to both global and local settings. For example, a few participants articulated a sense of not feeling at home in the Swedish context and quite clearly described their experiences and sentiments. These accounts would often pertain to issues of language use and culture, pointing to language and cultural familiarity as endowing a 'practical sense' or 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990b). Accounts to some extent also expressed participants' sense of placement in relation to local urban contexts, for example the local neighbourhood or similar settings and the city center, again reflecting on language and cultural features as central to perceptions of oneself in the social world. The examples of language use in different urban spaces signify how power, manifested in for example dominant linguistic practices and the social positions of agents within fields, imposes itself on those who enter, governing agents' dispositions and language use. The participants' examples also indicate an 'opposition between centre and periphery' being the result of 'distance in social space, i.e., the unequal distribution of the different kinds of capital in geographical space.' (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 219).

11.6 Concluding reflections

In this PhD-project I have explored the interplay of out-of-school language use, language ideologies, investment in languages and emergent identities among young adolescents in linguistically diverse contemporary urban areas in Sweden. Taken together, the findings of this project indicate how participants' reported out-of-school language use is intertwined in various multifaceted and juxtaposing ways with their language ideologies, linguistic sense of placement, investment in languages and identities. The overall findings indicate how everyday language use and ideologies of languages seem to play a vital role in shaping investments, linguistic sense of placement and identity constructions. To explore the relational interplay between language use patterns, investment and identities, the study has aimed at taking a holistic perspective in the exploration of out-of-school language use. The term holistic might signify a farfetched comprehensiveness, which few studies if any are likely to achieve, nor perhaps should strive for. Nonetheless, its use here solely indicates the viewpoint taken in the exploration of language use and is by no means intended to suggest a sense of completeness. Yet, while acknowledging the limitations of this study, the findings do provide insights into

several aspects of the everyday language use of young adolescents. This study has shed light on the young adolescents' out-of-school language use and language encounters with different interlocutors and in different activities and situations. It further provides information about the young adolescents' dispositions and investments in languages and perceptions of the role of language in relation to their sense of identity and linguistic sense of placement. As such, the study in total provides limited yet, at the same time, relatively comprehensive accounts of the young participants' language repertoires and how they linguistically navigate their way in their everyday lives outside school.

First and foremost, the study demonstrates quite clear patterns regarding the participants' language use and encounters with languages outside school yet also brings light to the dynamic and multifaceted ways in which languages are used. For example, by combining evidence from multiple sources of data, the study shows how certain languages tend to dominate in certain activities and situations but also reveal underlying foundations of language use and how the use of languages might vary depending on several intersecting dimensions. Similarly, the study shows patterns regarding the young adolescents' dispositions towards languages, yet also illustrates participants' multilayered and at times ambivalent, and juxtaposing perceptions and investments in languages. The study thus points to how the young adolescents' language practices are intertwined in multidimensional ways with young people's language ideologies, investment, and construction of identities. For example, the young adolescents use and encounter a considerable amount of Swedish and English in out-of-school activities and situations, and their expressed dispositions towards Swedish and English also indicated a strong sense of investment in the two languages. They generally displayed favorable positions towards Swedish and English as school subjects and regarded proficiency in Swedish and English to be significant capital tied to school success, higher education, and future work opportunities. However, the findings also demonstrated how participants' dispositions and recognition of dominant languages played out in their perceptions of themselves and their linguistic sense of placement and cultural belonging.

While the participants do spend a considerable amount of time on activities and interactional practices where Swedish and/or English are used, the findings also show how they use their Heritage Languages to varying degrees in out-of-school settings, primarily in interactions with family members and relatives. Even though the participants' displayed more varied dispositions towards the significance of Heritage Languages as capital for succeeding at school and for

future studies and work opportunities, they demonstrated a high investment in the Heritage Languages too. Whereas, for example, Swedish was seen as important for a future life within the context of Sweden, Heritage Languages were generally considered essential for maintaining connections with relatives, the cultural heritage in general and future family life. Most participants expressed an interest in passing down the Heritage Language to future generations, however, few participants imagined that their Heritage Languages would be of importance in their imagined future professional work lives. Instead, the Heritage Languages were perceived more in terms of personal value, closely attached to linguistic and cultural backgrounds, functioning as markers of identities.

The findings also reveal how the young adolescents' ideologies of languages reflect a view of linguistic capital as changing between fields yet also contextually situated and tied to its linguistic market and scope of use. For the participants, languages except for English, were seen as important in the geographical or regional contexts where they typically are used. Swedish was primarily seen as important within the borders of Sweden and Heritage Languages were in terms of use described as important to maintaining relationships with relatives and a connection with the cultural heritage. However, the findings also show how the participants navigate between multiple coexisting markets as they move in and out of different activities and interactional situations and settings in real and virtual spaces. The findings thus highlight how participants navigate in a plurality of coexisting linguistic markets.

It should be mentioned that the ability of this study to fully provide a contextualized and situated understanding of the participants' linguistic practices is limited. The methods used in this study mainly demonstrate the overall distributional patterns of reported. language use and have their limitations when it comes to fully capturing the details and nuances of everyday language use. However, the combination of methods in this study in fact provides unique insights into the multifaceted and varied nature of language practices. While other methods (such as ethnographic approaches including participant observation) might be better able to specifically capture the hybridity of language practices, this study demonstrates the participants' use of Heritage Languages, Swedish, English, and additional languages in a wide range of activities and interactional situations. The study deliberately explores the participants' use of different named 'languages'. A focus on 'languages' has been accused of running the risk of neglecting the diversity within languages (Bailey, 2012), and for 'accepting the presuppositions of the policy, even when they are criticizing the implementation of the policy'

(Blommaert, 2006, p. 516). Although I recognize the risks the study of 'languages' might entail, which I have been very much aware of since the outset of the project, I still consider the use of 'named languages' in this study both essential and useful. By taking a dynamic view of language where diversity is seen as innate to language and adopting a Bourdieusian approach, the research project and the analytical process have entailed and required attention to the multifaceted nature of language use and its socio-historical and ideological foundations. I acknowledge the challenge and complexity involved in conceptually and theoretically juggling what could be seen as conflicting ideas. However, I still argue the importance and necessity for research to investigate current conditions of which 'named languages' are a part and still be able to remain both theoretically congruent and reflexive yet take a critical stance towards the present state of affairs. Exploring the use and ideologies of currently 'named languages' can help us demonstrate agents' broad use and encounters with languages in their everyday lives but most importantly may help to uncover and understand the underlying dynamics of language ideologies and issues pertaining to language status and social hierarchies.

11.7 Implications and suggestions for further research

With a particular focus on the practices taking place in out-of-school settings, the study contributes information about young adolescents' daily language use and their valorisations and investment in Heritage Languages, Swedish and English. The study also provides insights into the role of language in young adolescents' construction of identities, linguistic sense of placement and dynamics of belonging. These findings might be important in several respects. First, the results shed light on the intricacies and governing dynamics of language use and how the young adolescents' linguistic repertoires are manifested in everyday interactions, activities, and situations where different dimensions come into play. A more thorough understanding of the multiple ways in which languages are used outside the school setting is valuable from an educational perspective as it may influence teaching practices and evoke a further interest among teachers in exploring and making use of the out-of-school language use present in their student groups. Bringing attention to the out-of-school language practices of students can serve as an important step in striving towards bridging the gap between home and school. Increased knowledge of the daily linguistic practices of young adolescents and their perceptions of language use norms may generate further support for the

importance of bridging the gap between home and school and instill an increased awareness in education about the role of language and the multidimensional nature of language use.

Second, the results provide patterns of languages dominating different interactions and practices which, for example, clearly show a high prevalence of Swedish in interactions among this group of adolescents. This may have significance in raising the awareness of the role of Swedish among young adolescents in contemporary urban areas. More specifically, this finding may help contradict preconceptions reflective of current linguistic tensions in society which give way to prejudiced beliefs, or group level assumptions, stating that children and young adolescents of migrant background in contemporary urban areas seldom encounter Swedish and rarely interact and use Swedish in their daily lives outside school (cf. Ag, 2018). The high prevalence of Swedish and English further points to how young adolescents' language use tends to be directed towards the dominant languages in society at the potential expense of their Heritage Languages. This evidence confirms the need to further address the peripheral role of Heritage Languages in Swedish education. The participants' accounts in this study signal the urgent need to take seriously how hierarchical relations of languages and language use might impact young individuals' sense of themselves, their imagined futures, and place in the social world. The study provides evidence of the impacts of linguistic and social hierarchies on young adolescents' self-images, imagined futures and emergent identities. The participants' accounts can be seen as reflecting an "inert violence" (Bourdieu, 1999b, p. 64) as to how young adolescents are expected to submit to the Swedish language at the expense of their Heritage Languages and are put in the educationally inequitable situation of being evaluated and expected to perform and compete on the same measures as students to whom the traditional monocultural and monolingual norms of education might be more effortlessly recognizable. This creates unequal conditions for learning, raising questions of *who* is entitled to "their" language, *what* languages matter or rather, *whose* languages matter. The dimensions of linguistic inequality reflected in this thesis call for a rethinking of Swedish curriculum, to take a critical view on the role of language in educational equity. This could entail making increased room for Heritage Languages and translingual strategies and teaching approaches. It would also be interesting to investigate the possibilities for education to take an approach which moves beyond dualistic modes of thinking and rather points to the innate diversity of language use. Such efforts could for example involve taking an interdisciplinary instructional approach to the relationship between language,

society, history, and culture. That would not only give language a more central role in education but would also allow students at all ages to explore the interconnectedness between languages and histories, societies and cultures and discuss and conceptualize about past and current language practices. Making languages and varieties of language practices more visible within the school setting might have positive implications for the educational and social development of children and adolescents. In addition, an interdisciplinary approach could help nurture an increased metalinguistic awareness and critical understanding of dominating norms and perceived differences, which could benefit the promotion of democratic values in education and strengthen intercultural understanding. Language awareness approaches can contribute to the well-being and identity development of children and adolescents and have a positive influence on their school success by increasing the status of 'mother tongue' languages, their self-esteem and investment in learning (see Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014). Further research could explore the interests, foundations, and potentials of such attempts.

Third, the study provides evidence of how quite young adolescents express awareness of linguistic hierarchies and how they navigate between, at times, conflicting values and dominating power structures. It also showcases the central role of languages for young adolescents' construction of identities and imagined futures. In so doing, the study provides an example of the research potential for accounts of young adolescents regarding these matters, highlighting the need for further research to direct more attention to eliciting young peoples' perspectives and early life experiences of issues relating to language and identities. In understanding language and identity, it is crucial to direct attention to how 'established or emergent regimes of language' dictate what 'counts as language' in a given situation (Blommaert, 2006, p. 516).

In this light, it is evident that language policy in education and in society requires further rethinking of how linguistic and cultural backgrounds of individuals, young and old, can become truly recognized as valuable assets in learning, employment, and social participation. As Bourdieu (1985, p. 214) reminds us, habitus, which directs our perceptions of the world and of ourselves and our place in it, is the product of history and can thus 'be changed, with more or less difficulty, by history'. While the results in this thesis might indicate the reproductive force of the education system in maintaining linguistic hierarchies, it still argues for how the Bourdieusian approach can be helpful in accentuating the need and possibilities for change. In respect of the field of education, the present study provides systematic knowledge of young adolescents' linguistic practices,

ideologies, investments, and identities. Such insights could help inform policy and practice as to how linguistic and cultural repertoires and experiences outside the school setting can begin to fully count as valuable, crucial, and self-evident parts in learning and teaching. A deeper understanding of the interplay of language use, ideologies, investment, and identities is not only vital for the wellbeing and personal development of young people, but also plays a key role as a contributing force in the struggle towards increased academic success, educational equity, and social justice.

The combination of findings in the present study contributes to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of young adolescents' everyday language use as they navigate between various linguistic fields, each characterized by its own set of norms and values. To further investigate this, it would be valuable to take a practice-oriented approach towards how children and adolescents encounter and deal with language use norms as they move between different social domains and urban spaces. For example, research could more closely explore the practices and dispositions of adolescents and young adults as they move between different fields in time and space. It would be particularly valuable to follow the practices and dispositions of young adults when entering higher education or job markets. Longitudinal approaches which could follow participants' practices and ideological positions would also offer valuable insights into the dynamics involved in the process by which language use and ideologies might change over time. Given the high awareness demonstrated by the participants in this study of how languages operate, it would also be interesting to explore the practices and language ideologies of younger participants. For example, research could direct focus on younger children's awareness of language use 'norms' and dominating modes of practice. Considering the role of language in the imagined futures displayed by the participants in this thesis, it would be interesting to explore the role of language in relation to children's and young adolescents' sense of placement and their imagined future possibilities. Studying language use through language diaries as methodological tool or similar self-reporting methods could also be of interest. Language diaries or similar ways of self-documenting language use might also have potential utility as pedagogical tools. Letting students document their own language use could also be of interest from an educational perspective in raising discussions about language use and might contribute to increasing students' metalinguistic awareness.

It would also be of interest to explore how the language use patterns found in this study compare with the out-of-school language use of participants in other

contexts and settings. Further research into how young people's linguistic repertoires and language ideologies are revealed on social media and in gaming situations would also be of value to provide continuous insights into the hybrid and changing nature of language use in fast-changing environments.

In conclusion, there is much research yet to be undertaken in this field if we are to fully understand the significance of young people's language repertoires in their current and future lives.

12. Sammanfattning på Svenska

Sverige är ett flerspråkigt land. Allt fler barn och ungdomar i Sverige växer upp med ett eller flera språk utöver svenska vilket har lett till ett ökat intresse för flerspråkiga praktiker och minoritetsspråkiga barns och ungdomars utbildningsbehov. Den systematiska kunskapen om barn och ungas språkanvändning utanför skolan i relation till deras uppfattningar om språk, investering i språk och identiteter är dock begränsad. I denna avhandling undersöks ungdomars beskrivningar av sina språkliga praktiker utanför skolan i vardagen samt deras uppfattningar om språkanvändning i relation till investering i språk, språkliga ideologier och identitetsuppfattningar. Studien genomfördes med ungdomar i åldern 11–14 på skolor belägna i språkligt diversifierade och socialt segregerade områden i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. Detta kapitel ger en kortfattad svensk sammanfattning av avhandlingen i sin helhet.

12.1 Bakgrund

Språk utgör en integrerad del i mänskligt liv. Vår användning av och möten med språk är ständigt närvarande i vår vardag och formar våra representationer av oss själva och den värld vi lever i. Vår användning av och möten med språk påverkar hur vi uppfattar världen och hur vi föreställer oss själva (och andra), som individer och kollektiv i såväl lokala som globala miljöer och sammanhang. Språk bär mening och värde och spelar en avgörande roll i formandet av erfarenheter, antaganden och uppfattningar. Språkliga praktiker värderas också olika i olika sammanhang. De sätt vi använder språk på kan variera beroende på vem eller vilka vi talar med, vilken situation eller kontext vi befinner oss i och de språkliga normer och värderingar som genomsyrar en enskild praktik. De hierarkiska maktrelationer som finns inbäddade i språkliga praktiker (och vårt tysta erkännande av dessa), medför en slags dold symbolisk makt genom vilken vissa språkliga praktiker och talare, implicit, uppfattas och erkänns som mer legitima än andra (Bourdieu, 1989, 1991, s. 23). De sätt på vilka språk och språkliga praktiker används, uppfattas och värderas kan ha inverkan på hur vi ser på oss själva och våra känslor av tillhörighet. Det värde och den betydelse som språk och språkliga praktiker tillskrivs kan

påverka var vi lägger vår energi, hur vi ser på oss själva och våra framtida möjligheter, vår förståelse av världen och vår plats i samhället. Med hänsyn till det bör förhållanden rörande språk, språkliga hierarkier, språkideologier och identiteter i högre utsträckning uppmärksammas inom utbildning och beaktas som avgörande för elevers lärande, välmående och utveckling. Inte minst är det av betydelse för den svenska skolans kompensatoriska uppdrag och krav på en likvärdig utbildning där barn och unga ges jämlika möjligheter till lärande och kunskapsutveckling.

Världen är flerspråkig. Många människor runt om i världen lever i flerspråkiga sammanhang som skiljer sig från den enspråkigt präglade miljö som ofta tas för given i skola och utbildning. Globaliseringsprocesser och migrationsströmmar har under de senaste decennierna genererat ett ökat intresse för flerspråkighet, språkpraktiker och minoritetsspråkande barn och ungas lärandebehov. Elevers flerspråkiga verkligheter utanför skolan tas dock inte alltid tillvara och i de flesta länder bedrivs undervisningen på det dominerande språket/språken i samhället (Benson, 2016). Även om eleverna talar andra språk hemma, ses dessa språk sällan som fullödiga resurser för lärande, vilket bidrar till att skapa en diskrepans mellan hem och skola och ojämlika villkor för lärande (Benson, 2016; se även Haglund, 2005; Otterup, 2005; Van Avermaet, 2009; Lindberg, 2011). Undervisning som uteslutande bedrivs på det dominerande språket har länge kritiserats för att ha en negativ inverkan på elevers kunskapsutveckling och framtidsutsikter. UNESCO har under mer än ett halvt sekel därför rekommenderat att undervisning under de tidiga skolåren bör ske på elevernas modersmål[43] (UNESCO, 1953, 2003). Barn och ungas språkliga rättigheter i relation till utbildning uttrycks också i Barnkonventionen (1989), artikel 29. För att säkerställa en likvärdig utbildning bör elevers språkliga mångfald, ideologier och språkliga praktiker beaktas och värdesättas i utbildningssammanhang, i såväl policy som praktik.

Jämfört med barn till svenskfödda föräldrar bor barn med "utländsk bakgrund"[44] i Sverige i högre utsträckning i segregerade områden med låg socioekonomisk status (SCB, 2020). Statistiken visar också att andelen barn som lämnar grundskolan med gymnasiebehörighet är lägre bland barn med utländsk bakgrund än bland barn med svenskfödda föräldrar och betydelsen av språk lyfts bland annat fram som en av flera bidragande orsaker (SCB, 2020).

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[43] För en diskussion om modersmål som begrepp, se kapitel 4.
[44] Term som används av Utbildningsdepartementet och Skolverkets nationella statistik avseende elever födda utomlands, eller elever födda i Sverige av två föräldrar med utländsk bakgrund.

Mot denna bakgrund undersöker föreliggande avhandling den rapporterade språkanvändningen bland unga i flerspråkiga urbana miljöer och hur den samspelar med språkideologier, investering och identiteter.

12.1.1 Syfte och forskningsfrågor

Det övergripande syftet med denna avhandling är att utforska ungas användning av språk utanför skolan och hur språkanvändning samspelar med språkideologier, investeringar i språk och identitetsskapande bland unga ungdomar (11–14 år, årskurs 6–7) i språkligt heterogena stadsdelsområden i Sveriges tre största städer.

Genom att undersöka unga ungdomars rapporterade dagliga språkanvändning och deras berättelser om hur de uppfattar och rör sig i språkligt sammansatta urbana miljöer, försöker denna studie att komplettera den befintliga forskningen gällande förhållandet mellan språk och identiteter. Då denna avhandling baseras på självrapporterat dataunderlag i form av enkätsvar, språkdagböcker och intervjuer hänvisar, om ej annat angivits, termerna språkanvändning eller språkliga praktiker, när de används i relation till deltagarna, till *rapporterade* språkliga praktiker. En fördjupad förståelse för unga ungdomars språkliga praktiker och språkideologier kan ha pedagogiska implikationer för hur elevers kommunikativa repertoarer och språkliga och kulturella verkligheter utanför skolan kan ges erkännande och användas i lärande och undervisning i syfte att sträva mot ökad akademisk framgång, jämlik utbildning och social rättvisa. Följande forskningsfrågor ställs:

1. Med vem, när och i vilka aktiviteter, situationer och sammanhang uppger ungdomar i åldern 11–14 år att de använder olika språk ur sin språkliga repertoar?

    a.) Vilka mönster i fördelning av språk kan urskiljas i ungdomars beskrivna användning av arvsspråk, svenska, engelska och andra språk i olika sammanhang och aktiviteter utanför skolan?

2. Hur beskriver ungdomar sin användning av språk i olika domäner, situationer och aktiviteter?

    a.) Vilka uppfattningar uttrycker ungdomar gentemot arvsspråk, svenska och engelska?

    b.) På vilka sätt återspeglas ungdomars språkideologier i språkanvändning och investeringar i språk utanför skolan?

3. Vilken roll, om någon, spelar språkanvändning utanför skolan i formandet av ungdomars investeringar i språk, inställningar till språk och uppfattningar om identiteter?

    a.) På vilka sätt samspelar vardagliga språkpraktiker med ungdomars investering i arvsspråk, svenska, engelska och andra språk?

    b.) Hur beskriver ungdomar sina nuvarande och framtida språkpraktiker och språkets roll i formandet av identiteter?

12.2 Teoretiska perspektiv och nyckelbegrepp

De teoretiska utgångspunkter och nyckelbegrepp som varit vägledande i denna avhandling utgår från en sociolingvistisk tradition influerad av en poststrukturalistisk syn på språk där Bourdieus teoretiska bidrag och konceptuella tankeverktyg utgör en central bas genom att synliggöra förhållanden mellan individer och strukturer, språk och makt. Därtill har även Nortons (2000, 2013) teoretiska tankar om språk och identitet samt begreppet *investment* utgjort en central del i avhandlingens teoretiska perspektiv och nyckelbegrepp. Genom att avhandlingen undersöker flerspråkiga praktiker fordras också en teoretisk förankring rörande flerspråkighet som begrepp och dess närliggande termer. I avhandlingen betraktas språk och språkliga praktiker som mångfacetterade, dynamiska och mobila men likväl sammankopplade med samhällen, historiska skeenden och kulturer och därmed, bundna till olika former av värde, makt och dominerande strukturer. Språk ses således inte som ett neutralt medel för kommunikation utan som en social praktik genom vilken erfarenheter formas och identiteter förhandlas. Genom att omfatta en syn där språk ses som mobila resurser framhåller avhandlingen en dynamisk syn där flerspråkighet inte ses som en samling av "språk" utan snarare en sammansättning av semiotiska resurser där några hör till konventionellt definierade språk medan andra hör till andra "språk" (Blommaert, 2010, s. 102). Dessa resurser inkluderar bland annat olika variationer, register, genrer och modaliteter samt människors ideologiska uppfattningar om användningen av dessa (Blommaert, 2010 s. 2). Begrepp betraktas här genomgående som sociala konstruktioner och i avhandlingen understryks vikten av ett konceptuellt omtänkande av språk som mer tydligt inbegriper den inneboende mångfalden inom språk och språkliga praktiker. Flera försök och begreppsliga ombildningar har gjorts för att teoretiskt omfatta en mer holistisk syn på språk och komma bort från idén om språk som enskilda separata element och bättre fånga den mångfacetterade hybriditeten i flerspråkig kommunikation. Till

dessa hör bland annat begrepp som språkande och transspråkande. I denna avhandling har även Heugh och Strouds (2014) begrepp *multilingualism(s)* bidragit i att belysa heterogeniteten i flerspråkiga praktiker.

Bourdieus teoretiska arbete och tankeverktyg utgör avhandlingens teoretiska grundvalar. Bland dessa, är det i huvudsak habitus (med de tillhörande begreppen kapital och fält) som varit utgångspunkten för avhandlingen då det möjliggör en analys av språkliga praktiker som komplexa och dynamiska och grundade i tidigare erfarenheter och praktiker. Habitus är de system av dispositioner som vi förvärvar genom livet, i våra erfarenheter med olika sociala miljöer såsom hem och skola och som formar vår förståelse av världen (Bourdieu, 1977a). Habitus ska ses i relation till begreppen kapital och fält (Bourdieu, 2002) då praktiker formas av förhållandet mellan habitus, fält och kulturellt kapital. Till begreppet hör dock också Bourdieus nyckeltermer *doxa*, *symbolisk makt*, och *reflexivitet* (Wacquant, 2014) samt *språklig placeringskänsla*. Det senare avser ett praktiskt sinne eller införlivad känsla för de egna språkliga produkternas värde i förhållande till olika marknader och dess betydelse för känslan av det egna sociala värdet och plats i det sociala rummet (Bourdieu, 1984; Salö, 2015).

Bourdieus teoretiska analysverktyg har i den här avhandlingen också kombinerats med Nortons investeringsbegrepp och teori om språk och identitet. Inspirerad av Bourdieu argumenterade Norton (1995) för en mer allomfattande social identitetsteori inom andraspråksforskning och introducerade begreppet investering som ett alternativ till begreppet motivation. Det utmanade den kognitiva och psykologiska förståelsen av språk inom andraspråksforskning och den dikotomi där affektiva faktorers påverkan på lärande antingen tillskrevs individen eller den sociala kontexten. Investering syftade till att bättre fånga det komplexa förhållandet mellan "andraspråkstalare" och det så kallade "målspråket" och deras ambivalenta inställning till att lära sig samt praktisera det. Till skillnad från begreppet motivation, riktar investeringsbegreppet mer fokus på sociala strukturers påverkan på elevers språkliga förmågor och inställning till lärande och syftar till att komma förbi en uppdelad och statisk förståelse av eleven som antingen motiverad eller omotiverad, introvert eller extrovert och så vidare. Investeringsbegreppet bidrar även till att belysa hur ojämlika maktrelationer kan påverka andraspråkstalares vilja att tala och engagera sig i det så kallade målspråket.

Investeringsbegreppet ingår i Nortons sociala identitetsteori där uppfattningen om identitet som konstruktion bygger på poststrukturalistiska perspektiv som framhåller identiteter som multipla och i ständig förändring. Detta perspektiv betonar hur identiteter bör ses i termer av en pågående process snarare än produkt

där människor både positionerar sig och positioneras inom sociala, historiska och kulturella kontexter (Block, 2013). Nortons framskrivning av identitet beskriver hur vi förstår vårt förhållande till världen och hur detta förhållande formas i tid och rum samt hur vi förstår våra möjligheter inför framtiden (Norton, 2000, s. 5). Nortons beskrivning understryker en pluralistisk och processorienterad syn på identitet där identiteter ses som växlande och mångtydiga och i ständig förhandling och förändring. Språk ses i det avseendet ses som format av och formande för elevers identiteter (Norton, 2000, s. 5).

I förståelsen av de unga ungdomarnas olika uppfattningar om språk och hur och varför de använder språk på olika sätt i olika sammanhang och situationer har begreppet *språkideologier* använts. Språkideologier har sin grund i språkantropologi och kan beskrivas som individers och samhällens uppfattningar eller känslor om språk, talare och diskursiva praktiker och hur språk tillmäts olika värde i olika praktiker. Språkideologier kan ses som ett klusterbegrepp som omfattar flera interagerande dimensioner (Kroskrity, 2004, 2009). I den här avhandlingen är språkideologier ett centralt koncept för att förstå deltagarnas medvetenhet om språk, deras underliggande motiv bakom språkliga praktiker och hur deras positionerade plats i samhället samverkar i formandet av tankar, idéer och uppfattningar.

12.3 Forskningsdesign, metoder och material

Studien är en flermetodsstudie och har utformats utifrån det flermetodslitteraturen kallar en förklarande sekventiell design. Flermetodsforskning innebär att kvantitativa och kvalitativa metoder kombineras då styrkorna i båda metoderna tillsammans kan bidra till en bättre förståelse av komplexiteten i ett fenomen. Forskning med blandade metoder kan användas för olika syften beroende på hur metoderna kombineras och i vilken ordning de genomförs. En förklarande sekventiell design innebär att forskningsprojektet inleds med genomförande och analys av kvantitativa data vilka sedan följs upp genom kvalitativa metoder i syfte att utveckla och förklara de kvantitativa resultaten (Bryman, 2016; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Syftet med att kombinera kvalitativa och kvantitativa metoder i denna studie var att möjliggöra en mer djupgående förståelse då de kvalitativa metoderna var avgörande för att förklara och utforska de initiala resultaten mer ingående. Den sekventiella ordningsföljden där metoderna genomfördes stegvis medförde också ett utvecklingssyfte eftersom en typ av data (enkät) hjälpte till att informera användningen av en annan typ av data (språkdagböcker och intervjuer)

(Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Det innebar i praktiken att erfarenheter av genomförandet och analysen av enkäten användes i framtagandet av språkdagböckerna och resultaten från enkät och språkdagböcker användes som underlag vid intervjuerna. I studien användes således de tre olika metoderna i följande ordning: enkät, språkdagböcker och intervjuer.

12.3.1 Enkäten

Studien inleddes med en enkät (*N*=92) som syftade till att ge en kartläggning av de unga deltagarnas språkanvändning i olika aktiviteter, sammanhang och situationer samt deras språkideologier och investering i språk och språklärande. Enkäten som bestod av 25 frågor (totalt 121 variabler) avsåg ge en översiktlig bild över deltagarnas språkanvändning och uppfattningar men innehöll också frågor inriktade mot att kartlägga relevant bakgrundsinformation såsom födelseland, ålder, språkbakgrund, deltagande i modersmålsundervisning, etcetera. Enkäten som helhet innehöll en blandning av olika former av slutna och öppna svarsalternativ, svarsskalor samt rangordningsfrågor. Vilket frågeformat som användes avgjordes av respektive frågas syfte. Slutna svarsalternativ och svarsskalor möjliggjorde kartläggning av en bred mängd aktiviteter och påståenden medan öppna svarsalternativ gav möjlighet till mångfald och nyansering. Användningen av öppna svarsalternativ avsåg därmed kompensera för de slutna svaren och bättre reflektera deltagarnas dynamiska och mångfacetterade språkpraktiker. Enkäten besvarades med papper och penna och genomfördes i klassrummet på respektive skola i närvaro av mig. Mer information om genomförandet ges längre fram i avsnittet *12.5 Forskningsmiljöer, deltagare och genomförande.*

Enkäten utformades med hänsyn till de riktlinjer som uttryckts av Trost (2001) samt de variabler som ingår i LSBQ (Language and Social Background Questionnaire) (Anderson et al., 2018). Vidare är enkäten även baserad på tidigare arbeten av Baker (1992), Baker och Wright (2017) och Oppenheim (1992) gällande avgörande variabler inom kategorierna samtalspartners och språkideologiska påståenden. Enkätens innehåll och utformning är också inspirerad av liknande frågeformulär som använts i tidigare studier (Lindgren et al., 2016; Otterup, 2005; Rydenvald, 2017; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2014; Sundqvist, 2009). Första versionen av enkäten prövades under pilotstadiet vid två olika tillfällen i syfte att öka validitet och reliabilitet samt upptäcka eventuella missuppfattningar och felaktigheter. Pilotarbetet spelade en avgörande roll i färdigställandet av den slutgiltiga enkäten.

Resultaten från pilotutprövningarna bidrog bland annat till att fastställa kategorier av aktiviteter, val av terminologi, format och layout. Enkäten utformades också med hänsyn till deltagarnas ålder och instruktioner, frågeställningar och påståenden formulerades därför på ett sätt som skulle kunna förstås av deltagare i åldern 11–13 år. Anpassningar efter deltagarnas ålder gjordes även med avseende på layout och ordningsföljd av uppgifter i syfte att skapa variation och bibehålla intresse genom hela enkäten. Utöver ålder, utformades enkäten också med hänsyn till deltagarnas eventuella olika språkbakgrunder. För att underlätta förståelse med hänsyn till både ålder och språkbakgrund lades särskild vikt vid att undvika onödigt komplexa meningar. Då enkäten riktades till en språkligt heterogen grupp formulerades den på svenska. För nyanlända deltagare kunde det ibland innebära vissa utmaningar men vid genomförandet fick de hjälp och stöd genom att antingen rådfråga läraren eller mig. I en del fall fick deltagare även hjälp av studiehandledare på sitt modersmål. Övriga detaljer kring genomförandet ges senare i den här sammanfattningen.

12.3.2 Språkdagböckerna

Efter analys av enkäten genomfördes språkdagböcker med ett mindre antal om slutligen 50 deltagare på tre skolor *(the Birch school, the Pine school och the Hazel school)* i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. Språkdagböckerna skulle egentligen genomförts under senare delen av vårterminen 2020 men på grund av konsekvenserna till följd av pandemin fick de skjutas på framtiden. Därför genomfördes språkdagböcker vid olika tillfällen under höstterminen 2020 och vårterminen 2021.

Språkdagböckerna syftade till att ge en djupare förståelse av elevers språkanvändning genom att möjliggöra mer omfattande beskrivningar av deltagarnas språkliga praktiker. Språkdagböckerna avsåg därmed komplettera enkätresultatet angående deltagarnas användning av språk i olika aktiviteter och domäner eftersom dagboksanteckningar kan möjliggöra mer exakta uppskattningar av beteenden (Oppenheim, 1992).

Språkdagbokens utformning (och även genomförande) är inspirerad av den design och de procedurer som använts i liknande studier om flerspråkiga litteracitetspraktiker (Jones et al., 2000; Jonsson, 2013) samt extramural engelska (till exempel Sylvén & Sundqvist, 2012; Jensen, 2017). Språkdagboken bestod av två skrivfält som delade in dagen i två tidsperioder: morgon respektive eftermiddag/kväll. Deltagarna uppmanades skriva vilka aktiviteter de ägnade sig

åt, med vem/vilka och vilka språk de använde och en ungefärlig uppskattning av hur lång tid som spenderades på dessa aktiviteter/situationer. Med tanke på deltagarnas ålder lades stor vikt vid instruktioner för att underlätta förståelse och därmed få så många som möjligt att fullfölja uppgiften. Deltagarna gavs därför både skriftliga och muntliga instruktioner som band annat innehöll checklistor och svarsexempel. Baserat på erfarenheter från tidigare studier (till exempel Sundqvist, 2009) uppmuntrades deltagarna att föra dagliga språkdagboksanteckningar över sin språkanvändning. Språkdagboken sträckte sig över en vecka, från tisdag till tisdag för att även inkludera helgaktiviteter. Initialt övervägdes ett längre tidsspann om två veckor men för att underlätta genomförande och därmed öka chanserna till hög svarsfrekvens ansågs en vecka vara mer fördelaktigt.

12.3.3 Intervjuerna

Efter analys av språkdagböckerna genomfördes individuella intervjuer med ett ytterligare mindre antal deltagare (n= 16) i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. Intervjuerna fyllde flera syften. För det första att förtydliga de analyserade resultaten från enkät och språkdagböcker och därmed närmare klargöra deltagarnas dagliga språkanvändning. För det andra avsåg intervjuerna ge en fördjupad förståelse för deltagarnas språkideologiska uppfattningar, deras investering i språk och lärande, erfarenheter av språkanvändning och uppfattningar om språk och identiteter. Analysen av språkdagböckerna lade grunden för vilka frågor och ämnen som skulle belysas närmare. Inför intervjuerna färdigställdes ett underlag för respektive intervjudeltagare med bakgrundsinformation samt sammanfattning utifrån enkät och språkdagbok med frågor och områden att utforska vidare under intervjutillfället. Detta utgjorde ett viktigt underlag för mig som forskare både i förberedelserna inför intervjuerna och vid genomförandet under själva intervjutillfället, och var av avgörande betydelse under intervjusituationen och i strävan efter att bibehålla ett reflexivt anslag genom samtalet. Intervjuerna var semi-strukturerade för att tillåta flexibilitet och sätta deltagarnas utsagor i centrum men på samma gång behålla fokus på särskilda frågor och teman. Flexibiliteten i en semistrukturerad intervju lämnar utrymme för intervjudeltagaren att ta upp frågor eller ämnen av särskilt intresse för dem (Bryman, 2016). En intervjuguide med frågor och teman användes som stödstruktur. Under intervjuerna användes också respektive deltagares språkdagbok som utgångspunkt vilket bidrog till en närmare belysning av vardagliga exempel på språkanvändning i olika situationer som deltagarna kunde

relatera till. Att använda språkdagböckerna som grund för samtalet bidrog också till att göra så att intervjusituationen upplevdes mindre formell eller konstlad (Martin–Jones et al., 2009). Språkdagboken bidrog också till att reducera eventuella maktobalanser och lade tyngdpunkten på intervjusituationen som ett medskapande tillfälle (se De Fina, 2019).

12.4 Forskningsmiljöer, deltagare och genomförande

Studien genomfördes under åren 2019–2021 med elever på sex skolor belägna i flerspråkiga och boendesegregerade områden i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. Även om dessa tre städer skiljer sig åt i en rad avseenden så delar de också demografiska likheter gällande befolkningsdistribution och bostadssegregation. Gemensamt för alla tre städer är en utbredd segregation där majoriteten av människor med migrantbakgrund tenderar att bo i låginkomstområden belägna i utkanterna av staden (Kulturdepartementet, 2018; Nordström Skans & Åslund, 2010; SCB, 2007, 2018; Salonen et al., 2019; Vetenskapsrådet, 2018). Samtliga skolor är belägna i områden med liknande sociodemografisk struktur i form av låg socioekonomisk status, hög andel invånare med migrantbakgrund, låg utbildningsnivå och hög arbetslöshet. Att inkludera skolor i dessa tre städer och miljöer syftade till att ge en bredare bild av språkanvändningen utanför skolan bland unga ungdomar i samtida flerspråkiga och segregerade förortsområden i Sverige.

Livsvillkoren och de många dimensioner som är involverade i formandet av unga människors sociala delaktighet och framtida förväntningar har lyfts fram av till exempel Dahlstedt, (2018) som pekat på vilken roll materiella och symboliska dimensioner har för individers och gruppers uppfattningar. Till exempel framträder hur förortsområdet i egenskap av segregerat område och omgivningens bilder av det samverkar i formandet av ungas uppfattningar om sig själva och andra (se även León Rosales, 2010). De sociodemografiska egenskaperna hos dessa stadsområden och dess implikationer gör dem således till viktiga forskningsmiljöer i studier av flerspråkiga praktiker, uppfattningar och formandet av identiteter bland barn och unga. Den språkliga diversitet som återfinns i dessa områden tenderar också att stå i bjärt kontrast till den traditionell enspråkigt präglade verksamheten i skolan. Denna diskontinuitet mellan hem och skola utgör en ojämlikhet som riskerar att "medföra långsiktiga negativa konsekvenser för barns välbefinnande" (Ortega, 2018, s. 3).

12.4.1 Deltagare

I studien ingår ungdomar i yngre tonåren i skolår sex och sju på skolor belägna i språkligt diversifierade och segregerade områden i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. Deltagarna i studien var mellan 11–14 under de olika faser då studien genomfördes. Tidigare forskning om barn och yngre ungdomars språkliga praktiker, erfarenheter och språkideologier är relativt få. Ungdomar i den aktuella åldersgruppen har ofta utvecklat en förmåga att reflektera över sig själva och kan ofta beakta flera dimensioner av ganska komplexa frågor (se till exempel Spears Brown & Bigler, 2005). Ungdomar i yngre tonåren tenderar också att bli alltmer medvetna om sig själva och andra och utveckla tankar om samhället, sin plats i världen och sina framtidsmöjligheter. Som tidigare studier påvisat är ungdomar boende i segregerade områden ofta väl medvetna om majoritetssamhällets stigmatiserande uppfattningar om dessa bostadsområden och deras invånare (Axelsson, 2014; Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällesfrågor, 2008). Olika dimensioner av segregation och dess implikationer för ungas upplevda verkligheter och självbilder utgör centrala aspekter i den här studien av ungas flerspråkiga praktiker. Forskningsmiljöer och deltagare togs fram genom strategiskt urval med urvalskriterier men till följd av svårigheter att få tillgång till skolor tillämpades också i några fall strategier att nå skolor genom personliga kontakter. Skolverkets statistisk utgjorde en grund för urvalskriterier där skolor som tillhandahöll undervisning i årskurs sex och som ansågs ha vad Skolverket beskriver som hög procentandel (>80%) av elever med "utländsk bakgrund"[45] kontaktades via mail och telefon. Sex skolor ingick i studien. Tre i Stockholm, två i Göteborg och en i Malmö. Denna fördelning är rent slumpmässig och baserad på skolors vilja att delta och har inte på något sätt varit tänkt att reflektera städernas storleksfördelning. Totalt ingick 92 deltagare i studien. Tillsammans utgör de en språkligt och kulturellt heterogen grupp. En majoritet (63%) av deltagarna är födda i Sverige och 34 procent födda utomlands. Födelseländer om andra än Sverige omfattar 22 olika länder. Ankomstålder varierar kraftigt men de flesta var mellan 6 och 11 år när de kom till Sverige. Av de 92 deltagarna uppgav 43 att de var flickor och 48 att de var pojkar. En valde alternativet "vill ej uppge". Deltagarna talar utöver svenska ett stort antal olika språk och totalt 39 olika språk uppges av deltagarna i datamaterialet. Av dessa var arabiska mest förekommande (28%), följt

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[45] Term som används av Utbildningsdepartementet och Skolverkets nationella statistik avseende elever födda utomlands, eller elever födda i Sverige av två föräldrar med utländsk bakgrund.

av kurdiska (8%). 25 deltagare har en skolbakgrund i annat land och totalt 21 olika länder uppgavs i deltagarnas enkätsvar om tidigare skolbakgrund.

12.4.2 Studiens genomförande

Första fasen av studien bestod av enkäten vilken genomfördes på plats med deltagarna i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö under perioden december 2019 till mars 2020. Inför genomförandet fick samtliga deltagare skriftlig och muntlig information om studien och hade möjlighet att ställa frågor om syfte, deltagande och anonymitet. Vårdnadshavare hade fått skriftlig information om studien och samtyckesblanketter där de gett aktivt samtycke till sitt barns deltagande.

Varje genomförande av enkäten följde samma mönster och inleddes med en introduktion av mig där jag berättade om syftet med enkäten och sedan tillsammans med deltagarna skapade en tankekarta där vi samlade olika aktiviteter på fritiden och vilka språk de använder då. Denna förberedande aktivitet syftade till att väcka intresse och ge en gemensam förberedelse inför att börja tänka på sin språkanvändning i besvarandet av enkäten. Därefter delades enkäterna ut och deltagarna gavs också instruktioner för ifyllande av enkäten och bjöds in att ställa frågor. Enkäterna ifylldes sedan enskilt och under tystnad och deltagarna uppmuntrades att rådfråga mig eller lärare på plats vid funderingar.

Språkdagböckerna genomfördes under höstterminen och vårterminen 2020–2021 med ett mindre antal deltagare som slutligen bestod av 50 deltagare i Stockholm (*n*=14), Göteborg (*n*=24) och Malmö (*n*=12). Språkdagböckerna var initialt tänkta att genomföras med papper och penna men på grund av pandemin kom skolorna i Göteborg (the Pine School) och Stockholm (the Birch School) att genomföra språkdagböckerna via Google Classroom. Deltagarna gavs muntlig och skriftlig information om syftet med dagböckerna och fick muntliga instruktioner. Själva språkdagboken innehöll också instruktioner och checklistor för vad deltagarna skulle tänka på vid genomförandet.

Individuella intervjuer genomfördes med 16 deltagare i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. De första intervjuerna genomfördes med deltagare i Malmö i oktober 2020. Då läget under pandemin förvärrades under senare delen av hösten 2020 och vintern 2021 fick intervjuer med deltagare i Göteborg och Stockholm skjutas på framtiden och genomfördes först i maj respektive juni 2021. Intervjuerna tog ungefär 20–30 minuter och genomfördes i grupprum eller liknande tillgänglig lokal på skolan för att säkerställa en lugn miljö där deltagaren inte skulle bli distraherad eller störd av andra elever. Språkdagboken användes som utgångspunkt för

samtalet och intervjufrågorna följde i varierande utsträckning intervjuguiden samt det analysunderlag som tagits fram för respektive deltagare. Intervjusamtalen varierade vad gäller bredden och djupet på innehåll beroende deltagarnas olika framställningar. I intervjusituationen lades vikt vid att behålla ett "aktivt och metodiskt lyssnande" (Bourdieu, 1999a, s. 609) och en reflexiv hållning där varje deltagare var i centrum. Särskild uppmärksamhet riktades mot att skapa en avslappnad stämning för att etablera tillit och en (om än tillfällig) social relation. För att åstadkomma detta låg fokus på att skapa ett samtal som kännetecknades av närvaro, autenticitet, tillgänglighet och ett uppmärksamt lyssnande. Varje intervju spelades in och NVivo 12 användes senare som hjälpmedel vid analys och transkribering.

12.5 Resultat

Syftet med studien var att undersöka det eventuella samspelet mellan fritidsanvändning av språk och språkideologier, investering och identiteter bland unga i språkligt heterogena urbana områden i Sverige. Studien som tog formen av en flermetodsstudie följde en sekventiell förklarande design med enkät följt av språkdagböcker som sedan följdes upp med individuella intervjuer. Den inledande delen av studien avsåg kartlägga mönster i språkanvändningen på fritiden samt deltagarnas ideologiska uppfattningar till språk och investering i språk. Med detta som grund kunde språkdagböcker och intervjuer ge en fördjupad bild av deltagarnas språkanvändning och språkideologier samt närmare belysa frågor om investering i språk och förhållandet mellan språk och identiteter. I följande avsnitt presenteras en kortare sammanfattning av studiens huvudsakliga resultat.

12.5.1 Språkanvändning i vardagliga interaktioner

Den första forskningsfrågan i avhandlingen syftade till att klarlägga med vem, när och i vilka situationer och sammanhang unga ungdomar använder olika språk. Det vill säga vilka mönster som kan skönjas i ungdomarnas beskrivna användning av arvsspråk, svenska, engelska och andra språk och hur de används på fritiden i olika aktiviteter, praktiker och sammanhang.

Resultat från samtliga datamaterial (enkät, språkdagböcker, intervjuer) visade hur familj, släktingar, vänner, klasskamrater och skolan som sammanhang utgör centrala delar i ungdomarnas liv. Familj, vänner och skola tycktes också utgöra en påverkande roll i formandet av språkliga praktiker och inställningar till språk.

Ett tydligt mönster framträdde gällande vilka språk som användes med olika familjemedlemmar och i olika aktiviteter eller situationer. Resultaten visade dock samtidigt en stor variation rörande de många olika sätt på vilka språk användes med avseende på detaljer kring muntliga interaktionsmönster, språkblandning, syften, omständigheter och underliggande mekanismer i form av språkideologiska motiv. Deltagarnas rapporterade enkätsvar och beskrivningar visade hur arvsspråk tycktes dominera i interaktioner med föräldrar och släktingar medan svenska var betydligt mer vanligt i interaktioner med syskon, vänner och klasskamrater. I interaktionen med syskon var svenska betydligt mer vanligt förekommande men även arvsspråk och svenska användes i olika kombinationsmönster. I intervjuerna framkom också hur deltagare uppfattade hur olika språk kunde fylla olika funktioner i olika situationer. Till exempel ansåg flera av deltagarna att deras arvsspråk medförde ett särskilt emotionellt värde som språkligt kapital genom att möjliggöra mer känslofulla, autentiska och uppriktiga uttrycksformer i interaktioner med nära familjemedlemmar.

Även om fokus i den här avhandlingen har varit att synliggöra ungdomarnas språkanvändning utanför skolan så påvisade resultatet också olika dimensioner av språkpraktiker *i* skolan. Resultatet visade hur användning av svenska var mest vanligt förekommande i interaktioner med vänner medan interaktioner med klasskamrater nästintill uteslutande rapporterades ske på svenska. Även om svenska dominerade i interaktioner med vänner så visade resultatet där en större variation där även arvsspråk och/eller engelska användes i olika kombinationer vilket var mindre vanligt i interaktioner med klasskamrater. Resultaten pekar således mot att de språkliga praktikerna inom skolan tycktes mer homogena jämfört med de olika språkpraktiker ungdomarna engagerar sig i utanför skolan. Intervjuerna visade också de unga ungdomarnas höga medvetenhet om hur olika språkliga variationer tillskrivs olika värde och hur de genom språkanvändning kan inta olika positioner. De intervjuade ungdomarna särskilde ofta mellan språket som används i skolan och det språk som används bland vänner på fritiden där de senare beskrevs innehålla mer slang eller ord kännetecknande för "ortensvenska". Överlag visade deltagarna en hög medvetenhet om dominerande språkliga normer och hierarkier och uttryckte *ortensvenska* som avvikande från det dominerande språket eller vad en del beskrev som så kallad "riktig" svenska. För många av deltagarna var ortensvenska starkt förknippat med området där de växer upp och de visade en medvetenhet om hur språkliga praktiker formas beroende på plats och den sociala position människor innehar i samhället.

Analysen av deltagarnas beskriva språkanvändning visade sammanfattningsvis, som närmare beskrivs i kapitel 6, hur ungdomarnas språkliga praktiker tycktes avhängiga av fyra interagerande dimensioner bestående av: *samtalspartner — aktivitet/situation – språkideologier – tid/plats.* Ungdomarnas beskrivna språkanvändning tycktes variera beroende på vem personen talade med. Likaså beskrevs sätten att använda språk som avhängiga av den typ av aktivitet eller situation personen befann sig i. Därtill beskrev deltagarna hur språkanvändning kunde skifta beroende på de mer eller mindre explicita språkideologier som kännetecknar en särskild aktivitet eller situation. Slutligen påvisades också hur språkliga praktiker kunde variera i förhållande till tid och plats. Ingen av dessa dimensioner tycktes mer framträdande än de andra utan samtliga fyra föreföll snarare samspela på olika sätt i formandet av en språklig praktik.

12.5.2 Fritidsanvändning av språk i olika aktiviteter och praktiker

Resultaten av deltagarnas fritidsanvändning av språk i en rad olika aktiviteter visade hur vissa språk dominerade i vissa aktiviteter medan andra språk eller kombinationer av språk var vanligare i andra. Genomgående påvisades en hög förekomst av svenska och engelska i både produktiva och receptiva aktiviteter. Arvsspråk förekom också i varierande utsträckning beroende på dimensioner kopplat till tid och plats, närvaro av andra, olika omständigheter, intressen och preferenser. En del av de deltagande ungdomarna var också investerade i aktiviteter på andra språk som var mer nytillkomna i deras repertoarer såsom japanska och koreanska. Deltagarnas beskrivning av sin språkanvändning i olika aktiviteter kunde knytas till de interagerande dimensioner som presenterats i ovanstående avsnitt samt i kapitel 6. Användningen av språk i en given aktivitet tycktes styrd av typen av aktivitet, det eller de språk som vanligtvis dominerar aktiviteten, tekniska förutsättningar för språkanvändning, övriga deltagande i aktiviteten samt den sociohistoriska och fysiska kontext inom vilken aktiviteten äger rum. Resultaten visade hur språkliga praktiker i olika aktiviteter kunde ses som konstituerade av habitus – med sin uppsättning dispositioner – och de sociala kontexter och fält (verkliga som virtuella) som ungdomarna navigerar mellan.

Vid receptiva aktiviteter som att titta på film, videoklipp och serier, var engelska, föga förvånande, det dominerande språket. Däremot var svenska något mer vanligt förekommande när de tittade på TV-program. Arvsspråk var ovanligare men i språkdagböckerna och intervjuerna framkom exempel på att

deltagarna tittar på filmer, TV-serier eller TV-program på arvsspråk. Enkätresultaten visade också att deltagarna företrädesvis lyssnar på musik på engelska. Språkdagböckerna och intervjuerna visade också en hög förekomst av musik på engelska men fann också att svensk musik förekom i relativt stor utsträckning. Att lyssna på musik på arvsspråk var mindre vanligt men över 30 procent rapporterade att de gjorde det dagligen. Vad gäller resultaten av deltagarnas språk i läsaktiviteter var svenska det överlägset vanligaste språket. De flesta deltagare uppgav att de lånade böcker på svenska, följt av deltagare som lånade böcker på både svenska och engelska. De flesta uppgav också att de läste böcker på svenska varje dag. Att läsa böcker på arvsspråk var tämligen ovanligt även om ungefär en tredjedel uppgav att de läste böcker på arvsspråk någon eller några gånger i veckan. Samma mönster återfanns när det gällde läsning av böcker på engelska även om antalet som läste böcker på engelska dagligen var betydligt fler än de som dagligen läste på arvsspråk.

Flera av deltagarna använde sig av olika sociala medier. De vanligast förekommande sociala medieplattformarna var Snapchat, Instagram, WhatsApp och TikTok. Att läsa eller ta del av inlägg på sociala medier var betydligt mer vanligt på svenska och engelska än på arvsspråk. Detsamma gällde även för att kommentera andras inlägg eller publicera egna inlägg då de till största del uppgav att de använde svenska tätt följt av engelska. Dock ska här nämnas att även om svenska dominerande aktiviteten så visade också materialet som helhet hur svenska förekom tillsammans med engelska i olika stor utsträckning. Det bör också understrykas att resultaten visar på övergripande mönster och studerar inte ingående den språkliga praktiken vilken ofta är långt mer hybrid, komplex och varierad än vad som framkommer här. Även med avseende på sociala medier framkom hur den språkliga praktiken kunde knytas till strukturen på själva aktiviteten. Det vill säga, det sätt på vilket språk används kan till exempel skifta mellan olika sociala medieplattformar. Den språkliga praktiken kan också påverkas av vilka konton som deltagarna följer, deras följare och de språk som används eller föredras av dessa kontoinnehavare. Engelska användes till exempel oftare i kommunikation med släktingar medan svenska var vanligast vid användning av sociala medier med vänner. Arvsspråk var mindre vanligt och användes bara i liten utsträckning. Möjligheterna att använda arvsspråk beskrevs ibland som begränsade av tekniska förutsättningar eller deltagarnas språkförmågor.

I spelaktiviteter uppgavs engelska och svenska som de vanligaste språken. Engelska uppgavs vara det vanligaste språket i spelaktiviteter som sådana men i chatsituationer eller kommunikationer med andra spelare var svenska något

vanligare. Resultaten visade att interaktioner mellan spelare ofta kunde innehålla en kombination av engelska och svenska och ibland även arvsspråk. Detaljer om användandet av arvsspråk framkom mer i språkdagböcker och intervjuer där deltagarna exemplifierade hur de kunde använda arvsspråk tillsammans med svenska och engelska när de spelade tillsammans med kusiner eller syskon. Språkliga praktiker kan skilja sig mellan olika spelaktiviteter och typen av spel och vissa spel är särskilt utvecklade för vissa språk och andra spel erbjuder möjligheten till att välja bland en begränsad uppsättning olika språk. Även om spelet som sådant är utvecklat för ett visst språk kan naturligtvis interaktion mellan spelare ske på andra språk. De sätt som språk används på tycktes även vara avhängigt av språkliga preferenser och praktiker hos andra medspelare samt kontextuella betingelser såsom huruvida spelet spelas i fysiskt sällskap tillsammans med andra eller virtuellt där interaktion kan ske med spelare från olika länder online.

12.5.3 Dimensioner av språkideologier och investering i språk

Som del i avhandlingens syftesbeskrivning ingick också att undersöka deltagarnas språkideologier och investering i språk. Det sammanlagda resultatet visar hur deltagarna värdesätter både arvsspråk, svenska och engelska men hur de olika språken tillskrivs olika betydelser. Resultatet indikerar också en viss tvetydighet i deltagarnas investering.

Engelska ansågs vara av stor vikt och deltagarna talade ofta om engelska som betydelsefullt på grund av dess globala användning och funktion som *lingua franca* och var tveklöst det språk som ansågs vara viktigast att lära sig. Engelska tillskrevs därmed ett högre värde som språkligt kapital på marknaden än både arvsspråk och svenska. Engelska ansågs även viktigt för att lyckas i skolan. Deltagarna ansåg att goda kunskaper i engelska var viktiga och antog en positiv hållning till påståendet: "Engelska är viktigt för att lyckas i skolan". Resultaten visade emellertid hur deltagarna även tillskrev stort värde till både arvsspråk och svenska.

Deltagarna var genomgående positiva till svenska som skolämne men till skillnad från engelska var svaren till huruvida de ville ha mer undervisning i svenska betydligt mer splittrade. Precis som resultatet för engelska ansåg deltagarna att det var viktigt med goda kunskaper i svenska och var samstämmigt positiva gentemot påståendet: "Svenska är viktigt för att lyckas i skolan". Resultaten från de kvalitativa metoderna visade också hur svenska ansågs viktigt för framtiden förutsatt att den framtiden innebar ett liv i Sverige.

Resultatet av deltagarnas ideologiska uppfattningar om arvsspråk hade en påtagligt större svarsvariation. En majoritet av deltagarna instämde med påståendet att det är viktigt med goda kunskaper på sitt/sina modersmål. Av deltagarna var det däremot endast 36 procent som instämde helt med påståendet "mitt/mina modersmål är viktigt/viktiga för att lyckas i skolan", vilket kan jämföras med 87 procent när det gällde svenska och 82 procent beträffande engelska. Deltagarna var också splittrade i sin syn på huruvida det borde vara mer modersmålsundervisning i skolan eller att det skulle gå att använda sina modersmål mer i andra skolämnen. Resultaten som berör undervisning bör också ses i relation till ramfaktorer där timplanens reglerade antal timmar per ämne kan ha viss inverkan på deltagarnas dispositioner. En del deltagare beskrev hur de uppfattade att mer modersmålsundervisning skulle bli "för mycket" och uttryckte att de var nöjda med nuvarande organisering. I det här sammanhanget är det också viktigt att nämna att det kan vara svårt för ungdomar i den här åldern att tänka sig in i alternativa undervisningspraktiker eller organisationsformer. Deltagarnas accepterande av nuvarande förhållanden kan antyda hur modersmålsundervisningens perifera position i det svenska skolsystemet, genom "symboliskt våld" (Bourdieu, 1991) rättfärdigas och upprätthålls. Resultatet visar således på det paradoxala i den ojämlika värderingen av språk. Medan vissa elever aldrig behöver ifrågasätta det privilegium det innebär att få undervisning på det dominerande språk de redan använder hemma åläggs andra att tyst godta det dominerande språkets legitimitet och "acceptera" den veckoranson av modersmålsundervisning som i bästa fall kan erbjudas. Även om deltagarna uppgav sig nöjda med nuvarande förhållanden påtalade flera av deltagarna vikten av att alla ges möjlighet till modersmålsundervisning. Intervjuerna innehöll också exempel på hur deltagare uttryckte besvikelse över att inte fått möjlighet till modersmålsundervisning. Deltagarnas olika dispositioner har troligen också sin grund i deras skilda individuella erfarenheter. Deltagarnas inställning till frågan kan till exempel tänkas variera beroende på språk och kulturell bakgrund, föräldrarnas socioekonomiska status och utbildningsnivå, språkpolicy inom familjen, personliga erfarenheter av skolan och tankar om framtiden.

Det faktum att deltagarna betonade engelska som ett särskilt viktigt språk skulle å ena sidan kunna ses som ett uttryck för att de är mer investerade i engelska än arvsspråk och svenska. Å andra sidan visade deltagarna en tydlig investering i både arvsspråk och svenska där språken tillskrevs olika betydelser och vikt för olika syften och i olika sammanhang och kontexter. Under intervjuerna gav deltagarna uttryck för ambivalenta ideologiska uppfattningar om språk. Deltagarnas

dispositioner kan tolkas som en medvetenhet av den språkliga hierarkin i det svenska samhället men visade också på den komplexitet det ibland innebär att navigera mellan tidvis motstridiga åtaganden, behov, önskningar och intressen. Deltagarnas språkideologiska beskrivningar och investering tangerade frågor om kulturell tillhörighet, självidentifikation, individuella förhoppningar, språkbevarande och frågor rörande erkännande, jämlikhet och makt. I sina resonemang gav deltagarna också uttryck för en syn på språk som essentiellt för etnisk identitet och deltagarnas ideologiska uppfattningar synliggjorde också en syn på konventionellt definierade språk som nära kopplade till konkreta geografiska och kulturella kontexter. Därmed kan deltagarnas uppfattningar ses som reflekterande av enspråkiga ideologier som inbegriper en enad språklig marknad vilket antyder förhållandet mellan begreppen habitus och marknad (Bourdieu, 1991). Medan svenska ansågs viktigt i Sverige, ansågs engelska än mer betydelsefullt i egenskap av kapital på den globala marknaden. Arvsspråk framhölls framför allt som betydelsefullt för känslan av kulturell tillhörighet och etnisk identitet samt för att bibehålla kontakter med släktingar i de egna eller föräldrarnas hemländer. Majoriteten av deltagarna uttryckte också tydligt vikten av att säkerställa att arvsspråken förs vidare till nästkommande generationer.

12.5.4 Ideologier om språk i formandet av identiteter och den språkliga placeringskänslan

Avhandlingen undersökte också tankar om framtida språkanvändning samt betydelsen av språk i formandet av identiteter och dispositioner. Analysen av intervjuerna visade hur deltagarnas utsagor i huvudsak berörde följande teman: kulturell tillhörighet, "språkägande", identiteter, språkbevarande och den språkliga placeringskänslan.

Resultaten visar hur språk tycks spela en betydande roll i formandet av identiteter och upplevelser av kulturell tillhörighet. I utsagorna från intervjuerna framgår hur deltagarna ser språk som nära förbundet med deras identiteter och kulturella tillhörighet. Resultaten visar dock också hur uppfattningar om identitet och tillhörighet kan växla mellan olika sammanhang och situationer. Medan de flesta uppgav att de "kände sig hemma" i såväl svenska som i sina arvsspråk, betraktade en del av deltagarna arvsspråket som mer nära kopplat till det kulturella arvet från föräldrarna och som oskiljaktigt bundet till deras etniska identitet. Resultaten visar också hur deltagarna uttrycker en tveksamhet i förhållande till sina olika identiteter och kulturella tillhörigheter. Majoriteten av de intervjuade

deltagarna identifierade sig mest med den kultur som de förknippade med sitt arvsspråk och såg då arvsspråket som starkt knutet till den etniska identiteten och tillhörigheten. Arvsspråket sågs alltså som en tydlig symbol som ingav en känsla av samhörighet och auktoritet Andra identifierade sig både med arvskulturen och den svenska kulturen och intervjuerna visade således hur deltagarna rörde sig mellan olika identiteter och känslor av tillhörighet. Men språk tycktes också vara centralt för den svenska tillhörigheten och deltagarna visade en hög medvetenhet om språkliga normer och förväntningar från det dominerande samhället. De flesta beskrev sitt (eller sina) modersmål som "sitt eget språk" medan ytterst få betraktade svenska på samma sätt. Även om flera av deltagarna såg svenska som sitt "starkaste" språk upplevde de sig som obehöriga talare av svenska och särskilde mellan svenska och arvsspråk i termer av språkägnade där arvsspråket sågs som "det egna" språket. Några av deltagarna vittnade om upplevelser av att ha fått kommentarer på sitt sätt att tala som felaktigt eller avvikande från den dominerande språkliga praktik mot vilken alla andra sätt att tala bedöms (se Bourdieu, 1991, s. 53). Flera deltagare uttryckte en medvetenhet om hur deras användning av ortensvenska kan uppfattas av majoritetssamhället samt hur det kan fungera som identitetsmarkör.

Deltagarna beskrev också hur de upplevt sig dubbelt ifrågasatta, både som "äkta" representanter för sina föräldrars kultur och som legitima "svenskar". Majoriteten av de intervjuade deltagarna refererade sällan till sig själva som "svenskar" och beskrev sig som icke legitima talare mot bakgrund av sin kulturella och språkliga bakgrund. Resultaten visar de mekanismer som samverkande påverkar deltagarnas ibland ambivalenta positionering gentemot svenska och tvekan inför att kalla sig svensk. Deltagarnas beskrivningar illustrerar också upplevelsen av att växa upp i ett så kallat "mellanförskap" (se Arbouz, 2012), vilket avser känslan att inte känna sig hemma i någon enskild nationell eller kulturell kategori utan snarare i utrymmet däremellan.

En del deltagare talade också om betydelsen av ens fysiska utseende för formandet av förutfattade antaganden om människors ursprung och etniska tillhörighet och hur det genererar uppfattningar om oss själva och andra som mer eller mindre autentiska eller legitima medlemmar i en kulturell gemenskap. Dessa exempel synliggjorde i viss utsträckning "hur den fysiska kroppen och vårt förhållande till den är en väsentlig dimension av habitus som också är oskiljaktig från förhållandet till språk och tid" (Bourdieu, 1990b, s. 72). Dessa exempel kan också ses som ett uttryck för hur individer utsätts för sociala och samhälleliga förväntningar av att "se ut som ett språk" (Rosa, 2019).

Vad gäller deltagarnas framtida språkanvändning såg flera familjen som en central språkbevarande domän i sina framtida liv som vuxna. De flesta intervjuade deltagare beskrev arvsspråket som ett betydelsefullt kapital som är viktigt att försöka hålla fast vid och föra vidare. Att föra vidare arvspråken till nästkommande generation ansågs angeläget för att bevara det kulturella arvet samt främja och bevara familjerelationer och ens identiteter. Deltagarna beskrev också att det var viktigt att föra språket vidare för att säkerställa att nästkommande generationer behöll en medvetenhet och respekt gentemot sitt ursprung och etniska och kulturella arv så att de vet, som de uttryckte det: "vilka de är" och "var de kommer ifrån" (se kapitel 10).

I resultaten framkom också hur betydelsen av plats tycktes spela en bidragande roll i deltagarnas känslor av "vilka de är". Deltagarna visade genomgående en hög medvetenhet om sig själva som boende i segregerade områden belägna i utkanten av den större staden och som demografiskt kännetecknas av låg socio-ekonomisk status och hög andel utrikesfödda. Denna medvetenhet tycktes påverka deras uppfattningar om sig själva och deras identiteter. Deltagarnas beskrivningar illustrerar därmed hur "sinnet för de egna språkliga produkternas värde utgör en fundamental dimension av sinnet för den plats man intar i det sociala rummet" (Bourdieu, 1984, s. 54).

12.6 Avslutande diskussion

I den här avhandlingen har jag undersökt samspelet mellan fritidsanvändning av språk och språkideologier, investering och identiteter bland unga ungdomar i språkligt heterogena förortsområden i Sverige. Sammantaget visar avhandlingens resultat hur dessa faktorer på olika sätt är intimt sammanflätade med deltagarnas språkliga praktiker utanför skolan. Resultaten visar hur vardaglig språkanvändning och ideologiska uppfattningar om språk tycks spela en betydande roll för deltagarnas investering i språk, deras språkliga placeringskänsla och identitetskonstruktioner. Avhandlingsprojektet har strävat efter att undersöka språkanvändning på fritiden utifrån ett holistiskt perspektiv som inkluderar de många dimensioner som samverkar i en språklig praktik. Resultaten bidrar därmed med insikter om flera olika aspekter rörande ungas vardagliga språkanvändning och uppfattningar om språk. Resultaten ger också en bild av hur samtidens unga använder språk på fritiden i olika aktiviteter och situationer samt hur vardaglig språkanvändning på fritiden kan interagera med språkideologiska uppfattningar, investering i språk och identiteter. Studien som helhet ger således en begränsad

men likväl omfattande dokumentering av ungas språkliga repertoarer och hur de språkligt navigerar i vardagliga sammanhang utanför skolan.

Som tidigare presenterats, visar resultaten hur familj, vänner och skola utgör centrala delar i ungdomarnas liv. Betydelsen av dessa delar för ungdomars språkanvändning och ideologiska uppfattningar har också påvisats i tidigare studier (se Bellander, 2010; Otterup, 2005; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Rampton, 1995; Rydenvald, 2017). Den här studien bidrar till befintlig forskning genom insikter om språkanvändning och språkideologier bland en språkligt och kulturellt heterogen grupp ungdomar i samtida urbana miljöer i Sverige. Avhandlingens resultat visar hur ungdomarnas språkanvändning följer relativt tydliga mönster när det gäller *vilka* språk som främst används i interaktion med olika familjemedlemmar, släktingar, vänner och klasskamrater. Flera av dessa mönster stämmer också överens med resultaten från tidigare studier (se Boyd, 1985; Otterup, 2005; King & Ganuza, 2005; Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Runfors, 2003, 2009). När det gäller språkanvändning inom familjen och familjens roll för språkbevarande stämmer också dessa överens med tidigare studier på området (se till exempel Grosjean, 1982; György-Ullholm, 2010; Jonsson, 2013; Kheirkhah, 2016; King & Ganuza, 2005; Starks & Lee, 2010). De kvalitativa delarna i studien visade dock också att *hur* olika språk kommer till användning i interaktioner varierar kraftigt. Resultaten visar således på hur språkanvändning är dynamisk där många olika komponenter bidrar till att skapa en språklig praktik vilket visar på vikten av att rikta ytterligare uppmärksamhet mot de många olika sätt som språk används.

Resultaten visar hur ungdomarna spenderar mycket tid på aktiviteter där svenska och/eller engelska används. Engelska dominerade till exempel i filmer, videoklipp och serier samt i musik och digitala spelsammanhang. Den höga förekomsten av engelska i digitala spelsammanhang är väldokumenterad (De Wilde, Brysbaert, & Eyckmans, 2020; Jensen, 2017; Olsson, 2011; Olsson & Sylvén, 2015; Sundqvist, 2009; Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2012; Svendsen et al., 2015) men vi vet däremot betydligt mindre om ungas användning av arvsspråk och svenska i olika spelsituationer. Deltagarna uttryckte genomgående en positiv inställning till svenska och engelska vilket kan ses som en indikation på en hög investering i dessa båda språk. Svenska och engelska ansågs viktiga för skolframgång, högre utbildning och framtida arbetsmöjligheter. Ungdomarna engagerar sig också i aktiviteter på sitt/sina arvsspråk om än i mer begränsad omfattning men arvsspråket är däremot mer närvarande i olika familjesammahang eller interaktioner med föräldrar och släktingar. Till skillnad från svenska och

engelska ansågs arvsspråken inte lika viktiga för skolframgång eller det framtida yrkeslivet. Arvsspråken tillskrevs således inte samma kapital på den globala och lokala marknaden. Däremot visade deltagarna en hög investering även i arvsspråket. Medan svenska ansågs viktigt för ett liv i Sverige, framställdes arvsspråken som betydelsefulla för upprätthållande av kontakter med släktingar, bevarande av det kulturella arvet samt för framtida familjeliv. Arvsspråken framhölls också som viktiga för den etniska identiteten och den kulturella tillhörigheten.

Resultaten illustrerar hur deltagarna ger uttryck för en diskrepans mellan hur språk används *i* och *utanför* skolan där skolans språkliga praktiker karaktäriseras som mer homogena och rotade i en enspråkig norm medan språkanvändningen utanför skolan är mer varierad och blandad. Detta mönster återfinns även i tidigare studier (Ag, 2018; Jonsson, 2013; Rydenvald, 2017) och bidrar till den befintliga vetskapen om en språklig diskrepans mellan hem och skola (Spolsky, 1974) med olika normer och praktiker i och utanför skolan (se Van Avermaet, 2007).

De unga deltagarna visar genomgående en hög medvetenhet om språkliga normer och hierarkier där olika sätt att tala tillskrivs olika värde i olika sammanhang. De beskrev bland annat hur de varierade sitt språk beroende på situationen eller vem de talade med. Deltagarnas särskiljande av ortensvenska från så kallad "riktig" svenska signalerar hur ortensvenska tillskrivs en underordnad position jämfört med den dominerande språkliga praktik som anses känneteckna skolan och andra samhälleliga institutioner. Resultaten bekräftar det som framkommit i tidigare studier rörande ungdomars medvetenhet om dominerande språkideologier och normer (Ag, 2018; Bauer et al., 2015; Ganuza, 2008; Haglund, 2005; Jonsson, 2013; Milani & Jonsson, 2011; Otterup, 2005).

I intervjuerna framkom hur deltagarna tycktes se på språk som "ägda objekt" (Blommaert, 2006, s. 512) genom att genomgående tala i termer av språkägande såsom "mitt språk", "deras språk" och så vidare. Därmed gav deltagarna uttryck för en essentialistisk syn på språk och kultur där språk tenderar att betraktas som symbol för en given kultur kännetecknande av en relativt statisk syn på kultur som *en* uppsättning traditioner, normer, praktiker och värden som delas av *ett* folk. Deltagarna beskrev också "deras språk" som indikativt för deras identitet vilket visar på hur en essentialistisk syn på språk tycks utgöra en central del av människors uppfattningar om sig själva och sina identiteter (Blackledge & Creese 2010; Heller, 2007b; Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; May, 2005). Intervjuerna visade hur deltagarnas identitetsuppfattningar var starkt förankrade i föräldrarnas kultur eller i den egna migrantbakgrunden men också hur deras identitetskonstruktioner

kunder växla beroende på tid och rum, situation och vem de interagerade med. Sammanfattningsvis visar deltagarna i den här studien en hög medvetenhet om hur språk fungerar och språk tycktes spela en central roll i de många samspelande faktorer som påverkar ens identiteter och känsla av tillhörighet. Dessa resultat påminner om de som framkommit i liknande studier (Bauer et al., 2015; Haglund, 2005; King & Ganuza, 2005). Deltagarnas beskrivningar och exempel visar också hur de navigerar i spänningsfältet mellan olika positioneringar, mellan de identiteter de tillskriver sig själva och de som de tillskrivs av andra (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Liknande iakttagelser har gjorts i andra studier (se Palm, Ganuza & Hedman, 2019; Runfors, 2009) men denna avhandling bidrar till befintlig forskning genom att bistå med insikter från en språkligt och kulturellt heterogen grupp ungdomar i samtida förortsmiljöer i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö.

Till avhandlingens begräsningar hör att den förlitar sig på deltagarnas rapporterade redogörelser av sin språkanvändning och kan därmed inte bidra med en kontextualiserad och situerade förståelse av deltagarnas språkliga praktiker. Metoderna i den här avhandlingen synliggör det övergripande mönstren gällande ungdomarnas användning av arvsspråk, svenska och engelska samt andra språk och fångar i lägre utsträckning detaljer och nyanser av olika språkliga praktiker. Studien har avsiktligt velat kartlägga deltagarnas övergripande användning och förhållande till olika konventionellt definierade "språk" och har inte haft som syfte att undersöka detaljer gällande hybriditeten i språkliga praktiker. Att fokusera på konventionellt definierade språk har kritiserats för att riskera negligera diversiteten inom språk (Bailey, 2012). Jag delar till stor del denna åsikt och har sedan dag ett varit väl medveten om denna överhängande risk, men hävdar likväl att användningen av konventionellt definierade språk i den här studien fyller en nödvändig och viktig funktion. Genom att anta en dynamisk språksyn där språklig mångfald ses som naturligt inneboende i språk och då avhandlingen utgått från Bourdieus perspektiv och teoretiska begrepp har en medvetenhet om språkanvändningens mångfacetterade natur och dess socio-historiska och ideologiska grunder varit ständigt närvarande under studien. Jag inser också den problematik som följer av att balansera mellan teoretiska och konceptuella motstridigheter. Likväl vill jag hävda vikten av att forskning undersöker rådande omständigheter och förhållanden inom vilka "konventionellt definierade språk" utgör en faktisk del och samtidigt bibehålla såväl teoretisk stringens som reflexivitet samt anta ett kritisk ifrågasättande av nuvarande förhållanden.

12.7 Implikationer och förslag till framtida forskning

Resultaten i den här avhandlingen kan vara av betydelse i flera avseenden. En fördjupad förståelse av hur ungdomar använder och möter språk utanför skolan är av stort värde i utbildningssammanhang. Dels genom att bidra till lärares kunskaper om elevers fritidsanvändning av språk, dels genom att bidra till ökad nyfikenhet bland lärare att utforska hur deras elever använder språk på fritiden. En ökad insikt om elevers språkliga liv och erfarenheter utanför skolan kan bidra till undervisningspraktiker som gynnar såväl elever som lärare. Avhandlingens resultat kan också främja en ökad medvetenheten i skolan om betydelsen av språk och de många olika sätt som språk används på. Framförallt kan avhandlingens resultat bidra till att framhålla vikten av att barns och ungas språkliga resurser tas tillvara och beaktas som grundläggande för lärande och utveckling, och avgörande för en likvärdig utbildning.

Resultaten rörande ungdomarnas användning av svenska kan också ha betydelse för att öka medvetenheten om språkanvändningen bland den här gruppen unga i svenska förortsområden. Resultaten kan till exempel utgöra ett underlag för att bemöta förutfattade meningar och antaganden om att unga i dessa områden sällan möter eller använder svenska (jmf Ag, 2018). Den höga användningen av svenska och engelska visar också hur ungdomarna styrs in mot en användning av de dominerande språken på bekostnad av sina arvsspråk. Barn och unga sätts därmed i en ojämlik utbildningssituation där de förväntas prestera på samma premisser som dem för vilka det dominerande språket och kulturen är betydligt mer välbekant. Det belyser vikten av att på allvar beakta hur språkliga hierarkier påverkar barn och ungas uppfattningar om sig själva, sina framtidsutsikter och position i samhället. Studien visar att språkliga och sociala hierarkier har betydelse för ungas självbilder, tankar om framtiden och identiteter. Det skapar ojämlika utbildningsvillkor och ger upphov till frågor om *vilka* som är berättigade till "sina" språk, vilka språk som värderas, eller kanske snarare *vilkas* språk som värderas. Mot bakgrund av detta framgår tydligt vikten av att arbeta för en utbildning där ungas språkliga och kulturella kapital ses som fullvärdiga tillgångar och av avgörande betydelse för lärande och utveckling. För det behövs en översyn av betydelsen av språk för en jämlik utbildning och hur språk kan ges en ytterligare stärkt roll i skolan. Det kan bland annat innebära att främja och ge ytterligare ökat utrymme för olika transspråkande praktiker och strategier i undervisningen. Det skulle också vara intressant att undersöka möjligheterna för

ett mer holistiskt angreppssätt som kan lyfta fram den inneboende mångfalden i språk. En möjlig väg för det skulle till exempel kunna vara att ta fram en ämnesövergripande undervisning som mer tydligt kan belysa olika dimensioner av språk och förhållanden mellan språk, samhälle, historia och kultur. Det skulle kunna bidra till en ökad språklig medvetenhet och en kritisk förståelse av dominerande språkliga normer och uppfattade skillnader vilket kan stärka demokratiska värden och främja en interkulturell förståelse. Språklig medvetenhet kan bidra till ökat välmående och en positiv identitetsutveckling bland barn och unga vilket kan ha en gynnsam inverkan på deras allmänna skolframgång genom att stärka statusen på arvsspråk, deras självkänsla och investering i lärande (se Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014). Vidare forskning skulle kunna undersöka intresset och möjligheterna för sådana utbildningsinsatser.

Med anledning av de unga deltagarnas höga medvetenhet om språkliga normer och hierarkier skulle det också vara av intresse att undersöka språkliga praktiker och ideologer bland yngre barn både i skola och förskola. Det skulle också vara intressant att närmare studera hur ungdomar navigerar mellan olika språkliga normer i olika sociala rum. Därtill skulle det vara relevant att undersöka hur språkliga praktiker och dispositioner eventuellt förändras över tid genom att följa en grupp ungdomar in i vuxenlivet. Avhandlingens resultat gällande deltagarnas tankar om språkanvändning i framtiden gör det också viktigt att närmare undersöka betydelsen av språk i barn och ungas självbilder och upplevda framtidsutsikter. Det skulle också vara betydelsefullt att undersöka språkanvändningen bland unga i andra kontexter. Slutligen kan forskning om ungas användning av språk i spelsituationer och på sociala medier också vara av intresse då det skulle bidra med ökade aktuella insikter om ungas språkanvändning i snabbt föränderliga språkliga sammanhang.

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Språkanvändning utanför skolan – flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Elevenkät

Årskurs 6

I den här enkäten finns frågor om språk och hur du använder språk på din fritid. Ibland ska du svara genom att sätta <u>ett</u> kryss, ibland <u>flera kryss</u> och på vissa frågor ska du <u>skriva </u>ditt svar.
Läs varje fråga eller påstående noga!

Du kan fråga mig eller din lärare om hjälp om det är något i frågan som är otydligt.

Namn: _____   Klass: _____

Skola: _____

Flicka ☐   Pojke ☐   Vill ej uppge ☐

1. När är du född? År: _____ Månad: _____

2. a) I vilket land är du född?

    Sverige ☐

    Annat: _____

    b) Om du är född i annat land, hur gammal var du när du kom till Sverige?

    _____ år

3. a) Har du gått i skolan i ett annat land?   Ja ☐   Nej ☐

    b) Om ja, i vilket land? _____

4. Vilket (eller vilka) språk är ditt modersmål? _____

Viktigt!

All personlig information om dig kommer att kodas och förvaras separat från frågorna på en säker plats. På det sättet blir dina svar på frågorna i enkäten anonyma. Andra utomstående människor kan alltså inte koppla samman dina svar med Dig som person.

KOD:

1.

Hur ofta hör/läser eller använder du olika språk i följande aktiviteter?

Kryssa i en ruta för varje rad.

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Tittar på film				
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Lyssnar på radio				
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Lyssnar på ljudböcker				
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Lyssnar på någon hemma som läser högt för mig				
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

3

KOD:

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
	↓	↓	↓	↓

e) Läser böcker

På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

f) Läser nyheter

På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

g) Läser andra tidningar (t.ex. serier, sport, mode, musik)

På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

h) Läser högt för någon hemma

På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

i) Läser bloggar

På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

4

KOD:

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
	↓	↓	↓	↓

j) Skriver längre texter t.ex. berättelser/låttexter

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

k) Skriver dagbok eller blogg

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

l) Spelar in egna videoklipp (t.ex. Youtube, Snapchat, TikTok)

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.

a) Hur ofta gör du följande saker på din fritid? *Kryssa i en ruta för varje rad.*

	Varje dag	Någon eller några gånger i veckan	Någon eller några gånger i månaden	Aldrig eller nästan aldrig
	↓	↓	↓	↓
Idrottar/sportar	☐	☐	☐	☐
Spelar ett instrument	☐	☐	☐	☐
Någon annan aktivitet (t.ex. schack, sång, teater)	☐	☐	☐	☐

b) Vilket/vilka språk använder du <u>oftast</u> vid dessa aktiviteter? _____

5

KOD:

3.

Ungefär hur lång tid brukar du göra följande aktiviteter på fritiden en vanlig skoldag?

Kryssa i en ruta för varje rad.

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Tittar på videoklipp t.ex. Youtube					
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Lyssnar på musik					
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Spelar dator/tv-spel					
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Spelar onlinespel					
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6

KOD:

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓

e) Chattar/pratar med andra spelare online

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

f) Läser på sociala medier (t.ex. Snapchat®, Instagram®, Facebook®)

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

g) Skriver på sociala medier (t.ex. Snapchat®, Instagram®, Facebook®)

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

h) Tittar på serier (t.ex. på Netflix®)

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

i) Tittar på tv-program (på tv-kanaler svenska eller utländska)

	5 timmar eller mer	3 till 5 timmar	1 till 3 timmar	Mindre än 1 timme	Ingen tid
På mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
På annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

KOD:

4.

Vilket eller vilka språk använder du **när Du talar** med:

a) mamma? _____

b) pappa? _____

c) syskon? _____

d) kusiner/yngre släktingar? _____

e) mor/farföräldrar? _____

f) andra äldre släktingar? _____

g) kompisar på fritiden? _____

h) klasskamrater på rasten i skolan? _____

i) lärare i skolan? _____

j) grannar i området där du bor? _____

5.

Vilket eller vilka språk använder **andra när de talar** med dig:

a) mamma? _____

b) pappa? _____

c) syskon? _____

d) kusiner/yngre släktingar? _____

e) mor/farföräldrar? _____

f) andra äldre släktingar? _____

g) kompisar på fritiden? _____

h) klasskamrater på rasten i skolan? _____

i) lärare i skolan? _____

j) grannar i området där du bor? _____

KOD:

6. ━━━━━━━━━━━━━━

a) Deltar du i modersmålsundervisning?

Ja   ☐

Nej ☐

b) Om ja, i vilket språk? _____

7. ━━━━━━━━━━━━━━

Får du, eller har du tidigare fått, studiehandledning på ditt modersmål?

Ja   ☐

Nej   ☐

8. ━━━━━━━━━━━━━━

Skriv de språk du kan i ordning utifrån det du kan bäst till det du inte kan lika bra. Börja med det språk du kan bäst:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

9. ━━━━━━━━━━━━━━

Vilket eller vilka språk använder du när du tänker eller ska komma ihåg t.ex. personnummer, telefonnummer?

Jag tänker oftast på _____

KOD: _____

10. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

<u>Vilket eller vilka</u> språk tycker du att du ...

💬   *talar* bäst på? _____

✎   *skriver* bäst på? _____

📖   *läser* bäst på? _____

👂   *lyssnar och förstår* bäst på? _____

11. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Om du har ett annat modersmål än svenska, svara på följande påståenden om vad du tycker att du kan på ditt <u>modersmål</u>:

💬 **Tala**	Stämmer mycket bra ↓	Stämmer ganska bra ↓	Stämmer ganska dåligt ↓	Stämmer mycket dåligt ↓
a) Jag kan berätta var jag bor och vilka jag känner	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Jag kan berätta om mig själv och min familj	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Jag kan skoja eller berätta en rolig historia	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Jag kan berätta om någonting som har hänt	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) Jag kan prata om vad jag vill göra i framtiden	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Jag kan berätta vad som hände i en film/bok	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Jag kan förklara hur någonting fungerar	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Jag kan tala flytande utan att tänka efter vilka ord jag ska använda	☐	☐	☐	☐

KOD:

Om du har ett annat modersmål än svenska, svara på följande påståenden om vad du tycker att du kan på ditt <u>modersmål</u>:

✒ Lyssna och förstå	Stämmer mycket bra ↓	Stämmer ganska bra ↓	Stämmer ganska dåligt ↓	Stämmer mycket dåligt ↓
i) Jag kan förstå det mesta om någon pratar om mig och min familj	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) Jag kan förstå enkla meddelanden	☐	☐	☐	☐
k) Jag kan förstå det mesta som sägs i radio /tv-program om språket talas långsamt och tydligt	☐	☐	☐	☐
l) Jag kan förstå de flesta filmer/tv-program	☐	☐	☐	☐
m) Jag kan utan problem förstå det mesta som människor säger även om de talar snabbt	☐	☐	☐	☐
n) Jag förstår det mesta som sägs i ett samtal som handlar om något jag känner till väl	☐	☐	☐	☐
o) Jag kan förstå när någon förklarar hur någonting fungerar	☐	☐	☐	☐
p) Jag kan förstå det viktigaste när någon talar även om jag inte förstår alla ord som sägs	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

<u>Vilket eller vilka</u> språk var de första du lärde dig som liten?

_____

_____

_____

13. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Var lärde du dig först att tala <u>svenska</u>? *Kryssa bara i <u>en</u> ruta.*

Hemma med föräldrar/släktingar ☐

På förskolan ☐

I skolan ☐

Hemma genom tv/filmer/spel/Internet ☐

11

KOD:

14. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Var lärde du dig först att tala <u>engelska</u>? *Kryssa bara i <u>en</u> ruta.*

Hemma av föräldrar/släktingar	☐
På förskolan	☐
I skolan	☐
Hemma genom tv/filmer/spel/Internet	☐

15. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Om du har en mobiltelefon, <u>vilket eller vilka</u> språk använder du oftast när du tar emot eller skickar <u>sms</u> med olika personer?

Mamma: _____

Pappa: _____

Syskon: _____

Släktingar: _____

Kompisar: _____

Jag använder inte mobiltelefon ☐

16. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Om du har en mobiltelefon, <u>vilket eller vilka</u> språk använder du oftast när du <u>talar</u> i telefon med olika personer?

Mamma: _____

Pappa: _____

Syskon: _____

Släktingar: _____

Kompisar: _____

Jag använder inte mobiltelefon ☐

KOD:

17.

Vilka sociala medier använder du? *Kryssa i alla de rutor som stämmer bäst in på dig.*

Snapchat ☐   Instagram   ☐

Facebook ☐   Musical.ly/Tik Tok   ☐

Twitter   ☐   Youtube   ☐

                            WhatsApp/Viber   ☐

Annat? _____

Jag använder inga sociala medier   ☐

18.

Om du använder sociala medier, vilka språk använder du <u>oftast</u>?

Kryssa i alla de rutor som stämmer bäst in på dig.

Svenska   ☐

Mitt/mina modersmål (om annat än svenska)   ☐

Engelska   ☐

Emojis (hjärtan, smileys m.m.)   ☐

Jag använder <u>endast emojis</u> (hjärtan, smileys m.m.) ☐

Något annat språk *(Skriv gärna vilket/vilka)*: _____

Jag använder inte sociala medier   ☐

13

KOD:

19. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

a) **Hur ofta lånar du böcker från biblioteket eller skolbiblioteket?**
Kryssa bara i __en__ ruta.

Minst en gång i veckan ☐

Några gånger i månaden ☐

Några gånger om året ☐

Sällan ☐

Aldrig ☐

b) **När du lånar böcker från biblioteket eller skolbiblioteket vilka språk är böckerna du lånar <u>oftast</u> skrivna på?**

Modersmål ☐
Svenska ☐
Engelska ☐
Något annat språk? ☐   I så fall, vilket/vilka språk? _____

Jag lånar aldrig böcker ☐

20. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Ungefär hur många böcker finns det hemma hos dig just nu?
(Räkna inte med tidningar eller dina skolböcker.)

Inga eller väldigt få (0–10 böcker) ☐

Så många som får plats på ett hyllplan (11–25 böcker) ☐

Så många som får plats i en hel bokhylla (26–100 böcker) ☐

Så många som får plats i två bokhyllor (101–200 böcker) ☐

Så många som får plats i tre eller fler bokhyllor (fler än 200 böcker) ☐

KOD:

21. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Här är några olika påståenden om språk. Svara genom att sätta ett kryss under det alternativ som stämmer bäst med vad <u>Du</u> tycker.

	Stämmer mycket bra	Stämmer ganska bra	Stämmer ganska dåligt	Stämmer inte alls
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Vi borde ha mer modersmålsundervisning	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Det är roligt att lära sig mer på sitt/sina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Det är viktigt att ha bra kunskaper på sitt/sina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Jag skulle vilja använda mitt/mina modersmål mer i andra ämnen i skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) Svenska är ett roligt ämne	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Vi borde ha mer svenska i skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Det är roligt på lektionerna i svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Svenska är ett tråkigt ämne	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) Det är viktigt att ha bra kunskaper i svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) Engelska är ett roligt ämne	☐	☐	☐	☐
k) Vi borde ha mer engelska i skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐
l) Det är roligt på lektionerna i engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
m) Det är viktigt att ha bra kunskaper i engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
n) Engelska är ett tråkigt ämne	☐	☐	☐	☐
o) Mitt/mina modersmål är viktigt/viktiga för att lyckas i skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐

KOD:

	Stämmer mycket bra	Stämmer ganska bra	Stämmer ganska dåligt	Stämmer inte alls
	↓	↓	↓	↓
p) Svenska är viktigt för att lyckas i skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐
q) Engelska är viktigt för att lyckas i skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐
r) Mitt/mina modersmål är viktigt/viktiga att lära sig för att lära känna nya kompisar	☐	☐	☐	☐
s) Svenska är viktigt att lära sig för att lära känna nya kompisar	☐	☐	☐	☐
t) Engelska är viktigt att lära sig för att lära känna nya kompisar	☐	☐	☐	☐
u) Mitt/mina modersmål är viktigt/viktiga att kunna för att få ett arbete	☐	☐	☐	☐
v) Svenska är viktigt att kunna för att få ett arbete	☐	☐	☐	☐
w) Engelska är viktigt att kunna för att få ett arbete	☐	☐	☐	☐

22. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

a) **Skriv tre språk som du verkligen skulle vilja bli riktigt bra på i framtiden:** (Det kan vara vilka språk som helst, även sådana du redan kan.)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

b) **Skriv något eller några språk som du <u>inte alls</u> är intresserad av att lära dig:**

_____

KOD: _____

23. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

När du blir vuxen och ska söka ett jobb hur viktigt tror du att det är att du kan tala och skriva bra på:

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Inte särskilt viktigt	Inte alls viktigt
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Något annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

Vilket? _____

24. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Om du som vuxen skulle vilja studera på universitet/högskola hur viktigt tror du att det är att du kan tala och skriva bra på:

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Inte särskilt viktigt	Inte alls viktigt
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Mitt/mina modersmål	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Svenska	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Engelska	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Något annat språk	☐	☐	☐	☐

Vilket? _____

25. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

I framtiden när du är vuxen och kanske studerar, arbetar och har familj. Vilka språk ser du dig själv använda då? Skriv och berätta!

_____

_____

_____

_____

STORT tack för att du svarade på den här enkäten!

Appendix B

Out-of-School Language Use – Multilingualism, Investment and Identity

Student questionnaire

Year 6

Questionnaire   CODE:

In this survey you will find questions about languages and how you use languages in your spare time. For some questions you should answer by ticking the box alongside the answer that applies to you. On other questions you can answer by ticking several boxes. On certain questions you should write your answer. <u>Please read every question or statement carefully!</u>

Please let me or your teacher know if a question or statement seems unclear or if you have any other questions.

Name: _____   Class: _____

School: _____

Girl ☐   Boy ☐   Prefer not to answer ☐

1. In which year/month were you born? Year: _____ Month: _____

2. a) In which country were you born?

   Sweden ☐

   Other: _____

   b) If you were born outside Sweden, how old were you when you arrived in Sweden?

   _____ years old

3. a) Have you attended school in another country?   Yes ☐ No ☐

   b) If yes, in which country? _____

4. Which language (or languages) is your mother tongue? _____

Please note!

Any personal information about you will be coded and kept separately from the questions in a safe place. That way, your written answers to the questions in this questionnaire will be anonymous. Your name and personal information will be kept confidential and no one will be able to link your responses to you as an individual.

CODE:

1.

How often do you listen to/read or use different languages in the following activities?

Please tick <u>one box</u> in each row.

	Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Watching movies				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Listen to radio				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Listen to audio books				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Listening to someone at home who reads aloud to me				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

CODE:

	Every day	**Once or a few times a week**	**Once or a few times a month**	**Never or almost never**
	↓	↓	↓	↓
e) Read books				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Read the News				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Read magazines (e.g. comics, sports, fashion, music)				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Read aloud to someone at home				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) Read blogs				
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

CODE: _____

	Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
	↓	↓	↓	↓

j) Write longer texts for example stories/song lyrics

	Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

k) Write diary or blog

	Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

l) Record own videos (using for example YouTube, Snapchat, TikTok)

	Every day	Once or a few times a week	Once or a few times a month	Never or almost never
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.

a) How often do you do the following during your leisure time? *Please tick <u>one</u> box in each row.*

	Every day	Some or a few times a week	Some or a few times a month	Never or almost never
	↓	↓	↓	↓
Exercise/Play sports	☐	☐	☐	☐
Play an instrument	☐	☐	☐	☐
Any other activity (e.g. playing chess, organized singing, acting)	☐	☐	☐	☐

b) Which language or languages do you most often use in these activities?

_____

CODE:

3.

About how much time do you spend on the following activities in your spare time, on a regular weekday?

Please tick <u>one box</u> in each row.

	5 hours or more ↓	3 to 5 hours ↓	1 to 3 hours ↓	Less than 1 hour ↓	No time ↓
a) Watching videos (e.g. YouTube)					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Listen to music					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Play computer/ video games					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Play online games					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

CODE:

	5 hours or more	3 to 5 hours	1 to 3 hours	Less than 1 hour	No time
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
e) Chat/talk to other players online					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Reading on social media (e.g. Snapchat®, Instagram®, Facebook®)					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Writing on social media (e.g. Snapchat®, Instagram®, Facebook®)					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Watch television series (e.g. Netflix®)					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) Watch television shows (Television channels either Swedish or foreign)					
In my mother tongue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Which language or languages do you use when You speak to:

a) mother? _____

b) father? _____

c) siblings? _____

d) cousins/younger relatives? _____

e) grandparents? _____

f) other older relatives? _____

g) friends in your spare time? _____

h) classmates during recess at school? _____

i) teachers at school? _____

j) neighbors in the area where you live? _____

5. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Which language or languages do others use when they speak to you:

a) mother? _____

b) father? _____

c) siblings? _____

d) cousins/younger relatives? _____

e) grandparents? _____

f) other older relatives? _____

g) friends in your spare time? _____

h) classmates during recess at school? _____

i) teachers at school? _____

j) neighbors in the area where you live? _____

CODE:

6. ▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄

    a) Do you participate in mother tongue instruction?

        Yes ☐

        No ☐

    b) If yes, in which language? _____

7. ▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄

    Do you receive, or have you previously received, study guidance in your mother tongue?

        Yes ☐

        No ☐

8. ▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄

    List the languages you know in order from the one you know best to the one you don't know so well. <u>Start with the language you know best</u>:

    1. _____

    2. _____

    3. _____

    4. _____

9. ▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄▄

    Which language or languages do you use when you think or for example need to remember a combination of numbers like a personal identification number or phone number?

    I usually think in _____

CODE:

10.

Which language or languages do you think you can...

💬   *speak* best in? _____

✏   *write* best in? _____

📖   *read* best in? _____

👂   *listen and understand* best in? _____

11.

If you have a mother tongue other than Swedish, please answer the following statements about what you think you can do in your mother tongue:

💬 **Speaking**

	Agree a lot	Agree a little	Disagree a little	Disagree a lot
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) I can describe where I live and the people I know	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) I can talk about myself and my family	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) I can tell a joke or narrate a funny story	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) I can describe something that has happened	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) I can talk about what I would like to do in the future	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) I can narrate the story or plot of a book or film	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) I can explain how something works	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) I can speak fluently without much searching for words or expressions	☐	☐	☐	☐

10

CODE:

If you have a mother tongue other than Swedish, please answer the following statements about what you think you can do in your mother tongue:

🎧 **Listen and understand**	Agree a lot ↓	Agree a little ↓	Disagree a little ↓	Disagree a lot ↓
i) I can understand the main points when someone speaks about myself and my family	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) I can understand simple messages	☐	☐	☐	☐
k) I can understand the main points in radio or TV programs when the delivery is slow and clear	☐	☐	☐	☐
l) I can understand most films and TV programs	☐	☐	☐	☐
m) I can, without effort, understand the main points in extended speech even if delivered at fast speed	☐	☐	☐	☐
n) I can understand the main points in conversations on familiar matters	☐	☐	☐	☐
o) I can understand when someone explains how something works	☐	☐	☐	☐
p) I can understand the main points in speech even if I do not recognize every word	☐	☐	☐	☐

12.

Which language or languages were the first you learned as a young child?

_____

_____

_____

13.

Where did you first learn to speak Swedish? *Please tick **one** box.*

At home with parents/relatives	☐
In preschool	☐
In school	☐
At home through TV/movies/games/Internet	☐

14. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Where did you first learn to speak <u>English</u>? *Please tick <u>**one**</u> box.*

At home with parents/relatives	☐
In preschool	☐
In school	☐
At home through TV/movies/games/Internet	☐

15. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

If you have a mobile phone, <u>what language or languages</u> do you most often use when text messaging with different people?

Mother: _____

Father: _____

Siblings: _____

Relatives: _____

Friends: _____

I do not use a mobile phone ☐

16. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

If you have a mobile phone, <u>what language or languages</u> do you most often use when <u>speaking</u> with different people?

Mother: _____

Father: _____

Siblings: _____

Relatives: _____

Friends: _____

I do not use a mobile phone ☐

CODE:

17. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

Which social media do you use? *Please tick the boxes that apply to you.*

Snapchat ☐   Instagram   ☐

Facebook ☐   Musical.ly/Tik Tok   ☐

Twitter   ☐   YouTube   ☐

                                WhatsApp/Viber   ☐

Other? _____

I do not use social media   ☐

18. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

If you use social media, which languages do you <u>most often use</u>?

Please tick the boxes that apply to you.

Swedish   ☐

My mother tongue(s) (if other than Swedish)   ☐

English   ☐

Emojies (hearts, smileys etc.)   ☐

I <u>only use emojies</u> (hearts, smileys etc.)   ☐

Any other language *(Please name which)*: _____

I do not use social media   ☐

CODE:

19.

a) **How often do you borrow books at the public library or school library?**
Please tick __one__ box.

At least once a week   ☐

A couple of times a month   ☐

A couple of times a year   ☐

Seldom   ☐

Never   ☐

b) **When you borrow books from the public library or school library, what languages are the books you borrow <u>most often</u> written in?**

Mother tongue   ☐
Swedish   ☐
English   ☐
Any other language? ☐   If so, please name which? _____

I never borrow books at the library ☐

20.

About how many books are there in your home right now?
(Do not count magazines or your school books.)

None or very few (0–10 books)   ☐

Enough to fill one shelf (11–25 books)   ☐

Enough to fill one bookcase (26–100 books)   ☐

Enough to fill two bookcases (101–200 books)   ☐

Enough to fill three or more bookcases (more than 200)   ☐

CODE:

21. ■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

Here are some statements about languages. Answer by ticking the box under the alternative that best corresponds with what <u>YOU</u> think.

		Agree a lot ↓	Agree a little ↓	Disagree a little ↓	Disagree a lot ↓
a)	We should have more mother tongue tuition	☐	☐	☐	☐
b)	It is fun to learn more in my mother tongue(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐
c)	It is important to have good proficiency in one's mother tongue(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐
d)	I would like to use my mother tongue(s) more in other subjects in school	☐	☐	☐	☐
e)	Swedish is a fun school subject	☐	☐	☐	☐
f)	We should have more Swedish in school	☐	☐	☐	☐
g)	The lessons in Swedish are fun	☐	☐	☐	☐
h)	Swedish is a boring school subject	☐	☐	☐	☐
i)	It is important to have good proficiency in Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
j)	English is a fun school subject	☐	☐	☐	☐
k)	We should have more English in school	☐	☐	☐	☐
l)	The lessons in English are fun	☐	☐	☐	☐
m)	It is important to have good proficiency in English	☐	☐	☐	☐
n)	English is a boring school subject	☐	☐	☐	☐
o)	My mother tongue(s) is/are important to succeed at school	☐	☐	☐	☐

15

CODE: _____

	Agree a lot	Agree a little	Disagree a little	Disagree a lot
	↓	↓	↓	↓
p) Swedish is important to succeed at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
q) English is important to succeed at school	☐	☐	☐	☐
r) My mother tongue(s) is/are important when getting to know new friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
s) Swedish is important when getting to know new friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
t) English is important when getting to know new friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
u) My mother tongue(s) is/are important for getting a job	☐	☐	☐	☐
v) Swedish is important for getting a job	☐	☐	☐	☐
w) English is important for getting a job	☐	☐	☐	☐

22. ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬

a) **List three languages that you would like to become really good at in the future:**
(You could list any languages, even those you already know well.)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

b) **List one or two languages which you are <u>not at all</u> interested in learning:**

_____

CODE:

23.

When you become an adult and are to apply for a job, how important do you think it is that you can speak and write well in:

	Very important	Fairly Important	Of little importance	Not important at all
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Your mother tongue(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) English	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

What language? _____

24.

If you as an adult would like to study at University, how important do you think it is that you can speak and write well in:

	Very important	Fairly Important	Of little importance	Not important at all
	↓	↓	↓	↓
a) Your mother tongue(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Swedish	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) English	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Any other language	☐	☐	☐	☐

What language? _____

25.

In the future when you are an adult and perhaps study, work or have a family. What languages do you see yourself using? Write your ideas about this!

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire!

Appendix C

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan – flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Min språkdagbok

Namn: _____

Skola: _____

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan – flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Instruktioner

Under en vecka kommer du att få fylla i en språkdagbok. Språkdagboken är del av ett forskningsprojekt om elevers språkanvändning på fritiden. I språkdagboken beskriver du vad du gör och vilka språk du använder på din fritid utanför skolan. I det här häftet finns en sida för varje dag.

I språkdagboken ska du skriva vad du gjorde igår och vilka språk du då använde. Kanske använde du olika språk i olika aktiviteter och med olika människor?

Språkdagboken är indelad i **morgon** och **eftermiddag/kväll.**

I fältet **morgon** skriver du in vad du gjorde i går från att du vaknade tills att skoldagen började.

I fältet **eftermiddag/kväll** skriver du vad du gjorde i går från att du gick från skolan tills du somnade på kvällen.

Min Språkdagbok
Namn: _____ Veckodag: _____

Tid	Aktivitet: • Beskriv vad du gjorde? • Var du var? (Hemma, på väg till/från skolan) • Vem eller vilka som var med? • Ungefär hur lång tid?	Språk? • Vilka språk? • Med vem/vilka? • Hur? (Lyssna, tala, läsa, skriva)
Morgon *(Från att du vaknade tills du kom till skolan)*		
Eftermiddag/Kväll *(Från skoldagens slut tills du somnade på kvällen)*		

Försöka att kort beskriva

• **Vad du gjorde?**

• **Vilka språk du använde?**

• **Hur?** (När du berättar vad du gjorde försök att beskriva *hur* du använde olika språk, t.ex. om du lyssnade, pratade, skrev, läste)

• **Var du var?**
(Skriv om du var hemma, ute, på väg till/från skolan, i stan, på träning/aktivitet eller någon annanstans)

• **Vem eller vilka som var med?**
(Skriv om du var själv eller med syskon, föräldrar, kompisar, släktingar etc.)

• **Ungefär hur lång tid?**
(Försök beskriva i halvtimmar/timmar ungefär hur länge du gjorde olika saker.)

På fritiden gör vi många olika saker. Du kanske lyssnar på musik, umgås med familj och vänner, spelar dator/tv-spel, läser böcker, tittar på tv eller film, idrottar, spelar eller sjunger, talar i telefon/skickar sms, använder sociala medier, äter mat, gör läxor, hälsar på hemma hos någon etc.
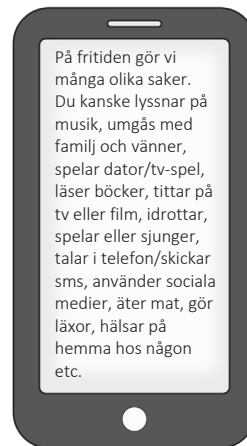
Om du vill får du också gärna ta bilder för att visa på hur du använder eller möter olika språk i din vardag.
Bilderna lägger du upp på *Google Classroom*.

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan – flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Min språkdagbok

Namn: _____   Veckodag: _____

Tid	Aktivitet: • Beskriv vad du gjorde? • Var du var? (Hemma, på väg till/från skolan) • Vem eller vilka som var med? • Ungefär hur lång tid?	Språk? • Vilka språk? • Med vem/vilka? • Hur? (Lyssna, tala, läsa, skriva)
Morgon *(Från att du vaknade tills du kom till skolan)*		
Eftermiddag/Kväll *(Från skoldagens slut tills du somnade på kvällen)*		

Appendix D

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan - flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Intervjuguide

- Språk under tidig barndom (minnen av språk, vilka språk som fanns i familjen, den direkta närmiljön, minnen av första mötet med olika språk, minnen av ev. förskola)

- Språkanvändning hemma

- Språkanvändning med vänner utanför skolan

- Språkanvändning i skolan

- Modersmålsundervisning

- Språkanvändning i vardagen (Funktioner – Situationer - Aktiviteter – Platser - Syften)

- Attityder till olika språk

- Attityder till flerspråkighet

- Tankar om att använda flera språk (erfarenheter, upplevelser, exempel)

- Att lära sig språk (upplevelser - förhållningssätt – investering)

- Språk och identitet (upplevelser, självuppfattning, olika roller)

- Självskattad förmåga i olika språk

- Språkanvändning och tankar om framtiden

Appendix E

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan - flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Information till deltagande elever i årskurs 6

Vill du vara med i ett forskningsprojekt om språk på fritiden? I det här dokumentet får du information om forskningsprojektet och vad det innebär att delta.

Jag heter Jasmine Bylund och arbetar på Göteborgs universitet. Mitt forskningsprojekt handlar om hur elever i årskurs sex använder olika språk på sin fritid. Jag vill veta vilka språk som används var, när och hur. I studien vill jag också ta reda på vad elever tycker om språk, flerspråkighet och att använda olika språk. Jag vill också veta mer om elevers upplevelser av att använda flera språk i sin vardag.

Hur går studien till?

Jag kommer under året att besöka din klass vid olika tillfällen. Under första besöket kommer du att få en enkät med frågor om hur du använder språk på fritiden och vad du tycker om olika språk.

Under vårterminens slut planerar jag att besöka din klass igen. Du kommer i så fall få en uppgift i form av en språkdagbok. I språkdagboken ska du under ca.1vecka skriva upp *hur*, *när*, *var* och *med vilka* du använder olika språk på din fritid. Jag kommer sedan tillbaka för att samla in språkdagböckerna.

Några elever i klassen kan tillfrågas om att bli intervjuade om sina upplevelser av att använda olika språk. Om du får frågan om att delta i en intervju kommer du och dina vårdnadshavare att få mer information om vad det innebär samt välja att tacka ja eller nej till om du ska delta.

Deltagandet är frivilligt

Det är helt frivilligt att delta i projektet. För att du ska kunna vara med så behöver din vårdnadshavare skriva på en blankett, men det är givetvis du som bestämmer om du vill vara med. Du kan alltså tacka nej även om dina vårdnadshavare tackat ja. Du eller dina vårdnadshavare kan när som helst välja att avbryta ditt deltagande. Du kan också välja att bara vara med på till exempel enkäten men inte språkdagböckerna. Om du vill avbryta ditt deltagande behöver du inte tala om varför, och det kommer inte heller att påverka dig på något sätt.

Om du har frågor, tveka inte att prata med mig! Du kan också maila, eller be en vårdnadshavare eller din lärare att mejla eventuella frågor.

Vad händer med mina svar och uppgifter?

I enkäten finns det frågor om dig, till exempel vad du heter, hur gammal du är, var du är född och vilka språk du talar. All personlig information kommer att kodas och förvaras separat från frågorna i enkäten på en säker plats. På det sättet blir dina svar på frågorna i enkäten anonyma. Andra utomstående människor kan alltså inte koppla samman dina svar med dig som person. Dina svar och dina resultat kommer att behandlas så att inte obehöriga kan ta del av dem.

När projektet är klart kommer resultaten att redovisas i en bok, men som läsare kommer det inte gå att veta någonting om vilken skola jag varit på eller vilka elever som varit med. All sådan information kommer att vara borttagen.

När projektet är klart så vill jag gärna komma tillbaka till skolan och berätta vad jag kommit fram till.

När projektet är avslutat kommer det som samlats in och behandlats inom projektet att sparas i minst 10 år.

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan - flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Ansvarig för dina personuppgifter är Göteborgs universitet. Enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning har du rätt att kostnadsfritt få veta vilka uppgifter om dig som hanteras i studien, och vid behov få eventuella fel rättade. Du kan också begära att uppgifter om dig raderas samt att behandlingen av dina personuppgifter begränsas. Om du vill ta del av uppgifterna ska du kontakta huvudansvarig forskare Jasmine Bylund. Det går också bra att kontakta Göteborgs universitets dataskyddsombud, via dataskydd@gu.se. Om du är missnöjd med hur dina personuppgifter behandlas har du rätt att lämna klagomål till Datainspektionen, som är tillsynsmyndighet.

Vänliga hälsningar,

Jasmine Bylund   jasmine.bylund@gu.se Tel. 031-786 2119, 070-297 58 89

Appendix F

INSTITUTIONEN FÖR PEDAGOGIK OCH SPECIALPEDAGOGIK

GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

Institutionen för pedagogik och specialpedagogik
Jasmine Bylund
jasmine.bylund@gu.se

Vårdnadshavare för elev i årskurs 6

Information till vårdnadshavare angående elevs deltagande i forskningsstudie om flerspråkighet

Jag heter Jasmine Bylund och är doktorand i ämnesdidaktik med språklig inriktning på Göteborgs universitet. Under läsåret 2019–2020 genomför jag ett forskningsprojekt om elevers språkanvändning i årskurs sex. Studiens syfte är att undersöka betydelsen av elevers språkanvändning på fritiden i relation till attityder till språk och språkinlärning, uppfattningar om flerspråkande och identitet. Med detta brev vill jag informera samt be dig som vårdnadshavare om samtycke till att ditt barn deltar i studien.

Hur går studien till?

Studien genomförs i tre steg vid olika tillfällen under terminen. Först får eleverna en enkät som besvaras skriftligt och under vårterminens senare del kommer jag att återkomma till klassen för fördjupande studier med språkdagböcker och intervjuer.

> **Enkät:** Eleverna besvarar en enkät med frågor om hur de använder språk på fritiden, attityder till språk och språkinlärning. Enkäten består både av frågor där eleverna kan svara med egna ord, frågor där de ska markera sitt svar genom att välja bland alternativ, samt påståenden där de ska kryssa i hur mycket de håller med eller inte.
>
> **Språkdagböcker:** Eleverna får under en begränsad tid (ca.1-2 veckor) anteckna hur de använder språk i olika sammanhang och aktiviteter på sin fritid.
>
> **Intervjuer:** Utifrån de insamlade språkdagböckerna kommer enskilda elever att tillfrågas för intervjuer. **Obs!** Om ditt barn blir tillfrågad för intervju kommer information och samtyckesblankett att skickas ut till vårdnadshavare under vårterminen 2020.

Vad händer med svar och uppgifter?

Studien följer alla de etiska krav som ställs på forskning i Sverige, vilket innebär att alla de uppgifter som samlas in om elever och skolan kommer att behandlas på så sätt att inga obehöriga kan ta del av dem. Allt material kommer att avidentifieras, vilket innebär att de riktiga namnen på ort, skola och elev aldrig kommer att användas när studiens resultat presenteras.

Institutionen för pedagogik och specialpedagogik
Pedagogen hus A, Västra Hamngatan 25, Box 300, 405 30 Göteborg
031 786 00 00
www.ips.gu.se

1 (3)

Resultaten av forskningsprojektet kommer att publiceras i en avhandling och delar av innehållet kommer också presenteras på konferenser eller i andra akademiska sammanhang. Resultaten kommer alltså att användas i forskning, undervisning och olika föredrag, men alltid avidentifierade. Vilka personer som ingår i avhandlingen kommer aldrig att framgå. All information kommer att behandlas så att inte obehöriga kan ta del av dem.

Behandlingen av personuppgifter är nödvändig av forskningsändamål för att utföra den forskning som projektet avser att genomföra. Den rättsliga grunden för behandling av personuppgifter är enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning att forskning som utförs av statliga universitet och högskolor normalt är en uppgift av allmänt intresse. När projektet är avslutat kommer det som samlats in och behandlats inom projektet att sparas i minst 10 år.

Ansvarig för ditt barns personuppgifter är Göteborgs universitet. Enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning har du rätt att kostnadsfritt få veta vilka uppgifter som hanteras i studien, och vid behov få eventuella fel rättade. Du kan också begära att uppgifter raderas samt att behandlingen av ditt barns personuppgifter begränsas. Om du vill ta del av uppgifterna ska du kontakta huvudansvarig forskare Jasmine Bylund, jasmine.bylund@gu.se. Det går också bra att kontakta Göteborgs universitets dataskyddsombud, via dataskydd@gu.se. Om du är missnöjd med hur ditt barns personuppgifter behandlas har du rätt att lämna klagomål till Datainspektionen, som är tillsynsmyndighet.

Deltagandet är frivilligt

För att minderåriga ska kunna delta i forskningsstudier krävs alltid medgivande av vårdnadshavare. Detta medgivande är samtidigt en bekräftelse på att vårdnadshavare tagit del av informationen. Deltagande i studien är helt frivilligt. Du har rätt att när som helst dra tillbaka ditt medgivande. De uppgifter som samlats in om ditt barn kommer då att helt tas bort från studien. Du kan också välja att enbart ge samtycke till deltagande i någon av delarna i studien.

Obs! Blanketten om samtycke (se sidan 3) avser endast deltagande i de två första delarna av studien, dvs. enkäten och språkdagböckerna. För elever som tillfrågas om deltagande i intervjustudien kommer ny samtyckesblankett och information att lämnas ut till berörda vårdnadshavare.

Blanketten om samtycke lämnas till undervisande lärare. Om du vill veta mer om studien får du gärna kontakta mig.

Ansvariga för studien

Jasmine Bylund (Huvudansvarig forskare)   Huvudhandledare:
Doktorand i språkdidaktik   Liss Kerstin Sylvén
Göteborgs universitet, IPS   Professor i ämnesdidaktik
jasmine.bylund@gu.se   Göteborgs universitet, IPS
                                          lisskerstin.sylven@ped.gu.se

Telefon: 031-786 2119, 070-297 58 89

Med vänliga hälsningar,

Jasmine Bylund

Elevers språkanvändning på fritiden – flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

Samtycke att delta i studien

Jag har fått skriftlig information om studien och mitt barn har fått muntlig och skriftlig information och har haft möjlighet att ställa frågor. Jag är medveten om att deltagande är frivilligt och att jag när som helst kan avbryta mitt barns medverkan. Jag tillåter att uppgifter om mitt barn behandlas på det sätt som beskrivs i detta informationsbrev.

☐ Jag har tagit del av informationen ovan och samtycker till att mitt barn medverkar i studien

Plats och datum ………………………………………………………………………….

Barnets namn (texta) …………………………………………………………………..

Underskrift vårdnadshavare 1 …………………………………………………………

Underskrift vårdnadshavare 2 …………………………………………………………

Appendix G

Elevers språkanvändning utanför skolan – flerspråkighet, språkinvestering och identitet

**INSTITUTIONEN FÖR PEDAGOGIK
OCH SPECIALPEDAGOGIK**

GÖTEBORGS
UNIVERSITET

**Institutionen för pedagogik och
specialpedagogik**
Jasmine Bylund
jasmine.bylund@gu.se

Vårdnadshavare för elev i årskurs 7

Information till vårdnadshavare angående elevs deltagande i intervju

Jag heter Jasmine Bylund och är doktorand i ämnesdidaktik med språklig inriktning på Göteborgs universitet. Under 2019 - 2021 genomför jag ett forskningsprojekt om elevers språkanvändning i årskurs sex och sju. Studiens syfte är att undersöka betydelsen av språkanvändning på fritiden i relation till attityder till språk och språklärande, uppfattningar om flerspråkande och identitet. Med detta brev vill jag informera samt be dig som vårdnadshavare om samtycke till att ditt barn deltar i en intervju om språkanvändning och uppfattningar om språk.

Intervjun genomförs under skoltid och ditt barn kommer få liknande frågor om språk som förekommit i de tidigare delarna av forskningsprojektet som ditt barn deltagit i (enkät och språkdagbok).

Intervjuerna kommer att spelas in. Inspelningarna kommer att förvaras inlåsta på institutionen för pedagogik och specialpedagogik på Göteborgs universitet. Endast ansvarig forskare kommer ha tillgång till ljudfilerna. Inspelningen av intervjun med ditt barn kommer att behandlas så att inga obehöriga kan ta del av den. Personuppgifter kommer förvaras separat från ljudfilerna och det är också endast ansvarig forskare som har tillgång till samtyckesblanketterna.

Vad händer med svar och uppgifter?

Studien följer alla de etiska krav som ställs på forskning i Sverige, vilket innebär att alla de uppgifter som samlas in om elever och skolan kommer att behandlas på så sätt att inga obehöriga kan ta del av dem. Allt material kommer att avidentifieras, vilket innebär att de riktiga namnen på ort, skola och elev aldrig kommer att användas när studiens resultat presenteras.

Resultaten av forskningsprojektet kommer att publiceras i en avhandling och delar av innehållet kommer också presenteras på konferenser eller i andra akademiska sammanhang. Resultaten kommer alltså att användas i forskning, undervisning och olika föredrag, men alltid avidentifierade. Vilka personer som ingår i avhandlingen kommer aldrig att framgå. All information kommer att behandlas så att inte obehöriga kan ta del av dem.

Institutionen för pedagogik och specialpedagogik
Pedagogen hus A, Västra Hamngatan 25, Box 300, 405 30 Göteborg
031 786 00 00
www.ips.gu.se

1 (3)

Behandlingen av personuppgifter är nödvändig av forskningsändamål för att utföra den forskning som projektet avser att genomföra. Den rättsliga grunden för behandling av personuppgifter är enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning att forskning som utförs av statliga universitet och högskolor normalt är en uppgift av allmänt intresse. När projektet är avslutat kommer det som samlats in och behandlats inom projektet att sparas i minst 10 år.

Ansvarig för ditt barns personuppgifter är Göteborgs universitet. Enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning har du rätt att kostnadsfritt få veta vilka uppgifter som hanteras i studien, och vid behov få eventuella fel rättade. Du kan också begära att uppgifter raderas samt att behandlingen av ditt barns personuppgifter begränsas. Om du vill ta del av uppgifterna ska du kontakta huvudansvarig forskare Jasmine Bylund, jasmine.bylund@gu.se. Det går också bra att kontakta Göteborgs universitets dataskyddsombud, via dataskydd@gu.se. Om du är missnöjd med hur ditt barns personuppgifter behandlas har du rätt att lämna klagomål till Datainspektionen, som är tillsynsmyndighet.

Deltagandet är frivilligt

För att minderåriga ska kunna delta i forskningsstudier krävs alltid medgivande av vårdnadshavare. Detta medgivande är samtidigt en bekräftelse på att vårdnadshavare tagit del av informationen. Deltagande i studien är helt frivilligt. Du har rätt att när som helst dra tillbaka ditt medgivande. De uppgifter som samlats in om ditt barn kommer då att helt tas bort från studien.

Blanketten om samtycke lämnas till undervisande lärare. Om du vill veta mer om studien får du gärna kontakta mig.

Ansvariga för studien

Jasmine Bylund
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Huvudhandledare:
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Telefon: 031-786 2119; 070-297 58 89

Med vänliga hälsningar,

Jasmine Bylund

Samtycke att delta i intervju

Jag har fått skriftlig information om studien och mitt barn har fått muntlig och skriftlig information och har haft möjlighet att ställa frågor. Jag är medveten om att deltagande är frivilligt och att jag när som helst kan avbryta mitt barns medverkan. Jag tillåter att uppgifter om mitt barn behandlas på det sätt som beskrivs i detta informationsbrev.

☐ Jag har tagit del av informationen ovan och samtycker till att mitt barn deltar i en intervju

om språkanvändning utanför skolan och uppfattningar om språk och identitet

Plats och datum ………………………………………………………………………….

Barnets namn (texta) …………………………………………………………………..

Underskrift vårdnadshavare 1 …………………………………………………………

Underskrift vårdnadshavare 2 …………………………………………………………

Previous publications:

Editors: Kjell Härnqvist and Karl-Gustaf Stukát

1. KARL-GUSTAF STUKÁT *Lekskolans inverkan på barns utveckling.* Stockholm 1966
2. URBAN DAHLLÖF *Skoldifferentiering och undervisningsförlopp.* Stockholm 1967
3. ERIK WALLIN *Spelling. Factorial and experimental studies.* Stockholm 1967
4. BENGT-ERIK ANDERSSON *Studies in adolescent behaviour. Project Yg, Youth in Göteborg.* Stockholm 1969
5. FERENCE MARTON *Structural dynamics of learning.* Stockholm 1970
6. ALLAN SVENSSON *Relative achievement. School performance in relation to intelligence, sex and home environment.* Stockholm 1971
7. GUNNI KÄRRBY *Child rearing and the development of moral structure.* Stockholm 1971

Editors: Urban Dahllöf, Kjell Härnqvist and
Karl-Gustaf Stukát

8. ULF P. LUNDGREN *Frame factors and the teaching process. A contribution to curriculum theory and theory on teaching.* Stockholm 1972
9. LENNART LEVIN *Comparative studies in foreign-language teaching.* Stockholm 1972
10. RODNEY ÅSBERG *Primary education and national development.* Stockholm 1973
11. BJÖRN SANDGREN *Kreativ utveckling.* Stockholm 1974
12. CHRISTER BRUSLING *Microteaching - A concept in development.* Stockholm 1974
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Sweden is a multilingual country, and an increasing number of children and adolescents grow up using one or more languages in addition to Swedish. This has spurred an interest in multilingual practices and the educational needs of minority language children and youths. While this group of children and adolescents has increased, the traditional monolingual language practices and ideologies of the education system have continued to dominate, creating a linguistic divergence between home and school. The systematic knowledge about the out-of-school language practices and encounters among this group of students is limited, particularly with regard to the interrelationship between language practices, ideologies and identity constructions. This thesis explores the reported out-of-school language practices and ideological positions among young adolescents in relation to language ideologies, investment and identities. The study was conducted between 2019–2021 with young adolescents (aged 11–14) attending schools located in linguistically diverse urban neighborhoods in the three largest cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Employing an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, the study included a questionnaire, language diaries and interviews.

Jasmine Bylund is involved in teacher education at the Department of Education and Special Education at the University of Gothenburg. Her research interests concern multilingualism in education, sociolinguistics, language ideologies and social justice.